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**Implication of the Afar - Somali Pastoralist Conflict on the Socio - economic
Rights of Residents in Afar Region Zone Three**

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Acronyms

SNNP	South Nations, Nationalities and Peoples
ESCR	Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
CPR	Civil and Political Rights
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
VOA	Voices of America
PFE	Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority for Development
UN	United Nations
WWI	First World War
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
GIS	Geographical Information System

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Interpretation of Terms

For the purpose of this research these words and phrases will have the following meaning

Afar Pastoralists refers to those pastoralists specifically found along the Awash River in close contact with the Somali pastoralists

Awash River Basin refers to the Awash River itself and the adjacent areas and grazing lands starting from Awash Sebat town to Adeytu via the Somali pastoralists' settlement areas

Herders refer to persons looking after and caring animals

Somali Pastoralists refers to the Issa and Hawiya clans of Somali who are found in Zone three of the Afar regional state

Residents refers to pastoralists, urban dwellers, workers and businesspeople who are found in the study area

Abstract

Afar and Somali are neighboring communities who predominantly practice pastoralism and share a number of social, economic, spiritual and cultural similarities. As pastoralists they often share the same grazing land and water points. Especially during drought seasons that cause serious scarcity of those natural resources vital for livestock consumption, clashes between herdsman is inevitable fact.

However, Afar – Somali pastoralists have had traditional dispute resolving mechanisms managed under the auspices of elders and clan leaders of both communities. Nonetheless, although Afar respondents relate starting of the serious conflict back to the period when construction of the Addis – Djibouti railway line had been conducted by a French company which they noted that it had militarily trained and recruited Issa/Somali members for security purposes which later helped them to wage serious attack against the Afar communities and similarly entrance of Italy to Ogaden - Ethiopia via Somaliland and its relation with the Issa/Somali again, in the last two decades the trend of the conflict has completely changed its dimensions. After the Derg regime and coming of new federal system, intervention of regional administrations in the Afar – Somali pastoralist conflict has increasingly grown from time to time.

The Afar zone three which is a home for Awash and Gewane rivers and pastoralist and non pastoralist communities, holding great potential for water and grazing activities vital for livestock production is the center for the conflict between Afar and Somali pastoralist communities. Afar elders noted that the Somali (Issa and Hawiya) communities not only relentlessly covet to access water and pasture but also to control this resource rich areas and trading route and establish permanent settlements and institutions within the Afar region. Accordingly the perpetual, frequent and destructive nature of the conflict in the study area causes a number of social, economical and psychological impacts on residents. The Afars relentless efforts to expel Somali pastoralist communities from the Afar region on the one hand and the Somalis interest to occupy the Awash River basin water and grazing resources on the other have made the conflict and tension of the study area remain constant.

As a result, violent killings, body injury, displacement of residents, livestock raiding and destruction of property are common phenomenon in the study area. Such displacements and injuries further resulted in violation of residents' right to housing, freedom of movement, right to food, right to education, work, health and other related socioeconomic rights.

CHAPTER-ONE

1.1 Introduction

Conflict by its nature impedes the whole society's walk of life. Conflict affects civil, political, cultural, social and economic rights of human beings. In a state of conflict, people may not have the freedom to move from one place to another for work, trade, investment and tourism purposes. In most of the conflict ridden societies, stable social relationship, smooth flow of market transactions, productivity, cooperation, education, housing, health care and development activities are highly restricted. Conflict also affects the efficacy and very existence of state structures which in turn erodes functionality of the justice system and political legitimacy as a whole.

Violent clashes perpetrated between or among groups of society like the Afar - Somali pastoralist communities give rise to violations of human rights. And such conflict ridden societies often expose to deep rooted poverty and social disruption. Conflict is naturally one of the destructive social actions; specially such organized and consistent community conflicts not only disrupt the peace and stability, freedom, social relationship and transaction of residents, but also paralyses the function of state machineries as well. As a result, the civil, political, social and economic rights of residents may fall in peril.

Socioeconomic rights play significant role in realizing the true dignity of human beings. However, at times of violent clashes, these rights often got marginalized or neglected because emphasis is often given to reasons and urgent conflict controlling/ management mechanisms but not to the enjoyment or full realization of socioeconomic rights; this in turn affect residents in many aspects of life. Therefore, cognizant of the broad nature of socioeconomic rights and inability to cover and manage every aspect of those rights in a single research because of time constraint and other inconveniences, this study has emphasized on the general impact that the Afar – Somali pastoral conflict is implicating on the enjoyment of socioeconomic rights particularly to communities resided at the study area; and for the purpose of this research the term 'Somali pastoralists' would refer to the Issa and Hawiya clans who are settled in that specific area. In addressing the issue, the thesis is organized in four chapters: the methodology part, literature review, data presentation and analysis and finally finding and conclusion.

1.2 General background of the study

As part of the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia contains a large population of pastoralists in the eastern, south-eastern, southern and south western lowlands.¹ Pastoralist communities in most part of the country have no permanent settlement; they often move from place to place in search of better natural resources particularly water and pasture. Periodic mobility is therefore the best strategy whereby pastoralist societies used to manage their lives and tackling drought hardships. Especially the eastern part of our country (Afar and Somali regional states) is known for its drought vulnerability more than other places exercising similar livelihood. The level and frequency of mobility is often determined by the access to and availability of adequate water and pasture for their livestock and household consumptions. However, it is obvious that such resources are much scarce and has become under increasing pressure from time to time. The ever increasing demand on pasture and water as well as looting animals in places where pastoralism is predominantly practiced has remained to be a primary triggering factor for communal conflicts. As a result, violent conflicts that involve pastoralists have become widespread and increasingly severe throughout the pastoral communities of the study area. As it has already been mentioned in the above, conflicts involving pastoralists mostly associate with resource competition and livestock raiding. Though the government has been striving to minimize the tension in the past twenty years, pressures on water and land resources have increased greatly over the recent years with ever increased farming activities, state sponsored resettlement programs, spreading of large scale investments, rapid population growth and frequently happening periodic drought.² Conflicts among pastoral communities arising from resource competitions and livestock raiding have a long history and have to some extent become an aspect of traditional pastoralist culture.³ These traditional conflicts have become increasingly destructive and less manageable by government efforts and capacity.⁴ Following conflicts among pastoral communities, communal responses to individual grievances, especially in cases of loss of cattle or any personal attack have been the causes for a horrifying loss of life, destruction of property and uncertainty. Illegal dealers have also been playing a great role in escalating the conflicts by providing variety of

¹ Yohannes,G., et al, (2005), Addressing pastoralist conflict in Ethiopia: The case of the Kuraz and Hamer sub-districts of South Omo zone, p.3

².ibid

³ Unruh , J.D., (2006), Changing conflict resolution institutions in the Ethiopian pastoral commons: the role of armed confrontation in rule-making', *GeoJournal* (2005) 64: p. 227

⁴ ibid

weapons, ammunition, commodities and information to the contesting parties. This type of conflict is a lived reality between the Afar and Somali pastoralist communities to which this research is sticking into.

The most conflict exposed areas of Afar and Somali are located in the eastern part of the country along the Addis-Djibouti and Addis – Dire Dawa main roads and railway line. Specifically Gedamayto, Unduffo and Adeytu settlements of the Issa/Somali and Hardim as well as parts of Bordede areas of the Hawiya/Somali are the frequently disrupted ones.

Afar and Somali have different ethnic background, languages and their own regional administrations. Issa/Somali clan members are basically found in Ethiopia, Djibouti and to some extent in Somaliland.⁵ In Ethiopia Shinile Zone of the Somali regional state is considered as the base of Issa/Somali community. However, both the Issa and Hawiya clans of Somali have expanded their possessions deep into the current Afar regional state where they occupied a vast and potentially resourceful territory from the Afars; this area is basically suitable for grazing and trade activities and consequently have been a reason for frequent, violent, destructive and bloody clashes in the last two decades.

These two neighboring communities have been engaging in violent conflict against each other for decades. In the above discussion it has been stated that Afar and Somali do not belong to the same ethnic group, nor they speak the same language though their way of life, religion, mode of production and other factors attached to and influenced by the environmental realities and weather hardships of the atmosphere of the area where they live in dictate them to share a number of common elements. However, to readers' surprise, the Afar and Issa/Somali elders and community members have different and so complicated understanding about their own historical relationship. Even the Afars have confused understanding of the Issa as Somali; as one clan of the Somali, the Afar describes the Issa as descendant of a prodigal son.⁶ Indeed if one happens by chance to meet elders of either group and ask them about the historical bond of these two pastoralist communities, they would say, Afar and Issa were two brothers who later quarreled because of property interests while inheriting their father. According to the elders, "right after the

⁵ Abubeker Ahmed Issa traditional leader of the community, told to VOA-Amharic program debate entitled 'democracy in practice' held between Afar and Issa-Somali representatives and scholars on the issue of reasons, impact and solutions of the Afar-Issa pastoral conflict on 6 and 10 October, 2012

⁶ Muuz, G., (2009), The Issa-Afar Conflict in the Post 1991 Ethiopia, p.39, Senior thesis available at IPSS library

disagreement the elder one fled with the cattle he collected from the deceased father and the younger brother started searching where he was about; finally, this marked the era of the age old, consistent and destructive conflict between Afar and Issa/Somali communities”.⁷

Of course, the time when the quarrel was erupted has no clear starting point. People from both sides have different assumption about the time. According to some of the members of both the Afar and Issa/Somali communities, starting point of the dispute traces 600 years back and others used to narrow it to some 200 years ago.⁸ However, Irrespective of the discrepancy in time, it is a lived reality that those communities have been affected by persistent conflict, violent killings, looting of animals and condemning each other for a couple of decades. Traditionally the crucial problem behind each outbreak of conflict has been the quest for natural resources such as access to and utilization of water points and grazing lands. Hence the reason for conflict between and among herdsmen within the pastoralist sphere was often the scarcity of natural resources (water and Pasture) because of the area’s exposure to drought vulnerability; the competition over those resources made Afar and Somali pastoralists pushing against each other’s possession and occupy new places by force.

In the Afar side, there is a river called Awash which flows eastward encompassing four zones (naming from west to east, zone 3, 5, 4 and 1) out of the five zones of the Afar region and finally remain sinking in Lake *Abbe* within the Afar region. Although the contribution of rivers to the national economy has become increasingly growing from time to time, formerly Awash was considered as the most exploited river in Ethiopia; in terms of irrigation, hydroelectric power, sugar plantation, fruits, its great potential resources of pasture and water which it provides to Afar pastoralists throughout the year. As a result, Awash River has a great value in the economic, social and cultural as well as political life of the Afars. The following map indicates the flowing direction of Awash River, the areas it encompassed throughout its basin and the place where it finally sinks down.

⁷ An interview conducted with Afar elders, 13 January 2013. Afar elders consider the Issa/Somali not as part of Somali but as their brothers and also as violent and uncontrolled who consistently covet to occupy fertile and important areas by force. The Issa/Somali also have similar view and interpretation on their historical bond with the Afar communities.

⁸ An interview conducted with Issa/Somali elders January 2013 Gedamayto, Afar elders of Awash and Kurkura January 1013

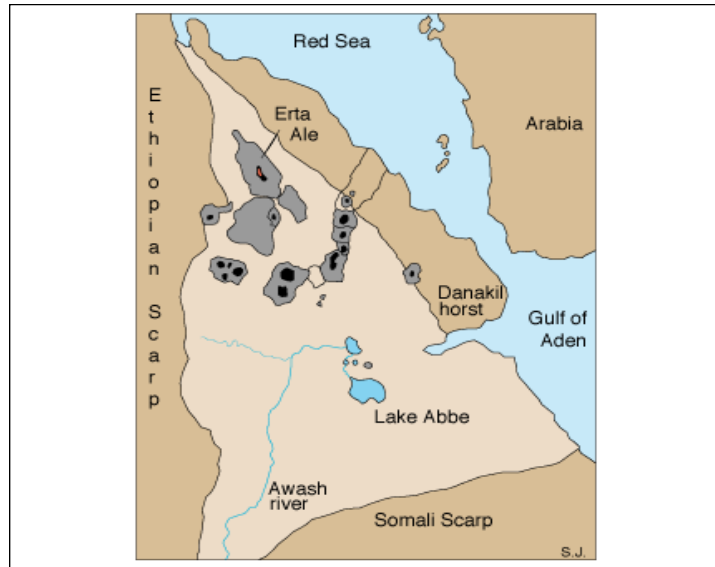


Figure 1 shows the Awash River flowing direction and its end point: this Map was taken from web sources⁹

Although the eastern part of Ethiopia is known for its drought vulnerability and weather hardship, Awash River basin has great potential resources vital for animal production, irrigation, agriculture and for investment activities. The year round flowing pattern of the river becomes a place of economic, social and political attraction for the Afars and other neighboring communities as well. Thus the neighboring pastoralist communities are interested in controlling and accessing grazing lands and water of the river and its surrounding areas. Pastoralists particularly, the Issa and Hawiya clans of Somali have been the one who become more attracted by the Awash River basin resources of water and pasture. On the way they try to occupy new places towards the river, the Issa/Somali and Hawiya/Somali often clash with the Afar pastoralist communities. Although conflict between herdsmen is prevalent within the pastoralist sphere, facts reveal that the Afar – Somali conflict has been increasingly grown in the past two decades particularly from the transitional period or right from the aftermath of fall down of the military government.

In fact the conflict is long aged and they have different views and perceptions about their historical relationship. In the Afars point of view, ‘the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway construction and coming of Italian colonizers to the Ogaden areas via the Italy Somaliland had confer the Issa/Somali special opportunity to organize and equip themselves with modern

⁹ Map source: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/do/Ethiopia-Afar_Zone-3.PFG

machineguns; and the conflict become more complicated and much more destructive'.¹⁰ According to Zenebe, et al, the French company which constructed the railway line had given basic military trainings to Issa community members who had been recruited in the company as security guards and later this training had placed them in a better advantage than the Afars in terms of effectively utilizing the modern weapons.¹¹ This later has brought the Afar and Issa/Somali pastoralists into stiff competition to equip themselves with modern machineguns and tactical training.

On top of this Afar and Somali pastoralists have been blaming each other that each of them was supported by 'externalists (Red sea Afar or Gugume for the Afars and advocates of greatest Somalia, Al-Qaida and recently Alshebab for the Issa/Somali) in terms of finance, military training on how to utilize the guns they equipped with, provision of weapons and sometimes manpower also'.¹² Within such persistent conflict, both communities were suffering from violent and destructive clashes against each other throughout generations which actually has resulted in an uncalculated destruction of property; loss of life, looting of animals, mental and physical insecurity, uncertainty of life dominated by a state of fear and anxiety.

¹⁰ Afar community meeting participants, 8 February 2013 at Awash Kebelle: After the January and February 2013 conflict perpetrated between the Hawiya/Somali and Afar pastoralist communities, consistent community meetings were held and organized by the Federal police and Defense Force institutions to identify the causes, actors, impacts and general situation of the conflict. Fortunately, the researcher has got the chance to be part of that community meetings coincidence and by the help of the abovementioned federal security forces. Here the Afar community meeting was one of the three main meetings held at the conflict areas of Hardim, Obensa, Kurkura and Awash kebelles. In the Awash and kurkura kebelles only, 120 Afar participants encompassing elders, clan leaders, youth, herdsmen, women, kebele and woreda leaders and local police were actively involved. During the meeting participants have narrated the historical Afar- Somali pastoralist relationship attaching to Italian intrusion to Ogaden - Ethiopia via Somaliland the including the good and bad sides in their social interaction manifested especially from the Italian as well as Imperial period to date. The Afars specifically noted that after the fall down of the military regime and coming to power of EPRDF, the Somali pastoralists begun to occupy vast areas, establish permanent settlements and trade towns in the Afar region in an organized manner. Participants further gone to state that in the past two decades the conflict has changed in many aspects; as facts revealed today the clash is no more pastoralist issue, specially Somali state government agencies have strong involvement in terms of establishing different state structures and institutions such as kebelles, woredas and other institutions within the Issa and Hawiya controlled Afar land. During conflict government agencies specially zone, woreda and kebele leaders, local security forces: police, militia, ex-military members were involved. Automatic machineguns, ammunition, warriors, transport vehicles and logistics were supplied from Shinile zone, mulu woreda directly to the conflict area and this shows how much the trends of the conflict perpetrated at the expense of pastoralist become politically motivated and backed up with extra-pastoralist resource agendas.

¹¹ Zenebe, k., et al,(2010),Mission of the Defense Forces In Stabilizing the Afar-Issa Conflict', p. 37: A Research Paper Available At The Combined Arms Academy Library

¹² Ibid

1.3 Statement of the problem

Economic Social and Cultural (ESC) rights are the fundamental rights in which the human person can hardly live without. The actual implementation of these rights in turn has the power to ensure full realization and enjoyment of all other fundamental rights of human beings and to live in dignity and *visè-versa*, because human rights are inseparable. However, despite the consensus on the indivisibility, interdependence and universality of human rights, economic, social and cultural rights often remain marginalized in their implementation.¹³ The realization of socioeconomic rights deserve not only the availability of plenty of resources but also unhesitating commitment and well established structural/institutional framework of the state that can make consistent follow ups and take appropriate measures so that citizens would be able to enjoy equitable distribution, timely reallocation, equal accessibility, fair and effective utilization of those resources.

