



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY  
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

UNDERSTANDING INTRA-ETHNIC CONFLICT AND CONFLICT  
MANAGEMENT: THE CASE OF BORANA AND GUJI OROMO  
CONFLICT OVER NEGELE BORANA TOWN

BY  
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CONFLICT MANAGEMENT: THE CASE OF BORANA AND  
GUJI OROMO CONFLICT OVER NEGELE BORANA TOWN**



**BIKILA BULO DIRE**

A thesis submitted to the school of graduate studies, college of social  
science

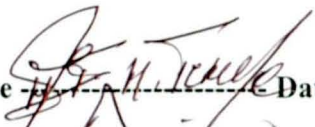
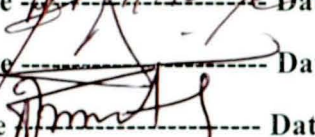
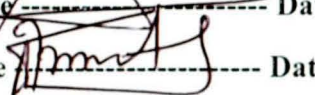
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Requirement for the degree of Master of Arts in social anthropology

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**Addis Ababa University**  
**School of Graduate studies**

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Bikila Bulu entitled **Understanding intra-ethnic conflict and conflict management: the case of Borana and Guji Oromo conflict over Negele Borana town** and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Art (social anthropology) bring together with the regulation of the university and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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# Table of contents

<b>Content</b>	<b>page</b>
Acknowledgments.....	II
List of maps.....	VIII
Abbreviations.....	IX
Glossary.....	X-XI
Abstract.....	XII
<b>CHAPTER ONE</b>	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Background of the study.....	1-4
1.2. Statement of the problem.....	4-6
1.3. Research questions.....	7
1.4. Objectives of the study.....	7
1.4.1. General objective.....	7
1.4.2. Specific objectives.....	7
1.5. Significance of the study.....	8
1.6. Scope of the study.....	8
1.7. Research Methodology.....	8
1.7.1. Preliminary study.....	8
1.7.2. Procedures of the study.....	9

1.7.3. Research design .....	9
1.7.4. Sampling Technique.....	10
1.7.5. Methods of data collection .....	11
1.7.5.1. Interview.....	11
1.7.5.2. Focus Group Discussion (FGD).....	12
1.7.5.3. Document analysis .....	12
1.7.5.4. Secondary Data.....	12
1.7.6. Data collection procedure .....	13
1.7.7. Method of Data analysis.....	13
1.8. Ethical considerations.....	14
1.9. Limitation of the study .....	14
1.10. Organization of the study.....	15
 <b>CHAPTER TOW</b>	
2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE.....	16
2.1. Definition of conflict .....	16-17
2.2. Theories of conflict.....	17
2.2.1. Structural conflict theory.....	18
2.2.2. Identity theory of conflict.....	19
2.2.3. Marxist theory of conflict.....	20-23
2.3. Source of conflict. ....	23-25
2.4. Ethnicity and ethnic conflict.....	25-27
2.5. Cause of intra-ethnic conflict.....	27
2.6. Conflict management and its approach.....	28-29

2.7. Conflict management mechanisms.....	29-31
2.8. Indigenous conflict management institution .....	31-32
2.9. Formal conflict management institutions .....	32-34

### CHAPTER THREE

3. Brief description of the study area and its people .....	35
3.1. The Oromo in general .....	35-37
3.2. The Borana Oromo .....	37-38
3.3. The Guji Oromo.....	39-40
3.4. Some commonalities between Borana and Guji Oromo.....	41
3.4.1. The Gada system.....	41- 42
3.4.2. Political structure and source of authority in Borana and Guji.....	42-43
3.4.3. The marriage system.....	43-44
3.4.4. The religious and ritual practice in Guji and Borana.....	44-45
3.4.4. Means of economic subsistence.....	45
3.5. The historical background of Negele Borana town.....	46-47
3.5.1. Geographical location of the town .....	47-48
3.5.2. Socio-economic activities of the town.....	48-50

### CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS.....	51
4. Cause of the conflict .....	51
4.1. Historical background perspective of intra-ethnic conflict between Borana and Guji	52-54
4.1.1. Political cause of conflict between Borana and Guji.....	55- 58
4.1.2. Right to self-governance perspective.....	59-63

4.3. Third parties perspective.....	63-65
4.4. Aggravating factor for 2014 Borana –Guji intra-ethnic conflict.....	66
4.4.1. The action of renaming Negele Borana town.....	72-73
4.4.2. The question “who is senior of Oromo.....	61-63
4.5. The 2014 intra-ethnic conflict between Borana and Guji .....	74-76
4.6. Major impact of the conflict.....	77
4.6.1. Socio-economic impact.....	77-80
4.7. The way in which the conflict has been managed.....	80
4.7.1. Jaarsumma conflict management mechanisms.....	81-83
4.7.2. Formal Institutions to Manage Conflict.....	84-85
<b>CHAPTER FIVE</b> .....	86
<b>CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION</b> .....	86
5.1. Conclusions .....	86-89
5.2. Recommendation.....	90-91
<b>REFERENCE</b> .....	92-101
<b>APPENDIXES</b> .....	102-111

## LIST OF MAP

## Page

1. Map 1 Map of Negele Borana Town -----	104
2. Map 2 Map of Oromia Regional State And Somalia-----	105
3. Map 3 Map of Borana And Guji (Oromo) And Liben Zone of Somali Regional----	106
4. Map 4 The map of former Borana zone-----	107
5. Map 5 the map of liben woreda and conflict area -----	108

## ABBREVIATIONS

1. ABC: Attitude, Behavior and Contradiction
2. BPED: Bureau of planning and economic development
3. CSA: Central statics authority
4. NGO: None governmental organization
5. TVET: Technique and education vocational
6. EPRDF: Ethiopian people revolutionary democratic front
7. OPDO: Oromo population democratic organization
8. OSA: Oromo studies association
9. UNESCO: United nation education science and culture organization
10. HoF : House of federation

## GLOSSARY

1. Abbaa Gadaa                      Gada leader
2. Abbaa Duulaa                    war leader in Oromo Gada system
3. Aadaa                              Custom
4. Adaadii                            Shallow wells
5. Afaan Oromoo                    Oromo language
6. Angafa                             Senior/elder
7. Aana                                Extended family
8. Awerajja                         Administrative zone
9. Balbala                            Sub clan
10. Bookee                            Natural ponds
11. Buttaa                             A Gada system power transition period at the end eighth year
12. Chaffee Oroomiya                Oromiya regional state house of people representative
13. Dhakaa Baqe                    The former name Negele Borena town
14. Derg                                Committee
15. Dhaddacha                      A species of acacia tree which serves as a conference hall under its shade
16. Ellaa                                Wells
17. Gadaa                            Stands for several related ideas and the way of life of Oromo specially it is Political and socio-cultural setting and general it is the indigenous democratic Political organization of the Oromo.
18. Gosa                                Clan
19. *Gosa, qomoo*                    *Clan*
20. Gumi Bokko                      A general assembly of Gada system
21. Gumi Gaayyoo                    The supreme decision making assembly of the Borana Oromo that meets once in every eight years at Gaayo in the Dire District. The gadaa organizes the assembly. While a multitude of people actively participate in the meeting, the ultimate decision maker is

not the Abbaa Gadaa in office but the most senior retired ex-Abbaa Gadaa who is called Abbaa Seeraa, the father of law counting on his rich experience. The Abbaa Gadaa in office is the organizer and host but does not make decisions during this particular event because this is when his administration is evaluated.

