THE ROLE OF HORIZONTAL INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS IN THE RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS BETWEEN AMARO OF SNNPR AND GUJII OROMO OF OROMIA REGIONAL STATE

BY: TEMESGEN BAYISSA

JUNE, 2009
ADDIS ABABA
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BETWEEN AMARO OF SNNPR AND GUJII OROMO OF
OROMIA REGIONAL STATE

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Approved By Board of Examiners

[Signatures and names of examiners]
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<tr>
<td>Art.</td>
<td>Article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDRE</td>
<td>Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIGR</td>
<td>Horizontal Intergovernmental Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOF</td>
<td>House of Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HPR</td>
<td>House of Peoples Representative</td>
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<tr>
<td>SNNPR</td>
<td>Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOFA</td>
<td>Ministry of Federal Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>PCU</td>
<td>Project Coordination Unit</td>
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<tr>
<td>N.R.</td>
<td>Not Responded</td>
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<td>IGR</td>
<td>Intergovernmental Relations</td>
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Abstract

The purpose of this research study is to investigate the role of Horizontal Intergovernmental Relations in the resolution of the conflicts between Amaro( kore) of SNNPR and Galana (Guji Oromo) of Oromia Regional State.

To this end, a descriptive survey method is employed. Primary source of data were elders, women, youth, members of the cabinet, and members of the police force from both weredas. Secondary sources of data is reports from wereda administration offices as well as pertinent literature on conflict resolution. A total of 312 respondents (156 respondents from each wereda) were selected using random and purposive sampling techniques.

Instruments of data collection is questionnaire, interview, focus group discussion and field visit. The quantitative data were analyzed using percentages where as the qualitative ones were transcribed, analyzed and finally triangulated with the quantitative data where necessary and appropriate. The analysis led to the following major findings: lack of adequate grazing land, water, farm land, and the existence of negative expressions( connotations) concerning some group of peoples were the major sources of conflict between bordering weredas; the most serious problem leading to conflict was grazing land( 94.8%) and the least one was the existence of negative expressions concerning groups of peoples; both horizontal intergovernmental relations between SNNPR and Oromia States and traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution played an important role in ensuring peace and stability between both communities in disputed areas.
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Despite several efforts at conceptualizing and theorizing on term "conflict" (Violence), unanimity of opinion is yet to be attained. The complex and multifaceted clusters of factors that lead to conflicts in multi-national (multi-ethnic societies) are also under contention. While some writers tried to tie the causes of conflicts to inter-human nature, others attempted to link them with physical and psychological needs. Again others prefer to argue in line with group identity while the rest tend to stick to structural factors. Hence, the theoretical and factual contention on the causes of conflicts is still under controversy.

However, several writers believe that one of the main types of contemporary conflicts that is conflict among national or ethnic groups is leading to regional and international confrontations.

Ethiopia is a multi-national state established as result of wars of expansions and incorporation where the people faced various types of national domination, subjection, oppression and suppression. This provoked different forms of resistance by different groups, causing internal conflicts under different banners. And this has resulted in instability. The successive highly centralized and authoritarian governments in the pre-1991 Ethiopia did not address the fundamental aspirations of the suppressed. In the post-1991 however, the victorious forces that assumed power have attempted to democratize Ethiopia's multi-national society with a multi-cultural federal system, enshrining the unconditional rights of self-determination (including secession for all nations, nationalities and peoples) in the 1995 constitution. Nonetheless, different writers argued on the merits and demerits of the constitutional devices with contrasting arguments and opinions.

Despite the fact that an ethnically based federalism has been instituted and assisted by constitutional devices conflicts among national groups however continued along the borders of some regional states.
Among others, the administrative boundary conflicts between Amaro (Kore) of the southern Nations and Nationalities and Gujji (Galana) of Oromia Regional States is the one to be mentioned. Many of these conflicts, which essentially reflect local resources competition over scarce land resources. Additionally, conflicts have also emerged between agriculturalists (Amaro-kore) nationalities in the SNNPR and the pastoralists (Gujii-Oromo in Galana) in Oromia Regional State.

Since the establishment of the Regional States in line with the formation of new administrative entities of Southern Nations and Nationalities Regional State and Oromia Regional State the issue of where the physical borders should be drawn has raised immense concern and conflict between the two ethnic groups over the Weredas. The magnitude of the boundary conflict between the two is getting complex through time. This conflict involved and affected a large number of communities, living on the border areas. The contested boundary conflict, which is situated between Amaro (Kore) of SNNPR and Gujii Oromo (Galana) of Oromia Regional States continued to be a serious concern and claimed life of the innocent individuals of the area.

Both Regional Governments have been trying to solve these conflicts. But still the problem exists. This essay will analyses the root causes of the conflict in the disputed administrative boundaries and identify the factors and actors in the conflict and propose how the Regional Governments should develop the relationship in terms of cooperation to resolve the conflict between the disputed areas by noting certain experiences with other regions. The interest of the researcher has grown out of his earlier work on issues related to bordering region's affairs of Oromia Regional State.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Conflict is inevitable aspect of human interaction, unavoidable concomitant choices and decisions. According to William Zartman, conflict can be prevented on some occasions and managed on others, but resolved only if the term is taken to mean the satisfaction of apparent demands rather than the total eradication of underlying sentiments, memories, and interests.¹ Only time really resolve conflicts, and even the wounds it heals leave their scars for future reference.² But in light of short of such ultimate healing, much can be done to reduce conflict and thereby release need
energies for more productive tasks. Although protracted conflict is dysfunctional, some conflict is not only inevitable, but functionally necessary and useful, since conflict comes from an incompatibility of goals or actions. Based on this conception of conflict, the problem studied in this research is the major causes of conflict along the border areas between Amaro (Kore) and Guji Oromo ethnic groups of SNNPR respectively and thereby to analyze the role played by horizontal intergovernmental relations of both regional states.

1.2.1 Basic Research Questions

Based on the statement of the problem, the following basic research questions are made:

1. What are the root causes (sources) of the conflict between Amaro of SNNPR and Galana woreda of Oromia Regional State?
2. What are the factors that contributed to the conflict?
3. Who are the major actors in the conflict between the peoples of the two weredas under study?
4. What are the impacts of the conflict on the lives of people in the disputed areas?
5. What is the role of horizontal Inter-Governmental Relations in the resolution of the conflict between the two groups?

1.3. Objective of the Study

1.3.1 General objective

The general objective of this study is to identify the nature and causes of the conflict between Amaro (Kore) disputed boundaries of SNNPR and Gujii Oromo of Oromia Regional State that is causing major problems for the local communities and pose major challenges to both Regional States.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

- To assess the magnitude of the conflict and to evaluate the conflict resolution mechanism and the relation in the handling of the conflict that is employed between the two Regional States.
➢ To propose alternative means that could contribute towards achieving sustainable peace along the disputed administrative boundaries between Oromia and SNNPR.

1.4. Scope of the Study

The territorial conflict between Amaro (Kore) special wereda and Gujjii Oromo in Galana wereda has a long history. The disputed area between the two ethnic groups also covers the special woreda of Burjii in SNNR and Abaya wereda in Oromia. It would have been better if more areas had been covered in this study. However, due to time and financial constraints, the study is confined to the two disputed weredas in the two Regional States, namely Amaro special wereda in which the 'Kore' nationalities dwell and mostly agrarian in the SNNPR and the Gujii Oromo dwelling in Galana wereda which are mostly pastoralist in Oromia Regional State. Two kebeles namely Meteri and Shamole Oda in Galana and Jallo and Durbade kebeles in Amaro wereda were respectively specific areas of the study.

1.5. Significance of the Study

The findings of the study will have the following significance:

➢ It would help regional governments find peaceful solutions for the problems that are frequently occurring along the disputed administrative boundaries.

➢ It would help the local communities of both woredas to strengthen their horizontal relationships so as to be benefited from joint development activities;

➢ It would also help the woreda administrative bodies to sensitize and raise awareness of both communities regarding ways of peaceful conflict resolution.

➢ Finally, it would help other researchers as a stepping stone to conduct further research studies in that area.

1.6. Research Methodology

1.6.1. Method
In this study, a mixed methods approach that makes use of both quantitative and qualitative methods was employed. The quantitative method was used to analyze the information obtained through the use of questionnaire and the qualitative method was employed to analyze the information obtained through the use of structured interviews.

1.6.2. Source of Data
Both primary and secondary sources of data were used in this study. The primary sources include elders, religious leaders, women, youth, and members of the police force and members of the cabinet.

The secondary sources of data were relevant government policy documents, reports as well as pertinent literature on conflict resolution and so on.

1.6.3. Sample size and sampling Techniques
In this study, a total of 312 respondents were used, namely 156 respondents from Galana wereda Gujii (oromo) and another’s 156 respondents from Amaro (Kore) Woreda. Random sampling technique is used to select resident members of the four Kebeles.

Purposive sampling technique is employed to select elders, religious leaders, members of the cabinet and the police force, since the first one is very influential among the communities where as the last two groups of respondents are very much familiar with the issue of conflict in those woredas.

1.6.4. Instruments of data collection
The following data gathering tools were used in this research study:

A. Questionnaire
A questionnaire that consists of both close-ended and open-ended question items were used to collect data from respondents.

B. Semi-structured interview
Semi-structured interview was employed to collect in-depth information from government officials and religious leaders as well as members of the police force.
C. Field Visit
Field visit was also conducted to observe the destruction caused by the conflict in those Woredas as under study. Certain photographs of scene in the place of the conflict were also taken by the researcher.

D. Date Collection Procedure
The researcher has prepared questionnaire and interview guides initially in English and then translated into the Amharic and Afan Oromo for practical purposes. He also selected four research assistants those who know the communities around the research area. He provided them short training for three hours to enable them to gather the information required for the research.

1.7. Organization of the Thesis
The paper has four chapters. The first introductory chapter deals with background, statement of the problem, research questions, hypothesis, and objectives of the study, scope of the study, methodology and organization of the paper. Chapter two is on the conceptual and theoretical framework used for analyzing findings. Chapter three will deal with factors and actors in the territorial conflict between the two groups. Chapter four is dealing with institutional solutions and experiences like strengthening horizontal inter governmental relations to be employed by the two Regional Governments. Finally, chapter five presents the summary of the major findings, the conclusions drawn and the recommendations made.

1.8. Limitation of the Study
During this research study, some members of the woreda administration and concerned higher officials of the regional states were so busy that it took the researcher more time to get the required information. Moreover, financial constraints hindered the researcher to include more kebeles. However, the researcher was in a position to accomplish his studies despite all the limitations he encountered.
CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1. Conflict: A conceptual framework

Several authors argue that the term conflict lacks unanimity in meaning, in category, in names, in types, and in causes or factors. However, the brief assessment of the diverse attempts will help the reader to observe the contending paradigms. First of all, it should be noted that certain writers use the term 'conflict' while others use 'violence' or both interchangeably.

According to Coser, "Conflict is a struggle in which the aim is to gain objectives and simultaneously to neutralize, injure, or eliminate rivals." For him, the magnitude of the time and the scope of disputants are not crucial to constitute a full fledged definition. For him, what is basic seems to be the existence of rivals, and the effort to overcome the same.

For weeks, "conflict is a prolonged battle or collision, the opposition of mutually exclusive impulses, desires, or tendencies, controversy, disagreement; a complex phenomenon of human interactions." Weeks argues that conflict is an inescapable part of our daily lives, and the inevitable result of our highly complex, competitive and often litigious society.

Weeks further commented that conflict is a battle to win or a struggle to gain advantage in the relationship or to attain dominance in the relationship. He also tried to link conflict with personal and communal psychological factors. Accordingly, he argued that conflict is an outgrowth of the diversity that characterizes our thoughts, attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, social systems and structures. Within diversities there are differences in components of human interactions. These differences often lead to conflict.

Gove defines conflict as;

"an act of striking together; configure to strike together, fight, and clash. Competition or mutual interference of opposing or incompatible forces of qualities; an emotional state characterized in decision, relentlessness, uncertainty and tension resulting from incompatible
inner needs or derives of comparable intensity: an engagement between men under arms, struggle, contest, fight"  

Besides, he states that "conflict is a prolonged fighting with weapons; warfare strife; the opposition of persons or forces striking, or clashing together of material bodies, or substances." Hence, in his definition, he in compassed the magnitude of the conflict, the means of the striking; the purpose of the conflict and the scope of the disputants involved as well.

Frederic Tutu stated that

\[
\text{conflict has come to mean a clash between two or more parties, persons or groups, which is usually expressed in a confrontation because one of the parties feels offended. But it does not necessarily mean a violent confrontation.}
\]

Besides, he states that there is a widespread tendency to suppress conflict in human relationships. Yet it is a natural phenomenon and, thus, unavoidable. We are social beings and the way we relate to one other is part of our personality.

According to him, modern psychology has shown the importance of conflict management particularly in that from childhood, conflicts play a decisive role in the formation of our personality. When managed positively, they become the source of personal growth and build social relationships. Even non-violence movements do not presuppose a way without conflicts; we can only speak of non-violence in relation to a conflict situation. In other words, the important thing is not to suppress conflict but manage it in the most positive way possible.

Alfred G. Nhema, defined conflict as "a violent and armed confrontation and struggle between groups, between the state and one or more groups, and between two or more states. In such a confrontation and struggle, some of those involved are injured and others killed."

Conflict is a serious disagreement, struggle, and fight arising out of differences of opinions, wishes, needs, values, and interests between and among individuals or groups.
According to Peter Walltensteen, conflict has generally been defined as a situation in which two or more parties strive to acquire the same scarce resources at the same time.\(^{15}\)

Generally, based on the above definitions one can easily understand that the very cause of conflict are need, values and interest over a certain unfairly distributed natural resource, and in order to achieve their goal the parties will purposely employ their power bases to fight for their position with a view to defeat, neutralize or eliminate one another giving room for what we call conflicts.

### 2.2 Causes of Conflict

Conflicts from the moment they are ignited take their own shape and ways.\(^{16}\) Conflicts might be a type of conflict that can be easily resolved or one that can involve the whole nation or continent, but what must be understood is that every conflict in order to be called a conflict must have a source.\(^{17}\) When discussing causes of conflicts one thing must be clear that we are trying to deal with both intra-state and inter-state conflicts.\(^{18}\) Dealing with the conflicts is one thing but, finding the deep source and root causes of conflicts are difficult. In most cases unevenly distributed natural resources are indicated as the fuel for conflicts.\(^{19}\) Natural resources that are unevenly distributed throughout the world and a number of conflicts have, at their root cause over this unevenly distributed natural resources.\(^{20}\) Human need can differ from one to the other and unless these human needs are fully satisfied, conflicts arise and the conflict that erupted because of these unsatisfied human needs will grow on a large scale and give rise to the creation of international peace and security disorder.\(^{21}\)

Emotions/Feelings refer to psychological factors; need for reference and security, need to love and to be loved, need to be recognized and accepted.\(^ {22}\) Conflicts caused by these needs (also referred to as secondary needs) are referred to as conflicts of interests, which may also include resources such as land. They are more difficult to understand and to express, and thus more difficult to resolve than resource based conflicts.\(^ {23}\)

According to Bernard, emotions of disputants is supporting factor for the major causes of conflicts. As human being every individual is born with emotions that he will react
depending on the situation that he is facing. Happiness, sadness, joy, sorrow are the few emotions that human beings are capable of showing when faced with different situations in their daily social life. This being the fact emotions is also energy to fuel up conflict.\textsuperscript{24} If people could always stay perfectly rational and focused on how to best meet their needs and accommodate those of others, and if they could calmly work to establish effective communications then many conflicts would either never arise or would quickly deescalate, But of course that is not human nature, even if many of us occasionally pretend that it is. At times emotions seem to be in control of behavior.\textsuperscript{25}

Emotions contribute the energy, strength, audacity and preservance that allow people to participate forcefully in conflict.\textsuperscript{26} With this end in view, one can understand that emotions are not just a deep rooted feelings that is reacte to a certain situation, but can also be a source of conflict in a way that can cause a world to fall into destruction and loss of millions of lives.

Values are another aspect that can be a factor for source of conflict is values. Values refer to one's beliefs system, convictions, personal opinions and guiding principles slowly acquired over the years. Conflicts of values are thus the most complex.\textsuperscript{27}

In most part of the world individuals, societies, communities, give a great deal to their values, they even connect the values of their culture, tradition, and practice directly with their integrity. And trying to infringe their values can end up creating a deadly conflict.\textsuperscript{28}

"Values are the beliefs we have about what is important, what distinguishes right from wrong and god from evil, and what principles should govern how we lead our lives when a conflict is defined or experienced as an issue of values, it becomes more charged and intractable. Because people define themselves in part by their core beliefs, when they believe these values are under attack, they feel they are being attached. Similarly, it is hard for people to compromise when core beliefs are in play, because they feel they are compromising themselves or their integrity".\textsuperscript{29}
In addition to these causes, other common causes of conflict include relationship and structure.\textsuperscript{30} Relationship refers to methods of communicating that vary and may cause misunderstanding or misjudgment, for example, an overly aggressive or passive style of behavior may cause misinterpretation. Structure is to mean formal and informal structures as for example, policies and or practices within a society could be at root of inequalities and injustices.\textsuperscript{31}

2.3. Classification of Causes of Conflicts
There are diverse classifications of conflicts. Some of the classifications are made using \textit{structural factors}, \textit{accelerating (aggravating) and triggering factors}, and \textit{direct and indirect factors} as well as \textit{intra-state} and \textit{inter-state factors}.\textsuperscript{32}

With regard to the structural factors, Regumamu has argued that,

\begin{quote}
\textit{Structural factor encompasses very broad aspects like political, economic, social directions, and patterns such as state repression. This includes lack of equitable political participation, poor governance performance, unequal distribution of wealth, the identity make up of the society and history of group relations, etc.} \textsuperscript{33}
\end{quote}

Therefore, for him, other factors can be considered as the sub-elements of structural factors. Structural violence most often works slowly in eroding human values and shortening life spans that are built into the very structure of society and cultural institutions. Discriminatory practices are imposed on individuals or groups in systematic and organized ways by the political institutions in force. Structural violence appears in social systems maintained by explosive means throughout human history.\textsuperscript{34} Oppression constitutes structural violence.\textsuperscript{35}

The destruction of cultural identities, inequitable political autonomy and economic sustainability, unequal access to political power and cultural marginalization of certain groups are some of the major structural conditions for the emergence of social conflict.\textsuperscript{36} Hence, the absence of legitimised structures and polices along with the inequalities of opportunity could be a primary source of conflicts.
According to Brown, the structural factors have three main causal parties; the weak states; intra-state security concerns, and ethnic geography. For him, weak state structures are the starting point to analyze internal conflicts. Others are weaken by internal problems like endemic corruption, administrative incompetence and inability. When state structure is weak, power struggle intensified and the oppressed groups will strive for autonomy. Further, borders could not be controlled effectively and the incentives to organize independent armed force rise and threaten security of each other. Besides neighboring groups may react; certain groups may rush to deploy defensive forces that could cause violence and fear to other groups intensifying the security concerns there in.

The other structural factor that has received Brown's attention is ethnic geography. For him, states with ethnic minorities are more prone to conflict than others, and certain kinds of ethnic geography are more problematic than others. Countries with different kinds of ethnic geography are prone to experience diverse internal problems, and countries with groups distributed along regional line could face secessionist demand. Most states, particularly those carved out of former empires have complex ethnic problems of one kind or another. Besides, the arbitrary borders that have divided some ethnic groups and situated them in two or more countries are potential grounds for conflicts in various forms.