The right to education, food, housing and health are the central issues of socioeconomic rights which considered as “multiplier” or “empowerment” rights as well as essential means to promote other rights, the enjoyment of which enhances all rights and freedoms while their violation jeopardizes them all.¹⁴ However, ESCR are not self standing; for socioeconomic rights to touch the ground and realized practically there must be peaceful and stable environment. In this regard the Afar-Somali pastoralists’ relationship has been quite unpleasant. Violent clashes have been almost daily occurrences. Raiding and counter raiding of livestock, communal attack, killings and displacement of residents are prevalent. Hence, even though the historical situations, origin, reason, intensity and conflict management aspects of the Afar-Somali pastoralist clashes have been the subject of many researches and scholarly articles, implication of the conflict on the enjoyment of socioeconomic rights of residents in this specific study area of zone three has not adequately been explored yet. Therefore, this research looks into the implications of the frequent and destructive conflict in the enjoyment of ESCR in perspectives of work, education, food and housing. Accordingly the research tries to explore the issue based on the following questions.

¹³ ACHPR, (2004), Resolution on Economic, Social And Cultural Rights In Africa, para.5: /Res.73(XXXVI)04 This is the resolution of the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights passed on the meeting at its 36th Ordinary session held from 23rd November to 7th December 2004 in Dakar, Senegal.

¹⁴ Sital K., et al, (2010), Enhancing Enforcement of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Using Indicators: A Focus on the Right to Education in the ICESCR, Human Rights Quarterly 32 (2010) 253–310 © 2010 by The Johns Hopkins University Press, p.17 http://www.escr.net.org/usr_doc/

- What are the implications of the Afar – Somali conflict on the enjoyment of residents’ socioeconomic rights?
- Does the conflict have any negative impact on the economic and social activities of the study areas?

1.4 Objective of the study

1.4.1 General objective

The main objective of this research is to explore into the implication of the Afar-Somali pastoralist conflict on the socioeconomic rights of the Afar zone three residents.

1.4.2 Specific objectives

The specific objectives are to:

1. Explore and capture narratives about the major triggering factors, frequency, intensity and tension of the conflict and the way it affects to the socioeconomic rights of residents;
2. Explore how and to what extent the conflict is affecting residents economic and social activities
3. Identify what would be the way forward; investigate what possible solutions might exist to the betterment and realization of residents’ socioeconomic rights.

1.5 Delimitation of the study

Pastoralist conflicts are prevalent in the east African region in general and in Ethiopia in particular. However, the scope of this research is restricted into the implications of the Afar-Somali pastoralist conflicts taking place in zone three of the Afar regional state. The scope of this research is therefore bounded in terms of territory and subject matter.

Geographically this research has covered the following Afar areas of zone three: Awash – Sebat town, Awash - Arba and Kurkura kebelles of the Amibara Woreda and Gewane town; and Gedamayto and Hardim kebelles of the Somali pastoralist settlement areas. The research has also encompassed the adjacent Oromo kebelles of Bordede and Obensa. Obviously, all these research areas are found in zone three all around the Awash River basin via the Addis – Djibouti and Addis – Dire Dawa roads and railway line.

In terms of subject matter this research has mainly explored into the implication of the Afar-Somali (Issa and Hawiya) pastoralist conflict on the realization of socioeconomic rights of residents; specially this research has stuck into the impact of the conflict on the right to education, health, housing, work and food, believing that these are central issues in enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights.

1.6 Limitation of the study

This research has actually faced a number of challenges. Among the thorny limitations were insecurity tensions, language problem, inadequate access to transportation, time and financial problem, weather hardship, reluctance of the proposed respondents to participate and reveal facts, methodological discrepancy because of inconveniences as to methods of inquiry and sampling techniques previously set. The tension of the area that is created as a result of the persistent and violent conflict between the Afar and Somali specifically, Hawiya/Somali – Afar and Hawiya/Somali - Oromo conflict made the data gathering and field observation processes uncomfortable.

Although hiring of interpreters was planed previously as a solution to the anticipated language challenge and actually employed in practice, failure of the researcher to speak local languages i.e. Afar or Somali, was still remained to be one of the limitations in making interviews and FGDs because almost all pastoralist communities who predominantly live in the rural areas cannot communicate in Amharic or English languages.

Reluctance of respondents was also the serious problem of this research. Members of both contesting parties are obviously long time rivals and they see everything in doubt. Even though the researcher begins with introducing himself, explaining the purpose of the research and asking their goodwill/voluntariness to participate as respondents, some of them still remain reluctant to reveal facts.

Most of the respondents were much more concerned about their security. They were not voluntary tell their names, occupation, address, etc. During participation they began with begging not to be disclosed in public.

Later the researcher has come up with solutions to some of the abovementioned limitations. After checking out the possible challenges in the pretest observation and data gathering process, it was believed that making some sort of collaboration with the defense force institutions and federal police security forces found at Awash Sebat- Brigade (CAA), Awash Arba (WT), Gadamayto and Gewane was important to overcome the limitations. These institutions helped the researcher to have contact with kebele as well as woreda leaders, elders, clan leaders and interpreters; and this has played at least to minimize the challenges and have better access of data sources.

1.7 Significance of the study

This research hopefully will contribute its own part not only to Afar – Somali pastoralist communities but also to other communities living in similar social and economical set up. It probably will give lesson also to many concerned organs of state, non-governmental organizations, communities and individuals that how much frequent, destructive and bloody the conflict is; and help them in the solution making process. Therefore, stepping from the findings policy makers, governmental and non-governmental institutions and other concerned parties will be able to take note of the society's situation in terms of enjoying socioeconomic rights and strive for the good of the community at issue.

1.8 Research methodology

During the literature review and before the data gathering task, the researcher has made a preliminary observation, interview and questionnaire based data gathering in the research areas for about ten days (from 13-24 December 2012). Purpose of the pretest observation was basically to create enabling environment for the upcoming task by identifying the living reality of the study area. The observation conducted therein and data gathered during the pretest process has later helped the researcher to choose and develop the pertinent methodology, identify the target population and area, select proper methods of inquiry and develop the interview and FGD guiding instruments.

After conducting the abovementioned pretest, the methodology chosen and employed by this study is qualitative approach because the topic needs more of physical observation and active interaction on the study areas in collaboration with the conflict torn pastoral communities so as

to have true posterity of the conflict's implication on the socioeconomic rights of residents. Personal experience of the researcher on the intricacies of the Afar – Somali pastoralist clashes was also an important source worth explaining in an expressive analysis.

Qualitative research was picked up from other kinds of approaches such as quantitative and the mixed one, after making thorough readings and understanding which approach would best suits to the research topic at issue. This approach was chosen because 'qualitative research allows an in-depth exploration of what makes people tick on a particular subject: their feelings, perceptions, observations, decision-making processes, etc'.¹⁵ It provides a much deeper understanding on how the target population thinks about a particular issue. Quantitative research, on the other hand, is projectable; meaning, this methodology should employ a larger sample which is representative of the entire population being researched.¹⁶

Quantitative research basically lies on statistically established data that might be collected through 'inventories, questionnaires or machine'; where as in qualitative research the researcher remains central; he/she is the primary instrument of data collection and analysis.¹⁷ In qualitative research methodology, the researcher appears in person during field works; make observation and record phenomena from which explanations and illustrations of words, statements, concepts and principles are developed later on at the analysis stage. This makes qualitative methodology explanatory in nature; here the interest of the researcher lies in the process, meaning, description as well as in the insight to be gained through words, explanations or illustrations.¹⁸ Pertinent to the above methodological dictum, the researcher has used focus group discussions, field observation and one-to-one in depth interviews with different sections of societies who permanently and temporarily inhabited at the research areas.

The purpose of employing focus group discussion and in depth interview is therefore, to dig out the right image and lived reality of residents in terms of enjoying socioeconomic rights in

¹⁵ Sellers, R., (1998), qualitative versus Quantitative Research- choosing the right approach, p.1, Grey matter Research & consulting, published in the nonprofit times.

¹⁶ *ibid*

¹⁷ Abera, H., (2010), Ethnic Identity and the Relations of Amhara, Oromo and Tigray Students at Addis Ababa University Main Campus, p.14, An Anthology of Peace and Security Research, Institute for peace and security studies in collaboration with Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

¹⁸ Abera, H., (2010), p.14

general and their right to education, health, food, housing and other attached rights that need to ensure human dignity.

Field observation was another important method of inquiry; in the clash perpetrated between Afar – Hawiya and Hawiya – Oromo pastoralist communities in January and February 2013, the researcher has got the chance to personally observe the situation, participate in community meetings and interviewing security forces deployed to control the conflict.

Three community meetings were conducted at Awash and kurkura kebelles in Amibara woreda of the Afar zone three, Hardim kebele of the Hawiya Somali settlement area and Obensa kebele of Oromiya was held on 3, 4 and 5 march 2013 right in the aftermath of the recent conflict mentioned above. In the three community meetings 120, 379 and 175 residents were participated respectively. The purpose of these community meetings was to investigate general situation of the conflict and identify the reasons and actors involved therein. In the meeting that was facilitated by the defense forces and federal police institutions, Kebele and woreda administrative agencies and security officers of the concerned regional states were among the participants. Thus although such big mass gatherings were unanticipated and totally out of the research methodology, the researcher was lucky enough to be part of this open community discussions in which elders, clan leaders, women and youth as well as government agencies and security forces were gathered in the same platform and expose everything about they had witnessed physically during the conflict. Accordingly, reason of the clash, identity of the actors, intensity and impact of the conflict, role of the state and regional governments were the main points of discussion. These methods of inquiry therefore have helped the researcher to find out the true posterity of the Afar-Somali pastoralist conflict and to investigate whether it has an implication on the realization of residents' socioeconomic rights or not.

As it has been mentioned elsewhere, methodologically it was designed to participate various sections of societies such as residents, business people, elders, teachers, health workers, students, truck drivers, security forces, government institutions, officials and non-governmental organizations who have long established experience and are in close attention of every social and economic intricacy of the research area and situation of the Afar-Somali pastoralist conflict.

However, practically the researcher has gone further to the best of opportunities created following the new conflicts.

1.8.1 Sampling technique

The techniques of inquiry employed for this research are purposive sampling and field observation. The reason why purposive sampling was selected to conduct this study is basically to find out well informed and knowledgeable participants and to reduce local language limitations of the researcher. Field observation was also very important technique of the inquiry precisely because physical and practical experiences are helpful to discover the pertinent data, find out true picture of the situation and elevate the status of trustworthiness.

1.8.2 Types of data and techniques of inquiry

A. Primary data

The study used both primary and secondary data sources. The primary data sources were gathered through focus group discussions, observation, personal participation in pastoral community meetings and one-to-one interviews while articles, media outlets, official debates and security force casualty records were taken as sources of secondary data.

The following procedures and techniques were employed to gather primary data from a total of 115 informants drawn up from members of pastoralist communities, government agencies, security forces, residents, truck drivers, teachers and students. In addition to the abovementioned informants' personal observation and community meetings (120 Afar pastoralists at Awash and kurkura kebelles, 379 Hawiya-Somali participants at Hardim and 175 Oromo community participants at Obensa and Bordede kebelles) were the major and significant sources of the primary data because the researcher was happened to be part of those three major community meetings by coincidence.

Semi-Structured Interview- was conducted with (2) kebelles officials at Awash and kurkura, (2) kebelles officials at Andido, (3) kebelles officials at Gedamayto, (7) Federal police and (5) Defense Force members deployed there for security mission, (5men + 3 women) residents of Gedamayto town, (2) school teachers and (2) elders at Hardim (3) truck drivers at Awash-Arba, (3) business people at Gedamayto, (3 from Afar and 3 from Issa) pastoralists and (2) NGO

workers at Andido which makes up a total of 45 informants were selected through purposive sampling technique. Unstructured Interview- has conducted with well informed persons (WIP); (3) elders at Andido, (6) elders at Gedamayto (3) at Gewane, (3) clan leaders at Gedamayto, (3) clan leaders at Awash and kurkura (5) federal police officers, (8) defense force officers; a total of 31 informants were selected through purposive sampling.

Focus Group Discussion (FGD) - was conducted with (7) students at Gedamayto, (7) students at Awash, (5) truck drivers at Awash-Arba, (6) federal security forces at Amora Gedel and (7) at fiyel weha, (7) defense force officers at Brigade; a total of 39 FGD participants were involved. In all the above interviews and FGDs the researcher has used sound recording machine based on free consent and willingness of participants. Accordingly those who were voluntary have duly recorded while the rest of them not.

B. Secondary data sources

A number of literatures have been produced on the issue of Afar-Somali conflict though the purpose/ objective they have tried to address varies. Media publications, public debates held between scholars, academia and representatives of the Afar and Somali ethnic groups on international medias such as the VOA Amharic program as well as reports of incidents, casualty reports, statistics captured and timely organized by police, defense security forces who have been installed there to make follow-up of the situation and administrative agencies were part of the secondary data sources for this research. All the above discussed types and techniques of inquiry have helped to draw up the true image of the conflict's implication in realizing the socioeconomic rights of citizens inhabited in and around the conflict prone areas.

1.9 Location and demography of the Study Area

Zone three is one of the five administrative zones of the Afar regional state. Zone three is bordered on the south by the Oromiya region, on the southwest by the Amhara region, on the west by the administrative zone 5, on the north by administrative zone 1 and on the east by Somali region. Zone three contains the Awash Sebat and Gewane towns as well as Awash and Gewane rivers which have great potential of water, grazing areas and pasture vital for livestock production and survival of pastoralist communities. According to the 2007 census conducted by the central statistical agency of Ethiopia, demographically this zone contains a total of about

198,751 populations.¹⁹ The long border relationship and relatively better resource and suitable environment for livestock production have exposed this zone to an endless pastoral conflict with its neighbors of the Somali pastoralist communities.

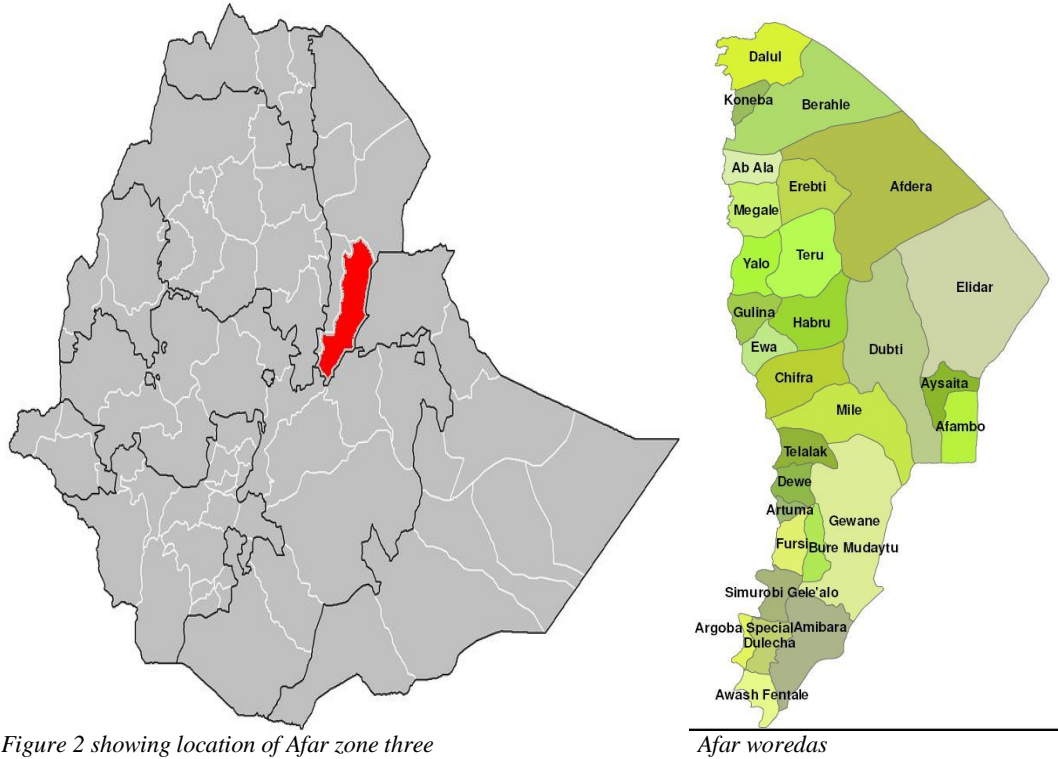


Figure 2 showing location of Afar zone three

Afar woredas

As shown in the above figure Zone three contains Amibara, Gewane, Argoba, Special Dulecha and Awash Fentale woredas both located in the site through which the Awash River flows all round the year.

¹⁹ Source: Ethiopian Statistical Agency (CSA) 2007 census, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Administrative_Zone_3_%28Afar%29 visited on 17 April 2013: Based on the 2007 Census conducted by the Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia (CSA), this Zone has a total population of 198,751, of whom 108,995 are men and 89,756 women. While 54,328 or 27.33% are urban inhabitants, a further 24,075 or 12.11% were pastoralists. Seven largest ethnic groups reported in Zone 3 were the Afar (64.78%), Amhara (12.01%), Argobba (10.72%), Wolayta (4.05%), Oromo (2.75%), Hadiya (1.25%), Kambaata (1.19%); all other ethnic groups made up 3.25% of the population. Afar is spoken as a first language by 64.66%, Amharic by 22.25%, Argobba by 5.42%, Wolaytta (2.89%), Oromo (1.51%); the remaining 3.27% spoke all other primary languages reported. 81.3% of the population said they were Muslim, 13.8% were Orthodox Christians, and 4.45% were Protestants. However this does not seem including the Somali (Issa and Hawiya) pastoralist communities settled at Gedamayto and Hardim because the ethnic description contained here does not show the Somalis share.

CHAPTER - TWO

Review of Related Literatures

2.1 Definition and nature of pastoral conflict

2.1.1 Defining conflict

Conflict is not a new phenomenon in the history of mankind; it always exists as long as human beings live together; so that it is inescapable experience.²⁰ “Conflict is instinctual for us, so we find it everywhere in human society.”²¹ As a result of the prevalent nature and multiform of its happening in the daily business of human beings, it has remained one among the complicated and difficult terms to describe with a single, short, precise and all inclusive word, phrase or statement.