22. Gujo	The tribal father of the Guji
23. Haroo	A hand dug shallow ponds
24. Hayyu	Customary legal experts
25. Ilafi ilamee	It is a traditional conflict resolution method in Oromiya
26. Irreecha	Thanks giving ceremony of annual celebration in Oromiya
27. Jaarsa biyyaa	Elders of the soil refers to elders of reconciliation
28. Jaarsa Araaraa	Elders of reconciliation
29. Kebeles	The smallest administration district/ peasant association
30. Keflehagere	Administrative zone
31. Koree Nageenya	Committee of peace
32. Lafa libeen angafa	Liban is the eldest of all the land
33. Mana	Literally means house
34. Muudaa	Appointment ceremony of Abba Gada
35. Nagee Borena	Peace of Borena
36. Oromummaa	The master ideology of the Oromo national movement
37. Qallu	Supreme hereditary religious leader
38. Qerssa Bilbilo	The former name of Negele Town
39. <i>Qutisu</i>	<i>Junior</i>
40. Safuu	Moral and ethical order
41. Salgan yaa'i boorana	Standing or executive committee of Gada system
42. Seera	Oromo basic law
43. Tulla	Deep wells
44. Tullu nama duri	The hill of ancient people
45. Waaqa	Crater/God
46. Waaqefannaa	Worshipping God
47. Warra	Family
48. Woreda	District

## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines intra-ethnic conflict between Borana and Guji Oromo over the ownership of over Negele Borana town. The main objective of the study is to understand, investigate, describe, and analysis the major common and newly prevailing causes of the intra-ethnic conflict and conflict management between Borana and Guji people over the ownership of Negele Borana town. To meet this objective the research employed qualitative paradigm; primary data was collected from key informant interview, document analysis and secondary sources. Purposive sampling techniques were used to gather genuine information. To attain the study objective, qualitative method of data analysis was employed because it enables detailed study of social phenomenon based on feelings, experiences, motives and behaviors of targeted group's and the reasons that govern such behaviors of people.

Though many ethnic conflict analysts, scholars, government, and non-governmental institutions took for grant that the causes of different violent ethnic conflicts recurring in the pastoralist communities resulted solely as competition for resources (pasture land and scarcity of water). But the findings of this study showed that intra-ethnic conflicts in the study area were initially, started by sense of traditional enmity, social recognition (killing for braveness and prestige), resources, weapons effect and divide and rule, power dominance and political manipulations were the common causes of the conflicts in the past. While newly prevailing causes of the intra-ethnic conflicts are advanced to claiming for the local identity, self-administration (governance), territorial expansion and local political demarcation which was/is granted by 1995 constitution because it created the sense of local identity through ethnic based and political self-consciousness. The study considered highly interweaves intricate factors of historical, cultural, economic, political, and local identity issues pertinent to the new federal model and the former group's relations.

Both formal and informal conflict mechanisms are utilized and used to manage intra-ethnic conflicts in bringing peace and social cohesion in the study area but attempt made by formal institution is less effective than the one made by Jaarsummaa (indigenous mechanism) in establishing the lasting sustainable peace, social relation, and harmonization among the conflicting ethnic group (Guji and Borana). Failure in making harmony is due to lack of genuinely in implementation and Shadow play by both local government and elites.

# CHAPTER ONE

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to understand intra-ethnic conflict and conflict management between Borana and Guji Oromo over the ownership of Negele Borana town. And this thesis consist five chapters in which relevant methods and theories in the study of conflict and conflict management are discussed.

This chapter presents a background of the study, statement of the problem, the objective of the study, research questions; methodology of the study and finally this chapter provides the sequence in which the study is organized.

### 1.1. Background of the study

Ethiopia is a multi-ethnic country where diverse people live together (Mellese, 2008 and Abate 2006). As a multi-ethnic country, it is not exceptional in facing ethnic confrontation; there are differences in degree, extent, causes and actors of ethnic conflicts. Reported causes of ethnic conflict in Ethiopia have been over centralization, marginalization, deliberate elites exploitation and competitions for scarce resources as major causes (Bahru, 2008). Abate (2006) and Asnake (2011) stated that although ethnic differentiation has been taken as one dimension of its cultural and historical treasures it seems, however, that the internal divisions are more of a trouble than blessing in its development process.