According to Brown, there are four main political sub-factors for internal conflict; discriminatory political institution; exclusionary national ideologies; inter-group politics; and elite politics. With regard to the first sub-factor, different writers argue that internal conflict is dependent on the type and structural fairness of the political system. If there exist discriminatory group right and unfair and inadequate constitutional representation in the government power and political institutions, internal conflict is likely to arise. When the dominant minority denies the principle of equality and enforces inequitable practices through top-down, hierarchical control, a system of vertical stratification often comes to features non negotiable claims from both the ruling minority and the
excluded majority. Hence, violence can be viewed as inherent in relations of dominance and superiority.\textsuperscript{42}

According to Brown,

"it is practically observed in several Sub-Saharan countries, conflict is more likely when ethnic conceptions of nationalism predominate and where citizenship is based on ethnic distinctions. Moreover, the occurrence of the institutional gap could give rise to spontaneous contrast of ethnic nationalism. That means, ethnic nationalism currents flow more strongly where state structure and political institutions are weak and in state of exclusionary national ideologies".\textsuperscript{43}

Pursuant to Zartman, the origin of many of Africa's wars and other conflicts lie in the repressive polices and other political excesses of governments. Social stress, social strain, and conflicting traditions associated with ethnic diversity are also causal variables for conflict.\textsuperscript{44} Furthermore, exclusionary policies and discriminatory treatment intensifies communal hostilities.\textsuperscript{45}

Inequalities and discrimination along lines of ethnic and regional cleavage are also the potent source of conflict.\textsuperscript{46} Group conflict usually involves mobilizations of people based on several overlapping identifies: ethnicity and class, class and political association, ethnicity and political association and sometimes all the three.\textsuperscript{47}

Many scholars argue that the causes for violence in a country depend to a significant degree on the dynamics of domestic inter-group politics.\textsuperscript{48} When groups have either political, ideological, religious or ethnic based incompatible or ambitious objectives, strong senses of identity and confrontational strategies, the prospect of conflict will be greater. Inter groups comparisons may lead to competition, anxiety, and fear of domination as well.\textsuperscript{49}

Brown identified three broad economic and social factors of internal factors; economic problems discriminatory economic systems; and the trials and tribulations of economic development and modernization. With regard to the first factors, he stated that to exist in semi - permanent state of economic shambles, economic free fall, unemployment, inflation, scarce resource competition etc. Contribute to societal
frustrations, tensions and conflicts. Conflicts could be driven by economic scarcity
and form sharp competition for resources. Besides, it might arise from socio-
economic imbalance, from poverty, from underdevelopment and the denial of basic
needs of life. Thirdly, the process of economic development, the advent of
industrialization and the introduction of new technologies could bring about a wide
variety of profound social effects like migration, urbanization, and undermine
traditional political institutions. It could raise awareness of economic and political
expectations. If expectations are not met, this may result in instability and disorder.
Regarding the discriminatory economic systems like unequal economic opportunities,
unequal access to resource (such as land and capital), vast differences in standards of
living etc are signs of unfair and illegitimate economic systems.

Other scholars however emphasize more on elite politics. Accordingly, to this line of
argument, ethnic conflict is often provoked by elites in times of political and
economic trouble, in order to fend off domestic challenges. Further elaboration will
be given in the proceeding discussions.

2.3.1. The accelerating (aggravating) or triggering factors

The accelerating or triggering factors often consists of political, economic, social sub-
factors like political developments or events that bring underlying tensions to the
forefront and cause the situation to escalate. It can include new discriminatory
policies, new radical ideologies, repression of political groups, sharp economic
shocks, changes in or collapse of central authority, external intervention and weapon
proliferation. Poverty contributes to violent conflict in a variety of ways, motivated
by degradation or unemployment and other deteriorating economic circumstances.
Even if a country's overall economic picture is improving, inequalities and gaps can
aggravate intra-state tensions. Hence, it is unfair to limit the aggravating factors to
either sub-section. Certain writers devise additional classification of conflicts called
cultural and perceptual conflicts. According to Gultang, religion, ideology, art,
empirical science, language, media, education and the like are possible sources of
cultural violence. Brown identifies two forms of cultural factors. The first is cultural
discrimination against minorities that includes inequitable educational opportunities,
legal and political constraints on the use and reaching of minority languages, and constraints on religious freedom. Aggressive policies aiming to assimilate minority populations combined with programs to bring large number of other groups into minority areas constitute a form of cultural genocide.\textsuperscript{60}

The second refers to the group histories and group perceptions of themselves and others. Many groups have legitimate grievances against others for crimes committed in the distant or recent past. Besides, ethnic mythologies which created distorted historical mirror images of each other could create mutually exclusive, incendiary perceptions, deeply held beliefs and provides the justification for a retaliatory response.\textsuperscript{61}

The psychological symbolist conflict producing factors are fear of restratification and the loss of political dominance, an assertion of group worth and place, the existence of negative remembrances and images; determination to resist a controlling group's effort to spread its language, culture of religion's sense of superiority by economically or politically dominant minority group.\textsuperscript{62}

Besides, when ruling state elites and their constituents fear the consequences of fundamental reordering of regime procedures or where political minorities remain deeply anxious over their subordination of their cultural or physical survival, ethnic conflicts are likely to be intense.\textsuperscript{63}

Further, different kinds of state and ethnic claims are influenced by the reciprocal perceptions that rival elites have of one another. Non-negotiable demands are likely to emerge where state elite and ethnic representatives hold incompatible values. Intractable conflicts involving intense demands for power, status, territory and the protection of cultural and physical identities were build into Africa's vertically stratified societies from the outset.\textsuperscript{64}

\textbf{2.3.2. Direct/Indirect Conflicts}

According to Galtung, conflicts as direct and indirect violence. Direct violence is refereed to physical injuries and inflictions of pain caused by specific person, who can also take the form of verbal and psychological abuse. With regards to indirect
violence however, though they named it separately, it doesn't entail conceptual difference from what is stated under the structural conflicts.65

2.3.3. Internal Conflicts

There are further classifications of conflicts based on the actors. According to this classification, the inter-state conflict is represented by the hostile relationship between states 66 The ethnic conflict, which is categorically intra-state conflict, refers to and is involved between different national groups in a given state.67

Internal conflict is violent or potentially violent with political disputes whose origins can be traced primarily to domestic rather than systematic factors, and where armed violence takes place or threatens to take place, primarily within the borders of a single state.68 However, the causes for internal conflicts could be further sub-categorized into domestic and external causes.

Besides, sharp conflict occurs when multinational state wants to maintain its boundaries against the claims of a multi-state nation, and the empire faces irredentism, army faces national liberation movement; capital faces provincial rebellion. Resistance grows when resources and rewards are slim and the new nations get neither psychological nor material benefits from their restructured identify. Conditions of the economy have also rapid political repercussions.69

Some instances of domestic causes of internal conflicts are violent power struggles involving civilian and military leaders; armed ethnic conflicts and secessionist campaigns, armed ideological struggles, and evolutions.70 In most cases the key actors of internal conflicts are government and rebel groups, but especially, when state structures are weak, groups of various kinds could fight among themselves.71 Internal conflict is the most pervasive form of conflict in the international system that often affects and involves certain neighboring states, since they are not always the innocent victims of turmoil, but in some cases, are even responsible for sparking internal conflicts. Internal conflicts can affect the interests and engage the attention of distant powers and international organizations. Besides, they can disrupt access to strategic resources. However, it should be noted that certain internal factors are related to external causes, and certain inter state causes may directly or indirectly be related to

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or serve as intra-state causes as well. Hence, it is difficult to strictly demarcate a line between the two types of factors. Since the scope of this thesis is confined to internal conflicts, further elaborations will be launched on how internal conflicts are regionalized thereby affecting neighboring states and distant powers, in the third chapter. In addition to the above classifications, for Frederic Tutu, according to the parties involved conflicts are generally classified in to intra personal, interpersonal, intra-groups and inter-groups conflicts.\textsuperscript{72}

For him intra-conflicts refer to conflicts occurring with in a person, usually between personal convictions and generally admitted positions. Interpersonal conflicts refer to conflicts occurring between two individuals or smaller groups which each of them having her/his/its own value system, needs and desires which are embedded in the differences of character, sex and social of cultural level. Intra groups conflicts refer to conflicts with in particular groups (religious, ethnic, political or other type of identity group). Intrastate conflicts fall under this category. Inter-groups conflicts refer to conflicts occurring between large organized groups (religious, ethnic, political, economic, social etc) Interstate conflicts fall under this category.\textsuperscript{73}

\subsection*{2.4. Levels or Stages of Conflict}

Conflicts may also be classified according to their stages. While it is not easy to establish these stages, there is an effort to fit conflicts into recognizable stages according to the level of violence and/or way the issues involved are dealt with.\textsuperscript{74}

Frederic Tutu identified the following stages of conflict;

\begin{quote}
\textit{Pre -Conflict; Considering that conflict is inevitable, this stage refers to a stable situation where by there are effective mechanisms for peacefully reconciling the differences between the parties involved. As a result, the parties involved also deal with each other peacefully.}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{Latent or Covert Conflict: Latent conflict may simply be defined as a situation whereby the differences between the parties involved are let to create tension but that the latter is not openly expressed. At this stage the situation is somewhere}
\end{quote}
between appearing to be peaceful on the surface and experiencing some tension underneath. A particular example would be a situation of injustice where by people are not allowed to experience their rights and responsibilities or a situation whereby people are treated unequally within social structures, systems and institutions, and the disparities are unbearable.”

Johan Galtung refers to such a situation as a structural violence considers the apartheid systems that were used in South Africa as an example of structures of control that oppress people without necessarily engaging in physical violence. Still, latent conflict is often characterized by a denial of the problem either by pride or by fear. It is only when there is a trigger that the conflict comes to open.

Open or Overt Conflict; as opposed to latent conflict, open conflict may simply be defined as a situation where the tension resulting from the differences between the parties involved is let to the open. Nevertheless, a distinction needs to be made between the surface and deep rooted conflict. Frederic Tutu states that there are sub categories of open or overt conflict. These are surface conflict and deep rooted open conflict. He states surface conflict as an open confrontation (tension without or with very weak roots or underground issues. It might be a result of misunderstanding due to poor communication. Nevertheless, if it lasts long, it might also get strong roots. And, deep rooted open conflict goes without saying that it is deep-rooted open conflict that correspond best to the description of open conflict given above. Still, conflict can be open with a law or a high intensity.

Post Conflict; This stage refers to a situation where by issues underlying the conflict between the parties involved have been addressed and the tension and/or resentment it created have completely vanished. Obviously it takes time. Nevertheless, the post-conflict stage also refers to a situation similar to the pre conflict stage.

2.5. Effects of Conflict

As already mentioned, the effects of conflict depend much on how it is managed. As well noted by Frederic, dealt with wisely, conflict can make us better people. Handled
unwisely, it can destroy us and those we love.\textsuperscript{82} This is a roundabout way of saying that conflicts may have positive or negative effects.

Positive effects of conflict: If well managed, conflict may have positive effects at personal, relational, structural and cultural levels.\textsuperscript{83} It helps redefine one's perception, values and relationships. From childhood, conflict plays an important role in the development of one's personality. It has also been the catalyst of positive change in the society; the advance in science and technology as well as modern social system may well be termed the result of successive conflicts throughout centuries. Conflicts make us aware of the reality and force us to look for the best solution possible.\textsuperscript{84}

Negative effects of Conflict: If not well managed, conflict may also have negative effects at personal relational, structural and cultural levels. It may cause one lose confidence and integrity and alienate social relationships. Its consequences are even more disastrous when it escalates into violence; it affects education and cause damages on lives and property.\textsuperscript{85}

From the above mentioned classifications of conflicts, however, one can observe that the elements of issues of conflicts assessed and analyzed in either form of categorization do not show how much difference which exceeds scope.

2.6. Conceptualization of Ethnic Conflicts, Ethnic group and ethnicity
Attempts to provide full-fledged and exhaustive definitions to the terms ethnic groups, ethnicity, and ethnic conflict took several years for researchers. Despite the efforts however, unanimity of definitions is not attained yet. The dynamic nature of the terms, their fluidity, complexity, and ever changing characteristics challenged the attainment of final and conclusive definitions. Besides, the linkage of the terms to state, nation, nationality etc., and the generic nature of the terms have contributed to the unresolved contention. However, it is common to broadly classify the attempted definitions into the premordialists, the constructivists and/or the instrumentalists, and the Marxist theoretical categories. Hence, it will be fair to shade light on the attempted diverse definitions heretofore.
2.6.1. Ethnic Group

According to the premordialists’ school of thought, ethnic groups refers to a membership in which one identifies from others and is identified by others, or by constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of groups.\(^86\) The classification of a person or groups can be made in terms their basic and most general identity presumptively determined by their origin and background.\(^87\) Another writer tried to elaborate the requirements of group identity as having common language, collective name, and common myth of descent, a shared history and allegedly inherited characteristics common to the members of the group.\(^88\)

Still another writer puts it as a collectivity with in a wider society having a real or putative common ancestry, memories of the historical past and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements viewed as epitomizing their people hood.\(^89\) For Nash however, ethnic groups are groups that are biologically self reproducing, endogamous with ideas about a common history and ancestors and some times a shared religion, that is sharing ‘bed blood and cult’.\(^90\)

Hence, as per premordialists, individuals become members of an ethnic group through enculturation, from birth, from common family original ties; common cultural values, and learnt, recognized similarities and differences. And in this context they develop a specific competence of behavior, sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously. The conscious behavior patterns and characteristics become a repertoire from which the individual can pick what is considered most relevant to the situation. The unconscious on the other hand, is often made up of norms and values that have become part of our way of being.\(^91\)

According to Hizkias, an ethnic group is a collectivity of people who share the same primordial characteristics such as common ancestry, language, culture, and religion. He farther argues that objective and subjective factors that help to distinguish membership of ethnic groups. The objective factors are the common primordial characteristics like common ancestry, language, culture, and religion where as subjective factors are those such as perception, belongingness, self and group dentification.\(^92\)
Nnoli states that ethnic groups are social formations distinguished by the communal character of their boundaries such as culture, language; or both. Chazan et al, stated that ethnic groups pertain to organized activities by persons, linked by a consciousness of a special identity, who jointly seek to maximize their corporate political, economic, and social interests.

As per Horowitz, the ethnic group is dependent on the family, and a strong sense of ethnic identity is difficult to maintain without storing family ties. However, the range of kinship varies from culture to culture. It could grow wider or narrowed by process of assimilation, inclusion, merging, absorbing, division, amalgamation, incorporation and proliferation.

Ethnic group is defined by Chasan et al, as distinct grouping of society self consciously united around shared histories, traditions, beliefs, cultures, and values, which mobilize its membership for common political, economic, and social purposes in essence, a culturally based social organization. From the summarized view of premordialists, ethnic membership is not chosen but given. Ethnic identity derives from birth connection or from acceptance by an ethnic group as if born into it.

According to constructivist paradigm ethnic groups and identities are not a necessary or natural outcome of cultural beliefs and practices, but a creation of socio- historical dynamics, politics and ideology. The term ethnic group, tribe, nation are fundamentally constructs of the human imagination rather than entities with a concrete, practical existence in the real world. Ethnic identifies are social constructs defined by the historical conditions in which they emerge; they are ever changing product of social and historical dynamics. The ethnic group joins the subjective dimension of people hood with the objective dimension of economic and social interests. It operates socially in a relationship governed, in certain instances by informal and formal rules of interaction that may be both recurrent and predictable. This school underlines that an ethnic group can never exist in isolation but, always in interaction with and in relation to other groups. Ethnic groups are always relational. There are always a 'we' and 'us' in relation to a 'you' and 'them'.

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2.6.2. Ethnicity

Here again, there are diverse approaches in conceptualizing ethnicity as well. For premordialists for instance, ethnicity is used as a broad concept, covering a variety of factors, which distinguish one group of people from others. The important distinctions are language, race, religion, and color. When these markers cease to be mere means of social distinctions and become the basis to political identify and claims to a specific role in the political process or power, ethnic distinctions are transformed into ethnicity.\(^{101}\)

According to Nnolic, ethnicity is a social phenomenon associated with some forms of interaction between the largest possible cultural, linguistic, communal groups (ethnic groups) with in political societies such as nation states which arises when relations between ethnic groups are competitive rather than co-operative, and is characterized by cultural prejudice and socio economic and political discrimination. He further argues that these characteristics are feelings of pride in the group (ethnocentrism) a common consciousness and identity of the group, and the exclusiveness of its members. It is a phenomenon linked directly or indirectly to forms of affiliation and identification build around ties of real or putative kinship.\(^ {102}\)

Ethnicity for primordialists is not simply a matter of manipulation. They argue that the design and orientation of the state itself could lead to political conflict and demands. Besides, economic and social developments can disrupt traditional patterns and causes dislocations on which ethnic resentment can feed. Further, ethnic consciousness and resentment could be a result of oppression by the state or the majority community. Furthermore, identities may also be forced up on the people by the state.\(^ {103}\)

Ethnicity is a form of social organization through which cultural difference is communicated.\(^{104}\) It is ascriptive, a consequence of birth, part of basic instinctual urges or even of the imprinted genetic codes of human beings.\(^{105}\) Ethnicity plays motivational role; amounting essentially to putting ethnicity in the utility functions. This could reflect with in group altruism and/or with the fact that individuals derive ‘identify utility’ from their ethnic background.\(^ {106}\)
Ethnicity is based on a myth of collective ancestry, which usually carries with it traits believed to be innate. It embraces groups differentiated by color, language, and religion, it covers 'tribes', 'races' and nationalities. As to the writer, there are different ties between family and ethnicity. The language of ethnicity is the language of kinship and the behavior of ethnic groups is often justified on the basis of one's solidarity with them in times of stress. It is the basis of one's right to presume upon them in times of need. It is the basis of one's dependency, sociability and intimacy with them as a matter of course.

Ethnicity may be the maximal case of socially organized intimacy and kinship experience. The ethnic tie is simultaneously suffused with overtones of familial duty and laden with depth of familial emotion. Ethnicity and kinship overlap. Hence, ethnicity is an extension of family and interfamilial relations, and ethnic ties reflect the birth principals.

According to constructionist, however, ethnicity and national hood as phenomena are socially constructed, that is as products of human thought and action. Constructivists see ethnicity as the product of human agency, a creative social act through which communalities as speech code, cultural practice, ecological adaptation, and political organization becomes woven into a consciousness of shared identity. They place higher stress on contingency, flux, and change of identity than the other two approaches would.

Ethnicity refers to a subjective perception of common origins, historical memories, ties and aspirations. It has its foundations in combined remembrances of past experience and in common inspirations, values, norms, and expectations. It is a subjective basis for collective consciousness and gains relevance to the political process when it spurs group formation and underpins political organization. Its capacity to stimulate awareness and a sense of belonging among the political membership of a group, the psychological dimension of ethnicity complements and buttresses the political dimension of interest oriented social action. Thus, for constructionists, ethnicity is socially constructed. They intent the logic of instrumentalists and premordialists, both of whom presume the existence of
communal consciousness, either as a weapon in pursuit of collective advantage or as inner essences.\textsuperscript{113}

Some writers consider instrumentalists as same with the constructivists, while some other researches sub classified it as separate outlook. Ethnicity according to instrumentalists is used as a weapon in political combat and social competition. It is contingent, situational, and circumstantial; it was an available identity in a repertoire of social roles for use in the pursuit of material advantage. Claims related to ethnicity were the result of manipulation of symbols, history, and political myths by social elites and leaders in their pursuit of advantages of power.\textsuperscript{114}

A sense of people hood may be instrumental to group formation and participation in the political process, nevertheless, imitative on the part of an elite remains indispensable to the promotion and defense of group interests.\textsuperscript{115} Chazan argued that ethnicity to the most potent force for political mobilization.\textsuperscript{116}

According to Markakis, ethnicity has relation to the state and its objective is to obtain and use state power in order to gain access to resources commanded by the state. Ethnicity is mainly about state power. Power is the bone of contention because, it commands access to resources.\textsuperscript{117}

Ethnicity is a political process by which people seek to form groups, and to differentiate one set of people from another by appealing to the idea of ineluctable cultures' difference. People can readily invent cultural differences if it is in their political interests to do so. Ethnicity is the pursuit of political goals, the acquisition or maintenance of power, the mobilization of a following through the idiom of cultural commonness and differences.\textsuperscript{118}

Markakis also states that ethnicity may provide the ideology of conflict, but like all ideologies, it is not the cause but the symptom of social disorder.\textsuperscript{119}

In the instrumentalist view, ethnicity is the ideology or strategy used to mobilize a group in the pursuit of collective goals. Political and other leaders use ethnicity for support. They use strea-types to homogenize ethnic signifiers. Stereotyping function is a means for establishing a border and facilitates the inclusion of our own people and the exclusion of others.\textsuperscript{120}
Ethnicity becomes the hallmarks of political opposition when the hold of dominant groups on state power begins to slip, and the struggle to redistribute power begins the political ripping of ethnicity, that is political mobilization along ethnic lines is inevitable. Ethnic movements, like nationalist ones, recognized, led, and ideologically inspired by intellectuals and petty bourgeois elements. 121 From what is observed in the above explanations, both the premordialists and the constructivists' paradigms have their own merits and demerits.

The latter gave less attention for the factors related to the group bonds, historical attachments, kinship, and family ties of identity. It overemphasized the subjective factors like cultural, psychic and perceptual factors by underestimating objective causes. The former approach ignores the subjective factors and encountered the difficulty to give due consideration to the role of the elites.

2.6.3 Ethnic Conflicts

Several writers have attempted to define the concept of ethnic conflict based on the above mentioned, diverse theoretical grounds. Hence, their definitions were inclined towards either premordialists identity factors, or the instrumentalists, or/and the constructivists' elite mobilization factors so as to hold power. According to Geveryk Ter Gabrielian, for instance, ethnic conflict is defined as a conflict, which takes place between two, or more ethnic groups, one of which possesses the actual state power, therefore referred as a state. 122 Hence to him, it is a power struggle.