Various scholars therefore tend to give meaning for the term ‘conflict’ based on their own experiences or particular events, agendas or objectives they want to address rather than trying to draw up general picture and unanimously accepted conceptual definition. For instance, the University of Peace as quoted in Dereje Seyoum has described conflict as an ‘engagement in a fight or possible confrontation between two or more parties aspiring towards incompatible or competing means or ends’.²² Conflict is a condition of disharmony in an interaction process and usually occurs as a result of clash of interest between the parties involved in some form of relationship.²³ Hence, conflict as an inevitable social reality in humans’ walk of life; it has heterogeneous features varied from one place to another and from community to community as well. So in a broad context conflict can generally be defined as an unresolved differences between human beings, it might have intrapersonal feature, just with oneself in making a decision to engage or stop or refrain from taking a certain course of action; just facing a kind of internal struggle to accept or reject something in social relationships. In the affairs of human’s walk of life conflict might take place also between individuals, individuals and groups, or

²⁰ Dereje, S., (2010), The Role of Local governments in conflict management: The case of Meiso Woreda, p.79 : An Anthology of Peace and Security Research, Institute for peace and security studies in collaboration with Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

²¹ Allan, (2006), Conflict & Critical Theories, P. 215.

²² University for Peace, (2005), A Glossary of Terms and Concepts in peace conflict studies, 2nd ed. Geneva, quoted in Dereje Seyoum, 2010, p.79

²³ Imobighe, T.A., (2005), conflict management in Nigeria: Spectrum books Ltd. Quoted in Dereje Seyoum, 2010, p.79.

between organizations, communities, institutions or entities because of sharp differences occurred on some sort of interest or competition over scarce resources, quest for power, status or position in their walk of social, economic or political life.

As Allan pointed out ‘most social conflicts occur based on the unequal distribution of scarce resources.’²⁴ Those scarce natural resources are therefore the ones that caused suffering pastoralist people with protracted and perpetual violent conflicts throughout generations. Hence, conflicts taking place within and among the pastoralist social set up often erupt in the sense of domination or utilization of natural resources such as grazing land/pasture and water points. Hence, it could be stated that conflict in pastoralist societies is neither a question of power nor social status; rather it is a quest for survival. It has also communal character. Any attack posed against pasturing or accessing water to livestock; no matter whether it is directed on an individual member or by individual members of the other side; it would be considered as an attack posed against the common interest of the clan or community as a whole, and consequently it results in communal response either to take counter attack or defend themselves.

2.1.2 Meaning of Pastoralist conflict

It would be pertinent to see first what the term ‘pastoralism’ does mean before proceeding into the realm of pastoral conflict. Actually pastoralism is one of the complex terms to give a single, short, all inclusive and precise definition that can convey a meaningful description of the pastoral business. This is because of its diversified application or practice by the societies whose livelihood is partly or fully dependent on it. Cognizant of this complexity, the humanitarian policy group (HPG) has stated the diversified nature and heterogeneous practices of the system in the following manner.

...Pastoralists especially in the Horn and East Africa region are far from being a homogenous group. The complexity of heterogeneity is characterised by varying aspects of ethnicity and sociocultural set-ups, production forms and strategies; these include the degree of mobility or sedentarisation, key livestock types, engagement and dependence on pastoral activities—especially levels of dependence on livestock for food and income management practices,

²⁴ Allan, (2006), p.216.

*geographical location, engagement with the market or lack thereof, and numerous other factors, all of which contribute to the difficulty of constructing a versatile definition.*²⁵

As a result, scholars define pastoralism in various perspectives. For instance, to Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia (PFE), pastoralism is a livelihood system and way of life practiced by people dwelling in arid and semi-arid environments, using mainly traditional knowledge to optimize the interaction between humans, the environment and livestock.²⁶ Therefore, pastoralism can generally be referred to as a production system made up of people, natural resources, livestock and social relations. Whereas for Eileen it is, ‘a strategy in which people raises herd animals as a means to earn livelihood.’²⁷ Rodriguez on the other hand described it as an ‘economic and social system well adapted to dry land conditions and characterized by a complex set of practices and knowledge that has permitted the maintenance of a sustainable equilibrium among pastures, livestock and people’.²⁸

In a pastoral way of life all aspects of social and economic life are ordered in relation to livestock and the environment in which they live.²⁹ In pastoralist societies, cattle hold central value within the society and are the basis of association in a complex of social, political and religious institutions.³⁰ Their livelihood is predominantly practiced in arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs) where pastoralists are able to exploit land and conditions that normally cannot support other economic activities.³¹ As a result the system largely relies on the availability of some basic natural resources such as water, grazing land and the distribution of quality and adequate access to pasture.

As far as definition is concerned the same is true for pastoralists as that of the term pastoralism. For instance according to Jeremy Swift ‘pastoralists are people who derive more than 50 per cent

²⁵ HPG, (2010), Pastoralism Demographics, Settlement And Service Provision In The Horn And East Africa, P.1

²⁶ PFE, IIRR and DF. (2010). Pastoralism and Land: Land Tenure, Administration and Use in Pastoral Areas of Ethiopia, p.19. http://www.pfe-Ethiopia.org/pub_files/Pastoralism.pdf visited on 13 December 2012

²⁷ Eileen, K.,(2005), The Impact Of Water Conflicts On Pastoral Livelihoods: The Case Of Wajir District In Kenya, P.8 <http://www.iisd.org> visited on 17 December 2012

²⁸ Rodriguez, L., (2008), A Global Perspective On The Total Economic Value Of Pastoralism: Global Synthesis Report Based On Six Country Valuations. http://data.iucn.org/wisp/documents_english/tev_eng.pdf visited on 5 January 2013

²⁹ Mkutu, K.,(2001), Pastoralism And Conflict In The Horn Of Africa, P.11

³⁰ *ibid*

³¹ Rota, A. & Silvia, S., (2009), Livestock And Pastoralism, p. 13 <http://www.ifad.org/lrkm/factsheet/pastoralists.pdf> visited on 29 January 2013

of their incomes from livestock and livestock products, while agro-pastoralists are people who derive less than 50 per cent of their incomes from livestock and livestock products, and most of the remaining income from cultivation.³² This definition splits the pastoral practice into two parts based on the actors/people often prevailing or otherwise system of production and level of their dependency on livestock or cultivation. But for Hagmann and Mulugeta, 'pastoralists are simply those rural dwellers whose livelihood predominantly depends on transhumant livestock or agro-pastoral livestock production.'³³

Based on the above definitions it can be construed that pastoralists are group of peoples who predominantly practice herding animals or mixed agro-pastoral practice; mostly characterized by occasional mobility in search of better pasture and water for their livestock to which their survival ultimately depends on. Such occasional mobility is considered as the main feature and strategy of pastoralists to resist weather hardships particularly to escape from drought consequences and ensure their survival; because pastoralism is mostly practiced in remote or peripheral lowland areas with low annual rainfall. These dry lowland areas have vast grazing land with less or no permanently settled population which makes it suitable for livestock production.

As it has been stated in the above discussion pastoralism is highly vulnerable field of economic production which frequently been disrupted with and suffer from scarcity of natural resources because of its absolute 'dependency on the availability of water, pastures and labour to thrive with water as the determining factor.'³⁴ Accordingly, scarcity of these basic resources of the traditional livestock production (grazing land, pasture and water) have been the root causes of the protracted clashes and armed confrontations between and among pastoralist societies.

Pastoralist conflict is therefore a kind of communal confrontation perpetuated between pastoralists or agro-pastoralist communities as a result of their aggressive competition over natural resources. Conflicts over pastoral economies 'life-sustaining resources are embedded in

³² Swift, J., (1988), cited in PFE, IIRR and DF. (2010). Pastoralism And Land: Land Tenure, Administration And Use In Pastoral Areas Of Ethiopia,P.19 Pdf http://www.pfe-ethiopia.org/pub_files/pastoralism.pdf visited on 3 february 2013

³³ Hagmann , T.& Mulugeta, A., (2008), Pastoral Conflicts And State Building In The Ethiopian Lowlands, Afrika Spectrum 43(1) P.22

³⁴ Eileen, K.,(2005), Supra Note 21, P.6

the evolution of natural resource management practices and their wider political economy.³⁵ Some conflicts within and between pastoralist communities, such as raiding and cattle-rustling, have a long history and have to some extent become an aspect of traditional pastoralist culture; and even pastoralist communities perceive the act of raiding or attacking ‘enemies’ as heroic performances and therefore give higher social status and respect for the warriors and raiders.³⁶ However, such traditional conflicts have become increasingly destructive and less manageable.³⁷ The propensity towards the expansion and occupation of better grazing lands and water points have therefore been the main root causes for perpetual violent conflicts loss of life, destruction of property, raiding livestock, marginalization and deprivation of socioeconomic rights to happen in the sphere of pastoralist life.

2.2 Theories of conflict

Patric Chabal and others in their book entitled ‘theories of conflict and approaches to conflict prevention’ suggest that there are various theories of conflict such as contingency, inherency and basic need theories. “Contingency theory holds that the normal state of social affairs is peaceful, but the extra-ordinary upheavals can provoke an affective, irrational outburst; and the mechanism that would unleash such outbursts is the frustration-aggression nexus.”³⁸ According to the above assertion, ‘if people feel a discrepancy between what they have and what they expect to be able to have, this will trigger the frustration-aggression nexus’.³⁹ The frustration-aggression theory itself assumes that human beings are goal-oriented and rational; however, frustration accumulates when an individual or a society is blocked from meeting their realization of goal which in turn makes them to be aggressive and opt for conflict so as to realize the missed goals.⁴⁰ The relative deprivation theory on the other hand asserts that ‘conflict erupts when raising expectation and absence of progress towards better life or the gap between peoples values of expectation and capabilities and the wider gap between their perception and the reality on the ground lead people to make violence and unrest’.⁴¹ The inherency theory begins with an

³⁵ Hagmann, T., & Mulugeta, A.,(2008), Pastoral Conflicts And State Building In The Ethiopian Low Lands, P.24

³⁶ Mkutu, K.,(2001), Pastoralism And Conflict In The Horn Of Africa, p.13

³⁷ ibid

³⁸ Chabal, P., et al, (2005), Theories of Conflict and Approaches to conflict prevention, p.17

³⁹ ibid

⁴⁰ Jeang, 2000:69, cited in Dereje, Seyoum, (2010), The role of local governments in conflict management: the case of Mieso Woreda, p.80: An Anthology of Peace and Security Research, Institute for peace and security studies in collaboration with Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

⁴¹ ibid

assumption stating that human society is naturally disposed to violence. The possibility of conflict is always present in the perpetual jockeying for power among interest groups what trips the switch is therefore the right mix of cost-benefit.⁴² The realistic group theory on the other hand assumes that for a conflict to erupt first there should be real or perceived incompatible goal leading to inter-group competition that leads to misperception and hostilities.⁴³ According to this theory, hostility between two groups result from real or received conflicting goal that initiate inter-group competition and violence therein.

The most pertinent conflict theory for this study is therefore the basic need theory. According to Dereje the basic need theory assumes that deep rooted conflicts are mainly caused by unmet or frustrated basic human needs which every human being by virtue of his/her humanity needs to realize and fulfill in life.⁴⁴ Markakis further stated that despite the various causes and discourses asserted so far regarding theories of conflict, ‘the main driving force for group conflict is usually associated with access to control over resources⁴⁵; and this best fits to the Afar-Somali pastoralist conflicts existing in the study area for a number of decades on the issues of grazing land and water resources.

2.3 Economic and social significance of pastoralism

Pastoralism, especially in developing countries like ours, ‘has a significant contribution to the national economies’.⁴⁶ Even though pastoral communities are marginalized in most cases and generally not given due consideration in wider socio-political analysis; today there are nearly 200 million pastoralists in the world generating income where conventional farming is limited or not possible.⁴⁷

Irrespective of their vulnerability to climate change, shifting global markets, population growth and increased competition for land and other natural resources, pastoralism remains a viable

⁴² Chabal, p., et al, 2005, p.18

⁴³ Dereje, S., (2010), The role of local governments in conflict management: the case of Mieso Woreda, p.81: An Anthology of Peace and Security Research, Institute for peace and security studies in collaboration with Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

⁴⁴ ibid

⁴⁵ Markakis, J. (1998) cited in Dereje, S.(2010), The role of local governments in conflict management: the case of Mieso Woreda, p. 81: An Anthology of Peace and Security Research, Institute for peace and security studies in collaboration with Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

⁴⁶ Rodriguez, L.,(2008),Global Perspective On The Total Economic Value Of Pastoralism, p.7 http://data.iucn.org/wisp/documents_english/tev_eng.pdf visited on January 5, 2013

⁴⁷ ibid

natural resource management system, and understanding its rationale, importance and dynamics is a key element in efforts to reduce poverty.⁴⁸ When we say pastoralism it is all about livestock production. Hence, the ‘contribution of livestock to food production and economic output is therefore significant all around the world.’⁴⁹ Livestock production systems are influenced by the amount of available land and the size of agricultural workforce.⁵⁰ Large areas of land in all the regions are used for raising animals, especially where natural conditions do not allow crop cultivation and in most regions more than half of agricultural land is permanent pasture.⁵¹ The contribution of pastoralism to the country economy will depend on the relative importance of livestock and agricultural sector.⁵² It contributes significantly to the GDP of many developing country economies: for example, approximately 8.5% in Uganda, 9% in Ethiopia and 10% in Mali.⁵³ Livestock production performs several functions primarily as source of household incomes, food and capital for livestock producers such as Botswana, Ethiopia and the entire sub-regions.⁵⁴ Livestock is also an anchor for economic diversification and sustainable rural development, although most of the agricultural practices are biased towards crops for food-security purposes.⁵⁵ In fact common understanding to everyone as Ethiopians is that if one pays a look into the seasonal and daily activities, media agendas and public discourses, emphasis is more given to maximize agricultural products such as cereals than animal production. Of course, pastoralist practices and collateral livestock productions are becoming central to the current development agenda but still they are in different level.

Livestock remains a major source of income and food for the majority of rural people in the traditional and agro-pastoral/pastoral farming systems like Ethiopia. In this respect, livestock ownership, in terms of both quantity and quality, is an important asset because of its multiple

⁴⁸Rota, A. & Silvia, S., (2009), Livestock And Pastoralism, p.11 <http://www.ifad.org/lrkm/factsheet/pastoralists.pdf> visited on 23 December 2012

⁴⁹ Lengoiboni, M., Bregt, A.K., & Vander Molen, P. (2010), Pastoralism Within Land Administration In Kenya – The Missing, Land Policy, 27(2), p.579 Pdf

⁵⁰ Rettberg, S. , (2010), Contested Narratives Of Pastoral Vulnerability And Risk In Ethiopia’s Afar Region, Pdf Pastoralism Vol.1 No .2 At <http://practicalaction.org/docs/publishing/s7.pdf> retrieved on January 30/2013

⁵¹ Lengoiboni, M., (2010), supra note 45.

⁵² Rodriguez, L., (2008), ‘A Global Perspective On The Total Economic Value Of Pastoralism: Global Synthesis Report Based On Six Country Valuations. http://data.iucn.org/wisp/documents_english/tev_eng.pdf visited on 30 January 2013

⁵³ ibid

⁵⁴ Cathy, W. (2010), ‘Gender Issues And Pastoral Economic Growth And Development In Ethiopia, p.23 http://www.cop-ppld.net/fileadmin/user_upload/cop-ppld/items/gender.pdf visited on 23 January 2013

⁵⁵ Rodriguez, L.,(2008), Global Perspective On The Total Economic Value Of Pastoralism, p.13 http://data.iucn.org/wisp/documents_english/tev_eng.pdf

social, economic and cultural uses.⁵⁶ For instance in 2008/09, IGAD's revised formula to value livestock assets to the national economy estimate that pastoralist livestock contributed more than 90 billion Ethiopian Birr to Ethiopia's GDP.⁵⁷ The contribution of pastoralism to the country's economy can be categorized as direct and indirect economic values. Those values are the marketable goods and services that a country's economy benefits at the national level. Physical animal, milk, hides and skins, wool sales and consumption, manure use for soil fertilization and energy for example biogas production and utilization in the rural areas which replace firewood consumption and transportation are some of the direct economic contributions obtained from livestock. In addition to the above benefits, inputs of pastoral livestock to agriculture such as animal traction, soil fertility that increase agricultural productivity, tourism, balancing of the biodiversity and environmental services are among the indirect values.⁵⁸ Pastoralism provides a significant contribution for sustainable employment. For instance, 1.6 million traditional farmers in Botswana and 21.6 million pastoralists and agro-pastoralists in Ethiopia, and many more in the Horn of Africa, East Africa, Central and Southern Africa depend on livestock as a major economic activity and for their livelihoods.⁵⁹

On the other hand owning livestock as a pastoralist confers a person as well as the clan a significant social status, power and respect in the eyes of their fellows within the society.