The majority of the people of Ethiopia and in fact of the horn of Africa are Cushitic speaking: the Oromo people who are the largest among these Cushitic speaking people and who are by and large and differ from their neighbor in language, religion and political culture.(Mekuria,2011). In addition as Mohammed, (1990) point out the Oromo's are the largest ethnic group in the Horn of Africa, they occupy a land that extends from north eastern Ethiopia to North Kenya and from the Sudan in the west to Somali inhabited land in the east (Lewis, 1984). According to Asmarom, (2006:2) "The total area of the Oromo speaking nation is about 367, 000 sq km, as large as Germany".

The Oromo people speak a common language called "*Afaan Oromo*" (Oromo language) and share common cultural heritages. They belong to the Cushitic language sub family, which is

dominant in the Horn of Africa. Within the present day Ethiopia, the Oromo are the largest ethnic group. In addition to the above statement, the Oromo people have five main/major group, these are the *Tulama* and *Mecha*, the *Sabbo* and the *Goonaa*, the *Rayyaa* and the *Aseboo*, the *Siikkoo* and the *Mando*, and the *Ituu* and the *Humbanna* (Dejene, 2002).

Withstanding to the above point under the current political administrative system of Ethiopia, the Region of *Oromia* is divided in to 18 (Eighteen) administrative zones. From 18 zones of the *Oromia*, the Guji and Borana Zones of *Oromia* National Regional State are located in the southern pastoral low land of Ethiopia.

The Guji people are, one of the Oromo sub-groups, inhabit the southern part of Ethiopia, predominantly in today's Borana and Guji Administrative Zones of Oromia Regional State. According to Oromo oral tradition, myth of pilgrimage centers and written documents, Guji and Borana land is the cradle of Oromo place of origin and reservoir of Oromo culture (Asmarom, 1973). Guji land is bordered by the Borana Oromo in the south, Burji, Koyra and Gamo in the southwest, Arsi Oromo in the East and Gedeo, Sidama and Wolaita ethnic groups in the North (Negera, 2005).

According to Jemjem and Dhadach, (2011) Guji zone occupies 20 *woredas*/districts and from those one is liben *woreda*, which Negele town is found. Physically the zone of Guji people located between 36<sup>0</sup>46"-41<sup>0</sup>40" East longitude and 4<sup>0</sup>30"-6<sup>0</sup>38"North of latitude with the total boundaries of 30,000 Km<sup>2</sup>In the case of geo-historic characteristic of Guji, historically the people were living in all *Aweraja* of the former *Sidamo* province, in general the people of Guji set aside "from west up to lake Abaya, to the North up to the middle of Hegereselam (Bore), to the East up to Genale Guda in Bale and to the South up to Negele" (Dhadach, 2006:12).

Concerning to the Borana people they are predominantly pastoralist group who inhabited in both Southern Ethiopia and Northern Kenya. The Borana have vast territory and borders with Guji, Gabra, and Garri non-Oromo groups in the area, which inhabit Southern Ethiopia and Northern Kenya. Borana land is located in the southern part of Oromia regional state and extends southwards in northern Kenya. Conventionally Borana land divided in two border regions liban and Dirree. The river Dawa is the natural divided leaving liban to the east and Dirree to the west. The Borana land is dominated by semi-arid climate. The ecological conditions favor pastoralist more than farming (Fekadu, 2004 and Alemayehu, 1998).