Pursuant to Coleman (quoted by Horowitz), however, ethnic conflict is the response to the perceived threat to one's identity, which is motivated by rational calculation of gain. Therefore, for him the causation is related to primordial factors. 123 Another writer also has put as cleavages between groups based on differentiation in ethnic identities. 124

Thus, one can easily understand the full-fledged definitions are not yet attained in spite of the fact that most of the definitions are linked to either of the schools of thought. Same is true with regards to the causes of ethnic conflicts. However, Horowitz has summarized the following causes of ethnic conflicts.
The first is the politics of entitlement. It encompasses the quest for group worth and political inclusion or exclusion, or claims for political affirmation of exclusive entitlement of a country as well as the political system, or at least the right to be included on equal terms and level.\(^{125}\)

The second is regarded as the claims forwarded to preserve power as a means to obtain as claimed status, which could be to attain socio-economic and political common goals, and to avert threats.\(^{126}\)

The third is an anxiety and fear of extinction of the 'sons of the soil', especially where significant amount of illegal immigration instigates the struggle among the competing groups, and regulates the status of same, and regulate the status of 'guests' and 'indigenous'.\(^{127}\)

The fourth is related to the struggle and claim for preeminence and for symbolic politics like prestige, self respect, demands for recognition of status of same, and the fair treatment of the politics of language.\(^{128}\)

The fifth is about the claims for group legitimacy on the ground of prior occupation irrespective of the demographic factors, prides of places and traditional rules, claims on the basis of the right to succeed the colonial powers or for the close relations with the colonizers etc. Besides, claims depending on their acculturation and close relations with the colonizers, or due to the colonial culture, claims by invoking their role and contribution to independence, or the colonial tendency to recognize them depending on their close ties to the land, or by virtue of the disparate contribution to the quality to productivity of the land. The last is the confrontation for symbolic stratification such as competition for lucrative and prestigious positions and the claim for the ethnic proportionality or for the exclusionary actions.\(^{129}\)

Regarding the historical emergence of ethic conflicts, with the termination of colonial control and the advent of independence, self-determination was implemented to the extent and level of pre-existing colonial boundaries. In the ex-colonial states, independence rally gave way to the ethnic riots among the power holder groups and those complaining that self-determination was still incomplete.\(^{130}\) According to Horowitz, the grant of sovereignty to the former colonies, the international conditions,
international ideological and institutional currents etc., helped to stimulate ethnic claims and enabled ethnic conflict to possess elements of universality and uniformity.\textsuperscript{131} Independence followed by the leftover liberation movements, the ill defined territories which were declared as unquestionably legitimate despite the challenges, the artificial boundaries, and the single party system were the additional actors that contributed to the emergence of ethnic conflicts.\textsuperscript{132}

Zartman also states the nature of ethnic conflict as a perceived collective need that is denied is the basic condition for conflict.\textsuperscript{133} Denied need refers to a broad range of grievances, from relief, from political repression to redress for economic deprivation.\textsuperscript{134} The claims of some theorists notwithstanding, it is not possible to establish a hierarchy of needs. Perceived needs are flexible and satisfied at different levels under different circumstances, and needs satisfied at one time do not always remain so. Above all, satisfaction of needs - like all other satisfactions is a function of expectations, conceptualizing conflict in terms of needs is useful, for it points to the basic dimension of grievances, hence of solutions.\textsuperscript{135}

To the extent that people feel themselves to be targets of repression and deprivation, discrimination can become a cause for rebellion and a source of solidarity among the rebels. People may feel targeted because of their political beliefs, social position, or ascriptive membership, but whatever the cause of the discrimination, it provides the coin of identity for the conflicting party.\textsuperscript{136}

According to him, one of the sources of a sense of discrimination is creed, referring to generalized beliefs and identity feelings. Ethnic conflicts (and, by definition, religious ones) are creed based conflicts creed itself is a "need", as all individuals need to feel some level of identity, through ascriptive membership and/or belief systems.\textsuperscript{137} Selective, targeted deprivation is the most frequent cause of identity based conflict.\textsuperscript{138} Creed adds fear for security to need as a source of conflict.\textsuperscript{139}

Smith tries to clarify that it is not ethnicity as such is a cause of conflict, but rather its politicization.\textsuperscript{140} In fact, identity may be positively defined a basic condition of existence, that is, as an abiding sense of self hood, the core of which makes life predictable to an individual or a group. The truth is that to have no ability to
anticipate events is essentially to experience terror. In other words, identity is conceived of as more than a psychological sense of self.\textsuperscript{141}

According to Frederic,

\begin{quote}
It [identity] encompass a sense that one is safe in the world physically psychologically, socially, even spiritually events which threaten to invalidate the core sense of identity will elicit defensive responses aimed at avoiding psychic and/or physical annihilation.\textsuperscript{142}
\end{quote}

Smith also considers in this sense that ethnicity as providing a sense of unity and/or belonging "by means of some combination of markers such as language, skin, color, religion, location, or history."\textsuperscript{143} But it should also be said that, as any other identity, ethnic/cultural identity has two complementary parts a sense of being X and of not being Y (for example, of being Hutu and not Tutsi; Israeli and not Palestinian; India and not Pakistani; Irish Catholic and not Irish Protestant; and Vice versa in each case.)\textsuperscript{144}

At least for Dan Smith, "Ethnicity is often a central component of group identity and therefore also a powerful component of common prejudice. "However, he also considers that it is not ethnicity as such that is dangerous but its manipulation for political mobilization and/or loyalties.\textsuperscript{145} In fact, for him, what are generally referred to as ethnic conflicts are in the end conflicts over power or for access to economic resources.

2.7. Conflict and Resources

Historically, dispute and competition over access to and control of territory, materials, economic and natural resources have been one of the dominant sources of conflict. The unequal distribution of resources (land, income, housing, employment, or political rights and representation) constitutes one of the major sources and causes of conflict. In recent times the issues of resources has taken a new twist with the increased emphasis on environmental concerns. Today demand for land, fresh water and other natural resources are growing rapidly as a result of increase in both population and consumption which often intensify the nature of competition and
conflict. Depletion of vital resources due to environmental degradation is increasing. This mismatch between resource needs and availability and hence complicating resource use and management pattern which intern will complicate the nature of competitions. According to Daniel Buckies:

"Conflicts over natural resources have always played a role in human society, but recent conditions have led to an increase in their intensity, public profile, and complexity".  

Conflict over natural resources such as land, water, and forests is ubiquitous. People everywhere have competed for the natural resources they need, to ensure or enhance their livelihoods. However, conflict over natural resources varies greatly in its dimensions, between those own the resources and against those who own nothing but whose work makes the resource to become productive. In addition to conflict between direct resource users, he argued:

"Political dimension may dominate where the state has a keen interesting a public good such as conservation or in maintaining the political alliances it needs to remain to power. Differences in gender, age, and ethnicity may inform the use of natural resources, bringing to the fore cultural and social dimensions of conflict. Even the identification of natural resource problems may be contested in light of different information source, world views, and values".

Conflicts over natural resources can take place at a variety of levels, from within the household to local (between pastoral groups, pastoral farmer, etc), regional, societial, and global scales. Furthermore, conflict may cut across these levels through multiple points of contacts and interactions. Conflicts occurring mainly in local contexts may extend to national and international levels because of their special legal relevance (such as cross border natural resources) or as a result of efforts by local actors to influence broader decision-making processes such as social movements.

The intensity of conflict may also vary enormously – from confusion and frustration among members of a community over poorly communicated development policies to violent clashes between groups over resource ownership rights and responsibilities. In
some cases local conflicts involving pastoralists are becoming violent and destructive in nature, as the means of coercion such as small arm availability is increased and uses for local resource conflicts either among themselves or with others.\textsuperscript{149}

Approaches to addressing the resolution of conflicts involving natural resource use vary depending on the intensity and the level of and particular nature of the importance of the resources subject to dispute and the dynamics of the resource use. Some of the conflict such as conflict of over local resource use in the context of pastoralists with increasing nature of intensity of the use of violence, there is a need to understand the particular nature of the conflict before introducing which approaches of the conflict interventions mechanisms should be employed. Any type of particular or a combination of approaches should be based on investigations on and understanding what is the dynamism at different level of resource use and the particular nature of intensity and the power dynamics that shape the particular nature of socio-economic environment of the resource use.

According to Opschoor, we are all aware, and eastern Africa’s in particular, that resources scarcity often generates conflicts between different resource users such as between pastoralists and peasants, between agrarian activities, and so on. Glancing at the region, one is immediately confronted with the unfortunate reality that eastern Africa is a conflict – ridden region. These conflicts range from inter –state conflicts, such as the Ethio –Eritrea conflict, civil wars such as in the Sudan, northern Uganda and the former Republic of Somalia, to localized conflicts.\textsuperscript{150}

He also noted that in many cases the increasing by shrinking resource base is one of the factors giving rise to, or aggravating, these conflicts, pastoral groups such as the Somali, Room, Afar, Denkier, Pokot and others continued to play a special role in these conflicts. Yet, the relationship between conflicts and resources does not get the attention it should.\textsuperscript{151}

For him a resource which is getting scarce and gets less attention is the main causes of conflicts and igniting the same to escalate.

Abdel Ghaffar noted that the pastoralists in the Horn are found on the ridge of the Ethiopian mountains including Eritrea, the whole of the Somalia region, the northern
and eastern parts of and Sahalian plains of the Sudan, high rainfall variability and periodic droughts are characteristic of these areas.\textsuperscript{152}

### 2.8. The Ethiopian Context

A manifold violent social conflict in the Horn is the hallmark of contemporary Africa. Ethiopia, located in the horn of Africa with a population of 73.9 million (CSA, 2008), borders with more countries than any other Horn State. It is one of the poorest countries in the world and is home to more than 80 different ethnic, linguistic and religious communities. The majority of the populations are smallholder peasant agriculturalists, which comprise the central highland, northern, southern and south eastern highland areas. Pastoralists constitute 10 percent of the population, inhabiting the vast area of southern and south eastern and eastern lowland area of the country. The urban population constitutes only 15 percent of the total population.\textsuperscript{153}

Modern Ethiopian political history has been shaped and dominated by intense conflict. Historically the central issue in Ethiopian politics past and present has been the struggle between regional and central forces that has shaped the consecutive political changes since its formation as a modern state in its current geographical shape.\textsuperscript{154}

The building of the modern Ethiopian state only began after the mid 19th century, during the imperial era in the reign of Menilik 2\textsuperscript{nd} (1889 – 1913), which successfully formed the central authority and established the border of Ethiopian modern systems of state government administration introduced, with the first constitution drafted in 1931. Unique among African countries, the ancient Ethiopian monarchy maintained its freedom from colonial rule, one exception being the Italian occupation of 1936 – 41.\textsuperscript{155}

The imperial era ended with end of the reign of Hailesilassie, in 1974 revolution, which was started by the spread of the student movement. This revolution led to a military coup and the replacing of monarchical absolutism as the centralizing ideology by a military dictatorship. The transition from imperial to military rule was turbulent. Although the events in 1974 are most commonly described as a revolution, implying fundamental changes to the society, the continuities from the imperial regime to the
military regime became more apparent as the years went by. Torn by bloody coups, uprisings, wide-scale drought, and massive refugee problems, the regime was finally toppled by a coalition of rebel forces, the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), in 1991. A constitution was adopted in 1994 and Ethiopia’s first multi-party elections were held in 1995.

In line with the devolution of administrative, political, and economic power, the 1995 constitution provided ethnic federalism and states have been organized into nine and two city administrations, and, as a result, administrative boundaries between these newly formed states redraw the provincial divisions through which highly centralized unitary governments administered the country for much of the 20th century.

In the meantime conflicts over administrative boundaries between regional states have emerged. Along the disputed boundaries local conflicts between different pastoral and/or peasant agriculturalist groups have also re-emerged, as between Borena Oromo and neighboring Gabra. Additionally conflict has also emerged between agriculturalists and pastoralists, as for instance in the south between Gujii and Amaro between Burji and Dugdawwa, Gujii and Konso and lowland pastoralists, and in the east and center between Kerreyu Oromo and Afar pastoralists some time earlier and Oromo and Gumz in the West. Many of these conflicts, essentially focused on local resource competition over scarce land resources, existed before, but it seems the new constitutional order, particularly disputed boundaries between regional states, has offered new dynamism, by offering new legitimacy to pre-existing conflict and competition, whilst infusing both with an ethnic dimension.

Both the federal government of Ethiopia and the regional states have been trying to solve these conflicts. One conflict that attracted much response was that across between Somali and Oromia, SNNPR and Oromia regional state boundary areas. It has been more than a decade since ethno regional boundary disputes became persistent along the boundary between the state of Somali and Oromo, SNNPR’s and Oromia since their formation in 1992.
2.9. Traditional Mechanism to Resolve the Conflict

A traditional conflict resolution mechanism is based on the utilization of traditional institutions and social organizations, while contemporary modern mechanisms of conflict resolution are considered to be based on modern institutions of states. Traditional institutions include local cultural forms such as locally elected, appointed, or hereditary leader and elders, customary rules and regulations relating to peace making, access to resources, and indigenous knowledge and ritual practices. Before the introduction and use of modern state mechanisms, traditional societies such as pastoralists, relied solely on their traditional governance institutions, which are also still practiced in parallels with state based approaches. State mechanisms, however, marginalized traditional pastoral approaches.\textsuperscript{130}

According to Osamba, \textit{“Violence among the pastoral communities in the borderlands of Eastern Africa has escalated to such an extent that governments seems to be unable to contain the conflict. More is needed by states to restore law and order. If these conflicts are to be dealt with effectively, more will also be needed than western methods of conflict resolution. Traditional customs and values have to be utilized. Marginalized indigenous ways of approaching and resolving conflict have to be explored and utilized.”} \textsuperscript{131}

But currently traditional mechanisms alone can not be considered to be enough for the management of conflicts that pastoralists are experiencing today. Some argue that the current inability for traditional pastoralist’s institutions to resolve conflict over natural resources is in large part is due to national governments interventions. Others argue that the emphasis should not be on any particular discipline or theory but on how the insights from different perspectives can be used together to strengthen existing institutions or help creating new and robust institutions.\textsuperscript{132} However, with in the context of the Galana( Guji Oromo) and Amaro(kore) weredas, they have their own respective traditional practices to resolve conflicts. The have procedures and rules to settle the disputes according to culture and customs and this will be more elaborated in the next chapter.
CHAPTER THREE: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

3.1. Background and profile of Oromia and SNNPR and Amaro (Kore) and Galaana (Guji Oromo)

This chapter deals with the analysis of conflicts between the bordering weredas, namely Galana (Guji Oromo) of Oromia and Amaro (Kore) of SNNPR in 2008 based on the theoretical framework and related concepts about the conflict as discussed under chapter two. Furthermore, attempt has been made to interpret the various data employed in the analysis of the conflicts.

Various writers have different lines of arguments with regards to the formation of a multi-ethnic Ethiopia, encompassing over 80 different dialects of groups with striking difference in size, resource, political history and culture. However, it is undeniable that the successive core imperial polities have attempted to centralize their power by diffusing the hegemonic culture, through sustainable assimilation, domination, marginalization and exploitation by the center. Hence, the perception of the various minority groups about pluralistic Ethiopia varies depending on the level of impact of the hegemonic deeds and memories. Hence, some groups see themselves as unified Ethiopian, while other see themselves as victims rather than beneficiaries of such phenomenon.¹

Besides, the imperial and military dictatorial governments had resisted the quest for self-governance and federalism by securing the state minority relations. However, despite the imperial and the military dictatorial governments' hopes for the disappearance and dying out of ethnic nationalism through assimilation, inter marriage and inter mixing of settlement patterns, the quest for autonomy, federation and secession has been increasingly thereby indulging the country into civil war costing thousands of lives and the loss of a huge amount of national resources.²

Nevertheless, the unitary form of government collapsed with the demise of the Derg and "ethnic federalism" was born in 1991 with the hope that it would help to achieve
pluralist decision making, enable to make a balance between unity and diversity, guarantee regional autonomy, accommodate nationhood and nationalist aspirations, promote equality between majority and minority groups, advocate the values of unity in diversity, maintain unity by averting disintegration and promising a rational approach to manage and transform the long-period conflicts, turning ethnic politics from bullets to ballots.³

The 1995 Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia affirms the principle of ethno-national self government, according to which all national groups have the right to self-determination. Besides, it envisages procedures for redrawing internal boundaries. Likewise, power is constitutionally divided among the (central) federal government and the various regional states.

The constitution acknowledges, or converts most of the groups into nations, nationalities or peoples, endowed with some qualities of juridical sovereignty, despite their striking differences amongst them. It promises to bring about unity, social justice, economic development and progress to all, constituting themselves into a self-governing state or local government within a state. Each are endowed with an unconditional right to self-determination, including the right to secession.⁴

The constitution establishes the federal state structure, which comprises of the federal government and nine regional member states including Oromia and SNNPR. The basis for the delimitation of states are settlement patterns, language, identity and consent of the people concerned (Articles 46 and 47), of the FDRE constitution.

3.1.1. Profile of Oromia Regional State

Oromia is one of the nine regional states that constitute the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. It extends from 30 40’N to 10035’N and from 34005’E to 43011’E. Thus it is located in tropical zone, though subject to modification by variation in altitude. On the basis of the current border delineation, the land area of the region is estimated at 359,619.8 square kilometers. Oromia is the most populous regional state in the country. Based on the 2007 population and Housing Census, the projected population of the region is estimated at 27158,471 in 2007, accounting for
over 35 percent of the population of the country. Out of the population of the region about 12.8 percent is estimated to dwell in urban areas, whereas the remaining 87.2% resides in rural. Generally, the level of urbanization is very low and found at infant stage.5

The Oromia regional government shares common boundary with all regional states in Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia except with Tigray regional government. Finfinnee (Addis Ababa) the capital city of Ethiopia and the head quarter of African Union is circumscribed by the Oromia regional government. It is also the capital of the Oromia regional government, big share of the country’s investment activities, and many federal government institutions, are located in the region. Oromia Regional Government shares common border of more than 2000km with South Nations, Nationalities, and peoples Regional State. The communities of the two regions have long date historical, cultural, socialites and social relations.6

3.1.2. Profile of Southern, Nations, Nationalities and People’s Region

Southern Nations, Nationalities and People’s Region (SNNPR) is one of the biggest regions in Ethiopia, accounting for more than 10 percent of the country’s surface area. The population is estimated at nearly 15,042,531 million; around a fifth of the country’s population (Central Statistical Agency, 2007). It is overwhelmingly rural, with only 8 percent living in urban areas. The region is divided into 13 administrative zones, 126 woredas, and 8 especial woredas. The Regional State capital is Hawassa. The region contains different nations and nationalities as many as 56 with their own distinct languages, cultures, beliefs, traditions, and social identities living together in harmony. These nations, nationalities and peoples are categorized under the Cushitic, Omotic, Nilo-Saharan and Semitic language families. The working language of the region is Amharic. SNNPR is best known as a leisure destination, with its diverse and beautiful scenery. A traditional, subsistence farming system is the main livelihood in the region, especially in the highland areas, with farmers managing both crops and livestock. Because of its diverse agro-ecologies, climates, soil types and cultural practices, the region is the home too many varieties of food crops, in particular Enset,
Maize, Root crops, Wheat and Teff. Other important crops are Fruits, Vegetables and Coffee.\(^7\)

Nonetheless, though the establishment of the Ethiopian federation has brought a drastic change in the local politics of the country, it has not attained the eradication of 'ethnic' conflicts in some parts of the country, amongst which is the case between Oromia and the SNNPRS of Galana (Guji Oromo) and Amaro (Kore) weredas under study respectively in 2008.