Livestock possession is a central element of one's social, economic and religious life. Without livestock, one is lost, as one will not have social status, power, and cannot support a family. Animals form an integral part of social life and ideological values that guarantee the survival of individuals and the continuity of institutions. To pastoralists therefore, livestock are insurance as they provide social links through pride price, inheritance and as ritual objects. Livestock are a means of subsistence and prestige goods that enable individuals to establish social relations with other members of society. At the same time, the animals

56 E/ECA/CFSSD/8/6, (2012), 'Report On Livestock Value Chains In Eastern And Southern Africa: A Regional Perspective; Eighth Session Of The Committee On Food Security And Sustainable Development And Regional Implementation Meeting For The Twentieth Session Of The Commission On Sustainable Development Held In Addis Ababa, Ethiopia From 19-21 November 2012. <http://new.uneca.org/portals/cfssd8/documents/cfssd-8-reporton-livestock-value-chains.pdf>

⁵⁷ Tenna S., (2012), 'Ethiopia Country Report, May 2012', P.4 <http://www.dfid.gov.uk/documents/publications1/econ-res-ethiopia-country-report.pdf>

⁵⁸ Rodriguez, L., (2008), 'Global Perspective On The Total Economic Value Of Pastoralism' p. 27 http://data.iucn.org/wisp/documents/english/tev_eng.pdf

⁵⁹ E/ECA/CFSSD/8/6, (2012)

*enable individuals to establish and achieve mystic, but not irrational linkage with the supernatural. The social but non-market transactions using animals enable pastoralists to attain food and social security, social reproduction and reduce risks. Livestock being a provider of basic needs, pastoralists have developed a special attachment that outsiders find hard to comprehend.*⁶⁰

For pastoralists the numbers of livestock that one possesses are a source of pride and social dominance because of the respect he earns from the society. Livestock have also religious, ritual, institutional and ideological values. Livestock ownership also functions as a kind of self-insurance.⁶¹

2.4 The connotation of socioeconomic rights

Social and Economic rights are essential rights that has already won international acceptance and recognition. Socio-economic rights are closely related to individual, community and national development affairs. During the Cold War, economic, social and cultural (ESC) rights tended to be debated in ideological terms.⁶² This consisted of the West stressing civil and political rights while the Soviet bloc (in principle if not in practice) stressed ESC rights; whereas many in the West went so far as to deny the very legitimacy of ESC issues as rights.⁶³ The assumptions that civil and political rights (CPR) and ESCRs were different that civil and political rights were immediate, absolute, justiciable, and required the abstention of state action while economic and social rights were programmatic, realized gradually, more of policy issues in nature than rights that can be claimed immediately, and required substantial resources is now changing through time.⁶⁴ The fact that human rights are interrelated, indivisible and mutually reinforcing makes the distinction that has been very debatable issue among scholars and the academia less attractive. Accordingly, ESCRs are now seen by the human rights community and by many states not as

⁶⁰ Eileen, K. Omosa, (2005), 'The Impact Of Water Conflicts On Pastoral Livelihoods: The Case Of Wajir District In Kenya, P.10; International Institute For Sustainable Development (IISD) And Eileen K. Omosa At <http://www.iisd.org> pdf

⁶¹ Roy, B., (2013), The Contribution Of Livestock To The Ethiopian Economy: IGAD LPI Working Paper Part II No. 02 – 11 http://www.igad-lpi.org/publication/docs/igadlpi_wp_02-11_partii.pdf accessed on 03 January 2013

⁶² Roth, K.,(2004), Defending Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Practical Issues Faced by an International Human Rights Organization, Human Rights Quarterly 26 (2004) 63–73 © 2004 by The Johns Hopkins University Press, p.65

⁶³ *ibid*

[http://www.law.yale.edu/documents/pdf/Defending Economic Social and Cultural Rights.pdf](http://www.law.yale.edu/documents/pdf/Defending_Economic_Social_and_Cultural_Rights.pdf) visited on 4 January 2013

⁶⁴ Sital K., et al, (2010), Enhancing Enforcement of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Using Indicators: A Focus on the Right to Education in the ICESCR, Human Rights Quarterly 32 (2010) 253–310 © 2010 by The Johns Hopkins University Press, p.256 http://www.escr.net.org/usr_doc/Enhancing_Enforcement_of_Economic,_Social,_and_Cultural_Rights_Using_Indicators.pdf visited on 7 January 2013

aspirational goals, but as essential rights necessary to realize other fundamental human rights and live with dignity.⁶⁵

Indeed actualizations of ESCR seek gradual process which is highly dependent on the availability, accessibility and capability of mobilizing, reallocating and effective utilization of resources; it also seeks political will and commitment of states. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966 enumerates socio-economic rights as including, but not being limited to, the right to education, health, housing, food and water, work, social security, an adequate standard of living, a healthy environment, and the right to development.⁶⁶ The covenant also notes that all socioeconomic rights must be guaranteed to all societies without discrimination.⁶⁷ Salomon has noted that ESC rights are found not only in this particular covenant but also in many different international and regional treaties.⁶⁸

ESCRs are also addressed in state constitutions. For instance, the current Ethiopian constitution has incorporated different rights such as the right to property, economic, social and cultural rights of citizens, rights of labor, development and environmental rights.⁶⁹ Especially, when these articles read in conjunction with the economic, social, cultural and environmental objectives set in articles 89 – 92 of the constitution, it gives full picture of the interest, commitment and attention paid currently to the realization of these rights. However, legal recognition only could not be an end by itself. Realization of these rights deserve more than words, more than political rhetoric and narrative discourses; actualization of ESC rights further need active involvement of the state and unhesitating commitment in perspectives of financial, material and human mobilization and manage resources to ensure equitable distribution, justifiable and participatory conditions.

⁶⁵ *ibid*

⁶⁶ Casla, K.,(2012),/The-Importance-Of-A-Socioeconomic-Rights-Approach-To-Transitional-Justice/p.15 <http://www.e-ir.info>

⁶⁷ International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966, Article 2

⁶⁸ Margot E. Salomon, (2005), Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: A Guide for Minorities and Indigenous Peoples, p. 6 Published by Minority Rights Group International – February 2005: Economic, social and cultural rights are found in a range of international human rights instruments including the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (MWC), in the International Labour Organization's (ILO) Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (No. 169), and in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination in Education. Some of these treaties refer explicitly to the rights of minorities and indigenous peoples.

⁶⁹ Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Federal Negarit Gazeta No- 1/1995, Articles 40, 41, 42, 43 & 44

Theoretically the guarantee of socioeconomic rights has a tridimensional level of obligations; the first is obligation to respect (that is, states must abstain from interfering in the normal enjoyment of socioeconomic rights), the second one looks into the obligation to protect (states must ensure that non-state actors do not prevent individuals from enjoying socioeconomic rights) and finally obligation to fulfill (states must do whatever it takes to overcome obstacles to the full satisfaction of socioeconomic rights).⁷⁰ According to the covenant states must take measures, “to the maximum of their available resources, with a view to achieving progressively the full realization” of socioeconomic rights.⁷¹

As an extension and additional commitment of states to the realization of rights recognized by ICESCR; the UN General Assembly has set out a right to development in 1986. In fact the right to development was recognized in the African Charter for human and peoples’ rights in 1981, just prior to the UN general assembly declaration on the right to development.

As it could be inferred from the African version of the right to development, the charter deliberately addresses pure group (peoples’) rights whereas the UN version as usual steps from the individuals’ point of view as a land mark to reach-out the common good. This is evident from the declaration’s way of definition which states that the right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which ‘every human person’ and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized.⁷² This declaration has emphasized that both human rights and development are mutually reinforcing.

In this regard socioeconomic rights are also a vital aspect of the human rights agenda for pastoralists; precisely because they are a group of peoples who have a typical way of existence with their own lifestyle that is backed-up with multifaceted institutional culture, socio-economic and production strategies. However, the fact that those pastoral communities are mostly situated

⁷⁰ Casla, K./ (2012),/The-Importance-Of-A-Socioeconomic-Rights-Approach-To-Transitional-Justice/ p. 17 <http://www.e-ir.info> visited on 18 february 2013

⁷¹ ICESCR, (1966), Article 2(1)

⁷² UNGA Declaration On The Right To Development 1986, A/Res/41/128: The African charter for human and peoples’ rights article has also 22 has envisaged the right to development as:1. All peoples shall have the right to their economic, social and cultural development with due regard to their freedom and identity and in the equal enjoyment of the common heritage of mankind.2. States shall have the duty, individually or collectively, to ensure the exercise of the right to development.

at the remote peripheral lowlands characterized by occasional mobility in search of better pasture and water for their livestock that makes them to be marginalized and neglected from possible provisions of basic social and economic services as well as protection of their rights. Hence, without access to, for example, education, health, food, housing or water⁷³ it will turn out to be irrational and impractical to simply advocating and investing time and resource to realize civil and political rights.⁷⁴ Most of the pastoralist inhabited areas, as literatures discussed elsewhere in this paper have pointed out, are inevitably exposed to perpetual and more frequent and bloody violence as a result of the unavoidable competition over scarce natural resources to which their mere survival is absolutely dependent upon. These conflicts create a significant challenge to pastoral communities' peace, stability and thereby to the realization of their socio-economic rights. Pastoralist communities in general and those within conflict situation in particular often experience lack of access to vital services such as education, health, water services, infrastructural facilities and other inalienable rights that results in limiting their opportunities for economic survival. Recognized as group rights, the guarantee of socio-economic rights is closely tied to communities' empowerment, the capacity to participate in peacebuilding and development activities. The denial or lack of access to economic and social rights can therefore impede⁷⁵ enjoyment of socioeconomic of residents located in the study area.

2.5 Pastoralism and conflict in the Afar – Somali adjacent areas

Ethiopia is a country whose majority land mass (most of its peripheral lowland) is occupied by peoples who predominantly practice pastoralism as a livelihood. Here pastoralism is far from being an enterprise of a particular ethnic or religious identity, rather it is a kind of life style for any community being subject to the environmental and climatic realities they live in. Ethiopia owns the largest livestock population in Africa.⁷⁶ According to the reports of pastoralist forum Ethiopia, pastoralists and agro pastoralists of Ethiopia accounts up to 15 million people who

⁷³ Casla, K. 2012, Supra Note 66

⁷⁴ Roth, K., (2004), 'Defending Economic, Social And Cultural Rights: p. 65 Practical Issues Faced By An International Human Rights Organization', Human Rights Quarterly Vol.26 By The Johns Hopkins University Press: This article does not specifically talk about pastoralists but it rather have an insight into the general view, concept, interpretation and practical implementation of economic, social and cultural rights by state parties to the covenant and the international community as well.

⁷⁵ Ibid

⁷⁶ Rota & Silvia, (2009), ' Livestock And Pastoralists', Pastoralism: A Sustainable Natural Resource Management System p. 21 Website At www.ifad.org/lrkm/index.htm Pdf visited on 16 January 2013

belongs to more than 29 ethnic groups.⁷⁷ The pastoralist areas are widespread in the six federal regions that include Somalia, Afar, Oromyia, and Southern region, Gambela, Benishangul-Gumuz, and Dire Dawa with an area converge of more than 60 % of the total national land mass.⁷⁸

Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia asserts that most of the pastoralist areas of Ethiopia are known for their conflicts, drought, and famine and food aid. The forum further goes on to state that the crisis in the pastoral areas has been mainly attributed to lack of good governance and pastoral development, underestimation of the rationality of traditional practices, long-term marginalization of the pastoralists in decision making and policy defects in marketing, land policy, extension, and credit and financial services.⁷⁹

In a similar vein Markakis has stated that pastoral communities in Ethiopia like most other pastoralists in Africa and particularly east African region, have been torn by recurrent and frequently perpetrated bloody conflicts which have taken a heavy toll in human lives and livestock, created an atmosphere of insecurity and fear, and closed opportunities for adaptation and economic improvement, and undermined customary institutions.⁸⁰ According to his assertion competition over some crucial and scarce natural resources is central for the recurrent conflicts; and the cycle of these violence and aggression has become more destructive, perpetual and more recurring because of the diminishing nature of those resources and due to the ever increasing demand of pastoralists to have a sustainable access over those resources.

Of all the numerous conflicts among herder societies in the past two decades, the one which has attracted a great deal of attention and caused considerable concern in government and donor circles is the conflict between the Afar and the Issa/Somali.⁸¹ This conflict has been taking place along the main transport link between Addis Ababa and Djibouti, which is the country's main

⁷⁷ Tezera, G., (2004), Impact Assessment Of The Ethiopian Pastoralist Day (EPD) Commemorations (1999-2004); p.17 Final Report , Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia (PFE) Pdf

⁷⁸ Yohannes, G., (2003, in PFE, 2004), Impact assessment of the Ethiopian pastoralist day commemoration, p.10

⁷⁹ Dessalegn, R. , (2007), 'Customs In Conflict: Land Tenure Issues Among Pastoralists In Ethiopia', P.2 : Ethiopian pastoralism and its customary institutions have come under severe pressure due to a host of inter-related factors, including frequent drought, rangelands deterioration, population growth, expropriation of grazing land by government and investors, the expansion of crop cultivation, and internal social differentiation in which some people within the pastoral communities are spontaneously turning to farming and enclosing the land. But a significant factor of the crisis within pastoral communities is the cycle of conflict and violence. These conflicts are described under several categories showing their deleterious effect on customary institutions.

⁸⁰ Markakis, J., (1993), ' Conflict And The Decline Of Pastoralism In The Horn Of Africa pdf

⁸¹ Dessalegn, R. , (2007), p.3

route to the sea. Conflict in this study area has flared up on numerous occasions and has involved violent confrontation leading to loss of lives and destruction of property. The clash between Afar and Issa/Somali occurred in April 2002, for instance, was the one which led to the closure of the highway with a number of casualties not only from the contesting parties but also truck drivers who had been passing through were victimized.⁸²

The history of the conflict is deadly complex. Understanding of even the contesting parties themselves towards their own historical relationship is so complicated. Obviously their ethnic background is different (Afar and Somali); but if one happens there by chance to ask elders of either group, they would tell him that Afar and Issa were two brothers who later quarreled on property interests while inheriting their deceased father. So according to their perception the episode that gave rise to this trans-generational devastation between them had begun at least some two hundred years ago. However, many literatures try to confine the conflict with the invasion of fascist Italy and its entrance to Ogaden - Ethiopia via Somaliland and some others attach it with the day-dream project of east African greater Somalia.

Anyways whatever the exact time when it was erupted, the most rigorous violence they managed against one another goes back at least to the WWI period.⁸³ The main target of the perpetual conflict is basically the Issa and Hawiya clans of Somali sleepless desire to occupy and exploit the fertile plains of the Awash River basin and the waters of the river itself. More specifically, the Issa covet the dry season grazing areas on the banks of the river in the Middle and Lower Awash basin.⁸⁴ These areas also include trading settlements such as Amibara, Gewane, and Mille, all of which are within the territory traditionally inhabited by the Afar. Violent clashes between the two sides have taken place on numerous occasions in the last three and half decades, and some of the clashes have resulted in the loss of several hundred lives and looting of thousands of livestock.⁸⁵ According to Dessalegn, the Afars have frequently been on the losing side, mainly because the Issa/Somali are better armed and are much better prepared for aggressive action.

⁸² Ibid

⁸³ Seyoum et al 1999, in Dessalegn, (2007), Customs In Conflict: Land Tenure Issues Among Pastoralists In Ethiopia', P.2

⁸⁴ Ibid

⁸⁵ Zenebe, K., et al, (2010), Mission of the Defense Forces In Stabilizing the Afar-Issa Conflict, p. 25: A Research Paper Available At The Combined Arms Academy Library

At this time both the Afar and the Issa pastoral communities are well organized and get equipped with modern automatic machineguns more than ever; which make the conflicts much more complex, violent and destructive.⁸⁶ This in turn has also created difficulty for security forces to interfere and control the situation. Though the Federal Police and National Defense forces have been deployed there with a mission to create stability in the region by minimizing the frequency and prevent the impacts of the conflict, in practice nothing has changed yet.⁸⁷ They accuse one another that one is getting financial, material and other supports such as military trainings from external forces; for instance, the Afar accuse the Issa for its confinement to Al-Shabab, Al-Qaida and so on and so forth, the Issa on the other hand accuse the Afar for they are getting similar assistance from an organization of the Afar origin called Gugume or Red sea Afar opposition groups.⁸⁸ The sum total of the abovementioned claims, accusations, uncertainties and violent clashes increase the tension of that particular area and the region in general.

⁸⁶ Mu'uz, G., (2009), The Issa-Afar conflict in the post-1991 Ethiopia, p. 76 : A research paper available at AAU-IPSS Library and also in pdf soft copy

⁸⁷Zenebe, k., et al , supra note 81

⁸⁸ Ibid

CHAPTER-THREE

Data Presentation and Analysis

3.1 Afar- Somali relationship and reasons of conflict in the study area

3.1.1 Afar – Somali pastoralist relationship: An overview

Afar and Somali are among the major pastoralist ethnic groups in the country. As the name ‘Afar and Somali’ implies, they are two different communities having their own languages and ethnic background. Geographically Afar and Somali are situated in the eastern drought prone lowland areas of Ethiopia. Both the Afar and Somali communities predominantly live in pastoral way of life which is pertinent to the weather condition and environmental realities of the peripheral lowlands where they are inhabited. However, this time around agro-pastoral practices and irrigation based cereal production activities are being introduced to the Afar and Somali pastoralist areas.

The Afar and Somali pastoralists are neighbors who share a number of social, economic and cultural similarities and life styles. The weather condition and environmental realities they lived for a long time, the religious faith they homogenously practice, the system of pastoral production they predominantly perform, the mobility strategy they manage to resist natural hardships such as drought, loss of water, pasture or other environmental challenges, the type of animals they rear, the type of household consumption they usually use, etc are some of the factors they share in common as neighboring communities.