According to Fekadu (2004) the current political administration of Borana zone was recognized as administrative Zone in 2002. But before the 2002 the region pass through different administrative map, up to 1987 Borana land had been a sub-province under Sidamo province in 1987 Borana was grown to the status of province to be called Borana administrative region. A change was again made in 1992 during the transitional period that time Borana administrative region was changed to Borana zone adding some new territories' and losing some of the existing ones. The newly formed Borana zone comprises 13 *woreda*/districts and one town under reform namely Yaabelloo, geographically the zone is located in the Southern part of Oromia National Regional State. And the zone shares common boundaries with Guji zone in the East, Ethiopian Somali National Regional State in Southeast, Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia in the North and Northwest, and international boundary with Kenya in the south, which has 540 km long<sup>1</sup>.

In relation to Negele Borana town, according to Ministry of Urban Development and Construction, Negele town is located in *Oromia* National Regional State, Guji Zone, in Liben *woreda* at a distance of 610 km from Addis Ababa. Negele town was founded in 1917 due to the establishment of the military defense force center in the South-east parts of the town. The main reasons for foundation of the town are military camp, establishment of the markets, provision of food and local drinks. In 1941, Negele town became seat of Borana and got Municipal status. The town got the first master plan in 1965. Since 2003 Negele remained as the capital town of the newly established Guji zone.<sup>2</sup>

According to the data of the (CSA) 2012 of Ethiopia reports shows that, the population of the Negele town is 43,486, from the total population, 22,633 are men and the remaining 20,853 are women. And in report of (CSA) 2007 of Ethiopia, the majorities of the residents are the followers of Muslim, with 54.89% of the population and while 34.25% of the populations are followers of Ethiopian orthodox Christine, and 8.24% protestant, and 2.34% practiced indigenous /traditional beliefs.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> BoFED 2008 Oromia Bureau of Finance and Economic Development regional statistics and information center

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.mwud.gov.et/web/negele-Borana> Ministry of urban development and construction (accessed in 2015)

<sup>3</sup> Central Statistics Authority 2007 Population and housing census of Ethiopia.

However now in current time there is conflict between the Borana and Guji over the ownership of Negele Borana town, the Guji's want the town's name be changed to Negele Guji or only Negele without the following name Borana but the Borana's want the name of the town to be as it is. And this leads to conflict, so generally the study or research wants to address the root cause of conflict and conflict management processes.

## **1.2. Statement of the problem**

The Borana and Guji Zones of Oromia Regional State are placed in the southern pastoral low land of Ethiopia. They inhabit multi-ethnic pastorals that often face challenges and regular threats, as a result of ethnic conflicts in the areas. Ethnic and intra-conflict is inevitable in diversified ethnic groups or the groups with same culture, language and psychological makeup. The intra-ethnic conflicts, among pastoralists in south Ethiopia in general and Guji and Borana Oromo zones of Oromia National regional state in particular have existed in different forms for centuries and are not new phenomenon in the area. Protracted conflicts within and between Oromo (Guji, Borana, and Gabra) and Somali pastoral ethnic groups (Marihan, Dogodi) and Garri of the southern and Eastern parts of Ethiopia are not new (Bassi, 2010, and Boku, 2011). Historically, Guji and Borana Zones of Oromia National Regional State have experienced intra-Oromo and non-Oromo ethnic group's clashes over scarce natural resources, such as pasture land and water. Therefore, since the conflict cannot be totally avoided, different societies have developed their own mechanism to manage conflict not to throw their existence into danger. In line with this, different scholars have forwarded different ideas about the definition, causes and types of conflict based on their own experiences and understanding. Nevertheless, conflict scholars agreed on the possible ways of conflict management.

Withstanding to the above statement the conflict between Guji and Borana over the ownership of Negele town is the concern of this study. concerning to conflict over the ownership of town historically the Oromia Regional State in general have a previous experience with different ethnic groups like the case of Dire Dewa, the claim of Somali over the town, at the same time the case of Addis Ababa can mentioned as an example.