### 3.1.3. Amaro (Kore) Special Wereda of SNNPRS

Amaro special wereda has a total population of 140,000 being 97% rural residents. It is 270 km away from Awassa. It is bordered by Burjii special wereda in the South, Gujii (Oromia Region) in the East, Nechisar National Park in the North, and Konso and Derashe special weredas in the West. It has 34 Kebeles; and Kelle is the wereda town which is located a distance of 206 kms South of Awassa, the Regional town. Their main livelihood depends on agricultural production and rarely on animal husbandry. The climatic zone of the wereda includes Dega, Weyna dega and Kolla. The major crops grown in the area include maize, teff, barley, bean, coffee and the inset being the staple food. The language spoken in this wereda is Amaro (Koree).\(^8\)

### 3.1.4. Galana (Guji Oromo) of Oromia Region

Galana wereda (in which the Gujii Oromo reside) has a total population of 81,000 being 97% rural residents. It is one of the Weredas of Borena zonal administration and 285 kms away from Yabello the town of Borena and kms away for Finfinnee. It is bordered by Amaro special wereda in the West, Gedeo (SNNPR) in the North, Bule Hora wereda (Oromia Region) in the East, Burjii special wereda (SNNPR) in the South. It has 18 kebeles; and Kelle is the wereda town which is located a distance of 441 kms away from the regional town of Oromia Finfinne. The main livelihood of the Gujii Oromo in Galana Wereda depends on pastoralism and animal husbandry with little agro-pastoral activity. The climatic zone of the wereda includes Weyna Dega and Kolla out of which seven (7) kebeles in Weyana Dega. The major crops grown in the Northern part of the wereda is bean, coffee, maize and inset in Weyna Dega and
the rest of the Kola areas are mainly used for pastoralist activities. The language spoken in the wereda is largely Afaan Oromoo.9

The communities of Galana (Gujji) and Amaro special werda have been living in peace, respect and brotherhood for centuries. They share and use common resources and infrastructure such as water points, grazing land, forest areas and roads. They also use social and economic facilities such as church and market. They practice trading and inter marriages across borders. While this shows positive ties, there exist conflict related to access and use of scarce resources, border claim, and expansion of farm land between the ethnic groups.

In 2008, the conflict was broke out between the two neighboring weredas in kebeles under study (meter and Shamolee Odaa in Galanu and Jallo and Dorbade in Amaro) on Feb. 20, 2008 and caused destruction of human life, losses of individual properties and social service institutions like schools, clinics and etc. Thus, the economic, social and political situations of the communities have been affected as a result the conflict.

3.2. The Conflicting Parties between the Weredas under Study
According to Rugumamu, et.al the simplest inter personal conflict has many elements. Conflicts involving multiple parties, a large number of people, and a complex organization such as nation-states are enormously complicated. The conflicting parties are those who oppose one another, have a direct stake in the outcome of the conflict and exhibit fighting behavior.10

Hence, the Gujii Ormos and Amaro (Kore) ethnic groups under the study weredas which resides in Galana Meteri, Shamolee Odaa in Oromia Region and those which resides in Jallo and Dorbade Kebeles in SNNPRs have a direct stake on resources such as grazing land, farm land and water points and conflict erupts which finally lead to loss of life and destruction of properties. Therefore, we can deduce from the above assertion that the Gujii Oromos and the Amaro (Kores) are the primary conflicting parties.
Respondents' background information

Initially, the researcher distributed 340 questionnaires (170 for respondents from each woreda). However, only 312 questionnaires were appropriately filled and returned namely 156 from Galana and 156 from Amaro woreda.

A total of 312 respondents from two woredas, namely Amaro and Galana, were primary sources of information in this study. From each woreda, 156 respondents were used as informants. Among 156 respondents from Amaro woreda 86 (55.1%) were males and 70 (44.9%) were females. On the other hand, among 156 respondents from Galana woreda 84 (53.8%) were males and 72 (46.2%) were females.

With regard to age structure of respondents, 60 (38.4%) and 34 (21.7%) of the respondents from Amaro and Galana respectively were between 18 and 25 years of age. 35 (22.4%) and 54 (34.6%) of respondents from Amaro and Galana respectively were between 26 and 30 years of age. Furthermore, 30 (19.2%) and 36 (23.07%) of the respondents from Amaro and Galana respectively were between 31 and 35 years of age whereas 16 (10.2%) and 20 (12.8%) of the respondents from Amaro and Galana were between 36 and 40 years of age.

Finally, 15 (9.6%) and 12 (7.6%) of the respondents from Amaro and Galana respectively were 41 and above years of age.

Concerning respondents' levels of education, 66 respondents from Galana and 74 respondents from Amaro have completed grade 8 whereas 26 and 22 respondents from Galana and Amaro woreda respectively had competed grade 12. Other 13 and 17 respondents from Galana and Amara had Diploma and above. The rest 94 respondents were illiterate adults.

3.3. Major Sources (causes) of Conflict between the disputed border woredas’

As indicated in chapter one above one of the questions to be answered by the research is identifying the root cause (source) of the conflict between the disputed woredas. Accordingly, the major sources of conflict between the two woredas under study are presented as follows.
Table 1: Distribution of respondents' views concerning the five factors causing conflicts from the sample kebeles of the two woredas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Galana</th>
<th>Woredas</th>
<th>percentage</th>
<th>Jallo</th>
<th>Durbade</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Metri</td>
<td>Shamole</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grazing Land</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
<td>42.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expansion of farm land</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Point</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absence of clear demarcation</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Expressions</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Responded</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 above indicates the number of responses given by respondents from each kebele used in the study. Accordingly, 26 and 30 respondents from Metri and Shamole Oda respectively believed that the competition over the scarce grazing land was the cause of conflict between the bordering woredas whereas 34 and 32 respondents from Jallo and Durabade kebeles respectively asserted that the competition over the scarce grazing land was a source of conflict.

In addition, 18 and 22 respondents from Metri and Shamole Oda kebeles respectively believed that the major cause of conflict was competition over the expansion of farm land whereas 18 and 25 respondents from Jallo and Durbade kebeles respectively regarded it as the major cause of the conflict.

Concerning water point as a cause of conflict, 16 and 10 respondents from Metri and Shamole Oda kebeles asserted that it is the major cause of conflict whereas 8 and 11 respondents from Jallo and Durabade believed that it was the major cause of conflict.

With regard to absence of clear demarcation as a cause of conflict, only 6 and 2 respondents from Metria and Shamole Oda believed that it was the major cause of
conflict whereas only 6 and 2 respondents from Jallo and Durbade believed that it was the major cause of conflict.

Finally, 5 and 3 respondents from Metri and Durbade respectively as asserted that the existence of certain negative expressions were the major cause of conflict between the bordering weredas whereas only 4 and 3 respondents from Jallo and Durbade claimed that lack of clear demarcation led to conflict between them.

**Table 2: Total number of responses concerning the five factors causing conflicts between the two bordering weredas**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Galana</th>
<th>Amaro</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grazing Land</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expansion of farm land</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Point</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absence of Clear demarcation</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Expressions</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Responded</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 above indicates that 122 (39.1%) of the total respondents from both weredas viewed competition over the scarce "grazing land" as the cause of conflicts between the bordering weredas. Furthermore, 83 (26.6%) and 45 (14.4%) of the total respondents from both weredas regarded the "expansion of farm land" and "water point" as sources of conflict respectively whereas 18 (5.7%) and 15 (4.8%) of them regarded "lack of clear demarcation" and the "existence of negative expressions" as sources of conflict respectively.

This implies that grazing land, expansion of farm land and water are respectively the most common or causes (sources) of the conflict in the bordering weredas of the two regions. Absence of clear demarcation between the conflicting weredas and the
prevalence of certain negative expressions (connotations) concerning group of people, however, played less important role as a source of conflict compared to the other three issues mentioned in the above table. The researcher conducted also an interview with the members of the cabinet and council of the Galana (Guji) wereda administration to triangulate the ideas with the above indicated data.

According to Abebe,

> the root causes of frequent conflict in the bordering weredas is predominantly for competition of using resources such as grazing land and water. Most of the Gujii Oromos' are pastoralists and moving along their livestock following seasons. During the dry seasons they move to the wet areas of the border for grazing land and water. These grazing and watering areas are found around the place called Jallo. The Amaro (Kore) agriculturalists and some agro-pastoralists also use the area for grazing and water and when both meet at this point conflict erupts. The informants also adds the Amaro (Kore) community population size is increasing in number and this contributes to the demand of the expansion of farm land crossing to the Gujii land and this is another major source for the conflict.\(^{11}\)

Another informant in the same wereda from members of the public (Pastoralist Guji) also indicated the following.

> our livestock's are our lives, we have no other thing. Every thing for our livelihood is derived from our livestock. Our livestocks are our precious properties. They must have grass and water. During the drought seasons we move from place to place to save their lives. During this event we come into conflict with other parties who have the same interest like us or any other.\(^{12}\)

The researcher has also conducted an interview with the member of the wereda cabinet and council of administration in Amaro Special wereda to keep the informants
views balance between the conflicting wereda understudy. Accordingly Moges pointed that,

"The Amaro (Kore) community is mostly agrarian. Our peoples' livelihood is mainly depend on subsistence agriculturalists have their own cattle and farm land. Our population number is getting increased from time to time. The cows must get grass and water. The farmers are demanding more farm land because the one which they own did not satisfy the household. Due to these factors some of our community are confronting with Guji Oromo for grass and water and some of them are intending to add more farm land. And the factors are the major causes for the frequent conflict between the Guji Oromo and Amaro (Kore). In addition to this, the land mass found between the two communities have no clear boundary demarcation for many years and inducing territorial expansion between them by the Amaro community."13

An elder from the Amaro (Kore) community also interviewed. Accordingly he pointed out that:

"The Amaro (kore) communities have a long history in living together and sharing different socio economic relations. They were intermarried and in build blood relationships across the borders of many kebeles. They were also sharing common religious and cultural celebrations. Both communities in the border areas are mostly protestants and praying for God in one church, they are not hostile to each other. The Problem comes only during dry and drought seasons when Guji Oromo raid their livestock to grazing lands and water points to the place we the Amaro (Kore) are grazing and watering their own cattle. When competition exists on grass and water both communities are interring in to conflict. The other thing which is the cause for the conflict is our farm land cannot hold the number and size
Thus, it is possible to deduce from the respondents and informants' views above that the implication of the most common causes (sources) of the conflict in the study area is competition on scarce resources such as grazing land, watering points and farm land respectively.

The researcher has also conducted an interview with members of the public in the study areas to triangulate the ideas with the above indicated data. Accordingly Bunnosa from Gujii Oromo pointed out that:

"Both the Guji Oromo and Amaro (Kore) communities graze their animals around the Jallo river during the dry season. The communities come into contact around this river. In the early times when dry seasons were not acute problem, we (the Gujii Oromos) have a strong history of reciprocity and sharing of resources with Amaros but in recent years our relationship have become more strained as vulnerability and resource scarcity increases competition between us. Our communities life is based on animals. If these animals did not get grass and water, we know that we couldn't live. Thus, grass and water means our life. That is why we enter in to conflict with Amaros frequently." 

Sarha stated that conflict frequently occurs during the dry season when competition over scarce resources such as grazing land and watering point is at its height. During this time opportunistic raiding or revenge attacks occur between groups of young men from the two sides. Thus, one can infer that grazing land and water is the most serious problem in the bordering weredas.

The researcher has also conducted an interview with members of the public in the study areas to substantiate the ideas with the above indicated data.

Mokkono pointed out that:
"As food and water is vital for human being, grass and water are also crucial and necessary for our cattle when our cattle didn’t get pasture, impliedly it means we will die out. Thus, grass farmland and water remains serious problems. Among all farmland for our community is very vital. And, it is the problem that forces us to move across the border of the neighbors to feed our selves and our children."17

Thus, from the view of the informants it is plausible to conclude that grazing land, farm land and water when prioritized among other problems are the most serious problems between the conflicting weredas understudy. In addition to this, the existence of pastoral and agrarian resource conflict, and the manipulation of competing local tribal elites regarding ethnicity and negative expressions have its role in complicating boundary disputes between the conflicting weredas.

Table 3: Respondents’ views regarding broader categories of the existing types of conflict

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Galana</th>
<th>Amaro</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>86.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not responded</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 above indicates that the researcher employed four broader categories to find out the overall perceptions of respondents concerning the existing types of conflicts in general, namely economic, social, political and religious.
Among these, 269 (86.2%) of the total respondents viewed the existing conflicts are emanated from economic reasons. These reasons are related to grazing land, farm land and watering points because they have economic nature and the major issues along the bordering areas of the disputing weredas. Moreover, 13 (4.16%) and 17 (5.44%) of the total respondents regarded the existing conflicts as having social reason which means the lack of adequate service provisions such as infrastructures, schools, health centers communications like roads and telephone and political reasons which is related to claims for boarder expansion and demarcation respectively. Those groups which have political interest in the area impliedly provide the agenda of border claims and instigate their respective communities to inter in to conflict.

Interviewed administrative official from both Galana and Amaro weredas shared the such common views like the competition over the scarce economic resources, such as grazing land, farm land and water points as the three major reasons for the prevalence of conflict in the bordering weredas. This is because the economic life of many communities of the Galana (Guji oromos) rotates around cattle and their livelihood depend on cattle. And there is also seasonal movement in search for grazing land and water. This movement of cattle result in contact with the Amaro especially in the dry season and this concentration of cattle trigger the conflict between them. The increasing scarcity of resources as a result of draught and environmental degradation results in a conflict between them. Besides, they pointed out that lack of clear demarcation of borders is politicized by some groups as well as the inadequate social services have had certain impact on the existing conflicts in the area.

3.4. Actors in the Conflict between the Conflicting Weredas

Primary parties are those who oppose one another, have a direct stake in the outcome of the conflict and exhibit fighting behaviors. Secondary parties have an indirect stake in the outcome. They are often allies or sympathizers which the primary parties but are not direct adversaries. Third parties are actors such as mediators,
peacekeeping and peace-enforcing forces that might intervene to facilitate the management of the conflict.\textsuperscript{18}

The open and visible forms of conflict are carried out by the young men. Others in the society have roles to play in both encouraging conflict and promoting peace. Women for example have a capacity for peace and frequently playing a role as peace messengers between conflicting groups, also have influence over young men who raid to kill. Clan leaders have a role in promoting peace with in communities due to the relative respect for the traditional institutions to these leaders. Still have great influence over the majority of the members in their community.\textsuperscript{19}

Mogess stated that,

\begin{quote}
"Not only the clan leaders, but also others such as kebele administrators, militias, wereda police officer, administrators and the cabinet members of the wereda and other elites who were playing an ethnic card for power and income were the main actors in the conflict in different capacities towards the interests of their own clan. He also noticed that the wereda cabinet members were the main actors in providing arms and supporting in whatever possible ways of allocating budget for the operation of the conflict against the Gujii Oromos."
\end{quote}

Evidence has proved also that the wereda police officer was commanding the armed militia and the communities who were stood against their contenders. In those days, no one was aware of the prevalence of law and order but involved himself in the conflict to aggravate more. However, often the settlement of the conflict, according to him, out of twenty eight (28) members of the cabinet fifteen (15) of them were charged for their criminal act and sentenced to imprisonment. The rest of the actors who were suspected as taking part in the conflict and not yet evidence was produced against them were found under investigation. The other respondents also share the view of the administrators.
Also, the researcher has tried to interview the wereda police to triangulate the information from the administrator.

The wereda police officer noted the following:

"During the conflict different actors participated in different capacities. Some of them financed the conflict, some presented bullets and other weapons for the Amaro group and some of them led the conflict taking their ethnic side. But at the end these actors were selected from the community and charged by virtue of the criminal law of the country. Out of 28 members of the cabinet of the wereda the evidence was proved against 15 (fifteen) of them and sentenced to 5 to 25 years of imprisonment and jailed in Dilla Prison Administration."21

According to the respondents of Galana (Gujii) Oromos were the main actors and/or igniters of the conflict. With the same token, the police noted that:

"At the beginning of the conflict it was difficult to identify the actors involved. But later, when the conflict was settled information was gathered to identify the main actors in the conflict. Kebele militias and administrators were found the major actors. Some members of the wereda cabinet were also backing the conflict in different forms siding the Gujii Oromos. However, 12 persons were proved, charged and sentenced to 3 to 25 years of imprisonment and also jailed in the same prison."22

Thus, the main actors in the conflict from both weredas include private individuals, militias, and certain members of the cabinet of which the major stake is to favor their own clans.

3.5. Factors that aggravate the Conflict between the two weredas’
Under the theoretical overview discussed in the former chapter, we have seen that accelerating or aggravating circumstance fuel the conflict. Hence, aggravating factors often constitutes of political, economic, social and other events that bring tensions to the forefront and cause the situation to escalate.23 Weapon proliferation, poverty
contributes to violent conflict in variety of ways, motivated by degradation or unemployment and other deteriorating economic circumstances even if a country's over all economic picture is improving, inequalities and gaps can aggravate intra-state tensions.\textsuperscript{24}

Other writers also stated that in many cases the increasingly shrinking resource base is one of the factors giving rise to, or aggravating, the conflicts.\textsuperscript{25}

Zerihun also mentioned that the degradation of the range lands (encroachment and low erratic rain) and the reduced carrying capacity of the grazing land than ever before aggravates the conflict between bordering ethnic groups.\textsuperscript{26}

Besides the cattle population overweighs and its unparallel to the carrying capacity of the available range lands resulted in competition over the meager resource bases, especially pronounced during drought crisis and dry seasons when the nutritional conditions of livestock are generally compromised.\textsuperscript{27}

The responses obtained from the questionnaire from the weredas under study pertaining the issue also indicated that the major aggravating circumstances of conflict were:-

\begin{itemize}
  \item Recurrent draught;
  \item moisture stress;
  \item Population pressure of people from the Amaro (Kore) and livestock from Guji;
  \item Environmental degradation;
  \item Poorly development infrastructures mainly between the bordering weredas under dispute;
  \item Weapon (Arm) proliferation with in both weredas.\textsuperscript{28}
\end{itemize}

In addition to this, respondent from Gujii mentioned in the open-ended questionnaire:

"the Amaro community brutally killed the young boy, cut his neck and burned his dead body and this was the most aggravating circumstance"
that escalates the conflict and costs human life and destruction of properties.\textsuperscript{29}

The Researcher has observed in Amaro special wereda that the recurrent draught in the wereda is not only the factor that aggravates the conflict between the disputed weredas but also the drought affected the harvest of the agricultural production of the community before its maturity and exposed them to hunger and starvation. In the mean time certain members of the kebele community were commissioned by the government in the wereda town, kelle. This implies that the recurrence of drought in the weredas understudy could be the major factor.

In times of dry season and drought years the pastoralists and agro-pastoralists of affected groups of both ethnic clans of Oromia (Galana Gujii) and SNNPR (Amaro - Kore) move for access and use of grazing and in search of watering points for the last decades. Some times looting of cattle existed in both sides. Conflict arise due to competitions over access and use of grazing land and water. In words of all elders it is cited that most of the grazing areas of the study areas are characterized by serious moisture stress and in adequate pasture due to prolonged dry seasons and prevailing drought years. During such periods, water points completely dry up. As a result, pastoralists of Gujii Oromo and agro pastoralists of Amaro ethnic clans with their livestock move to the neighboring grazing and watering points Oromo land and Amaro land for access and use of resources and vis-versa. As there is no clear demarcation of land between them which supplements as a source of conflict between the conflicting weredas. According to elders historically there have been a tradition of cooperation for access and use of watering points and grazing, particularly in times of serious draught due to strong neighboring collaboration related to drought cycle management.

But, recently they enter in to conflict due to different factors and the cooperation among them is found to be lesser in the study areas. Rather crossing the boundary leads to conflict in all of the study areas.
Guji’s Livestock Moving to Water Points
3.5.1. Small Arms Proliferation in the Disputing Woredas

The prevalence of small arms in the study areas elevates the risk of conflict. All the Guji Oromo pastoralists have small arms due to the pastoralist nature of their livelihoods. The same thing is true for agrarians of Amaro in bordering areas. Most people arm themselves primarily for the purpose of self-defense; given the potential for clan and non-clan based conflict. It falls to the individuals, family and clan to provide their own protection. Increased proliferation of small arms is another aggravating cause of conflict in the study area. Because individuals, families or communities live in these cyclical scenarios of conflict, and need to retaliate as a matter of cultural pride, the possession of firearms by large numbers of people is seen as necessary for individual and communal security all the ethnic groups attach great importance to the ownership of semi-automatic rifles because it is considered as a guarantee to gain power over the counterpart ethnic groups all the ethnic groups of the study areas have small arms from a local dealers. The increased availability of
automatic rifles or the prevalence of arms also contributes to accelerated escalation towards widespread conflict across the study areas.

Sarah, pointed the following:

*The sheer number of Kalashnikovs with in the societies is directly related to attitudes people have towards violence and security. In Afar culture it is perfectly acceptable and even encouraged for a young man to carry a lethal weapon, in part for security but also because the weapon has now taken on some symbolic value. The proliferation of guns has increased the intensity of conflicts within Afar and enables small groups of young men to pull off violent raids and attacks with relative ease. The number of lethal weapons in South Omo and the Surrounding areas has changed the nature and dynamics of conflicts over the past few decades. Raiding and killing are now relatively easy, resulting in the development of more opportunistic attacks by individuals or small groups of men that are not sanctioned by the wider community*  

This is also true for communities under study in both weredas in increasing proliferation of small arms which is also one of the reasons for triggering conflict in the area. It is noted that both ethnic groups have Killashinkoves (probably locally obtained through small armament dealers engaged in the field through hidden and illegal means). The increased access to automatic rifles has caused a tremendous increase in the inter-ethnic conflicts of the area.