According to Awash elders ‘some fifty years ago the Afars and the Somali were neighbors living together around Shinile and Dire Dawa; they have been sharing the same water points and grazing land’.⁸⁹ One elder from Kurkura kebele told that he personally had lived at Dire Dawa with his fellow Afar pastoralists and the Somali as well before the later have pushed the Afar systematically about more than 280 kms up to the middle-Awash basin where they are currently inhabited.⁹⁰ However, it doesn’t mean that there was no conflict among the Afar and Somali pastoralist communities even when they were living together at Dire Dawa and Shinile; nor does

⁸⁹ An interview conducted with Afar elders at Awash kebele of the Amibara District, 9 February 2013

⁹⁰ An interview conducted with Afar elders at kurkura kebele of the Amibara District, 11 February 2013.

mean that clashes between herdsmen was totally unviable even in inter-ethnic or inter-clan basis; because water and pasture induced competitions and conflicts are not new phenomenon throughout the pastoralist sphere. However, the first organized attack managed by the Issa clan against the Afar was carried out during the First World War (WWI).⁹¹ It was unique in terms of organization, weapon, tactic and intensity of the attack when compared to the former resource based conflicts often managed by herdsmen.⁹²

Naturally water is much scarce in the lowland areas such as the Afar and Somali dry environments where the country's largest pastoral activity is taking place; this region is best known for its frequent drought which results in water and pasture shortages and other environmental catastrophes as well as animal diseases that in turn poses a danger to the existence of livestock population and to the life of pastoral communities who are ultimately dependent on this system of production. During such weather problems and environmental hardships pastoralists usually move from one place to another to escape natural catastrophes and in search of better access to water and grazing areas for their livestock. Thus Afar and Somali pastoralists, like any pastoralist communities of the east African region, specially herdsmen, '*erregnoch*' people who look after and feed animals, were often engaged in conflict while accessing water and pasture. This is inevitable fact and has been continued as part and parcel of the pastoral life; not only in cross-ethnic or clans but also inescapable reality even in inter-ethnic or inter-clan relationships.

In contrast to the traditional Somali inhabited region, Afar has better access to water and pasture mainly because Awash river provide them with adequate water for their livestock throughout the year which has increasingly become center of attraction for the Somali in the past decades. Being attracted by the Awash River basin great potential resources vital for livestock consumption, the Issa and Hawiya clans of Somali pastoral communities have marched to approximately 50 – 150 kms from Somali north ward deep into the Afar land where they have established small towns and village settlements around the Awash River basin.⁹³

⁹¹ Mohammed Geaz Ahmed Nur leader of the Afar human rights organization, taken from the debate conducted between Issa-Somali and Afar scholars and representatives on the issue of Afar-Issa conflict in VOA Amharic service, September 30/2012

⁹² Ibid

⁹³ Dr. Abdela Abdo Afar scholar told to VOA-Amharic program entitled 'Democracy in practice' in a debate took place among Afar and Issa representatives and scholars, 6 and 10 October 2012.

Currently the Issa/Somali pastoralist communities have more than three settlement areas (Gedamayto, Adeytu and unduffo) all located along the Addis Ababa – Djibouti main road just within the Afar regional state while the Hawiya/Somali clan is situated at Hardim kebele of the Afar area adjacent to the Oromo border of Bordede and Obensa kebelles via the railway line. According to Afar participants who took part during the VOA debate entitled democracy in practice, some 50 years ago the original place of the Issa-Somali pastoralist communities was Dire Dawa, Hurso and Shinile Zone of the present day Somali regional state; even Erer and Afdem districts of the current Somali places were under the administration of the Afars.⁹⁴ Responding in the debate, the Somali representatives emphasize that Somali pastoralists basically move northward to Afar or Awash river in search of water and pasture for their livestock, not to occupy land; hence if the government could able to make or dig *ellas* for the Issa near their villages, they would not go to the awash river and meet the Afars.⁹⁵

The following map indicates the place where the Issa and Hawiya clans of Somali were originally situated before they moved northward and occupied places (Gedamayto, Adeytu and Unduffo as well as Hawiya settlement areas) near the Awash River of the present day Afar regional state. This Geographical Information System (GIS) satellite map shows the current borders of the Afar and Somali regional states, location of the Addis – Djibouti road and the Awash River as well as the original places and current settlements of the Issa and Hawiya clans of Somali.

⁹⁴ *ibid*

⁹⁵ Assowe Argobe Issa traditional leader from Shinile zone participant of the VOA Amharic program debate entitled ‘Democracy in practice’ conducted among Afar and Issa-Somali representatives and scholars, 6 and 10 October 2012.

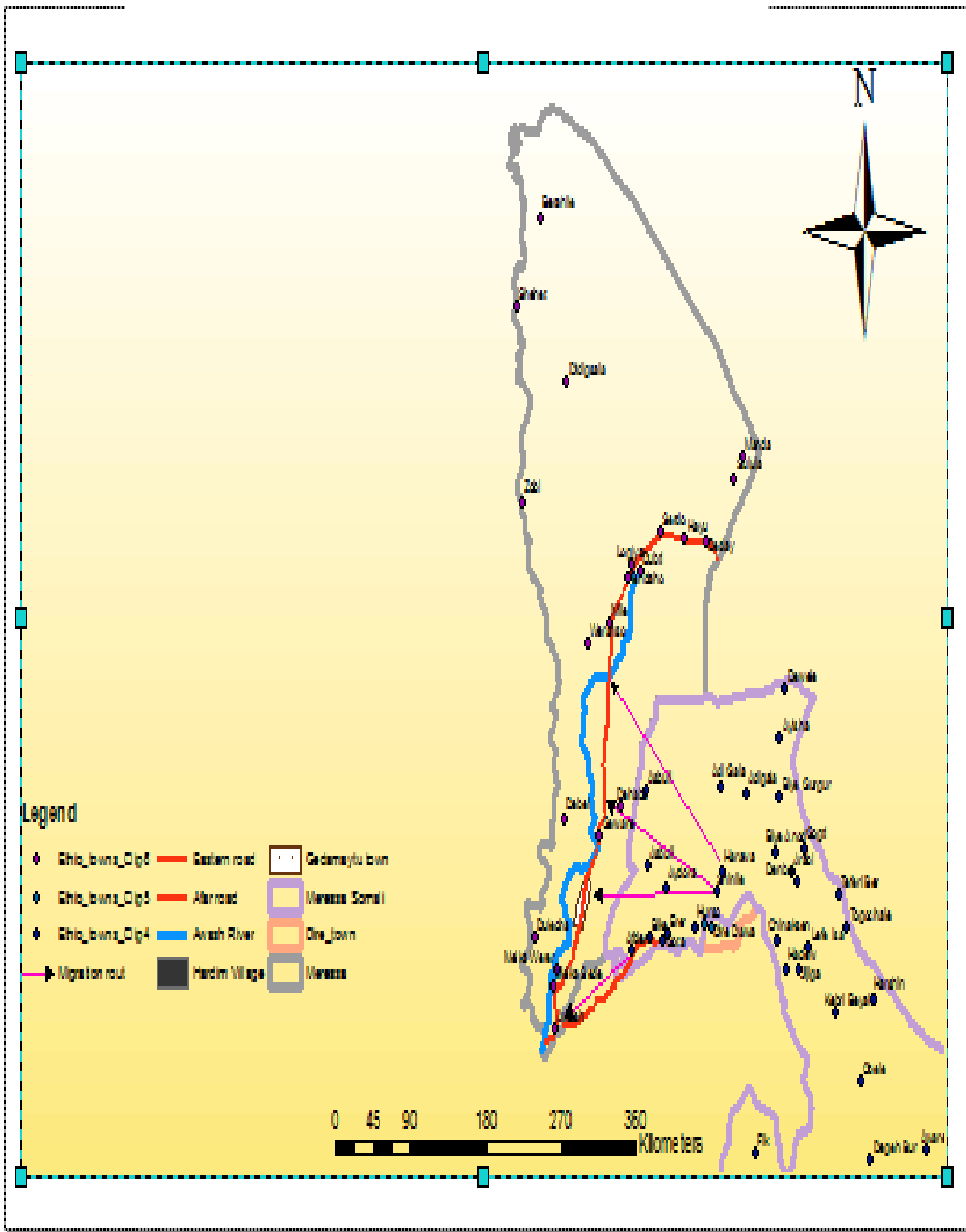


Figure 3 showing the direction to which the Somali (Issa & Hawiya) was migrated and settled currently



Figure 4 just making figure 3 more visible & readable

3.1.2 Reasons of the conflict in the study area

Afar and Somali community members and residents of the study area note various reasons for the protracted and destructive clashes. Most of these reasons directly or indirectly have linkage to the economic and social aspects of the people residing in and around the study area. Accordingly every clash triggered by whatever reason play significant role in curtailing the enjoyment of residents' socioeconomic rights. The following discussion shows to what extent the conflict is a sum total of different reasons ranging from weather hardships to intervention of state agencies and from organized raiding to resource based communal conflicts.

Afar elders note that the resourceful grazing lands found along the Awash River become narrowed because the government took vast fertile land for irrigation, expansion of agriculture, cotton plantations and establishment of national park.⁹⁶ On top of this a self duplicating/reproducing wild plant locally known as '*woyane*' tree has already occupied the grazing fields; the tree is never consumed by livestock, it has no direct value for livestock consumption except for charcoal; the area covered with *woyane* tree has remained without grass and uncomfortable for pasturing.⁹⁷ Establishment of the Awash National Park along the Awash River basin vast grasslands suitable for grazing and livestock production is also one of the frequently forwarded reasons for narrowing the grazing land and thereby led pastoralists' to engage in stiff competition over resources and conflict in the study area.

Intrusion of neighboring pastoralist communities of Kereyou Oromo through the awash national park, particularly pushing of the Somali (Issa and Hawiya clans) pastoralists who relentlessly covet to control the rich grazing areas and water potentials of the Awash River basin has currently become the serious source of conflict in the study area.⁹⁸ The Somali pastoralist communities of Issa and Hawiya clans have been settled within the Afar regional state for more than two decades. These settlement areas are located along the Addis - Djibouti and Addis – Dire Dawa main roads and railway line. Awash River also flows eastward side by side near to the Addis – Djibouti route. Thus the Somali settlement areas in Afar region especially Gedamayto,

⁹⁶ Afar elders participated in the community meeting held on 5 marches 2013 at kurkura to discuss on the January – February 2013 conflict and consequences with defense and federal police units found in the area.

⁹⁷ *ibid*

⁹⁸ *ibid*

Unduffo and Adeytu of the Issa settlements situated along the River basin and the road are strategic in terms of economic and social advantages; precisely because they are important: one for accessing the Awash river resourceful grazing areas and water all vital for livestock production because of their closeness to the river, secondly the Issa/Somali controlled small towns like Gedamayto become the central areas for trading activities. Gedamayto has been one of the contraband areas where smuggled goods are sold; and the dealers are mainly the Issa/Somali communities; they bring those electronic goods, cloths, perfumes and cosmetics by patrol vehicles and camels from Djibouti and Somaliland crossing through the jungles;⁹⁹ motivated by such economic advantages, the Issa/Somali do not want to lose this areas they rather work rigorously in strengthening their possessions adjacent to the Awash river and the Addis – Djibouti road. The Afars on the other hand seem sleepless to restore ‘their land’ and evict the Issa/Somali communities back to ‘their region’; this has created a serious animosity perception between them which in turn give rise to endless and destructive conflict and thereby disruption of residents’ socioeconomic activities.

Another reason for the conflict in the study area as per the Somali pastoralist communities’ view is absence of water. According to the Somali the reason why they are coming close to the Afar’s possession or to the Awash River is not to control land as the Afars supposed to be but rather to access water and pasture as pastoralists.¹⁰⁰ However, the Afars do not agree with this assertion; they rather strongly argue that Somali (Issa and Hawiya) pastoralists are not acting as pastoralists because they are interested in establishing permanent villages, towns, institutions and state government structures such as kebelles and woredas within the Afar region; and this shows they are rather interested in occupying land, doing territorial expansion and strengthening possessions by force.¹⁰¹ The Ittu – Oromo communities resided at Bordede and Obensa kebelles adjacent to the Hawiya/Somali communities also share the Afar’s line of argument; stating that indeed pastoralist communities have no permanent settlement and limited border because their way of life dictate them to move from one place to another as a matter of survival and we have been here with the Somalis since the Italian aggression in the spirit of pastoralists but right after the

⁹⁹ Interview conducted with w/ro Alemnesh Desta, a business woman at Gedamayto, 17 January 2013: Business people like Alemnesh trading at Gedamayto appreciate the Issa/Somali as smart, flexible and daring business people who do not fear to march in the night, cross borders and bring smuggled goods from neighboring Djibouti and Somaliland.

¹⁰⁰ Mohammed Assowe participant of the debate democracy in practice organized by VOA radio transmission Amharic program, 30 September 2012

¹⁰¹ Participants Afar community meeting held in March 5, 2013 at Awash kebele.

fall down of the Derg government and coming of federalism in the country, the Somalis begun to claim land, expand their territories and strengthen their possessions by pushing the Afar and Oromo communities.¹⁰² Afar and Somali (Issa and Hawiya) pastoralist communities in the study area have different and perhaps sharp arguments about the ownership and utilization of grazing land and water resources. The Afars are interested to evict the Somali from the ‘Afar land’ arguing that Somali pastoralists should move back to their place of origin, to the regional state of Somali because the current Issa and Hawiya/Somali settlements of Gedamayto, Unduffo, Adeytu and Hardim are ‘Afar areas in origin’ and still situated within the Afar regional state territory.¹⁰³ Somali pastoralist community members contrarily argue that “at the first place land belongs to God, not to individuals or group of people; as a result, all human beings as creatures have the right to use it in harmony”.¹⁰⁴ “Secondly as Ethiopians we have the right to move, choose our residence and work everywhere within the Ethiopian territory; hence Afar brothers have no moral or legal ground to evict us from this place and our homes that we have been living for a couple of decades”.¹⁰⁵ These divergent positions have ingrained and developed serious animosity perceptions and become among the main reasons for the age old conflict between the Afar and Somali (Issa and Hawiya) communities in that study area.

Another point what Afar and Somali pastoralist communities share in common is intervention of regional government agencies in the pastoralist conflict. Although conflict between herdsmen in accessing pasture and water and raiding livestock is inevitable fact in the pastoralist sphere, the Afar – Somali conflict in the study area has been so complicated and destructive in the past two decades. In stating the reason why Afar – Somali conflict has become intensive in this area and time, Somali pastoralists noted that intervention of Afar regional government agencies such as kebele, woreda leaders and participation of *kilil* police, militia etc in pastoralist clashes has become one reason of the conflict because the state government want to evict the Somali

¹⁰² Participants of the Ittu Oromo community meeting held in March 3, 2013 at Obensa organized by defense force and federal police institutions to investigate and identify the reasons, identity of the actors and consequences of the Hawiya/Somali conflict perpetrated against the Afars and Oromos in January and February 2013 at Awash, kurkura, Hardim, Bordede and Obensa kebelles. Participants recalled that starting from the transitional period serious conflicts have been conducted with the Somali pastoralist communities often triggered by land claims frequently raised by the Hawiya/Somali communities. Later the issue of bordede and surrounding areas were determined through referendum in Oct. 2004 which the Hawiya/Somali were defeated and send out from that area and settle at Hardim an Afar area from which they frequently send us Somali gunmen who shoot us, burn our houses, commit rape and raid livestock.

¹⁰³ An interview conducted with Tahiro Ahmed an Afar elder at Awash kebele, 15 January 2013

¹⁰⁴ An interview conducted with Issa-Somali elders at Gedamayto, 23 December 2012

¹⁰⁵ Ibid

pastoralists from this area.¹⁰⁶ Afar pastoralist communities have similar allegations on the Somali regional government agencies. Afars noted that Somali regional government particularly the Shinile zone and Mulu woreda leaders, security bureaus were supplying militarily trained warriors, machineguns and ammunition to the conflict area through vehicles.¹⁰⁷ Obensa residents of the Ittu Oromo community members also strengthen that the involvement of Somali regional government agencies and other actors outside the pastoralists in the conflict perpetrated in January and February 2013 was so visible; stating that “the Somali gunmen who shot three men at *lakurbo* on 31 January 2013, a village burned on the same day, were not from Hardim of the Hawiya community except the Hardim kebele leader and his colleagues who ordered us loudly to leave the village; most of them were strange for us because we know our neighbors”¹⁰⁸. Obensa elders further noted that elders of the Afar, Somali and Oromo pastoralist and agropastoralist communities had well developed experiences in solving normal pastoralist clashes often perpetrated between and among herdsmen while accessing pasture and water in the grazing fields. However, since federalism has introduced in our country and *Kilils* were established, the traditional dispute resolving mechanisms and roles of community elders in settling conflicts become diminished through time because of the abovementioned interventions.¹⁰⁹ As per the participants view, the Afar, Somali and Oromo pastoralists had been working in collaboration to solve their problems attached to resource competitions; however, in the last two decades those traditional conflict management practices become collapsed due to state governments’ interventions. Accordingly, long established communications, understandings and cooperation of community elders residing in the study area remained dysfunctional.

¹⁰⁶ Participants of Hawiya/Somali community meeting held in 3 March 2013 at Hardim: Afar kebele and woreda leaders, kilil security forces and police were intervened and participated in the recent January 2013 conflict conducted at awash, kurkura and Hardim. Kilil security forces engaged in the conflict without uniform.