Conflict is common phenomenon among human beings. Groups and individuals experienced it in their day-to-day life while they interacting (Teshome, 2011). Conflict is a worldwide reality that

knocks at the doors of developed and developing nations (Jalali, 1992). Among other conflicts, ethnic conflict is one of the susceptible lines of confrontation to which Africa is one of the vulnerable continents. Ethnic conflict is a new phenomenon that exploded worldwide after the end of the cold war (Abraha 2012). Inter-state and intra-state conflicts are actual and potential manifestations of Africa (Wolf, 2006 cited in Yidnekachew, 2012). Since then, conflict within states has become more prevalent than conflicts between states.

According to Fekadu, (2004:24-27) “Traditionally Borana land was divided in two broad regions Liban and Dirree” liban is known for its religious site where several sacred sites are found. In addition according to Borana Oromo tradition liban has the status of seniority and about 73% of liban is lowland (*gammojji*) at an altitude below 1500 meter. It has semi-arid and arid climate, the mean annual temperature is 22<sup>0</sup> c at Negele town and increase as one move towards the east.

In addition to the above statement Boranas divide their land in to four major parts, Saku, Waso, Dire and Liban. While Saku and Waso are located in Kenya, Dire and Liban are located in Ethiopia. Although all the regions have important role in the life of Borana society, Liban is significant. Borana people say “*Lafa libeeni angafa*” meaning “Liban is the eldest of all the land”, signifying the importance of Liban in the life of Borana society<sup>4</sup>.

Negele Borana is one of the historical and traditional places for the Borana community in particular and Oromo people in general. It is located in the current Southern Oromia region Guji zone Liben *woreda*. The literal meaning of Negele Borana is “peace for Borana”. The name is not only limited to the values of Borana people has, but also the town itself is located in the center of Liben, where Borana perform their traditional rituals every year.

For the world it has historical significance that goes back to the Second World War where British forces drove out the Italian colonizers. In addition to that, in the 1980s when the forces of General Ziad Barre invaded Ethiopia, his forces surrounded the outskirts or the areas at

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<sup>4</sup><http://www.ardajila.com> (Accessed in March 20, 2015)

the edge of town farthest from the center of Negele Borana and massacred children, women and elders of Borana society indiscriminately. However, later, they were beaten by the national defense and significant contribution of the local people<sup>5</sup>.

In theory, local government structures deal with the needs of every citizen to help solve the communities' day to day problems, because their goal is to be as close as possible to the people (Bedeso, 2013). Moreover, local government bodies are expected to play significant role in managing conflicts and contribute a lot in minimizing the risk of escalating conflict into violence (Steyier, 2007). Conflict and its management involve those interests of anthropology such as norms, rules, morals, authority, meanings and interpretations. Based on this assumption likely African society apply home-grown laws in their administration of justice. Accordingly, among the Oromo in general and the Guji and Borana in particular, there are indigenous institutions and practices of conflict management. For different disputes, local elders at the level of neighborhood can act as mediators to reconcile the parties in dispute. Other cases, which local elders fail to settle and which, from their very nature, call for the involvement of supernatural beings, go to the religious institution and in line with this the bureaucratic rule and laws also will intervene in dispute or conflict resolution.

According to Desalegn, seleshi, Regassa, Muk and, and Ashim (2007) both inter- and intra-ethnic (micro) and macro-micro conflicts over the use of natural resources are common in Borana. Such conflicts are usually settled by the local elders using the principles of the *Gada* system. According to the *Gada* age-grade system, individuals in the age range of above 48 are called *Luba* and are considered to be elders, with a social responsibility for maintaining peace and stability within the local community. The relevance and application of this indigenous institution in dealing with conflicts that may arise over the use of natural resources have been assessed by many scholars. However, the reviewed studies lack an in-depth anthropological investigation of issues surround cause and consequences of conflict between Guji and Borana over Negele town, Therefore, this study is aimed at bridging this gap.