### 3.6. Effects of the Conflict upon the Disputing Weredas

According to Jonathan Goodhand:

*Violent conflict disrupts lives and livelihoods, destroys societies and economies and reduces people’s access to basic services. It often leads to large scale population displacement and abuse of human rights and can leave a legacy of bitter social and ethnic divisions which can stay for generations.*
The conflict between Guji Oromo and Amaro Kore disrupted the lives and economies of the community under discussion. The researcher has also employed document analysis as a source of data regarding the loses of human life and destruction of properties between the conflicting parties. Accordingly he found out the following data as shown under the table below.

Table 4: The dead, wounded and displaced people during the conflict.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Amaro (Kore)</th>
<th>Galana (Guji)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life Lost</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wounded People</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Displaced People</td>
<td>13,936</td>
<td>8340</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Amaro special wereda report (2008)


Table 5: Burned and destroyed vegetables and cereals during the conflict

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Unit of Measure</th>
<th>Amaro</th>
<th>Galana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inset</td>
<td>hec.</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruits</td>
<td>hec.</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>hec.</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugarcane</td>
<td>hec.</td>
<td>312.5</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teff</td>
<td>Qunt.</td>
<td>3728</td>
<td>654</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>Qunt.</td>
<td>7923</td>
<td>3210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>Qunt.</td>
<td>4116</td>
<td>3008</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Galana and Amaro weredas’ Administration Office report (2008)
### Table 6: Looted domestic animals during the conflict

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Unit of Measure</th>
<th>Amaro</th>
<th>Guji</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cows</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxen</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goats</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donkey</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hen</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>8973</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Galana and Amaro weredas’ Administration report (2008)*

### Table 7: Burned and destroyed houses, schools health posts and kebele administration offices during the conflict

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Unit of Measure</th>
<th>Amaro</th>
<th>Guji</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Houses</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>751</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Posts</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA Office</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinics</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbed Tin houses</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wireless telephone Home</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kebele administration bureaus</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>755</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Galana and Amaro weredas Administration report (2008)*
The researcher also visited the scene of the conflict to verify the validity of the above data and took a sample of photographs of the destroyed and burned properties during the conflict between the bordering weredas. (See the photographs below.)

*Photograph above shows one of the burned Amaro (Kore) house during the conflict*
Photograph above shows the burned clinic of the people of Amaro during the conflict.

Photograph above shows the burned Guji house during the conflict.
Photograph above shows the burned Guji people clinic during the conflict.

Photograph above destroyed and robbed tin houses of Amaro during the conflict.
The above photograph: destroyed and robbed kebele administration office of Gujii during the conflict.

Photograph above destroyed and houses of Guji during the conflict.
In addition to the above destructions due to the conflict other economic, Social, Political and Peace and Stability effects were also observed between the conflicting groups under study.

The cumulative views of respondents from both woredas observed from the open-ended questions indicated the following:

- Market transactions among the communities of both woredas was prevented and the prices of consumable and non consumable goods was increased;
- Social service provisions such as schools, clinics, telecommunication and transportations were discontinued and religions celebrations, and funerals ceremonies among the communities were also discontinued as a result of the conflict;
- Peace and order was at stake and a sense of insecurity;
- Observed, criminality, such as theft and robbery extensively expanded, and
- Violation of human rights and ethnic diversity accommodation with one another such as pushing to leave woredas of one another was observed.

3.7. Measures Taken to Resolve the Conflicts

As discussed under chapter two, according to Frederich Tutu:

*The post – conflict stage refers a situation where by issues underlying the conflict between the parties involved have been addressed and the tension and/or resentment it created have completely vanished. Obviously it takes time.*

For him, the post - conflict stage refers to a situation where the conflict issues are addressed even though it takes time.

As regards the conflict between Galana (Guji Oromo) and Amaro (Kore) there were different mechanisms employed to resolve the conflict by participating the communities in those respective localities.

Respondents from the two woredas in the open ended questions of the questionnaire also viewed the following:
General meetings were organized to orient the people by the respective administration as to how to take a measure to resolve the conflict, (this includes peasants, pastoralists, women, youth,)

- Peace committees were selected and organized from the conflicting weredas;
- Agendas were set by the respective conflicting parties.

The same respondents also noted that these and other necessary measures are employed using modern (formal) and traditional (indigenous) mechanisms of conflict resolution which we shall see next.

3.7.1. The Role of the Wereda Administration in Conflict Resolution

Besides its formal conflict resolving institutions (the court, prosecutor's office and police), the district administration is also involved in local conflict mitigation by other means. These include providing technical supports for peace committees that are composed of famous community leaders, elders, the armed forces (militias) and officials from the conflicting weredas administration. The joint wereda committee's effort in the resolution and control of trans-boundary pastoral and agro pastoral conflicts by the local administrators can not be underestimated. Such joint committees have the role of overseeing the utilization of pastoral and agro pastoral common pool resources such as water point, farm land and pastures.

3.7.2. The Role of Traditional Conflict Resolution Institutions

It is worth to appreciate that traditional approaches use conflict management methodologies that are indigenous to the particular community involved in conflicts. These are also common for both Galana (Guji Oromo) and Amaro (kore) communities. Traditional approaches emphasize local values and customs, and are more accessible to local communities because they cost less than the formal methods such as using the courts. They are also more flexible in terms of their scheduling and procedures; and they are more accessible because they use local languages and symbols. Peace committees which play significant role in the traditional means of conflict resolution are also established. The meaning and or definition of the term
peace committee has been elusive among the various stakeholders. There is no single definition of this term as many stakeholders have defined it in their own ways. The lack of a convincing definition of this concept could be partly attributed to the fact that it is still a relatively new concept, tracing its roots to late 1990s.  

However, it is defined as, but not limited to "a community based structure and initiative to prevent, manage and transform intra and inter-community conflicts."  

According to Ruto, the key roles and functions of peace committees is to promote the peaceful co-existence of the different groups in a given district as well as neighboring districts (including cross border areas).  

Besides, specific roles and responsibilities of peace committees include: Facilitation of peace dialogue and reconciliation forums; tracing, retrieving and returning stolen livestock and properties to the owners; conduct reconciliation meetings between communities; cursing wrong doers in accordance with respective customs and beliefs.  

The respondents' views as expressed in their responses to the open-ended questions proved that the same concepts and procedures were employed in the disputed weredas under study.  

Galana wereda, in which Guji Oromos reside, significantly exercises the system of "Gadaa" institution in resolving conflicts over the use of resources.  

Apart from their political significance, the "Gadaa" leader plays important roles in natural resources management. While the rules and regulation laid down by the "Gadaa" tradition must be respected by all councils of elders, any problem regarding resources use which could not be solved by these elders would be handled by the higher "Gadaa" leaders.  

Watson describes the role of "Abba Gadaa" in natural resources conflict resolution as follows:  

"The abbaa Gadaa is seen as the whole of Borana, and is often described as the president. As well as performing rituals, matters are referred to him and his council when a decision can not be reached at a lower level. When conflict breaks out between allaas (the smallest
unit of settlement consisting of 30 to 100 waraas - house holds) or araddaas (small group of allaas, usually two or three only, who may cooperate together on their grazing pattern), or maddaas (area surrounding one water resource), then the abbaa Gadaa will rule on the case. If there is conflict between ethnic groups, then he will be called into help make peace. As the Abaa Gadaa is responsible for dealing with matters of concern to the Boran, and as matters of concern are often related to access to resources (water, land and forests), the abbaa Gadaa is the highest level of institution of natural resources management in Borana. 

Others also noted that a typical conflict resolution setting "court room", which is normally under a large tree, Elders assess the situation and force an individual to abide by the decision reached. The most senior elders (Abbaa Qe'ee) have the authority to enforce the decision.

If such a council fails to resolve the issue, other parties are sought. However, the final decision will be made in the coveted Borana parliament representing the Borana of Kenya, Ethiopia and all over the world, the Gummi Gaayo. It should be noted that only matters of grave concerns would make their way to this parliament. Young and old men, besides the ruling elders themselves, only attend the Borana conflict resolution meetings.

The following diagram illustrates the Borana traditional governance and conflict resolution system/hierarchy.
* Hayyuus: are the indigenous lawyers who normally aid conflict parties argue their case out. They are normally found in all the levels of traditional dispute resolution mechanisms but noticeably at the local and regional levels. At the traditional parliament (highest level), the abbaa Gadaa normally nominates Hayyuus to act as defense and protection council.

Respondents from Galana (Guji) pointed that the traditional conflict resolution in this community remains that of Gadaa system. However, with regard to the conflict with Amaro’s the process of reconciliation (araara) also include members of the Guji Oromos selected by the community on the basis of their cultural knowledge, ability to make speech, justice, honesty and experience. The number these Jaarsa araars' (reconciliators) is drawn from each conflicting kebeles' (15 in number). With in the composition of the reconciliators the numbers of men are larger than women and youth.

As Ruto P. etal has pointed out;

*Women who have been marginalized by traditional customs, have finally found solace in peace committees. In most of the peace committees, woman form at least a third of membership. However, women are still being sidelined and overshadowed by men especially elders in many of*
The argument remains true as regards the participation of women in Galana (Guji) wereda.

On the other hand, respondents from Amaro (Kore) special wereda also viewed that they have enormous cultural features of a very prominent and elaborate role for conflict management in which conflict between inter ethnic or clans over pasture and water points. Procedures for resolving these conflicts were thus vital as a means of preventing chronic violence in their societal setting.

According to them for the dispute occurred between the bordering kebeles of Galana (Guji) 15(Fifteen) reconciliatory with the same procedure as applied in Galana consisting elders, religious leaders, women and youth.

Both negotiators from both conflicting weredas nominate their respective leaders to engage in to the resolution of the conflict. Facilitators were also selected. Major activities regarding public relations were accomplished by facilitators selected from both conflicting parties. Preliminary discussions were made before entering into reconciliation. Issues to be discussed between the joint committees were identified and necessary conditions for the reconciliation process were adjusted and the overall supervision of the event in the mean time was made by the wereda administration from both conflicting parties.

In relation to this, an elder from Galana (Guji) pointed the following:-

"Gondoro" which is another name of "araara" in Gadaa System is employed on the final date of reconciliation. It is to mean an "Oath" not to enter into the conflict again in the process of 'araara'. As Guji Oromos' experiencing Gadaa System in Borana, the process of reconciliation is made within the parameter party. On this day they slaught sheep or an ox pray for God to protect them not to repeat the same evil and inter-mix the contenders to taste the meat and drink jointly and kiss each other."
Thus, we can understand that “Gondoro - as part of in the Gadaa system a method of traditional conflict resolution means served to reconcile the conflicting parties under study.

Whereas an elder from Amaro (Kore) stated:

‘Chologe’ is the traditional means through which the conflicting parties agree not to commit further offenses against each other and pray for the God not to enter a conflict with their counter groups. ‘Chologe’ means repeating the same evil is calling danger to the household. They bring sheep into the reconciliation circle and slaughter it. Then the mediator (elder) called up on both conflicting parties to taste the meat and drink with two hands and make all groups of the community to taste the same and kiss and shake hands and resume new relationship among themselves.’

Therefore, ‘chologe’ is considered as a traditional means to resolve conflicts between conflicting groups in Amaro community. Besides, minor differences in the procedure of the application is observed between the traditional conflict resolution mechanisms between the communities of both clans. However, both are employed to resolve the existing conflicts between them and serves to establish normal life situation in the border areas.

3.7.3. Strengths and Weaknesses of Traditional Conflict Resolution

As such traditional institutions assist in temporarily relieving tensions and violence, and for this role they are still relatively strong. According to Sarah the reliance of the traditional system can be attributed to the following factors: customary institutions seek not just an end to injustice and restitution but also a situation of continued good relations and peace, mediators are well-known and respected, proceedings well known and transparent; all parties trust the system, social sanctions are brought against those refusing to revert the local system.
3.7.4. Weaknesses with the Traditional System

Despite its resilience however, the traditional system is very weak in other areas of conflict management. The following were identified: It does not deal with the root causes of conflicts and thus is ineffective in preventing the re-escalation of conflict, clan leaders tend to increasingly look for the benefit of their own clan, \(^{46}\) traditional mechanism for conflict resolution do not employ proactive measures in order to resolve conflicts.\(^{34}\)

Informant from Guji Oromo has agreed that there are strong and weak sides of conflict resolution. He pointed out the following:

"Elders mediate disagreements, between conflicting groups to maintain peace and maintain relationship between them in transparent way. But some times in the course of the mediation their focus is more directed towards the priorities and interests of their own clan; religious leaders educate their people on words of bible, on the evils of killing, looting and conflicts and are the spiritual guides of the communities. But they have no power to pass decision."\(^{47}\)

Traditional measures, are, therefore, have their own strengths and weaknesses in conflict resolution.

As mentioned earlier, the measures taken through modern (formal) and traditional (indigenous) means in the resolution of the conflict between Galana (Guji) and Amaro (Kore) has brought a significant improvement in the life situation of the people in respective weredas. This can be exemplified by those impacts which are discussed before, have been reversed to a normal situation through the measures taken. Market transactions which were hampered, social services those discontinued, peace and stability which were at stake due to the conflict between the weredas were turned to normal as ever before.
CHAPTER FOUR: THE ROLE OF HORIZONTAL INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION BETWEEN OROMIA AND SNNPR.

This chapter deals with the concept of federalism, horizontal intergovernmental relations, powers of the House of Federation (HoF) and resolving border disputes. Furthermore, attempts made so far by the Regional States to resolve conflict through agreement (memorandum of understanding) signed by them are explored. In addition, attempt is made to indicate the importance of enhancing government to government as well as people to people communications through joint development and utilization of scarce resources.

Horizontal and vertical intergovernmental relations are to be understood from the very essence of federalism. Thus, we shall next see the conceptual overview of federalism and the role of horizontal intergovernmental relations between Oromia and SNNPR in the resolution of border disputes.

4.1. Federalism: Conceptual Overview

Federalism, like many other concepts, there is admittedly some difficulty in defining federalism. It might, therefore, mean different to different people depending on historical and cultural context. Assefa also noted that federalism as an organizing principle advocates a 'multi-tiered government combining elements of shared rule through common institutions for some purposes and regional self-rule' for constituent units for some other purposes, there by accommodating unity and diversity within a larger political union. According to Anderson, Twenty-eight countries, home to over 40 percent of the world's people, either call themselves federal. Almost all democracies with very large areas or very large populations are federal. Belgium, Ethiopia, and Spain are formerly unitary countries that have become federal. Thus it is understood that
federalism is increasingly important in the world. But differences among federations are a point that cannot be disregarded. For Anderson, federations differ greatly in their social and economic composition and their institution. They include very large and very small countries, rich and poor countries, countries that have very homogenous and very diverse populations. Some federations are long-standing democracies, while others have more recent and troubled histories of democracy. Therefore, we understand that there is no standard set of criteria that makes federations the same. Besides, effective federal governance must be based on a written constitution and the rule of law. The constitution sets the basic framework and principles of the federation because it is a legal pillar for federalism.

Anderson stated that:

Written constitutions are essential in federations to establish the framework within which each order of government operates. At a minimum, the constitution must establish certain key institutions and allocations of responsibility within the federal system.

Thus, the operation of the orders of government is unthinkable without constitutional foundation in federal systems.

For Anderson, two independent orders of government in a federation create a need for a constitutional arbiter to resolve conflicts over their respective constitutional competencies. Accordingly a federal constitution must provide a method for resolving possible conflicts over the legal powers of the two orders of government (central government and states).

Moreover, discussing the features of federations in short would be better to make the definition of federalism full fledged. Thus the major features will be explained in the following ways.

Federations are distinguished from other polities primarily by the fact that political power (commonly related to legislative, executive, judicial and financial functions) is constitutionally divided between the federal government and the states, and that both
orders of government are autonomous with respect to the power granted to them. A common feature among federations has been the existence of, powerful motives to be united for certain purposes, on the one hand, and deep-rooted motives for autonomous states for other purposes, on the other. This underlying notion of federations has implications on the design of federations through distribution of powers. The federal government is often empowered with those powers that are shared in common and the states with those powers considered relevant for the expression of regional identity. Hence, the famous expression that defines federations as shared rule through common institutions and self-rule for constituent units. Through the former, unity is promoted and through the second, diversity is equally promoted. The principle of power sharing inherent in federalism implies shared competencies and shared institutions through which the constituent units are accorded the right to be included in policy making at federal level. Institutions are setup to protect the existence and authority of both orders of governments.

The other essential point that one observes as a shared feature in federations relates to the fact that the division of power between the federal government and the state is based on written and supreme federal constitution to which both orders of governments must submit. Federations originate from particular bargains struck at a particular time designed to serve for generations. Written constitutions are, therefore, necessary records of the terms of the bargain. Indeed, to write and to adopt a constitution is to agree to the bargain itself. The terms of agreement, which establish the federal government and the states and which distribute powers between them, must be enshrined in the supreme federal constitution, which is binding. This is derived from the nature of federation itself. The Federal constitution regulates their relations and so far as it regulates their relations with each other, it must remain supreme at least in all that concerns division of authority between the two.

In short, the federal arrangement presupposes the existence of a supreme federal constitution from which the federal government and the states derive their authority. The other important feature of federations emanates from the principle requiring the supremacy of the constitution. Federal constitutions must be rigid and require the
participation of both the federal government and the states for their amendment. If the federal constitution contains the basic principles governing the relationship between the federal government and the states and if the authority of both governments derives from the constitution, then it follows that in order to ensure its supremacy, it should not be subject to unilateral alteration by either order of government alone. This means both the federal and the state should engage themselves in the case when it is important to do so by making the people to participate in the amendment process. According to Carl Fredrick, the participation of states in the amendment of the constitution is a key feature of a federation. Thus, in order to ensure the supremacy of the constitution in federations the amendment procedure should be rigid and should not be easily alterable.

Federal constitutions, however, differ significantly both as regards the special procedures they prescribe and the degree of states participation for any amendment. According to Assefa, Some federations require the consent of every state for any amendment and for others ordinary vote for federal parliament may some times suffice for amending the constitution. The Indian constitution provided those provisions important for distribution of power between the federal government and states can be amended only by special majority of parliament and ratification by at least fifty percent of the states. In the United States, amendments can be proposed by the two thirds of the states may request congress to call a constitutional convention to consider and propose amendments. Ratification can also take approval by three - quarters of the legislative institutions of the states or by three - quarters of the convention. In Switzerland, the proposed amendment is only effective by the popular referendum. In Germany, the basic law can be amended only by laws that expressly alter or supplement the text. Any such law requires the consent of two thirds majority of votes in both the Bundestag and the Bundesrat of the German parliament. In Ethiopia, it requires the participation of both the federal and state governments in all amendment cases. Therefore, we observe that the process of amendment of the constitution in federations is only possible when both federal government and states give their unanimous consent for the request of amendment.
Another important feature in federations is that there is an organ to resolve disputes concerning constitutionality and division of powers. The constitutionality entrenched division of power is the hallmark of federations. However, the division of powers between the federal government and the states can not be delineated in such a way to avoid conflicts. Thus, disputes are likely to occur in the division of power. At this point he need to adjust and accommodate the division with the new unforeseen and unintended situations is important. For this reason, different federations have their own mechanisms of dispute resolution.

In the United States this is achieved through Supreme Court. In Switzerland the constitutionality of federal laws in reviewed through a referendum. In Germany, the constitutional court takes care of the duty of enforcing the supremacy of the Basic Law. In Ethiopia, the HOF is responsible for adjudicating constitutional cases in general and federal issues in particular. Therefore, we observe that there existed independent organ that decides on disputes in federations.

4.2. Intergovernmental Relations

As mentioned earlier intergovernmental relations might have vertical and horizontal dimensions. That is, vertically between the federal and constituent level and horizontally between constituent states in a federal system.

According to Anderson the main focus of intergovernmental relations is always vertical relationships between the central government and the constituent units. Horizontal relations between constituent units tend to be less important and developed, with the focus often or regional cooperation between some constituent units. In some federations (Switzerland, Canada), the constituent units have mechanisms to promote the development of common positions in dealing with the central government, but this can be difficult where interests diverge.

So, we observe that the emphasis regarding intergovernmental relations is given more to vertical relations for the conflicts arisen between central government and states employing constitutional foundation in federal systems.
As our major interest is the enforcement of horizontal intergovernmental relations, we will focus on state to state (region to region) relations in the resolution of the conflicts between their respective borders.