¹⁰⁷ An interview conducted with ato Tahiro Hamedo kebele leader of the kurkura kebele, 6 March 2013

¹⁰⁸ Taken from the suggestions forwarded by participants of the Ittu-Oromo community meeting held in 3 March 2013 at Obensa: the participants further reveal that it was the Hardim/Somali kebele leader and his colleagues who come with the Somali gunmen to Lakurbo village and ordered village residents to leave the area stating that the area belongs to Somali, but not to the Oromos. Elders of the village have tried to communicate them but the Somalis were not voluntary to hear anything. Finally we told them that we will never leave the village and our homes because it is our land of origin; and they immediately began to fire and shoot residents and burn our houses. Most of the Somali gunmen were strange to us; they were shouting repeatedly ‘Alah we acber’! This was another strange event for us because in many of the previous conflicts we conducted so far with the Hawiya/Somali, they never said ‘alah we acber’. As a result, we suspect that those strange gunmen might come from Somalia or Alshebab. Issa/Somali warriors were also participated in the conflict in support of the Hawiya/Somali pastoralist communities another strange event of the conflict was that those Somali gunmen, machineguns, ammunition and logistics were transported by vehicles to the conflict area directly from shinile zone and mulu woreda of the Somali regional state. The weapons and ammunition they used during the conflict were new for us, residents were vomiting, sneezing repeatedly, shocked with tears of the bullets all these were strange events of the recent conflict that show involvement of state agencies, cooperation of Issa and Hawiya/Somali communities and perhaps other actors.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid

Organized livestock raiding is also another reason of the conflict between Afar and Somali (Issa and Hawiya) pastoralist communities in the study area. Livestock raiding is in fact a common practice among pastoralists. Especially at times of drought pastoralists lost their animals because of lack of fodder, water and animal diseases. Accordingly pastoralists raid livestock of other communities to restore their wealth back to their previous position. However, livestock raiding between Afar – Somali pastoralist communities in the study area is not limited only to times of drought; rather it is a common practice even at times of wet seasons where water and pasture are surpluses. Thus such perpetual act of raiding and counter raiding later results in communal attack and counter attacks between the pastoralist communities which ends up in loss of lives, destruction of property and insecurity tensions that in turn tied up residents not to move from place to place, restrict working, trading and learning activities.

3.2 Consequences of the Afar – Somali conflict in the study area

The perpetual and destructive nature of the conflict have resulted in a number of negative outcomes ranging from insecurity tensions to loss of lives and from curtailing freedom of movement, restrict grazing activities which is the basic source of employment and work for pastoralists, raiding livestock which is the source of economic survival: food, income, capital as well as the source of social pride and moral for individuals, families and clans as a group to burning houses and displacing residents.

In the recent violent attacks and counter attacks perpetrated in the study areas of Awash, Kurkura and Hardim kebelles many residents have been affected in various aspects of life. “11 Afar men were killed and 47 pastoralist houses burned by the Somali pastoralists during the January 31- February 27/ 2013 conflict at Andido, Awash and Kurkura kebelles”.¹¹⁰ In a similar occasion Obensa residents reveal that “6 men were killed, 3 wounded and 4 women raped at *Lakurbo* village of the Ittu – Oromo by Somali gunmen”¹¹¹. Security members were also affected in the conflict; in this regard “one police officer was shot to death at Bordede by the Somali gunmen

¹¹⁰ Source: taken from Afar community meeting discussions held in March 5, 2013 at Kurkura and Awash kebelles. This community meeting was organized by the Defence Force institutions of the Combined Arms Academy and War Technique Training Center and Federal Police following the Afar – Somali pastoralist community conflict perpetrated from January 31 – February 27/2013. The purpose of the meeting was to investigate and identify the reasons, triggering factors, identity of the actors and consequences of the conflict and thereby to plan and work in concert with the community in preventing the recurrence of similar injuries.

¹¹¹ Lakurbo elders talking in the community meeting at Obensa, march 3, 2013

coming from Hardim”¹¹². Participants of the public meeting added that “more than 127 pastoralist houses have turned to ashes at *lakurbo* village during the conflict and 700 (*Abaweras*) households have displaced”¹¹³. In the same course of action Somali community members who have been residents of Awash town were displaced from the town during that conflict. According to the Hardim kebele security office, 60 Somali households have evicted from Awash town; the security office added that 553 students who have been attending their education with their families and relatives at Awash Sebat, ranging from grade one to grade twelve have also evicted from different schools of the town.¹¹⁴

Elementary schools located at Awash, Hardim and Bordede kebelles were suspended learning and closed due to the conflict. Teachers who come and recruited from other places such as Assebot, Adama etc has left schools of the study area because of fear of those violent clashes.¹¹⁵ Security members further noted that workers of the new railway construction underway at Hardim and Bordede fled from the site because of the conflict.¹¹⁶ Thus consequence of the conflict is not limited to killing of people, displacement, burning houses or raiding animals, but also creating obstacles to the implementation of big national projects such as construction of railway lines, blocking transportation routes and local markets located in the study areas.

The consequence of the conflict has affected not only the pastoralist communities who directly engage in the clash but other residents of the study area, workers, business people and truck drivers too. Non Somali residents and traders of Gedamayto send their children to other far towns in order to attend education with their relatives because one they fear to send their kids to

¹¹² Ibid

¹¹³ Ibid

¹¹⁴ An interview conducted with Mohammed Arale, Hawiya/Somali security officer at Hardim, March 4, 2013. Participants of Somali community meeting that held in the same day: elders, youth, women, kebele leaders, security or police etc rise the displacement of Awash residents and students because of their identity or belonging to the Somali ethnic group, without actually contributing nothing to the conflict was illegal which denied the right of Somalis to choose their residence and live anywhere as citizens. Displaced people were also involved in the meeting and describing the situation how they were evicted leaving behind their homes and property. The researcher has got the chance to observe the burned houses at Lakurbo village and displaced communities at Obensa and Hardim. This community members especially women and children were gathered and settled at school compounds and waiting for aid. Participants of the community meeting held at Hardim in March 3, 2013 noted that All Somali students who have been learning at Awash Sebat town and other surrounding places of Amibara district of the Afar region have expelled from schools following the Afar-Somali pastoralist conflict perpetrated in January and February 2013. Some of the students have gone to Jiggiga, Dire Dawa, Djibouti and other places to carry on their education while the rest of them,” especially the poor” who do not have economic capacity to afford food, house rent, transportation and collateral expenses because of poverty have forced to discontinue learning.

¹¹⁵ An interview conducted with federal police security members deployed at Awash, kurkura, Hardim and Bordede to control the conflict. The federal security team was the one that intervened in collaboration with the defense force teams right on the spot of the conflict that was broke out between Afar and Somali (Hawiya clan pastoralists) in January 2013.

¹¹⁶ Ibid

the nearby elementary schools located at the study area not to be injured by the conflict; secondly those elementary schools usually get interrupted whenever pastoralist conflict flares up in the area.¹¹⁷ Non Afar and non Somali residents of Gedamayto and *Feyel Weha* who involved in charcoal production noted that “at times of conflict it is difficult, let alone working, even to live in that area because of violent killings, robbery and torture inflicted up on them by gunmen often unidentifiable for them”¹¹⁸. Truck drivers traveling from Addis - to Djibouti via the study area noted that their friends were “robbed and tortured in the jungle by pastoralist gunmen”¹¹⁹. Those FGD participants have gone further to state that if security forces were not deployed in the study area, they would not have work/drive in that line.

3.3 Implication of Afar – Somali conflict on socioeconomic rights of residents in the study area

Economic, social and cultural rights are the core of human rights that empower individuals and groups to uphold and enjoy true freedom, capability, self-reliance, social pride and thereby to live in dignity as a human person. The term “economic, social and cultural rights” covers a range of human rights, from rights to education, adequate housing, health, food and water, to the right to work and rights at work, as well as the cultural rights of minorities and indigenous peoples.¹²⁰ All these interrelated rights are the fundamental rights that every human person or group of people should get and enjoy in life. However, when it comes to the Afar – Somali pastoralist issue of the study area, the case would be different.

When we talk about the right of adequate housing as a human right, it probably would become difficult to categorize the Afar and Somali pastoralists’ housing the way it is described in the human right instruments because one as communities who manage seasonal movement following

¹¹⁷ An interview conducted with ato Mebratu Ambaw, January 7, 2013, Gedamayto

¹¹⁸ An interview conducted with Mamuye Adelo a 25 young man who has been engaged in charcoal production in the area for seven years

¹¹⁹ FGD conducted with five (Kahsay G., Mekonen T., Alebachew H., Umer S. and Zewdu M.) truck drivers at Awash – Arba March 15, 2013. The truck drivers added that in the past two years such accidents and injuries the area become relatively better because: one government has deployed federal police units who are always on duty in the jungle along the Addis – Djibouti road; secondly the federal government has declared a 5 kms buffer zone to the right and left sides of the road which prohibited pastoralists to appear with their guns. If any person, except federal police and defense force members, is found holding a gun, it would be taken forever. Accordingly, federal police units who are deployed and empowered or ordered to take over machineguns found in that area have actually collected a number of weapons from pastoralists. Hence, the truck drivers and security members do agree that conflicts, robbery, killings and torture have relatively decreased in the past two years.

¹²⁰ Amnesty International, (2005), Human rights for human dignity A primer on economic, social and cultural rights, p. 12 www.amnesty.org visited on 25 February 2013

their livestock they do not have permanent residence; and the kind of housing they temporarily used may be better to call as shelters than housing because it would not fit to the term standardized housing as it supposed to be in view of the human right instruments. Secondly the violent conflict perpetrated between and among pastoralist communities has been a cause for burning of even those inadequate houses which ends up in frequent displacement. However, as the central issue of this thesis, implication of Afar - Somali conflict on socioeconomic rights of the study area residents, is not limited to only pastoralists, the following analysis would reflect the general impact sustained by all residents of that specific zone.

Irrespective of the standard of housing that residents of the study area might have the conflict is affecting all people without distinction. Only in the recent clashes perpetrated between Afar – Hawiya/Somali and Hawiya/Somali – Oromo pastoralist a total of 760 Hawiya/Somali and Oromo households were displaced from their homes.¹²¹ The displacement further resulted in different economic and social problems. Displaced people were gathered at Hardim and Obensa settled in school compounds and kebele centers suitable for providing aid. 127 pastoralist houses of *lakurbo* village were changed to ashes.¹²² In fact during the observation that the researcher has conducted in the area and attended community meeting, he has witnessed that residents who displaced from that village were remained homeless and waiting for aid at Obensa. Hence the impact of the conflict is not only a question of adequate housing, but rather a question of shelter to be able to settle somewhere, get access to clean water, education, health care and other socioeconomic benefits vital for their survival.

Most importantly, the problem of housing occurred at Hardim and Obensa as a result of the conflict or displacement make clear that no right is complete by itself. All rights need to be mutually reinforced; because full realization or otherwise of a specific right will have direct or indirect impact on the mere existence and/or achievement of other rights. Thus the indivisibility and interdependent nature of human rights is very important to achieve full realization of residents' socioeconomic rights. Displaced people especially women and children were exposed to lack of adequate food, water, housing, health care etc; and this shows deprivation of the right to housing affects not only shelter issues but also the realization of other human rights too. In the

¹²¹ Supra note 108

¹²² Ibid

researcher's view, without housing the right to health falls at risk; if a person lacks a house to live in then, he/she would be exposed to many health and security problems. In fact all rights should equally be viewed as important as housing because if the right to health gets deprived and a person injured therein not only human rights but also the mere existence of that person will come to an end. Hence "the right to health is also another fundamental part of our human rights and of our understanding of a life in dignity"¹²³. In a similar vein, when other rights such as food and housing are violated, health wellbeing of a person also gets hampered. Finally unhealthy person may not be able to work or produce and feed himself or herself; unhealthy person cannot go to school and attend education and so on.

The serious concern that was repeatedly raised by participants of the Somali community meeting held at Hardim and Obensa residents is not limited to housing issues but the consequences of the conflict and displacement which exposed the evicted people to lack of food, clothing, clean water and adequate health care services. As per the participants view, conflict induced displacement often includes displacing people from work, loss of property or selling of all or part of their property at inconsiderable cost.

In the previous discussions it has been said that schools were closed and a number of students has suspended education because of the conflict.¹²⁴ Currently education has become one of the basic human rights not only because of its role in building human development in terms of knowledge, skill and attitude; but also for the existence and realization of other rights which all today become increasingly dependent on it. However, the Afar – Somali pastoralist conflict has interrupted the teaching – learning process of the study area. Displaced Somali students have forced to suspend their education. Families with relatively better economic position send their kids to Jigjiga, Dire Dawa, Adama, Meiso and Djibouti to attend their education whereas the poor remained at home with their parents.¹²⁵ Thus although education is the best way to enhance tolerance, promote peaceful co-existence and cooperation among people, and build the

¹²³ Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, The Right to Health, Fact Sheet No. 31, p. 1

¹²⁴ Supra note 112

¹²⁵ An interview conducted with Ato Mohammed Arale security office at Hardim, March 4, 2013: All Somali students who have been learning at Awash Sebat town and other surrounding places of Amibara district of the Afar region have expelled from schools following the Afar-Somali pastoralist conflict perpetrated in January and February 2013. Some students have gone to Jigjiga, Dire Dawa, Djibouti and other places to carry on their education while the rest of them who do not have economic capacity to afford food, house rent, transportation and collateral expenses because of poverty have forced to discontinue learning.

knowledge, skill and attitude of communities towards effective utilization and efficient management of natural resources which actually is the central issue for pastoralist conflicts to take place occasionally, the conflict in the study area has become an obstacle for students to enjoy their rights to education.

Education also helps to promote understanding, live in harmony, respect each other, and develops the essence of equality, fairness and rule of law in society. However, if schools could not control and discipline their students in a way that can bring a culture of tolerance, understanding each other, respect etc which in turn can help students to live in harmony and solve their problems in a peaceful way, the result might be different. In this regard Somali students who evicted from Awash Sebat schools noted that Afar students, who were their friends and classmates before the outbreak of the January 2013 conflict perpetrated between Afar and Somali pastoralists, become later “their ‘enemies’; chasing them from school compounds and throwing stones on them”.¹²⁶ Non Afar and non Somali students of Awash sebat high school have strengthened the above statement that Somali students left school in fear of Afar attack.¹²⁷

The students further stated that either school management bodies or other government agencies made no effort to control the activities of Afar students who were insulting to and throwing stones on the Somali; accordingly, Somali students later decided to leave the town and evacuate to safe places.¹²⁸ Thus what could be gauged from the above discussion is that the Afar – Somali conflict frequently recurring in the study area disrupts social relationship, economic activities and enjoyment of rights of residents. In the researcher’s observation the administrative structures of the study area seem ineffective and not responsive enough to community grievances. There are no visible proactive efforts in preventing the recurring of similar conflicts. “Even during the conflict kebele and woreda administrative bodies were not present among the community.”¹²⁹ This indicates failure of government agencies to discharge their responsibility in protecting and safe guarding people from injury and deprivation of rights in line with the laws and human rights instruments that our country has committed to achieve.

¹²⁶ FGD conducted with Hawiya/Somali students who displaced from Awash sebat during the Afar – Somali pastoralist conflict, March 7, 2013, Hardim.

¹²⁷ FGD conducted with Awash sebat High school students, March 9, 2013, at kurkura kebele (brigade)

¹²⁸ Ibid

¹²⁹ Participants of Obensa community meeting, March 3, 2013 have revealed that kebele and woreda leaders disappeared from the area while the community members were fighting with the Somali gunmen and more than 127 houses of Lakurbo village were burning by the Somali.

Our country Ethiopia is signatory to many of the international and regional human right conventions and instruments. Accordingly, these treaties are incorporated in the current constitution in which every organ of government or officials and citizens are duty bound to observe. Specifically, articles 41 – 44 of the FDRE constitution are dedicated to economic, social and cultural rights. The constitution under its chapter ten (art. 89 - 92) also emphasized that ESC rights are the basic policy objectives.

Among these rights are economic, social and cultural rights (ESCR) which are being deprived in the study area because of the protracted and destructive pastoralist conflict frequently perpetrated between Afar and Somali. These rights have already won international recognition and acceptance since the coming into existence of the United Nations organization and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948. Following this declaration many international and regional treaties and laws as well as national constitutions have legally protected the existence and implementation of same. Article 25(1) of the UDHR is the one that duly recognized economic, social and cultural rights.¹³⁰

Accordingly human beings in their individual status and families or communities as a group have the right to a standard of living in terms of health, food, clothing, shelter and education. Although at the beginning the declaration was not binding, the rights and freedoms provided in it has been elaborated and won binding status through time by the subsequent international conventions particularly ICESCR and ICCPR of the 1966. The ICESCR under its article 11 has also reiterated the governing idea of the declaration.¹³¹

Being a binding covenant it is not only stating a list of rights, the ICESCR has gone further to state the obligations of state parties in ensuring the enjoyment of these rights. In addition to the above clothing, housing and food rights other rights such as ‘the right of everyone to the

¹³⁰ Art. 25 (1) of the UDHR: Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and wellbeing of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control

¹³¹ International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: General Assembly Resolution 2200A (XXI) of 16 December 1966 entry into force 3 January 1976, Art. 11: 1. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. The States Parties will take appropriate steps to ensure the realization of this right, recognizing to this effect the essential importance of international cooperation based on free consent. 2. The States Parties to the present Covenant, recognizing the fundamental right of everyone to be free from hunger, shall take, individually and through international co-operation, the measures, including specific programmes, which are needed.

enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health¹³², the right of everyone to education¹³³ among others entail binding duty on states to take appropriate measures to ensure full achievement. Legally speaking states are under international obligation to respect, protect and fulfill ESC rights to the extent of their resource capacities and capabilities. However, the question is that is it really the presence of ‘plenty of resources’ that could ensure the enjoyment of residents’ socioeconomic rights? At least for me the answer is no; because the conflict is not limited only to water or pasture. The conflict in the study area erupts even during rainy seasons where water and pasture become excess. Therefore, although resource has a significant role in realizing the ESCR, it would not be complete unless civil and political rights are equally protected and thereby ensures peace, security and harmonious coexistence among societies.

In the recent Afar – Somali and neighboring Oromo pastoralist conflict, it has been said that a total of 760 households were displaced and waiting for food aid from both sides, 17 men killed, more than 174 pastoralist houses burned and 553 students evicted from school, etc.¹³⁴ However, the reason of the conflict was not water or pasture as usual; but rather backed up with a number of complicated reasons quite beyond the purpose of this paper. Hence, realization of the right to food, clothing, housing, health, education, water, work, etc would never be limited to the presence of plenty of resources or otherwise; rather pastoralist communities and residents of the study area further need an enabling environment to be able to enjoy socioeconomic rights.