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<sup>5</sup><http://www.ardajila.com> (Accessed in March 20, 2015)

### **1.3. Research questions**

**The study makes an effort to answer the following research questions**

1. What are the historical relationships between Borana and Guji pastoralist intra- ethnic groups?
2. What are the underlying causes of the conflicts between Borana and Guji people over the ownership of Negele Borana town?
3. What are the consequences of the conflicts?
4. What are the nature of intra- ethnic conflicts and how have conflicts been managed?
5. How and why did the long period of mutual interdependence and co-existence between these intra-ethnic groups break?

### **1.4. Objectives of the study**

#### **1.4.1. General objectives of the study**

The general objective of the study is to investigate, describe and analyze the major and newly emerging causes of intra-ethnic conflict; its impacts and management between Borana and Guji.

#### **1.4.2. Specific objectives**

Derived from this grand objective, the study has the following specific objectives:

1. To examine the historical relationships among conflicting groups Borana and Guji
2. To identify the causes of conflicts by tracing their historical roots
3. To investigate and analyze the nature of intra-ethnic conflicts and conflict management
4. To find out challenges and opportunities towards peaceful co-existence of these group.
5. To identify the overall effects of intra-ethnic conflict between Borana and Guji Oromo

### **1.5. Significances of the study**

The study should be important from the following perspectives:

- It will give clear understanding on the causes of conflict between Guji and Borana Oromo over the ownership of Negele Borana town.

- The study will indicate an additional contribution to the few works that have already been done on conflict management in the region. It serves as a useful input for those individuals interested to carry out in-depth studies on similar topics.
- It will provide information to the government/legislators to consider for better planning and implementation of the policy and especially for regional government of Oromia.
- It may contribute to the understanding of the role and characteristics of the indigenous institutions of conflict management in dispute settling.

## **1.6. Scope of the study**

The study was delimited to Borana and Guji Oromo groups in the Oromia National Regional state located in southern low land of the country. Guji and Borana zones are inhabited multi-ethnic groups who have been fighting for centuries. The study intended to explore the context, nature, causes of intra-ethnic conflict and its management, focusing on the conflict over the ownership of Negele Borana town which found in Oromia regional state Guji zone liben *woreda*.

## **1.7. Research Methodology**

### **1.7.1. Preliminary study**

The initial effort to begin this study was conducting preliminary studies and direct visits to the town in order to familiarize myself with the study environment or to the Negele Borana town. Specifically, these visits and studies were intended to enable the researcher to get “a bird’s eye view” of the town and informally trying to meet some of the inhabitants of town in order to grasp some general information concerning to the issues. And at the same time getting relevant information that could contribute to find out the main governmental organization particularly which directly related to my study, like the town municipalities, Liben district peace and security office, police station and other related governmental organization and public officials who works in those governmental organizations who provide me the general information about Negele Borana town were taken place. It was from this background that the researcher identified and established a base for the choice of samples. Based on the recommendation from liben *woreda* peace and security office and others individuals, I tried to select informants and gathered

necessary information about the intra-ethnic conflict and conflict management between Borana and Guji Oromo over the ownership of Negele Borana town. The direct visits and first round studies enabled the researcher to get initial steps for getting to the study environment or study area.

### **1.7.2 .Procedures of the Study**

The following procedures have been used in this study. First, the related literatures, both published and unpublished, have been reviewed. Reviewing of the related literature was believed to help the researcher establish the possible theoretical basis for the study; I have tried to select the appropriate methodology and other relevant field procedures and activities. Then, preparation for fieldwork was done. The preparation for field work included reading about history of the study area and people, organizing of interview items, and procuring money for the fieldwork was also considered as an important aspect of readiness for the fieldwork. The fieldwork focused on the activities of gathering necessary information about the intra-ethnic conflict between Borana and Guji Oromo over the ownership of Negele Borana town.

### **1.7.3. Research Design**

With the purpose of giving qualitative explanatory insights to the issues under study, to meet the suggested objectives and answer the above listed research questions; I employed a qualitative research paradigm. The reason why I chose to use qualitative approach is that “qualitative research explores attitudes, behavior and experiences through such methods as interviews; it helps to get an in-depth opinion from participants” (Dawson, 2007).