In relation to this, Assefa pointed:

*Horizontal or interstate is often underplayed but it covers crucial issues that may affect the whole federal system. Among other things, a federal system should clearly regulate interstate mobility, that is whether each constituent state is allowed to discriminate between those who came from other constituent of decisions from courts of one state in another constituent state, the status of legal documents (like marriage and divorce certificate) before the courts of another constituent state court; extradition of fugitives from one jurisdiction to the other; interstate compacts among the states that may cover conservation of environment, law enforcement, health, education and issues of guaranteeing uniformity of laws, when there exists significant variation of laws among the states.*

For him, the emphasis made only between the federal and state relations (vertical) could not suffice as certain gaps are prevalent while disregarding the horizontal relations which might affect the whole federal system significantly.

In addition to this, horizontal relations between constituent states tend to be less important and developed in different federations. This is also true in Ethiopian federation. Next we will see horizontal relations under the FDRE constitution and the mechanisms of conflict resolution between the borders of regional states.

### 4.3. Intergovernmental Relations under the FDRE Constitution.

The intention of the researcher is not exploring the detail concepts of intergovernmental relations under Ethiopian federation: But to have an overview of gaps prevalent in the constitution regarding vertical and horizontal relations between federal and regional governments respectively.

The FDRE constitution provides:
The federal republic shall comprise of states. States shall be delimited on the basis of the settlement patterns, language, identity and consent of the people concerned. 29

The constitution also provided member states of the federal government. It stated that nine state governments as members of the federal government. 30 Thus, the constitution stated that the federal government and states shall have legislative, executive and judicial powers. 31 Now the question is posed on how the relationship between them is managed.

Assefa notes that the Ethiopian constitution offers little guidance on managing federal state relations relative to roles and tasks. 32 Besides, he stated that there is no study of how the relationship between the federal government and the states will be managed on a sector by sector basis. It has taken a century or more for other federations to settle these relationships by legislations, litigation, political practice, and tradition. It is time to point out once again that this constitutional gap needs to be filled. 33 According to him, there is neither a comprehensive dual structure nor executive federalism at work. The institution of co-operative federalism, too is not well known.

The discussion tells us that the Ethiopian intergovernmental relations is not in the manner comparable as other federations like in Germany and Switzerland 35 where various forms of intergovernmental co-operations evolved in the course of time to exercise government powers.

Ronald Watts stated that the institutions and processes for intergovernmental collaboration serve two important functions: conflict resolution and a means of adapting to changing circumstances through the scheme of intergovernmental negotiations without necessarily amending the constitutions. 36

Assefa stated the federal government found at least three ways of influencing the state governments there by facilitating the enforcement of federal laws and programs. Presently, the Ministry of Federal Affairs which may be considered as co-operation through executive institutions; party structure and the process of policy making. 37
For him, whether these mechanisms are enough to substitute the formal division of executive power hinted at by the federal constitution between the federal government and the states is somewhat difficult to tell at this stage. 38

4.4. Horizontal Intergovernmental Relations and Mechanisms of Dispute Resolution

The above discussions were dealt mainly with the relations between federal and state structures. This is because of the inevitability within federations of overlaps and interdependence in the exercise of their powers and having an insight of the reality will help one to see the focus.

According to Solomon, horizontal intergovernmental cooperation exists between states in their venture to perform constitutionally allocated responsibilities. Federal practices indicate that the constituent units of a federation engage in horizontal cooperation between themselves, despite the absence of express constitutional clauses to do so. This horizontal cooperation is important for several reasons. It can be used for addressing conflicts (related either borders or to resource sharing) between states 39

The disputes between bordering areas of Oromia and SNNPR, as discussed under chapter three are based on resource competition: grazing land, watering points, farm land and claims on border demarcation which needs to be addressed by cooperation between the concerned regional states.

The major objective of establishing intergovernmental institutions in federal systems are to promote cooperation between the levels of government in order to address the needs of the people of the cooperating units, to resolve some disputes between them and to efficiently perform the functions and responsibilities assigned to each of them. 40

The FDRE constitution provided:

*All border disputes shall be settled by agreement of the concerned states. Where the concerned states fail to reach agreement, the*
House of Federation shall decide such disputes on the basis of settlement patterns and the wishes of the peoples concerned. 41

The constitution mainly focused on the conditions where the states fail to agree on border disputes and give the mandate to HoF to decide on the case. Horizontal Intergovernmental relations which could probably bring a significant impact in resolving conflicts between bordering areas through cooperation between Regional States is not practiced much in the FDRE constitution. On the other hand, the maximum potential that the HoF has endowed by the constitution is deciding border disputes through referendum in disputed areas. But still the gap is unfilled in the constitution to resolve conflicts under post-referendum periods. This implication tells that there is no legal backing regarding horizontal intergovernmental relations in resolving frequent conflicts occurring between regional states. Thus, the governing principles for co-operations with regard to powers and functions should be given a clearly stipulated frame work in the constitution or in other relevant laws. This should apply to both the vertical and the horizontal dimensions of cooperation. 42

Horizontal intergovernmental relations may exist at the same level of government at the regional or local level in the absence of coordination by the central government. This relationship may take shape through different structures and arrangements to facilitate cooperation between governments. As can be seen in other federal systems, interaction between governments may develop through formal institutions or conferences or in practice through their endeavors in solving day-to-day problems. In Ethiopia, In some instances, attempts have been made by some regions like: Oromia, Afar, Somali, Harari and Dire Dawa Council in 1996 and, In other instances, by all regional governments to formally engage in relations, but these have not played a significant role in discharging their responsibilities and in addressing common problems. It is, therefore, suggested that there should be an institutional mechanism that can create a forum for horizontal cooperation between governments of the same level, i.e., between the regions or between the werdas. This can provide an opportunity for the regions to work together by coordinating their policies, and influencing any federal policies concerning their interest. 43
4.5. The Organ Empowered to Settle Inter-state Dispute in Ethiopia

All over the world, multi-ethnic states are struggling to prevent interstate disputes. Because of the seemingly inevitable periodic disputes arising among ethnically identified, communities together provide states with a powerful incentive to develop method of conflict resolution. Likewise, Ethiopia, as multi ethnic state, is required to provide a system of conflict resolution.

Unlike many federal states, such as U.S.A, India, Australia, and Switzerland, the conflict resolution system of Ethiopia is centered in the institution of the House of Federation; the upper House of the parliament. Other federal states' constitutions grant the power to the constitutional court or supreme court to have original jurisdiction over any dispute arising between states. For example, in the U.S.A, the court has an authority to hear and determine over the controversies arising between states. This trend started before two centuries. It was in 1775, in which the first suggestion was made by Benjamin Franklin. He suggested that a congress representing the state should have a power of "settlement all disputes and differences that may arise between colonies", Later on this idea was developed and proposed by John Dickison to be incorporated in the articles of confederation. After five years, it was adopted by all states as possible means of settling their controversies. According to this article, all disputes and differences between the states should be heard and finally determined by court, which is established by a congress of the United States. It is the first tribunal with compulsory jurisdiction over sovereign states. Other federal states, also give the power to hear and determine over the disputes that may arise between their constituent units to their court, for instance, India under Art.131/c of 1956 constitution. Australia under section 75/iii of the common wealth of Australia constitution act has granted the power to supreme court and high court respectively.

However, the constitution of Ethiopia has preferred to give the power of settling any disputes that may arise between the constituent units to the House of Federation (HoF) rather than to a constitutionally established judicial organ. The HoF is one of the two Federal Houses (the other being the house of peoples' representatives), which has no law making power, but has granted the power under Art. 62 of FDRE constitution.
inter alia, to find solutions to disputes or misunderstandings that may arise between states.

The member of House of the Federation is the representative of nations, nationalities and people of Ethiopia. In other words, each nation, nationality and people shall be represented in the House by at least one member and one additional representative for each one million of its population. Members of the House shall be elected by the state councils. The state councils may themselves, elect representatives to the House of Federation. On the other hand, they may hold elections to have the representative that are elected by the people directly. Even through art 61/3 of Federal Constitution permits the regional state councils to organize direct election within their regions, there is no region that holds election in the last three terms of the parliament to have the representatives elected by the people directly. In all states, the state legislative have maintained the power to choose the representatives themselves. Art 67 of the FDRE constitution stipulates that the term of mandate of the House extend up to five years. And it is required to hold at least two sessions annually, in many of its sessions the presence of at least 2/3 of its member constitute a quorum and all of the decision of the House requires the approval of majority of members present and voting.

The system that is preferred by Ethiopia to settle interstate conflict has three distinctive qualities. First, it establishes a permanent ethnic composed institution that grants standing to all ethnic groups. Second, it is structured to employ complementary consensual and adjudicative process. The third point is it relies on constitutional interpretation to resolve inter-state disputes.

On the other hand Art, 21(2) of proclamation No. 471/2005 which defines the powers and duties of the executive organs of the FDRE provides that the Ministry of Federal Affairs (MOFA) without prejudice to the provisions of Art. 48 and 62 (6) of the constitution of the FDRE, facilitate the resolution of misunderstandings arising between regional states. The power of MOFA is more of administrative, that is, sending federal police force to the area when conflict occurs.
These qualities reflect and respond to the realities of ethnic conflict, and it is described by Elina A. Baylis as follows:

*Accepting the inevitability of conflicts between ethnic groups, the Ethiopia government, created a permanent conflict resolution system rather than relying on ad hoc interventions. Recognizing that the formally ethnic blind ordinary courts in Ethiopia lack both institutional capacity to handle and kind of group claims and the credibility to handle ethnic claims in particular, the House is focused specifically on resolving ethnic disputes and made up on ethnic representatives. By granting standing to all ethnic groups, the Ethiopia system makes legal processes available for all inter-ethnic disputes. In so doing, the Ethiopia system both acknowledge that complexity of Ethiopia inter-ethnic relations and the need for processes that can address all ethnic groups claim whether they are a local majority or minority.*

Therefore, the House of Federation, which is the permanent ethnically composed institutions, has the responsibility, conferred on constitution; to resolve disputes arose between regional states. Any interstate conflict whether it is legal or political, big or small could settle by the House of the Federation. In addition, according to Federal constitution, the House of the Federation has effective jurisdiction over inter-ethnic conflict, because the regional states are defined by their ethnic composition. The powers of the House of the Federation with respect to the regional states are interrelated with its power with respect to nationalities, and interstate disputes are often ethnic dispute as well.

Lastly, since the Ethiopian system of inter-state conflict settlement power is given to the House of the Federation by the FDRE constitution to hear and decide on causes arising between different ethnic groups or regional states, and since the House is one of the political institutions, it is difficult to say the Ethiopia system is judicial. The characteristics of the Ethiopian system of conflict settlement pattern are described by Elina as follows:
The Ethiopia's conflict resolution system is basically the combination of legal and political on several levels. At the institutional level, the House of the Federation is a quintessentially political body, but one that has been designated for adjudicative purposes. At the process level, the act of constructional interpretation is trademark legal process, but one that is fraught with political concerns, while the processes of mediation and adjudication are used in both legal and political setting.\(^52\)

Therefore, the act of the House of the Federation, in the process of settling interstate dispute, to some extent, resembles an act of adjudication. However, since it does not meet the core requirements of an independent neutral judge and of an adjudication process with established procedures that meet basic due process standard, it is not judicial body.\(^53\)

4.6. The Manner in which the HoF Exercises Its Power

The HoF has the responsibility of resolving disputes between nationalities either directly by intervening or mediating in disputes and indirectly by "promoting unity" and deciding underlying constitutional issues.\(^54\) To discharge any of its responsibility and functions, the HoF shall establish standing and an ad hoc committees with their chairman, deputy chairmen and secretaries from its members, and self define their powers and duties. The HoF may also assign three members selected from each standing committee to work permanently there on.\(^55\) So far, there are three permanent committees. The committee for state affairs is one of the standing committees. It has competence to find solution to disputes or misunderstanding that may arise between states and submit its proposal and recommendation with regard to the matter to the HoF.\(^56\)

Even though the HoF is authorized under Art. 62/6 of FDRE constitution to find solutions to the disputes that arise between states, it does not mean that it decides on all cases by itself. Disputes that arose between regional states are mostly intended to move through a multiple of dispute settlement process. Any state that has a dispute
with another state, before it submits the case to HoF has an obligation to make a request in writing to the party in a dispute for discussion. The latter in its part, should show its readiness for a genuine discussion with in a maximum of forty five days. Following the two parties willingness to resolve their dispute by discussion, the HoF shall strive to the fruition of their discussions. 57 It shall also follow up the progress of the discussion. However, if one of the parties is unwilling to resolve the dispute by discussion or if they could not reach to the agreement, the case may be submitted to the House by the one or the other party.58 Upon receive petition the House initially encourage further discussions between the parties or require the parties to produce all evidence in their possession to the House in order to give final decisions. 59

On the other hand, in cases of inter state border disputes, the law does not mandate negotiation and mediation; rather, it follows a different pattern. Any interstate border dispute shall be settled by agreement of the concerned states. Where the concerned states fail to reach an agreement the HoF shall decided such disputes on the basis of settlement patterns and the wishes of the people concerned with a period of two years.60 If the dispute is going to be settled by the discussion of the concerned parties, they have to follow same steps. The two parties will first meet and identify the disputing kebeles. Then, they will form a joint expert committee to study and identify the majority nation, nationality or people in each kebeles. After this has been done, a meeting or conference will be arranged to discuss with the people particularly with elders of the community of the aim of demarcation the border between states.61 The settlement of border dispute by agreement of concerned states is preferable than submitting their cases to the HoF. The basic reason for this preference is that, if dispute is settled based on the agreement of the disputant all parties to the disputes are more likely satisfied by the result of an agreement reached up on the such would make the relation between the parties, better than their previous state of affair. 62 And also this might promote horizontal intergovernmental relations between states in resolving disputes.

However, if the disputing parties cannot reach agreement through direct negotiation, the House will hold a popular referendum of the affected communities and gather evidence of settlement patterns before adjudicating the matter. If the House believe it
has enough information on redefining disputable borders because of settlement patterns, it would pass a decision. Nevertheless, if the House cannot decide to which side the disputable land belongs, it will seek solution for the people's interest and consents. In other words, it conducts a referendum. The decision given by the HoF on the basis of referendum is final and binding so that it has to be executed.

Thus, the maximum potential that the HoF has endowed by the constitution is deciding border disputes through referendum in disputed areas. However, the gap is still unfilled in the constitution to resolve conflicts under post-referendum periods. And also horizontal intergovernmental relations which could probably bring a significant impact in resolving conflicts between bordering areas through cooperation between regional states has been given little attention in the FDRE constitution and thus lacks legal backing.

4.7. Attempts to Settle Border Disputes of the two Regional States

Ethiopia has adopted federalism as an instrument that could provide better conflict management scheme, which would lesson inter ethnic tensions and conflicts. The Ethiopian government, after its adoption of Federal system, provides two trends of conflict management, i.e., legal and politico administrative. Several articles of FDRE constitution and "Consolidation of the HOF and definition of its powers and responsibilities proclamation No. 251/2001" has provide principles, procedure and institution for the management of disputes and conflicts over the issue of boundary conflicts between regional states. Most frequently used instrument in managing conflict in federal Ethiopia is politico - administrative. One of the features of politico administrative management of conflicts is peace and democracy conference. Several conferences were organized, for example, in the border dispute between Somali and Oromia, Garri and Borana, Afar and Oromia, SNNPR and Oromia, etc. However, due to lack of implementation of the agreement reached by these conferences, the contributions of these conferences as effective dispute settlement of mechanism to date remain less effective.
The constitution of FDRE mainly stresses the vertical intergovernmental relations between central government and states leaving the gap regarding horizontal intergovernmental relations. But it could have been seen that neither the central nor the constituent units received its power from the other. Nevertheless, since none of them is independent of the other, interdependence and cooperation between various organs is inevitable.

Solomon also noted that the possibility of horizontal cooperation will be extensive in issues involving areas bordering the regions such as security, transportation and other common concerns like controlling epidemics. Thus, as interregional cooperation seems inevitable, it is important to deal with issues of regional concern without necessarily restoring to the center. Thus, promoting horizontal relations between the states particularly for addressing conflicts is very important for the coexistence of communities residing on border areas in particular and for ensuring sustainable peace and maintaining good relationship between the people of bordering regional states in general. Both Oromia and SNNPR states considering such an objective and established an agreement to resolve conflicts between their bordering weredas.

4.8 Memorandum of Understanding signed between SNNPR and Oromia

The SNNPR and Oromia Regional States as constituent members of the federal government started to develop horizontal intergovernmental relations to resolve conflicts around bordering weredas. This can be made with in the ambit of the federal system because the system itself is a solution to conflict resolution between states.

The two regional governments have agreed with a memorandum of understanding signed between the two respective presidents of the regions’ in June, 2008 to establish a relationship and cooperation between them and to jointly decide on joint border conflict resolution and management. The overall content of the agreement and decisions made between the two regions, among all, include the following:

- by the opportunities created by federal system in the country, it is aimed to ensure the rights enshrined in the constitution and providing
joint development activities for communities of both regions residing around border areas;

- resolving conflicts raised on competition over scarce resources such as grazing land and watering points using traditional and modern conflict resolution mechanisms;
- identifying border areas which are major causes of conflicts and deciding to make clear border demarcation in collaboration with local governments and members of the communities of both regional states;
- jointly controlling criminal activities such as theft, robbery, etc; along border areas.

The agreement includes bordering zones and weredas to resolve the conflict between East Shewa zone (Oromia) and Gurage, Silte and Alaba Special wereda of SNNPR; West Arsi (Oromia) and Hadiya, Sidama and Alaba Special wereda of SNNPR; Borena Zone (Galana of Guji Oromo, Bulee Hora, Dugda Dawa, Taltale of Oromia and Amaro Special wereda, Burji special wereda and Konso special wereda of SNNPR.

Both regions have also indicated in their agreement to refer the conflicts around Wendo Genet and Sokoru and Yem special wereda to be resolved by the House of Federation and the case was decided by popular referendum in December 2008 and January 2009 respectively.

Both regional states are bordering each other for about 2000 kilometers and the people of both bordering regions have lived for centuries together sharing common social, economic, political and cultural values developed between them. They tend to live and still live supporting and cooperating each in their respective states. 68

All constituent units can act in their boundaries without approval of any other units and obliged to keep the peace within its own geographical boundaries. However, sometimes they are bound to fall into conflict with one another in the course of pursuing their normal operation and many of these collisions cause to be the source of interstate border dispute or conflict. 69
The people of both SNNPR and Oromia also fall in to conflict due to the frequent occurrences like competition over scarce resources, border expansion and farm land claims, lack of good governance, theft, robbery, cattle raiding, inducement on some group of people and this led to destruction of properties and loss of life. 70

Thus, the overall objective of the memorandum of understanding between the regions was made to manage the conflict and avoid violence between the two peoples’ of the bordering areas, to bring accelerated economic development and democracy in the boundary areas of the two regions that benefit the community at large through working jointly and thereby strengthen brotherly and friendly relationship of the two communities, ensure sustainable peace and security and undertake demand driven development intervention. 71

The researcher has produced a questionnaire and open-ended questions to check where there exists a horizontal cooperation between both regional states has been implemented from the view point of the memorandum of understanding made and signed between both regional governments to resolve the conflicts arisen between bordering weredas.

Eight respondents were selected considering their respective involvement and composed of members from each conflicting region including Regional Administration and Security Officials, Regional Conflict Prevention and Resolution Department Officials, Regional Police Commissioners, Administrators of Conflicting Weredas understudy, Wereda Administration and Security Officers, Wereda Police, Women’s’ and Youth Affairs to balance the information gathered from them and to reach on the actual situation regarding the cooperation between them to resolve border conflicts. And it was found out that the views’ of respondents in resolving disputes by cooperation is almost the same.

According to Assefa,

The horizontal cooperation made between both regions was very important in reducing the intensity of conflicts arisen between the bordering areas of both states and contributes to transform the conflict
in to peace. We have been striving to work on since 2005 establishing
different joint forums and get many experiences out of it. People to
people, wereda to wereda, kebele to kebele, regional government to
regional government communication and cooperation is imperative in
conflict transformation and peace building. \(^{72}\)

Thus, the cooperation made between regional states, from the view point of this
official is playing a significant role in bringing the communities of the respective
regional state together to work for joint peaceful existence and common conflict
transformation. Such cooperation also employed during the conflict between Amaro
of SNNPR and Galana of Oromia regional states.