If you take the right to food for instance, conceptually it is not a right to be fed, but rather to feed oneself in one’s own efforts. And the way that one could feed oneself is based on his/her efforts to work, produce or buy from the market. Here what should be taken into consideration is that in order to feed oneself, one must get the means of production such as land, employment opportunities, income and access to market. However, the Afar – Somali pastoralist conflict become an obstacle for residents daily life. Pastoralist herdsmen fear to access water and pasture and feed their livestock which is the source of economic survival for that community, residents displace from their place of origin and work, houses collapsed by fire, students evicted from

¹³² Art. 12 of the ICESCR

¹³³ Art. 13 of the ICESCR

¹³⁴ Supra note 109

school etc.¹³⁵ This real experience of residents in that study area would force to pose a question that in a place where there exists loose government or administrative control, constantly disrupted community with violent clashes, organized killings, raiding livestock, a culture of communal response to attacks and revenge, how could people work, produce and transact and thereby ensure their right to food?

Work for pastoralist obviously means caring for animals, feeding and watering livestock in the grazing areas, accessing markets, selling live animals and animal products. And other non pastoralist residents of the study area have different activities that they perform to maintain life. But residents noted that violent gunmen of the Somali pastoralists become an obstacle to their socioeconomic activities because herdsmen are killed in the field while looking after animals, harvesting crops, going to market and at home.¹³⁶ This shows that any effort that might be exerted to realize socioeconomic rights of residents need to have a peaceable ground, security and working environment to stand on. In the absence of sustainable peace and security residents of the study area could not enjoy their socioeconomic rights. Hence, if socioeconomic activities of the people fall in danger because of frequent, violent and destructive conflicts, there is no way for residents to work, feed themselves, get income, get proper health care, education, clean water or housing. During conflict pastoralists cannot freely move from one place to another. In a similar vein the right to clothing and housing deserve enabling environment to empower oneself in economic capacity to be able to maintain these fundamental rights and basic needs of human beings.

The function of the state as a duty holder should therefore start from creating an enabling environment, meaning, the federal and state governments need to create suitable conditions, peaceful and working environment for residents of the study area so that they can feed themselves by their own effort to the best of their knowledge, capacity, ability and interest.

¹³⁵ Ibid

¹³⁶Participants of the community meeting held at Obensa, March 3, 2013: participants added that “Organized Somali gunmen came to our village, Lakurbo here in Obensa kebele; they ordered us to leave the village which is our place of origin. However, we told them that we will never do it because we have not to be evicted from our land and our homes. After having this conversation they immediately begun to shoot everybody and burn our houses. My brothers were killed by the Hawiya/ Somali gunmen while they were harvesting crops, milking cows and slept at home with their children. Four obensa women were raped while they were looking after their sheep and goats at Lakurbo grazing areas. The Somali always covet to invade our land by force with the help of their regional state but our regional administration and the Federal government could not help us and solve the problem; now we need to know whether the government is in place charging its duties or not and if it continues to be reluctant as usual, we will be forced to protect our rights by any means”.

The Afar – Somali pastoralist conflict was destructive and bloody which resulted in terrifying loss of life and destruction of property. Accordingly, residents of the study area especially those displaced peoples were waiting for aid. They could not able to feed themselves because they escaped from their village and homes holding nothing being under serious firing and fear. Pastoralists could not freely utilize grazing land and water and feed livestock.

The right to housing is violated because houses were burning in the conflict and residents remain homeless. The conflict has displaced residents from their place of origin and work sites, health care and educational service providing institutions have forced to give up functioning, professionals such as nurses and teachers quit service because of fear of violent clashes and subsequent injuries. This all underlines that realization of ESC rights deserves the existence of rule of law and stability more than anything else; because the enjoyment of ESC rights could never be realized whenever civil and political rights are at stake. Accordingly, residents could not able to enjoy their rights and sustain human dignity unless the state takes all necessary steps to ensure the full achievement of ESC rights and these steps would necessarily need to start from creating conducive environment founded in peace and stability. Regarding to the above assertion the subsequent analysis would have detail discussion and reveal how much and to what extent the enjoyment of ESC rights could be jeopardized by conflict.

In sum, whenever residents get themselves unable to move freely and work or unable to feed their animals because of violent clashes, they would not get food to eat and survive their families; then we would say the right to food is being hampered. Whenever children cast out from school because of their ethnic affiliation and schools gave up functioning, it would be direct deprivation of the right to education. Whenever houses are ruined to ashes, residents evict from their villages and remain homeless then; deprivation of the right to housing comes into picture. If the above assertion does make sense in drawing a picture on how violent clashes could affect the conflict stricken community' socioeconomic rights, it would be a good reflection of the Afar-Somali perpetual pastoralist conflicts that is frequently recurring in the study area via the Awash River basin. In this regard the recent violent clashes perpetrated between the Afar and Somali communities have witnessed not only the reality of the above assertions but also how intense, disrupting and bloody the conflict is.

3.4 The Impact of livestock raiding on the socioeconomic life of residents in the study area

Naturally, pastoralism deserves three things to be able to erect and survive as a system of production. These are manpower, livestock and natural resource (water and grazing land). In the previous discussions we have seen how the conflict is affecting the pastoralist communities and all residents of the study area; in terms of security, hindering work, taking life, inflicting body injury etc. The above discussions further go to state that land issue, restriction of movement attached to accessing natural resources such as water and pasture, fear of violent killings in accessing markets, displacement and its consequences are also the serious implications that the Afar – Somali pastoralist conflict has posed against the socioeconomic rights of residents located in that specific area. The following discussion will therefore emphasize on the relationship of the conflict to livestock raiding and the impact it implicates on the enjoyment of residents socioeconomic rights.

Livestock is the fundamental wealth and backbone of the pastoralist life. Economic survival, social life, spiritual activities as well as expression of cultural identity of pastoralist communities is built on the existence and quantity of animals that individual families and clans owned. Livestock need grazing land and water unless the mode of production and the socioeconomic life of pastoralist communities would fall in peril. The reason why pastoralists manage seasonal mobility is therefore to escape from such danger and ensure their existence. Meanwhile the continuous and ever increasing demand and mobility they manage as a strategy in search of better natural resource to feed their animals often expose them to conflict with other people.

One of the triggering reasons for pastoralist conflict in study area is therefore livestock raiding. Raiding is an act of looting or taking away livestock of another community in an organized and planned manner. Livestock raiding according to respondents is caused in different situations; 1) during and after drought, 2) at times of conflict, and 3) in revenge/counter raiding. Whenever drought occurs, many pastoralist families and clans do lose their animals as a result of hunger, disease and death. At this time raiding might be conducted in order to reinstitute their wealth to the previous position. During conflict livestock raiding is common. On top of this after raiding is conducted by the Afar or Somali then, the losing side also engage in counter raiding activities. Thus in the study area livestock raiding is one of the reasons for further conflict and *vice-versa*.

As previously discussed livestock is the fundamental source of food, income, social pride and capital for every pastoralist household resided in the study area. In addition to the abovementioned economic and social benefits that pastoralists directly earn from their animals, the cultural and spiritual values by which communities proudly express their entire identity is also highly attached to the existence of livestock production. Hence, livestock being the pastoralist's means of production, storage, transport of food, wealth and other services; any threat to livestock such as lack of fodder or water, raiding, lack of market, price variation, and disease is a direct threat to pastoralist's right to food, health, education and housing. In this regard an Afar respondent from Gewane noted that livestock raiding has become so frequent and destructive in the area; the Issa/Somali raiders take many Afar animals daily and this act has endangered many families.¹³⁷

Thus it poses a question that if this source of economy and social life is destructed by violent clashes and raiding, how enjoyment of residents' socioeconomic rights could be ensured in that area? What does socioeconomic right mean for pastoralists without livestock? Many animals got lost by raiding and counter raiding and this act affects not only individuals, families or clans but also to the national economy as well. According to Afar participants who took part in the debate 'democracy in practice' on VOA Amharic program, 'livestock raided by the Issa/Somali from the Afar pastoralists are usually taken to Djibouti markets for sell and this illegal animal smuggling is affecting the wealth of individual households and the country as well'.¹³⁸ Therefore, the violent livestock raiding and counter raiding followed by frequent attacks against one another are the main problems hindering the enjoyment of resident's socioeconomic rights in the study area. Precisely because raiding and counter raiding of animals has become very destructive.

The frequency of raiding and quantity of animals raided are increasing from time to time. The following data which was taken from the federal police north division daily records of animal raiding and other events conducted from Andido to Gewane would be evident enough for the

¹³⁷ Interview conducted with Afar elder at Gewane town, 23 February 2013: 37 pastoralist households found at Aroge Gewane, Gewane Jerba and around the agricultural college have fallen in trouble after their animals were completely raided by the Issa. Livestock raiding has stricken many families with scarcity of food, income and capital; currently these families are under serious social, economic and moral distress. Worst of all they could not found their animals again because the Issa Somali raiders immediately take them to Djibouti for sale.

¹³⁸ Mohammed Geaz leader of the Afar human rights organization, taken from the debate conducted between Issa-Somali and Afar scholars and representatives on the issue of Afar-Issa conflict in VOA Amharic service, September 30/2012

situation. This data shows the frequency and intensity of livestock raiding and the corresponding economic injury that every losing party might incurred, psychological impact and social problems that pastoralist households in the study area are facing in their daily life.

<i>Animals Raided by the Issa/Somali from Afar Pastoralists</i>			
Date of raiding	Type of raided animals	Number of Raided Animals	Place of Raiding
01/07/12	Goats and sheep	40	Bure Medaitu
-	Goats and sheep	11	-
-	Goats and sheep	84	-
06/07/12	Goats and sheep	37	-
05/07/12	Camel	01	Gewane
03/07/12	Cattle	02	Gewane
08/07/12	Goats and sheep	280	Gewane
08/07/12	Camel	02	Atena
09/07/12	Goats and sheep	112	Gewane
10/07/12	Cattle	270	Gewane
13/07/12	Goats and sheep	165	Gewane
05/07/12	Camel	80	Gewane
16/07/12	Goats and sheep	400	Gelealo and z/gedel
19/07/12	Goats and sheep	15	Atena

20/07/12	Camel	13	Gewane jerba
25/07/12	Cattle	22	Gewane jerba
24/07/12	Cattle	20	Gibrina college
26/07/12	Camel	01	Gewane jerba
27/07/12	Cattle	07	Gewane
28/07/12	Cattle	04	Gewane
29/07/12	Camel	13	Gewane
29/07/12	Cattle	15	Gewane college
30/07/12	Sheep and goats	200	Gewane college
13/08/12	Cattle	12	Atena
31/08/12	Sheep and goats	42	Gelalo
-	Camel	10	Gewane jerba
30/08/12	Sheep and goats	21	Gewane health station
02/09/12	Camel	05	Atena
Total		1884	
<i>Source Federal Police Crime Prevention North-Eastern Division Regiment two, 4 January, 2013 Gewane.</i>			

Table 1 Afar Livestock Raided by the Issa/Somali Pastoralists

<i>Animals Raided by the Afar from the Issa/Somali</i>			
Date of raiding	Type of animals	Number of animals	Place of Raiding
29/06/12	Cattle	07	Gewane
01/07/12	Donkey	08	Gewane
02/07/12	Goats and sheep	180	Aroge gewane
13/07/12	Goats and sheep	160	Gewane jerba
13/07/12	Goats and sheep	300	Gibrina college jerba
16/07/12	Cattle	16	Gewane
04/08/12	Goats and sheep	23	Gewane
26/08/12	Cattle	04	Aroge gewane
05/09/12	Goats	53	Atena
03/10/12	Goats and sheep	200	Ubule
30/10/12	Cattle	20	Atena
18/10/12	Camel	04	Molale meda
Total		975	
Source Federal Police Crime Prevention North-Eastern Division Regiment two, 4 January, 2013 Gewane			

Table 2 Issa - Smali Livestock Raided by the Afar Pastoralists

The above data as previously stated was taken from daily recordings and reports of conflict events captured by the federal security forces. The data in the tables show that the number of

animals raided by the Issa/Somali pastoralists in a period of three months (from June to August) from the Afar reaches up to 1884 and the Afars raided 975 livestock from the Issa.

Livestock raiding is therefore, a direct threat against residents' right to food and it also poses a danger on the protection and realization of other human rights because livestock for pastoralist communities is not only source of food but also source of work/employment, health care, stable social life and moral pride. If long established and cared livestock of a pastoralist family swept out by raiders over a single day or night then, what would be the fate of that family? Actually this not mere hypothetical case; there are a number of instances whereby pastoralist community members who lost their animals because of raiding, automatically got themselves unemployed, jobless, affected with stress, mental illness, starvation and social discontent. Without livestock pastoralists' daily food, income, capital and social relationship often falls in peril. Individuals or families threatened with lack of food and got starved because of raiding could not be healthy; and unhealthy person or family could not work and be productive; starved children would not go to school and attend education.

Thus pastoralism being a system of production containing natural resources, livestock and manpower as the major elements, the state need to give proper attention to protect and fulfill all these integrated factors; because if one of these elements is missed or threatened, the whole existence of the system might fall in danger. Specially if the availability and accessibility of basic natural resources (water and pasture) become absent or decreased, it will turn out to be so hard to sustain animal life which in turn would have dangerous impact on socioeconomic wellbeing of the community.

3.5 Challenges to the enjoyment of socioeconomic rights of pastoralists in the study area

Grazing land and water points are the basic sources of socioeconomic advantages for the pastoralist communities. Unless these resources are protected by the government and the communities themselves, pastoralist existence would turn out to be meaningless; because lack of pasture and water would affect livestock and thereby economy of the community as a whole. Hence, deprivation of or any threat to grazing land and water would in turn be considered as a direct attack on the socioeconomic rights and existence of pastoralist communities. In this regard

pastoralism in the study area seems trapped with various challenges. Accordingly, the most increasing challenges to the pastoral subsistence which the Afar respondents labeled as serious and destructive are narrowing of the resource rich grazing areas due to the ever increasing large scale state owned agricultural expansions of sugar cane plantations, cotton production and other vast private investments, the ever increasing community settlement programs which is creating permanent life based on agriculture, establishment of the Awash National Park, expansion of '*prosopis juliflora*' tree locally known as *weyane* tree'¹³⁹ throughout the Afar region which is rapidly covering the fields and making the free grazing areas out of use and the growing interest of Afar neighbors particularly the Somali pastoralist communities to occupy and exploit Awash river basin are among the serious threats to the Afar pastoralist communities.

The Issa/Somali representatives participated in the VOA debate of 'democracy in practice' Amharic program which conducted on the issue of Afar - Issa/Somali conflict have asserted that pastoralists have no border limit to access water and pasture, nor they have an intention and interest to occupy land permanently or extend territories for political purposes.¹⁴⁰ So according to the Somali scholars and representatives, the only reason that their pastoral communities are coming close to the Awash River basin is in search of water and pasture for their livestock consumption. However, the Afars do not agree with this idea; they rather strongly argue that the very objective of the Somali pastoralist communities, who have been engaged in land occupation, is not limited to accessing water and pasture for animal consumption.¹⁴¹ Especially the act of the Issa and Hawiya clans are quite beyond the common pastoralist interests and demands of accessing basic natural resources.¹⁴² The Afars further articulate the issue in relation to the former greater Somalia project that was propagated by the then Somalia leaders; thus according to the understanding of the Afar elders, it is systematic expansion of territories motivated and backed up with political agendas supported by Al-Shebab, Al-Qaida, etc from

¹³⁹ Rettberg, S.,(2010), contested Narratives of pastoral vulnerability and Risk in Ethiopia's Afar Region, p.257: pastoralism vol.1 No.2

¹⁴⁰ Ato Assowe, representative of the Issa/Somali community participated from Shinile zone of the Somali region.

¹⁴¹ Abdela Abdo Afar scholar who was participant of the democracy in practice debate arranged by VOA-Amharic program on October 6 and 10/ 2012

¹⁴² *ibid*

outside and also material, financial, militarily trained manpower as well as tactical involvement of the Somali regional government internally.¹⁴³

In the recent violent clashes waged between Afar and Hawiya/Somali at Awash, Kurkura and Hardim areas of the Afar region, involvement of regional governments was very high; specially during the conflict that took place from January – February/ 2013, militarily trained persons, militias, *kilil* security forces and ex-military members, ammunition and machineguns were supplied through vehicles from Shinile Zone and Mulu woreda of Somali to Hardim, a place where the conflict had carried out. Most of the Somali warriors who participated in the conflict were strange to the Afars not only in physical appearance but also the formation, tactic as well as the organized supply that was provided to them, the type of weapons and ammunition they used were so strange to the Afars and Obensa residents.

The Somali on the other hand argue that at the first place land is neither individual nor group property rather it belongs to God which in turn is a natural treasure that should equally be accessible and utilized by all human creatures. Secondly they strongly argue that as citizens of this country in general and as communities who predominantly live on pastoral way of life in particular, they have constitutionally guaranteed rights to access water and grazing land everywhere within the Ethiopian territory; thus the Afars have no any moral or legal ground to deny the Somali this right; freedom of movement, right to residence as citizens and the right to free grazing land as pastoralist communities.¹⁴⁴ Hence, according to the Somali respondents' point of view, attempts made so far by the Afars to expel specifically the Issa and Hawiya Somali pastoralist communities from Afar places that they have been inhabited for more than twenty years is definitely illegal and unconstitutional. Accordingly, they blame the Afar regional state as a government and the people for denying this rights by insisting and making relentless efforts to evict the Issa and Hawiya clans of Somali from the places they have been lived for at least the last two decades; and the central government for its failure to seek a solution, decide and settle the issue based on the spirit of the federal constitution.

¹⁴³ An interview conducted with Afars at Awash kebele and Gewane Town in February 21 and 23/2013

¹⁴⁴ An interview conducted with Issa/Somali elders at Gedamayto, 15 January 2013

In fact if one tries to have a look into the current Ethiopian constitution specially provisions concerning ownership of land, freedom of movement, rights to choose one's own residence and rights of pastoralist societies to grazing land, it has some sort of ambiguity and sometimes create contradiction with the autonomous power and territorial sovereignty of the constituent states/*kilis*; nor is there clearly demarcated boundaries between and among the constituent states of the federation except the common understanding taken by members on the traditional birds' eye view boundaries. For instance, article 32(1) of the constitution stating freedom of movement stipulates that 'Every Ethiopian citizen or any other person legally existing in Ethiopia has the right to freedom of movement anywhere within the national territory; to choose freely his place of residence anywhere in the national territory, and to leave the country'¹⁴⁵ at any time he/she wishes to.

Look at this article! It has no any limitation; individuals or groups who want to move through or reside somewhere have no any obligation to ask for permission to the state in charge; nor does it confer any controlling right to the host regional states or cities to exercise on individuals or groups who become residents of their respected territories by their own choice. In the same vein the federal constitution under its article 40 has stipulated that 'the right to ownership of rural and urban land, as well as of all natural resources, is exclusively vested in the State and in the peoples of Ethiopia; and Land is a common property of the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia and shall not be subject to sale or to other means of transfer'.¹⁴⁶ Crystal enough, ownership right of land in today's Ethiopia is vested on the state and not on groups' or at individuals' disposal.

The constitution specifically tried to address the right of pastoralists' access to land stating that 'Ethiopian pastoralists have the right to free land for grazing and cultivation as well as the right not to be displaced from their own land'.¹⁴⁷ However, in the present provision containing terms 'free land' and 'their own land' seem to be very controversial. What does free land mean? If this term is referring to any vacuum or not inhabited land 'no man's land' situated anywhere within the Ethiopian territory then, pastoralists found in any corner of the country will have the right to access it regardless of the place where they come from; for instance, in the spirit of this

¹⁴⁵ Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, proc. No. 1/1995: Art. 32

¹⁴⁶ Art. 40(3), the FDRE Constitution

¹⁴⁷ Ibid art. 40(5)

constitutional dictum, pastoralist communities from Afar can go and access water and pasture in Gambela if there exists free land for grazing and *visè-versa*. However, in practice it is outright difficult to realize; precisely because 1) there is no sufficient legal framework that can ensure the implementation of this right; 2) it contradicts with the territorial possessions and autonomous power of the regions or kilils; and 3) it potentially generates inter-regional and inter-ethnic conflicts just the way it has been stirring up the Afar and Somali pastoralist communities. Or if the constitutional term ‘free land’ is intending to mean the free land that might be found within the territories of the concerned regional states then, it would exclude pastoralists who might come from neighboring regions to access pasture and water. Consequently, pastoralists of Somali (Issa and Hawiya) who move across borders to the possessions of different constituent regions or ethnic groups would have no ground to claim as of right and settle permanently in a particular area.

The constitution further states another controversial term ‘their own land’ in the same article. However, it lacks clarity too. It is not clear whether it refers to all the Ethiopian land as their own land by virtue of being citizens of this country or the land which is found within the regions to which the pastoralists belong to by virtue of their membership to a specific region or kilil.

Another growing challenge in the study area is that the intervention of regional government agencies into the pastoralist conflict. Allegations of such interventions are being forwarded by both sides. In the recent clashes took place between Afar and Hawiya/Somali pastoralists, trained militias, regional police members and ex- army members wearing uniform were participated and caught on the spot by federal police and National Defense security forces.¹⁴⁸ Involvement of actors out of pastoralists is motivated by and backed up with individual and political interests to benefit at the expense of those communities.¹⁴⁹ Accordingly relationship of the pastoralist communities, long established traditional dispute resolving mechanisms, understanding and respect have become spoiled and weakened in the past two decades and animosity perception developed instead.

¹⁴⁸ FGD conducted with federal security forces at Brigade, defense institution CAA campus, 27 February 2013

¹⁴⁹ Obensa elders speaking at the community meeting held in March 3, 2013, Obensa: participants further noted that the first to instigate conflict, inciting the youth to fire on other communities, raid animals, providing machineguns, ammunition and supporting offenders to escape to Djibouti. Elders added that Afar and Somali pastoralists have been neighbors, who share pasture and water resources; although conflict between herders has been inevitable throughout the pastoralist life, there had been long established traditional practices and mechanisms employed for generations to solve such conflicts. But now a days communication between elders of different communities such as Afar and Somali or Somali and Oromo become decreased.

CHAPTER – FOUR

Findings and Conclusion

4.1 Findings

The research shows that socioeconomic rights can never be fully realized in the study area unless the frequent and destructive conflict perpetrated between Afar and Somali (Issa and Hawiya) pastoralist communities gets amicable solution in a way that can bring peaceful and enabling environment. Interest of the Afars to sweep out Somali pastoralists from the Afar region in the pretext that the Somalis have their own region and the purpose for their coming into the Afar region is backed up with hidden agenda to expand territory; and Somali's argument stating that land and water belongs to God, not to individuals or groups and the constitution has granted citizens to move and live anywhere within the Ethiopian territory; accordingly Afars have neither moral nor legal ground to evict Somali pastoralists from the current settlement areas; come to be a sharp difference that intensify the conflict.

Afar – Somali pastoralist conflict in the study area causes socioeconomic disruption that affect residents' daily life. Violent killings, fear/insecurity, destruction of property, livestock raiding, displacement and restriction of freedom of movement are the serious problems that residents of the study area are facing during conflict. Only in the recent Afar – Somali pastoralist conflict perpetrated in January and February 2013, a total of 17 people were killed, 760 households (*abaweras*) displaced from their place of origin, homes and work places and more than 174 pastoralist houses ruined to ashes; 553 students evicted from school and 300 livestock raided.¹⁵⁰

Those displaced peoples were exposed to food expectation/aid, lack of clean water and shelter. Somali displaced people in the community meeting held at Hardim noted that their properties were looted after they left home.¹⁵¹ Accordingly, kebele leaders, security officers and aid workers were getting busy in recording the displaced people, property and trying to make contact

¹⁵⁰ In addition to one to one interviews, FGD and personal observation conducted by the researcher, the three pastoral community meetings held at Awash and kurkura of the Afar region, Hardim kebele of the Somali (Hawiya) and Obensa kebele and Bordede kebelles of the Ittu-Oromo that were organized by the defense force institutions of Awahs Sebat- Combined Arms Acacedy and Awash Arba – War Technique and federal police north division have served as basic sources of this research. Purpose of the community meetings was to investigate about the Afar – Somali pastoralist conflict perpetrated in January and February 2013. In all the above public meetings the researcher by coincidence has attended in the help of the organizers.

¹⁵¹ Somali community meeting participants at Hardim, March 3, 2013

and communicate with the Awash Sebat town administration bodies, security offices and federal police on how to protect the houses and properties of those displaced people from theft/robbery. Hence the Afar – Somali pastoralist conflict not only causing displacement of residents but also it affects the right to housing because displaced people and those whose houses were burned have remained homeless; the conflict has deprived the right of residents to food and to work because displaced peoples were waiting for food aid and remain without work which make them unable to feed themselves; suspension of education and evicting students from school because of the conflict come to be direct violation of the right to education.

Although livestock are the vital source for pastoralists' economic, social and cultural lives in the study area in terms of creating employment opportunity for pastoralist communities, providing food, income, capital and other social benefits, currently it has fallen under serious threat because of raiding and counter raiding frequently perpetrated by both pastoralists against each other. Raiders usually swept out all animals that found in front of them. This act immediately made even rich families fall in a serious social and economic problems.

Impact of the Afar – Somali pastoralist conflict is not limited in affecting the pastoralists themselves, but rather it implicates on all residents of the study area because it displace workers from their work sites, residents often forced to send their kids to far towns for education purposes in fear of the conflict. Thus residents, business people, workers and professionals often live in uncertain situation which is usually trapped them with fear of violent clashes and possible subsequent injuries. In the recent Afar – Somali conflict, 553 Somali students were evicted from Awash Sebat elementary and high schools. Some of these students have gone to Meiso, Jigjiga, Diredawa and Djibouti to be able to attend their education; whereas poor families who cannot afford transportation, house rent, food and other costs could not send their children to distant towns to attend education. Schools and health care institutions located at Hardim, Bordede and Obensa were out of service, teachers and health professionals had evacuated from their work places because of the conflict.¹⁵² The federal government has prohibited Construction and development of new houses throughout the Issa/Somali settlement areas of Gedamayto, Unduffo and Adeytu till the Afar and Issa land claim and conflicts will be determined. This decision has

¹⁵² Bordede residents participating in the community meeting, March 4, 2013

hampered residents' right to housing.¹⁵³ Residents not only denied the right to get land for constructing new houses but also to upgrade and develop their own houses.¹⁵⁴ Truck drivers who pass through the study areas got kidnapped, robbed, tortured and shot to death.¹⁵⁵

For economic, social and cultural rights to be realistic there must be peaceful and enabling environment. For residents to work, produce, have access to markets and feed themselves, for children to go to school and attend education, for business people to trade and be profitable, for professionals to serve the people, for wealthy persons to invest their money in a specific area and create employment opportunities, etc they need to have peace, stability and justice. However, the Afar – Somali pastoralist conflict does not allow for these important factors of life to develop and get blossom. This shows that the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights would never come true unless civil and political rights could equally be realized. This further ensure that ESCRs and CPRs could not be detached, for human dignity to be truly achieved and have full meaning, there must be equal respect, protection and fulfillment towards all human rights.

Reluctance to solve the recurring conflict and involvement of the respected regional administration agencies during clashes is another issue that deserves serious attention. Federal security forces reveal that kurkura and Awash kebele leaders from the Afar, and Hardim kebele and mulu woreda leaders of Somali were involved in the recent January- February 2013 conflict in terms of sending and deploying warriors to the conflict area, providing machineguns and ammunitions through vehicles.¹⁵⁶ Such politically motivated intervention of different actors into the Afar – Somali pastoralist conflict in the last two decades become detrimental to the social relationship of the two communities; because animosity perception between Afar and Somali has grown through time and this in turn has eroded the long established traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, mutual understanding, respect and peaceful coexistence of the communities.

¹⁵³ An interview conducted with kebele leader of Gedamayto town, December 15, 2012

¹⁵⁴ Ibid

¹⁵⁵ FGD conducted with truck drivers at Awash Arba, January 19, 2013

¹⁵⁶ FGD conducted with defense and federal police security forces who had been deployed in the study area to control the Afar – Somali armed clashes in January and February 2013

4.2 Conclusion

The Afar and Somali pastoralist communities are among the major pastoralists in the country. Pastoralism is a back bone of the Afar and Somali communities; economic survival, social life and cultural identities of the Afar and Somali pastoralists have been centralized in and around livestock production. The traditional animal production naturally needs to have adequate natural resources such as water and pasture. The quest for these resources has been the central reason for destructive and violent conflicts to take place between Afar and Somali pastoralists. These frequently recurring conflicts have curtailed the enjoyment of residents' ESC rights. The Issa and Hawiya clans of Somali had come across a number of kilometers northward deep into the Afar throat and occupy strategic places for watering, grazing and trade activities; Gedamayto, Unduffo, Adeytu and Hardim are the main Somali pastoralist settlement areas within the Afar region; these areas are located at the peripheries of and around the Awash river basin.

Basically the Issa and Hawiya clans of Somali still covet to control the Awash River basin rich resources of water and grazing land by any means. They strongly argue that water and land are no more private assets but God's property which are open for all human beings to benefit from and utilize them in harmony. Especially the Issa further argue that currently the Ethiopian constitution has clearly provided that ownership of land is resided upon the state so as citizens of this country they are free to utilize this common property, move from place to place, choose residence and settle anywhere within the Ethiopian territory. The Afars on the other hand, have strong position stating that Afar and Somali are two different regional states having their own autonomous territorial administration and the Issa and Hawiya pastoralists as Somali clans should not have to settle in the Afar region; they have to leave Afar. The Afar further argue that Issa and Hawiya – Somali pastoralists are not acting as pastoralists; their desire is not limited to access water and pasture; rather they covet to expand territories, establish towns, Somali administration structures and institutions throughout the Awash river basin just within the Afar region. For instance, Gedamayto of the Issa and Hardim of the Hawiya settlement areas currently have kebele status which hierarchically have subordinate administrative relationship to Mulu Woreda and Shinile zone of the Somali regional state. However, the Afars argue that Issa and Hawiya are now on the way to upgrade these kebelles to Woreda level and this is part of the

territorial expansion that they have been striving to achieve by force particularly in the past twenty years.

Having the above tensions in mind, the Afar – Somali pastoralist communities have long been engaged in violent, frequent and destructive conflict. These clashes have resulted in horrifying loss of life, body injury, restriction of freedoms such as movement or transportation, destruction of property and looting animals. Herders and residents have been killed violently not only during clashes but also at times when they are totally out of enmity; while they are herding animals at the grazing areas and watering animals or while they are at home with their families or moving from place to place in their daily activities. Livestock raiding has been and actually is almost the daily occurrence and prevalent act at the conflict prone areas; accordingly individuals and families have got unable to feed themselves and finally exposed to hunger. Pastoralist villages and houses have turned to ashes because of the conflict; residents got displaced from their place of origin or work. For instance 60 households (*abaweras*) and 553 students of Somali have been displaced from *Awash Sebat* in the recent conflicts perpetrated in January and February 2013. Schools and clinics quit service and professionals forced to leave work places because of the conflict. Therefore the frequent, violent and destructive nature of the Afar – Somali pastoralist conflict is curtailing the enjoyment of residents' ESCRs. The undetermined issue of the Afar – Issa and Afar – Hawiya land claims, failure of the state to settle the issue and control violent killings, animal raiding, burning houses and displacements are affecting residents right to work, right to food, clothing and housing. It is obvious that 'without adequate housing, employment is difficult to secure and maintain, physical and mental health is threatened, education is impeded, violence is more easily perpetrated, privacy is impaired and relationships are strained'.¹⁵⁷ Residents fear to access grazing lands and water resources, their freedom of movement such as accessing markets are restricted because of fear towards violent killings and injury. Residents' right to health and education has fallen at risk because schools and clinics become dysfunctional and professionals have left their work and students have evicted from school because of the conflict. As a result, it has become so hard for residents to ensure the full enjoyment of their economic, social and cultural rights and live in dignity.

¹⁵⁷ Amnesty International, (2005), Human rights for human dignity: A primer on economic, social and cultural rights, p. 14 www.amnesty.org

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Art. 12 of the ICESCR

Art. 13 of the ICESCR

Media debates

Abdela Abdo Afar scholar who was participant of the democracy in practice debate arranged by VOA-Amharic program on October 6 and 10/ 2012

Abubeker Ahmed Issa traditional leader of the community , told to VOA-Amharic program debate entitled 'democracy in practice' held between Afar and Issa-Somali representatives and scholars on the issue of reasons, impact and solutions of the Afar-Issa pastoral conflict on 6 and 10 October, 2012

Assowe Argobe Issa traditional leader from Shinile zone participant of the VOA Amharic program debate entitled 'Democracy in practice' conducted among Afar and Issa-Somali representatives and scholars, 6 and 10 October 2012.

Interview and FGD Guide Questions

- **Interview Questions**

These interviews and FGD guide questions have been employed for the MA research study entitled ‘Implication of the Afar – Somali pastoralist conflict on socioeconomic rights of residents in Afar zone three’. The term ‘Somali pastoralists’ for the purpose of this research here refers to the Issa and Hawiya clans who mainly located at zone three of the Afar regional state.

1. What does the Afar and Somali weather condition, economic, social and cultural situations look like?
2. Do they have any life style similarities that they share in common as pastoralists or differences, if any?
3. What is the main source of work, food, income and capital asset for the Afar and Somali pastoralist communities?
4. How do you articulate the Afar – Somali pastoralist communities’ relationship as being historical neighbors?
5. Somali pastoralists especially the Issa and Hawiya clans are currently inhabited around the Awash River basin of the Afar regional state, how do you see the interaction they have with the Afar pastoralists?
6. Resource induced competitions and conflicts are prevalent in areas where pastoralists live, in this regard how do you see the Afar – Somali pastoralists’ situation here in the Afar region?
7. What do you think are the main reasons and escalating factors for the protracted conflict between the Afar – Somali pastoralist communities via the Awash River basin?
8. What does the frequency, intensity and impact of the Afar – Somali pastoralist conflict look like?
9. What is the implication of the conflict on residents’ life?
10. Does the conflict obstruct the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights of residents?
11. How do you explain the direct influence of the Afar – Somali pastoralist conflict on education, food security, housing, water and work of residents’?

12. Does the clash have any negative impact on the development activities of the area?
13. What was the role of the regional and federal governments in the past two decades in creating peaceable condition and thereby ensuring the enjoyment of residents' economic, social and cultural rights?
14. What possible prospective are there to settle the Afar – Somali (Issa and Hawiya clans) pastoralist conflict and ensure the enjoyment of residents' socioeconomic rights?

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1. Why do Afar and Somali pastoralists clash around the Awash River basin areas?
2. How do you explain the frequency and intensity of the conflict?
3. Does the conflict have any negative impact on the economic and social life of residents?
4. Does the conflict have any implication on the accessibility, availability and quality of education, health care, water and housing?
5. Do you think that this long aged conflict could be solved? Why? Or why not?