Frank R. and Christoph Rohloff states peaceful conflict resolution as a holistic
concept reaching from conflict prevention to peace consolidation is evolving that is
beginning to govern the international community in the post-cold war era. \(^{73}\) In this
sense, we can understand that when there is horizontal cooperation between regional
states, the consolidation of peace is possible by peacefully resolving conflicts. On the
other hand, Lemma stated that

> When there is a willful commitment from both governments the
possibility of calling the people for peace and strengthening the
relationship between them to prevent conflicts and resolve disputes
by establishing joint forums is courageous in conflict transformation
between them. The memorandum of understanding signed between
both Regions was made to address the same. Furthermore, the
manner of cooperation is in line with the common-interest of both
conflicting people pursuant to the federal system that is operating in
our country. On the top of that, conflict is inevitable among regions
due to different factors, thus horizontal cooperation and linkage is
very important to resolve them. Cooperation is helpful not only for
resolution of conflicts but also for economic development, peace
and stability, market translation, etc. \(^{74}\)
Thus, we can observe from the views of the interviewee that horizontal cooperation between the regional states could contribute to resolve conflicts between bordering areas when there is a will from both governments considering the federal system which serves multi-ethnic states to solve their disputes between them based on the common interest of both respective communities.

Zartman stated that regardless of differing values, a common interest-based approach toward win-win solutions and formula deals, such as ‘land for peace? Seem to be a promising approach for peaceful conflict resolution. And this is the principle that is observed from the officials in the horizontal cooperation in the course of resolving conflicts between the two disputing areas under study.

According to Mesfin,

*The settlement of border disputes by agreement of the disputants is more preferable than submitting their cases to the HDF for the reason that the dispute is settled by agreement and parties to the dispute are satisfied by the result because it makes the relation between them better than the previous state of affairs and this in turn promotes horizontal cooperation between regional states. Finally, I have doubt for the legality when the agreement failed to be implemented.*

It is, therefore, understood that disputant parties could be satisfied when they freely agree to solve their dispute rather than referring their cases to the HOF and this could indicate the symptom of horizontal relationship between them.

**4.9 Enforcement of the Memorandum of Understanding**

Intergovernmental relations as discussed earlier might have vertical dimensions between the federal and the constituent units and horizontal dimensions between the states. With regard to the enforcement of the federal and state relations in vertical dimension, the constitution is in place to establish the institution that resolves the conflict.
However, under horizontal intergovernmental relations the constitution remained silent. Instead, the disputed states opt their own way to establish ‘informal institutions’ through which they resolve conflicts between their bordering areas even though there exists criticism against it. To get the insight as to how the conflicting states establish and used institutions, let us see the practices employed between Oromia and Somali Regional States.

4.10. The cooperation between Somali and Oromia Regional States in resolving conflicts

Dispute between Oromia and Somali Regional states have a boundary of more than 1000 km. These border areas stretch from Moyalee-Kenya border and extend up to Miéso wereda, which incorporates border areas of Borena, Guji, Balle, East Hararge and West Hararge zones of Oromia Region and Liban, Afdheer, Fik, Jijjiga and Shinile zones of Somali Regional State.

Oromos’ and Somalis’ are well known for their cultural values especially along the areas where ethnic interaction is very high. The Somalis’ are the largest pastoral groups in Ethiopia, and largely inhabit the same regional state. Many of the Oromos’ who live adjacent to the Somalis in the low land areas of Oromia are pastoral and agro-pastoral groups. 77

Conflicts over pasture, water points, and other sources have been common phenomenon between different clans of Oromos’ and Somalis’.

According to Ahmed, the main causes of conflict between the Oromia and Somali regional state, starting from formation of regional states in line with the new administrative entities, were the issue of where the physical borders between the two regional states should be drawn. Hence, the dispute, which was based on the competition scarce resource, changes its nature, and it becomes the question of the ownership of specific territory. The contested boundary affects the mobility pattern and adjustment mechanism of these pastoral groups due to politicization of ethnicity and regional state ethnic boundaries and the emergence of local ethnic based elites. The conditions escalate the competition and conflict among the pastoral ethnic groups of Somali and Oromos, and affect their relationship adversely. In addition, those
conflict resulting significant loss of life and property and displacement of people from both communities.\textsuperscript{78}

4.10.1 Oromia-Somali Regions Bilateral Development Program Coordination Unit (PCU)

The joint development program called PCU is a bilateral development program coordination unit established between Ormoia and Somali Regional states. The operational program of PCU is guided by the jointly established board between these regions consisting the presidents’ of both regions and concerned sectoral departments. The rational for the cooperative to establish PCU between these regional states are the following:

- Encouraging relation, culture, values and ways of life of the neighboring people to accommodate one another and strengthen diversity among them,
- Encouraging common utilization of resources such as grazing land, water, etc., which could be a source of conflict by providing common development and making necessary interventions to transform conflicting, situations to peace between them;
- Strengthen cooperation and forms and encouraging people to people communication to prevent conflict before its maturity acting proactively.
- Introducing the concept of federalism among the society and enhancing the sense of mutually living together and demand driven capacity building;
- Jointly form institution to come up with win-win result, mainstream “do no harm” approach at all levels, exercise impartiality and inclusiveness, identify potential causes of conflict and be proactive, to plan implement and evaluate agreed cooperation and interventions and cooperation across existing institutions.\textsuperscript{79}

Thus, the cooperation was made purposefully to address the issues identified for the resolution of conflicts occurred around bordering areas between both regions.
4.10.2 PCU Organizational Structure

Source: Oromia-Somali Program coordination unit office first quarter report, 2008

The execution of the program is effective by the regional executives of both states and the coordinating office. The area under which the execution of the program is applied is with in 41 (forty-one) neighboring weredas of both regional states. And the duration of the application pursuant to the agreement is for five years (1999-2003 E.C) having the possibility of extending the time of the cooperation. 

4.10.3 Budget of Project Coordination Unit

Basically the budget for the cooperation is drawn from both regional governments. And Federal government, the public and NGOs also support in certain specified activities like trainings and conferences.
4.10.4 Intensity of Conflicts Prior to and After the Establishment of PUC

According to Ahmed, the scenario before the establishment of PCU mainly expressed by resource based dispute explained as territorial claim and violent conflict occurred frequently between the two bordering areas of Oromia and Somali regional and gives rise to killing and injuring people, destruction or property, displacement, closing route, loose cooperation between weredas and disconnection of a relationships between communities. Thus, endeavors were made to resolve the conflict PCU made an assessment on shortcomings of the past attempt, need for training and conferences on conflict resolution and peace building and suggested conflict related development intervention.82

According to him, the scenario after the establishment of PCU brought a significant change in the conflict resolution between the two regional states. Major achievements were observed from the result of cooperation as follows: Officials of the Weredas and community representatives were committed to bring peace, reconciliation through forgiveness, rehabilitation and resettlement of displaced communities, open the closed route, delegated committees are established, arrangement of joint forums and evaluation for progress was made, zones set programs to monitor peace accord of the weredas, conflict prone development gaps identified (for instance, water supply project, road construction, health posts, veterinary clinic, school building, etc), reintegration and normalization process started and join peace committee is actively working at present.83

Therefore, we understand that the major strategy of the horizontal intergovernmental relations between both regions is bilateral development oriented conflict resolution. However, the cooperation is by no means free from challenges. According to Ahmed, the challenges in the approach is a new initiative, smooth functioning needs long way to go with many ups and downs and the legal backing of the relationships in case of incompliance of the cooperation.84

On the other hand, the enforcement of horizontal cooperation between Oromia and SNNPR States for the resolution conflicts raised between Galana (Guji) and Amaro
(Kore) was mentioned in the bilateral agreement or memorandum of understanding signed between the concerned states. In this document it was provided that the two conflicting wereda administrations were jointly mandated to select proper individuals to continuously work on conflict transformation by creating a strong relationship between them, conduct joint forums and pass common decisions on conflict issues, establish mechanisms as to how people to people communication is to strengthened and creating reporting systems for both regional governments. Besides, Oromia regional state cabinet has also established sub-regional offices at three places within the region at Shashamane, Adama and Nekemte to strengthen horizontal intergovernmental relations with SNNPR, Somali, and Benishangul-gumuz regional states respectively. The region has also assigned man power for those offices and the office head is with the status of deputy bureau head of Oromia administration and security bureau. The first sub-regional office which is located in Shashamane is represented to work in cooperation with SNNPR for the enforcement of the agreement and decisions made between Oromia and SNNPR. The second sub-regional office which is located in Adama is also represented to work in cooperation with PCU and Somali regional state. The third sub-regional office located in Nekemt is represented to work in collaboration with Benishangul-gumuz regional state. All sub-regional offices in charge were accountable to the Oromia Bureau of Administration and security. In addition to this, proclamation No. 129/2007 to amend the reorganization and redefinition of the power and duties of executive organs of the Oromia Regional state provides the following. Administration and security bureau,

- Plan to strengthen the relationship between neighboring regions, facilitate conditions for the preparation of conferences and meetings of peace, development and democracy; supervise its implementations;

- Examine the cause of conflicts of neighboring regions; plan on the strategy of conflict resolution and implement same;

- Facilitate condition for the neighboring people on the border to jointly develop and utilize resources;
• Collect organize and submit evidences and information to the concerned body concerning the relationship regions. Therefore, we understand that there is a growing tendency to strengthen the HIGR between regional states in the resolution of conflicts. The conflict between Amaro (Kore) of SNNPR and Galana (Guji Oromo) of Oromia regional states and the Majority of weredas on the bordering areas were resolved following the same cooperation.

Thus, the effort of the regional state shows that the willingness to strengthen the horizontal intergovernmental relations for the resolution of the conflicts between bordering areas. However, one may ask whether such step represents the actual institution or not and whether it is legally and constitutionally supported.

Peter, J. Meekson, when discussed the practices of intergovernmental relations in Canada stated the following:

Forums have no constitutional or statutory foundation, and their utilization and salience have ebbed and flowed according to the preferences of the political actors and the circumstance of the day. It has no continuing institutional support, not staff serving it, no routine procedure for following up on business and reporting back.

For him, unless forums are constitutionally or legally founded they will be challenged to the preferences of the will of political actors and bound to be influenced by the existing situations. Besides, the absence of staffs and procedures influence the forums. But the intention of the agreements and cooperation made between Oromia and SNNPR seemed to create better situation than the previous conflict situation and parties to the dispute benefit and be satisfied from the cooperation and might introduce the experiences of Oromia-Somali experience. Further more, both Oromia and SNNPA governments conducted a conference on horizontal cooperation between bordering weredas to resolve disputes financed by the HOF in Awasa on December 25 - 26/2008 and in Jimma on January 25 - 26/2008. The researcher had the opportunity to observe the conferences at both levels. The main contents of the confluence identifying the basic causes of the conflict, plan to organize continuous forums in
building community relationships and producing jointly a working document which will be applicable for the resolution of conflicts between bordering areas. Thus, the effort made between both regional states is an indication of horizontal cooperation.

Thus, whether the horizontal intergovernmental relation remains informal or formalized one is itself disputed. And, the researcher is of the opinion that appreciating the cooperation made between the two regions could be helpful in transforming conflicts into peaceful situations and reducing the intensity of conflicts which frequently erupt along the bordering areas of both regional states. Thus, it would be better to support it by making some sort of legal framework to guarantee their effort and agreement.

The overall discussion mentioned above depicted that the 1995 FDRE Constitution and proclamation No. 251/2001 mandated the HOF power to resolve the conflicts raised between the regional states and the maximum power of the HOF is extended to decide on the conflict situations through popular referendum. Post referendum conflicts, however, are not addressed in the mandate of the HOF. On the other hand, the regional states have strong willing to resolve conflicts through joint cooperation and agreements in most of the cases without waiting to take their cases to HOF. This is because of the intention to cooperatively address conflicts with their consent sooner and strengthen their relationship. However, this does not mean that the regions are totally refraining themselves from submitting claims of border disputes to HOF in areas where they fail to agree up on. For instance, we understand from the last two paragraphs of the agreement (decision) made between Oromia and SNNPR states that conflicts along borders might have different causes and aggravating circumstances resulted in the lose of life and destruction of huge properties. Thus, both regional governments agreed to cooperatively address and transform conflicts to peaceful coexistence and submit those cases on which they fail to agree to the house of federation to be resolved by popular referendum and implement the decision. The horizontal cooperation between the regional states, in any way, could have its own challenges and opportunities.
4.11. Challenges and Opportunities in the Horizontal Cooperation between Regional States

Most respondents viewed that the horizontal cooperation between regional states has encountered the following challenges:

- The cooperation between regional states framework and constitutional foundation is in question in case of incompliance of the agreed terms; and
- In some places, possibility of the conflict to erupt again; and for instance, the conflict between Oromia and Benishangul Gumuz, the conflict between Oromia and SNNPR around Alaba, Burji vs Bule Hora and Dugda Dawa.

On the other hand the following opportunities are also observed from the cooperation between the regions:

- Reducing the intensity of conflict in most areas;
- Contributing to joint development between regions;
- Creating good relationship, respect and unity for common values and diversities.
- Jointly secure peace and controlling criminals around the borders.

In the discussion made in this chapter, it has been shown that the role of horizontal inter-governmental relations (HIGR) has not been given much emphasis in the constitution. However, from the practices of regional states, it is observed that the cooperation between them has got significant importance especially in addressing and resolving conflicts around the border areas. The fact that Oromia and Somali regional states have attempted to address conflicts by establishing bilateral project coordination unit (PCU) indicates the commitment of the regional states to resolve their bordering disputes. Even though its constitutional and legal framework is given little attention, horizontal inter-governmental relations play a crucial role in promoting peace and stability. Oromia and SNNPR, pursuant to their agreement and decisions, resolved the conflicts which were prevalent in different bordering zones and woredas such as the conflict between Dugdabora, Adamitullu Jidokombolcha, Shala, Siraro, Kofale,
Kokosa, Galana, Taltale of Oromia and Gurage, Silte, Alaba, Hadiya, Sidama, Amaro of SNNPR state respectively. Nevertheless, there are still some areas where conflicts have not yet been fully resolved. Examples of this could be the conflict between borders of Burji special werda of SNNPR and Bulehora and Digdadawa weredas of Oromia regional state. One of the lessons that could be drawn from the horizontal cooperation between regional states is the fact that it contributes to conflict resolution, peaceful co-existence of the bordering communities despite the prevalence of some challenges. Hence, continuous support from the federal government is necessary to institutionalize the growing horizontal linkages between regional states.
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter, the major findings will be summarized, conclusions will be drawn and certain recommendations will be made.

5.1. Summary

The purpose of this research is to investigate the role of horizontal intergovernmental relations in the resolution of conflicts arising between Amaro (Kore) ethnic group of SNNPR and Galana (Guji Oromo) of Oromia Regional State. To this end, the researcher employed quantitative and qualitative survey method – Data Collection tools were questionnaire, interview, and field visit. The quantitative data were analyzed using percentages and the qualitative ones were transcribed and analyzed. Finally, they were triangulated where appropriate and necessary,

(1) The Study revealed that the main sources of conflict between Galana and Amaro were, competition over the scarce grazing land (39.1%), farm land (26.6%) and water point (14.4%), absence of clear demarcation of border (5.7%) and the prevalence of certain negative expressions (4.8%).

(2) The study revealed that the great majority of respondents 269 (86.2%) from both weredas under study believed that the existing conflicts have mainly economic reasons.

(3) The study depicted that there is a growing tendency of horizontal cooperation between regional states to jointly resolve conflicts between their bordering areas as indicated in the development of agreements between Somali and Oromia as well as SNNPR and Oromia even though little attention was given to the institutionalization of this mechanism by providing the necessary legal framework.

(4) The study depicted that the conflict between peoples of the two woredas under study led to loss of human lives (25 in Amaro and 5 in Galana), the existence of wounded people (22 in Amaro and 18 in Galana) and the internal displacement of people (13, 936 in Amaro and 8,34 in Galana).

(5) The study also showed that the conflict led to the destruction of 286 and 388 hectares of inset and fruits respectively were destroyed in Amaro and 180 and 250 hectares of inset and fruits respectively in Galana.
(6) It was also found out that the conflict led to the devastation of 130 and 312.5 hectares of coffee and sugarcane respectively in Amaro and 340 and 358 hectares of coffee and sugarcane respectively in Galana.

(7) The study also revealed that a total of 813 houses, 2 schools and 2 health posts were burnt down during the conflict between the two bordering woreda.

(8) The study indicated that both traditional and modern ways of conflict resolution were employed to bring about peace and stability in the conflicting woredas.

(9) The study revealed that horizontal intergovernmental relations played a significant role in ensuring peace and stability as within bordering woredas by organizing peace conferences and concluding useful agreements between conflicting parties.

5.2. Conclusion

The root causes of conflict between groups of people in bordering Galana (Guji Oromo) and Amaro (Kore) woreda, namely Lack of adequate grazing Land, farm land, water point, absence of border demarcation as well as the prevalence of negative expressions (connotations) concerning groups of people had a negative impact on the socio-economic, political and cultural life of people of both woredas. Yet, the existence of strong intergovernmental relations between the regions and traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution led to securing peace and stability within bordering woredas.
5.3. Recommendations

Based on the data analysis and major findings the following recommendations were made.

1) Horizontal intergovernmental relations between SNNPR and Oromiya must be strengthened to ensure peace and stability between bordering communities.

2) The horizontal intergovernmental relations should be institutionalized and work closely with pertinent federal institutions particularly in the area of monitoring and evaluation of the livelihood of the bordering communities.

3) Capacity building through the provision of long and short-term trainings should be provided for selected members from both woredas on issues like human rights, peaceful conflict resolution and good governance through a cooperative action of SNNPR and Oromiya.

4) The Regional States of SNNPR and Oromia should strengthen their linkage with the Federal Government to foster the development of peace by overcoming arms proliferation in the regions.

5) The various governmental institutions at woreda level must coordinate their activities and programs very well to address the needs of the local people in such a way that it could enhance peaceful coexistence of groups of people.

6) The police force, religious leaders and prominent elders from conflicting woredas should work closely to destroy the hatred between groups of people and to create better understanding among all stakeholders.

7) The governments of SNNPR and Oromiya should give more attention to the development of modern infrastructures like schools, roads, health stations, and so on to enhance accessibility and better communication within and between the two woredas.

8) As conflict over scarce resources is inevitable, both regional states should design strategies to jointly use natural resources along bordering areas. Finally the researcher suggested that further research should be conducted up on the issue.
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Proclamation No. 119/2007

Proclamation to Amend the Reorganization and Redefinition of the Powers and Duties of the Executive Organs of the Oromia Regional State

Whereas, it is necessary to amend proclamation No. 105/2005 so as to reorganize the executive organs of the Oromia Regional State and proclaim clearly the powers and duties of the Executive Organs of the Oromia Regional Administration and Security Bureau;

NOW, THEREFORE, in accordance with Article 49(3)(a) of the Oromia Regional State Constitution, it is hereby proclaimed as follows:

1. Short Title
This Proclamation may be cited as "The Proclamation to Amend Proclamation No. 105/2005, the Reorganization and Redefinition of the Powers and Duties of the Executive Organs of the Oromia Regional Administration and Security Bureau, in accordance with Article 49(3)(a) of the Oromia Regional State Constitution, of 25 August 1995, Amended, Proclamation No. 105/2005, the Reorganization and Redefinition of the Powers and Duties of the Executive Organs of the Oromia Regional Administration and Security Bureau, in accordance with Article 49(3)(a) of the Oromia Regional State Constitution, of 25 August 1995."
10. Conduct research where necessary to demarcate the boundary of the Region against neighboring regions; cause the result be submitted to and decided by the concerned body;

11. Facilitate conditions for the neighboring people on the border to jointly develop and utilize natural resources;

12. Collect, organize and submit to the concerned body information and evidences concerning the relationship between the neighboring regions;

13. Recruit, train and deploy military forces based on the directives issued by the Government;

14. Supervise the military forces not to be deployed on activities far away from their production unless decided by the Regional Administrative Council as a special case;

15. Cause the military assist the justice organs in the absence of the police force;

16. Facilitate conditions to support the families of military forces where they are deployed to perform special duties; supervise same;

17. Examine public applications, information and complaints based on powers and duties given to it by law; cause to be corrected if there is mistake;

18. Work with due attention for the observance of the rights of:

19. Give training in coordination with the concerned bodies on good governance and rule of law so that the people know and exercise their rights and duties;

20. Work in coordination with other justice bodies to ensure the rule of law;


3. Duty to Cooperate

Any appropriate organ shall have the duty to cooperate for the implementation of matters specified in this proclamation.


All works started before the proclamation of this proclamation shall be regarded as started in accordance with this proclamation and their execution shall continue.

5. Effective Date

This Proclamation shall come into force as of July 28/2007.

Finis

July 28/2007

Abdulahi Geleta
President of the Regional State of Oromia.
 dakii *txt 106/89 የፋስ ከው ውወት ያስተላቂል አንቀፋነتف

1. ከወል የካል በቀርቦዌ የቻው ጉዳዮቹ የጠየቀውን ሰርçር ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳይ ያስገድ ሓደ መፋ ያስገድ ከው ሳያ
## እንዲወонт እና የተገነዘበ ምክንያት

### 1. ከወintree እና የተገነዘበ ምክንያት

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>እንዳ</th>
<th>ምክንያት</th>
<th>ምን斡</th>
<th>ገቢ</th>
<th>ይግባኝ</th>
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<th>ገቢ</th>
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<th>ገቢ</th>
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### 8. ለማሳስ ያለ ምክንያት

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<th>ገቢ</th>
<th>ይግባኝ</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>ምን斡</td>
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<td>No.</td>
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<td>Unit</td>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>£ (in £)</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>TTC eye ointment of Secure</td>
<td>box</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>ORS of 100 sachets</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Piperazine syrup of 100 bott</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Gauge bandage 10 x 15 cm</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Mebendazole 100 mg of 100 tab</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Al(OH)2 5mths of 500mg x 1000 tab</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Multi Vit of 1000 tab</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>A.S.A 300 mg of 1000 tab</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Paracetamol 500 mg of 1000 tab</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Ferrous sulphat + Folic Acid of 1000 tabs</td>
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<td>Benzy Benzole lotion of 100 tab</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Iodine soln 2 % of 1 L</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Cotton wool of 500 gm</td>
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<td>Tape, umbilical cord</td>
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<td>Vit. B complex of 1000 tab</td>
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<td>Goze Cotton</td>
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<td>Spatula</td>
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<tr>
<td>Termometer</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Photoscopy</td>
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01/01/1999 - 11/02/1999

<table>
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5. የአንካር እን TCL

5.1. ይህ እንምን እን TCL ከምን እን TCL ያስተካከሉት እን TCL ከምን እን TCL ያስተካከሉት እን TCL ከምን እን TCL ያስተካከሉት እን TCL ከምን እን TCL ያስተካከል።

6. የአንካር እን TCL

6.1. ይህ እን TCL እን TCL ህይ Mahmoud እን TCL ያስተካከል። ይህ እን TCL እን TCL ህይ Mahmoud እን TCL ያስተካከል። ይህ እን TCL እን TCL ህይ Mahmoud እን TCL ያስተካከል። ይህ እን TCL እን TCL ህይ Mahmoud እን TCL ያስተካከል። ይህ እን TCL እን TCL ህይ Mahmoud እን TCL ያስተካከል።

6.2. ይህ እን TCL እን TCL ህይ Mahmoud እን TCL ያስተካከል። ይህ እን TCL እን TCL ህይ Mahmoud እን TCL ያስተካከል። ይህ እን TCL እን TCL ህይ Mahmoud እን TCL ያስተካከል። ይህ እን TCL እን TCL ህይ Mahmoud እን TCL ያስተካከል። ይህ እን TCL እን TCL ህይ Mahmoud እን TCL ያስተካከል። ይህ እን TCL እን TCL ህይ Mahmoud እን TCL ያስተካከል።

6.3. ይህ እን TCL እን TCL ህይ Mahmoud እን TCL ያስተካከል። ይህ እን TCL እን TCL ህይ Mahmoud እን TCL ያስተካከል። ይህ እን TCL እን TCL ህይ Mahmoud እን TCL ያስተካከል። ይህ እን TCL እን TCL ህይ Mahmoud እን TCL ያስተካከል። ይህ እን TCL እን TCL ህይ Mahmoud እን TCL ያስተካከል። ይህ እን TCL እን TCL ህይ Mahmoud እን TCL ያስተካከል።

6.4. ይህ እን TCL እን TCL ህይ Mahmoud እን TCL ያስተካከል። ይህ እን TCL እን TCL ህይ Mahmoud እን TCL ያስተካከል። ይህ እን TCL እን TCL ህይ Mahmoud እን TCL ያስተካከል። ይህ እን TCL እን TCL ህይ Mahmoud እን TCL ያስተካከል። ይህ እን TCL እን TCL ህይ Mahmoud እን TCL ያስተካከል። ይህ እን TCL እን TCL ህይ Mahmoud እን TCL ያስተካከል።
Oromia Somali Joint Development Programme

Implementation Modality

Owners of the programme are the Oromia National Regional State and the Somali Regional State.

Programme financers are
- The two Regional States
- Federal Support Programmes
- Other donor agencies
- Beneficiary group (communities)

Programme implementers are relevant institutions of the two Regional States including Woreda executives.

Supreme management of the programme is a board chaired by the president of Regional State periodically substituting one for the other (most likely on the annual base) whereas the day to day programme activities are coordinated by a programme coordination unit to be established jointly by the two Regions and headed by one programme coordinator.

The Board Members are
1. President of Regional State .......... Chairman
2. Delegate of the other Regional State .... Co-Chairman
3. Program coordinator (manager) ........ Member and secretary
4. Finance and Economic Development Bureau members (one from each regions)
5. Education and Capacity Building Bureau (One from each regions)
6. Security and Governance Bureau (One from each regions)
7. Rural and Agricultural Development Bureau (One from each regions)
8. Water Resource Bureau (One from each regions)
9. Health Bureau (One from each regions)

There will be virtual programme management task force at woreda level headed by woreda Administrator possibility with members from

1. Finance and Economic Development Office
2. Community Mobilization and Organization office
3. Security and Governance Justice affairs Office
4. Education and Capacity Building Office
5. Rural and Agricultural Development Office
6. Health Office

The Woreda level program management task force will nominate and assign one program focal person from Woreda staff who will be responsible for programme coordination at Woreda level and report to the Woreda program management task force as well as the programme coordination unit at regional level.

The programme coordination unit will have its duty station at center, based on agreement of the two regions, with frequent field visit to woredas, zones and regions for technical support, backstopping and supervision of the programme activities.

Head of programme coordination unit is to be assigned by the two regions (based on their agreement) with delegated power of autonomous nature and is supposed to be accountable to the Board and report to the board as well as the offices of the two presidents periodically.

Preparation of annual work plan is made based on submitted plan document of woreda and regional level implementing institutions of both regions as per the programme component. Programme coordination unit will facilitate, coordinate and participate in this planning process and get the compiled annual plan be approved by the Board.

Monitoring the performance states of the programme activities will be done on quarter basis at woreda level and six months at regional sector. Quarter base reports are expected from woreda and regional level implementers to programme coordination unit and there by the board. Annual review meeting by concerned participants from both regions, coordinated and facilitated by programme coordination unit, will evaluate the annual progress, approve the report of the board and discuss on next year work plan. There will be mid-term and terminal evaluation of the project period, periodic and frequent supervision and follow-up by programme coordination unit and implementers is mandatory at all levels.

The program coordination unit (PCU) will be budgeted by the program financiers based on the annual work plan approved by the board both for programme support and coordination purpose.

Disbursement of annual programme support budget to the implementing institutions at year and settlement be made at the end of the year with periodic replenishment as the case may be.

Government supported programme finance and material administration and utilization, procurement, inventory, accounting, and auditing system will be as per the government rules and regulations. Resource from other donors can also be managed as per system negotiated and agreed by both donors and recipient parties.

PCU will prepare and avail formats and models to be used by implementers for finance and material records, book keeping and documentation as well as reporting purpose.

The coordination unit will have programme support staff (including the coordinator) financed by the program budget. Staff recruitment and administration procedures are to be developed by the unit and approved by the board.

There will be attractive and motivating remuneration rate for the programme staff so as to make them contribute to the most for success of the programme.

Basically the programme activities are designed in a wider range but coordinated by a few staff with higher work load per person. Besides the extent of intensive work needed, the programme targets hardship and conflict prone area that demand strong commitment and higher expertise power. Therefore it is strongly recommended to make an attractive payment that compensates such marginality.

Objective

- To enhance peace strengthen structures through natural resource development and strengthen the democratization processes through a consolidated and substantive democracy with attentive and restorative justice system
- Empower the society to self support development
- Enhance community participation in cycle of the project to met the program coordination unit (PCU) objectives.
- Developing the social capital deems essential. Social capital like a culture of trust and cooperation that makes collective action possible and effective by making a thorough study and come up with ways and means of reinstating it and strengthening it.
• Contributing in conformation of effective natural Resources developments are an instrument of conflict resolution.
• To create economic ties between ethnic groups to reduces conflict
• Promoting the involvement of woman in conflict resolution and development.
• Together with the communities identify the top problem to be solved.

Vision
• PCU aspires to see peaceful, prosperous livelihood and good governance in the boundary areas of the two regions

Mission
• To reduce poverty in the boundary areas of the two regions through effective and efficient coordination of economic, Social and Infrastructural development endeavors and consequently contribute to the attainment of reliable and sustainable peace with due respect of community empowerment.

Values
1) Honorable spirit, and good hospitality are guiding principles of our success
2) Effective coordination and integration are multipliers of our effort,
3) Integrity and fraternity of partners is our motto.
4) Appreciate the role of women in development,
5) Respect community empowerment, indigenous social structures and knowledge.
6) Honesty, transparency, sense of urgency, accountability and responsibility are our work cultures.

Duties and Responsibilities

The joint development programme coordination unit is responsible for overall coordination and facilitation of planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of project activities as per the program document. Specifically.

1) Identify and propose ways and means to strengthen brotherly and friendly relationship of the two communities and coordinate the implementation when approved.
2) Facilitate and coordinate creation of peaceful and secured environment in the boundary areas of the two regions.
3) In collaboration with relevant bodies; identify root causes of conflict, propose resolution strategies and coordinate the implementation,
4) Facilitate and coordinate activities of rural development sector, water resource, health services, education and capacity building, developmental of rural infrastructure as well as community mobilization and organization in the boundary areas of the two regions,
5) Facilitate and support bilateral cooperation and linkage among private sectors, public institutions, Trans boundary and local donors as well as civic / community/organizations of the two regions.
6) Facilitate the planning of development activities at grass root level and provide technical support and advice when necessary.
7) Prepare medium and short term plan for bilateral cooperation of the two regions and coordinate the implementation when approved.
8) Facilitate the support to the program by different funding agencies and ensure its implementation as per the plan.
9) Ensure allocation of programme inputs (finance, material and manpower) as per the plan, maintain financial accounting and records and avail to audit purpose.
10) Collect process and manage relevant information and data in boundary areas of the two region, create and maintain smooth communication and information exchange with partners at all levels.
11) Facilitate implementation of programme activities by coordinating effort of different implementing agencies at all level.
12) Supervise the implementation of programme activities, coordinate and lead monitoring and evaluation works in collaboration with respective implementers at all level of both regions.
13) Coordinate joint programme review at regional level and facilitate periodic reviews at woreda level.
• Contributing in conformation of effective natural Resources developments are an instrument of conflict resolution.
• To create economic ties between ethnic groups to reduces conflict
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11) Facilitate implementation of programme activities by coordinating effort of different implementing agencies at all level.
12) Supervise the implementation of programme activities, coordinate and lead monitoring and evaluation works in collaboration with respective implementers at all level of both regions.
13) Coordinate joint programme review at regional level and facilitate periodic reviews at woreda level.
14. Facilitate and coordinate mid-term as well as terminal evaluation of the programme in collaboration with concerned institutions of both regions.
15. PCU in collaboration with both regional government involves in facilitating and strengthen community level skills and organizational capacity.
16. Facilitate, Coordinate and participate in preparation of workable joint developmental plan and resource mobilization for implementing the same in the boundary areas of Somali and Oromia regions.

In order to carryout the above mentioned key duties and responsibilities, the PCU will have programme line staff working on:

- Conflict resolution
- Social Service and Capacity Building (Health, Education and Public & Community Capacity Building)
- Community Participation and Organization (Community Participatory Rural appraisal, Local Resource Mobilization and Community Organization promotion)
- Water Resource Development & Utilization (both for human and livestock)
- Integrated rural development (Agriculture, Pastoralist Development, Natural Resource, Irrigation, Agricultural Marketing, Food security programme, cooperative promotion, Rural road)

- Administrative staffs of programme support are also proposed.

The planning team has tried to look into different alternatives for programme staffing that commensurate with intended implementation modality and programme objectives. Some governmental, multilateral, and NGO supported projects such as:
- Pastoral Community Development Project,
- ESRDF Oromia,
- IFAD and UNDP supported programmes,
- Borena Lowland Pastoral Development programme, and
- FARM Africa Ethiopian pastoralist programe were considered as a reference.

Hence the planning team has proposed the following option in order of their priority.

1st Option
- Intensive work nature necessitate higher level experts power (well qualified and experienced)
- The programme target area is marginalized, hardship and conflict prone area.
- Prevailing average market price shows not less than the proposed.

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</table>

2nd Option
- Work nature and project target area requires the same consideration with the first option.
- It is believed to establish the coordination unit with in a short period of time through organizing experienced and qualified experts from existing sectors of both regions.
- Lesser rate than the first option due to job security.
- The planning team are also imposed to consider the hardship allowance paid in remote area of both regions to be compensated through attractive payment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.N</th>
<th>Programme Staff</th>
<th>Qnt</th>
<th>Monthly Payment</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total Monthly Payment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Salary</td>
<td>Allowance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Coordinator</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>5,300</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Officer</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4,200</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>4,900</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Finance Officer</td>
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<td>400</td>
<td>3,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Secretary Cashier</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>400</td>
<td>1,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Driver</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3rd Option

- Middle level career experts are considered as input that necessitate higher number of staff but lesser payment rate.
- This is an alternative incase of difficulties to get the experts proposed in first and 2nd option.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.N</th>
<th>Programme Staff</th>
<th>Qnt</th>
<th>Monthly Payment</th>
<th>Total Monthly Payment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Salary</td>
<td>Allowance</td>
</tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Coordinator</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Programme Officer</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Water Resource Expert</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rural Development Expert</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Public Health Expert</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Education &amp; Capacity Building Expert</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Conflict Resolution Expert</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Community Participation and Organization Expert</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Cashier</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Driver</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Organizational Structures

Board

Programme Coordinator

Finance Officer
Conflict Resolution Officer
Water Resource Officer
Rural Development Officer
Social Service & Capacity Building Officer
Community participation and organization Officer
N.B: The Delineation of the Regional and International Boundaries Shown on this Map must not be considered as Authoritative.
Each successive Population and Housing Census demonstrates that national population size increased in steady increments of significant proportions. For instance, a comparison of the 2007 census results with those from 1994 shows that the population of the country increased by more than 20 million persons over the last 12 years. Similarly, in the previous decade (1984 to 1994), the population of the country increased by 13.2 million people.

1.2 Spatial Distribution of Population

Ethiopia is administratively sub-divided into nine regional states and two city administrations. The 2007 Population and Housing Census results are presented by regions. The data show that there are significant variations in the distribution of population by regions. As shown in Table 2, the largest proportion of the country's population was found in Oromia Region, followed by Amhara and SNNP Regions. The lowest proportion was in Harari Regional State.

The same patterns of overall population distribution by regions were observed in the 1994 census. However, there were slight changes in the percentage of population distribution over the last 12 years: the percentage shares for Oromia and SNNP Regions have slightly increased since 1994, whereas the percentage share of the national population in Amhara Region has declined from 25.9 to 23.3 percent. For the rest of the regions, distributions of the national population expressed in terms of percentages remained nearly the same.
As it can be seen from figure 1.2, eighty percent of the population of the country was found in the three biggest regional states namely: Oromia, Amhara and Southern Nations and Nationalities and Peoples (SNNP) both in 1994 and 2007.
Questionnaire Prepared for Officials of Oromia and SNNPR States on
The Role of Horizontal Inter-governmental Relations in the
Resolution of the Conflict between the Conflicting Parties.

1. Are there horizontal cooperations (agreements) made between the two Regional states to resolve the conflict? Yes ☐ No ☐

2. If your answer to question No.1 is "Yes" mention the time when the cooperation or agreement was made.

If your response is "No", give your reasons:

3. Are there major issues identified/listed in the cooperation (agreement) between the two regional states? Yes ☐ No ☐

If your response is 'Yes', please, mention in the space provided those major issues identified:

If your response is 'No', give your reason

4. What are the types of major conflicts observed in the regions?

5. What do you think are the major causes of the conflicts?

6. Are there mechanisms designed to resolve the conflict between the parties? Yes ☐ No ☐

If your response is "Yes" mention mechanisms in resolving the conflict

If your response is "No", Give your justification briefly

7. Are there people to people cooperation's made to resolve the conflict between the two conflicting groups? Yes ☐ No ☐

If "Yes", which groups of people participated in conflict results?

8. Was there prior orientation provided to the participants in conflict resolution in List them, please of the

9. Could you explain briefly the role of the actors is these conflict?

10. Are there solutions proposed by the two respective conflicting parties? Yes ☐ No ☐

If "Yes" list them briefly.

If "No" give your justifications
6. What are the aggravating factors in the conflict?

7. What measures have already been taken to solve the conflicts by enabling the general public to participate in conflict resolution between the conflicting woredas?
   - Committees were organized by selecting members from conflicting parties.
   - General meetings were organized to orient the parties by the administration.

8. Have certain traditional/indigenous mechanisms been employed to resolve the conflicts?
   - Yes
   - No

9. If your answer for question "8" above is yes, please mention the types of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms.

10. If your answer for question "8" above is yes, please mention how the traditional mechanisms are employed.

11. Who are the parties engaged in the traditional conflict resolution?

12. What were the criteria for participating in the traditional conflict resolution?
   - to be one of the direct victims in the conflict
   - Other (please specify)

13. If no traditional mechanisms for conflict was employed, what could be the reason?
   - the concerned parties didn't agree on the use of traditional mechanisms
   - the concerned parties didn't propose the utilization of traditional mechanisms for resolving conflicts.
   - the woreda administration office holder the case. Others. (Please specify)

14. Have the measures taken so far brought improvement in the life situation of the people?
   - Yes
   - No

15. If your answer for question "14" above is yes, in what way?

16. If your answer is 'No', what could be the reasons?

17. Are there factors which aggravate/influence the conflict?
   - Yes
   - No
18) If your answer is ‘yes’ for question “17” above, please mention them.

________________________________________________________________________

19) What are the major impacts of the existing conflict?

☐ Lost human life
☐ Firing houses
☐ Robbing Properties
☐ Others, (Please specify)

________________________________________________________________________

20) What are the major economic impacts/effects observed due to the conflict between the parties?

☐ Lack of market transaction between the conflicting weredas
☐ Lack of transportation
☐ High Prices over consumable goods and commodities,
☐ Others, (Please specify)

________________________________________________________________________

21) Which social services rendering institutions were mostly affected by the conflict?

☐ Clinics
☐ Health Posts
☐ Schools
☐ Kebele administration Offices
☐ Other, If any

________________________________________________________________________

22) What are the major social impacts/effects?

☐ Sharing of religious celebration was hampered
☐ Sharing of culture ceremonies (like funeral services) were hindered,
☐ Lines of social communications were broken due to the existing sense of insecurity among the public
☐ Others, (Please specify)

________________________________________________________________________

23) What are the major political impacts/effects?

☐ Administrative services could not be adequately rendered
☐ Human right violation were committed by para - military groups.
☐ Respect for diversity was reduced (Intolerance)
☐ Others, (Please Specify)

________________________________________________________________________

24) What do you think are the impacts of these conflicts on peace and stability in the weredas under conflict?

________________________________________________________________________

25) What do you think should be done to bring sustainable peace and stability in the conflicting weredas?

________________________________________________________________________
Part One

I. Background Information

Instruction: Please indicate your answer by making "X" in the appropriate box or writing where it is necessary in the space provided.

1. Name of your Region
2. Name of your Zone
3. Name of your wereda
4. Name of your kebele
5. Sex: Male □ Female □
6. Age:
   a. 20-23 □ b. 26-30 □ c. 31-35 □
   d. 36-40 □ e. 41 and above □
7. Education
   a. Illiterate □ b. 1-6 □ c. 7-8 □ d. 9-10 □ e. 11-12 □
   f. college Diploma and above □
8. Occupation
   a. Farmer □ b. Pastoralist □ c. Teacher □
   d. Police □ e. Student □ f. Administrators □

1) Who are the conflicting parties? Please, mention

2) What do you think are the major sources of the conflict between the conflicting weredas?
   □ Grazing land
   □ Water
   □ Expansion of farm land
   □ Absence of border demarcation between the conflicting weredas
   □ Negative expressions concerning groups of people
   □ Others, please specify

3) Among the sources of conflict mentioned under question 2 above, which do you think is the most serious problem?

4) How can you explain the existing types of conflicts in general?
   □ Economic
   □ Social
   □ Political
   □ Religious
   □ Other, please specify

5) Who are the actors in the conflict?
11. What is the impact of the cooperation made regional states with regards to conflict resolution?

a. Strength (positive aspects)

b. Weaknesses

12. What are the major challenges in the process of cooperation? List them briefly.

13. What are the major opportunities created done to the cooperation made to the regional? (List them please)
Declaration

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of the material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Temesgen Bayissa

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as university advisor.

Dr. Assefa Fiseha
Addis Ababa University