As explanatory designs seek to establish cause-and-effect relationships and primarily focuses to determine how events occur and which ones may influence particular outcomes (Hancock and Bob, 2006), the study seeks to understand the computation over urban ownership between Borana and Guji Oromo. As the topic of this research is interested in understanding larger-scale, phenomena, i.e. how the intra-ethnic conflict over urban ownership did bring a major change over time in Borana and Guji people and what resulted from the change. I mainly used historical method together with ethnography. This is because of two things. First, research work of this kind, which is interested in causal analysis, must show the independent variable (intra-ethnic conflict) precede the dependent variable (conflict over urban ownership) in time, which forces us

to see the historical relationship between Borana and Guji people. According to Ruane (2005), in causal analysis research, three conditions must be fulfilled: The independent variable must precede the dependent variable in time, they must have relationship with each other and the relationship between the two must survive any.

Second, as ethnography is interested in writing about the contemporary life of certain people, this research seeks to understand the current situation of Borana and Guji people that resulted from the change from the anthropological point of view. Therefore, by employing the historical methods, this study seeks to understand the event of intra-ethnic conflict between Borana and Guji people in the past and their connection and influence in the present condition of conflict over urban center of the people. The ethnographic method is used to explore the observable and learned patterns of behavior, customs and ways of life of a culture sharing people that incorporate both the views of group members and the others people perceptions and interpretations of the groups functioning (Hancock, 2006). Secondary sources have played significant contribution to verify and validate the research with conceptual guiding framework regarding the intra-ethnic conflict and conflict management.

#### **1.7.4. Sampling Techniques**

In qualitative research, sampling is not that much in focus on a balanced case and explores it intensively and holistically (Patton, 1990). Purposeful sampling selects information that is rich case for in depth study. In addition qualitative research do not simply use sample as representatives of the population under study; rather it works with small sample of people, cases, or phenomenon nested in particular context (Bryman, 2004). As a result, I used purposive sample technique. Even though, I did not plan the research sample in advance, I have identified them during fieldwork. Dawson (2007) pointed out that qualitative researchers do not worry to generalize their work to the whole research population. They describe what is happening within a smaller group of people, which they believe, may provide insights into the behavior of the wider research population. Accordingly, following Hancock's and Bob's (2006), argument, I have identified key participants in condition whose knowledge may provide important insights regarding my research questions thus, to meet my objectives, I selected 10 key informants by the purposive sampling method and interviewed in detail.

### **1.7.5. Methods of Data Collection**

There is no one and final techniques to gather the data rather varieties of techniques are used. For this particular study interview, Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and document analysis has been employed. Each techniques and procedure is discussed below.

#### **1.7.5.1. Interview**

In qualitative research, interview is a major instrument of data gathering (Creswell, 2009). It is used to collect live from the data as a means of collecting information from various research communities, interviews can range from the highly structured to semi-structured and unstructured (Crang and Cook 2007). In this research, I employed the semi structured and unstructured interviews. In the semi-structured one, I prepared predetermined interview questions and asked my respondents in a specific order. In the unstructured one, I set some broad parameter for a discussion with my respondents.

I conducted 20 interviews with my respondents, including the purposely-selected key informants who have direct relationships with the issues undertaken by the semi-structured one. I selected 10 key informants from Borana and Guji people, political leaders and elders to better understand the required information to meet my objectives. Among the 10 selected key informants, even though all of them were not present at the time of violent clash in March 2014, five (5) of them were able to provide me the oral testimony of the event. Information from such individuals is considered as secondary sources among historians. Through unstructured interview, I have included other 10 informants who offered me some general background information, for example, on the issues of post violent conflict result like a matters related to revenge between the people, three of these informants were workers in the peace and security office of liben worda.

Generally, in this research, I have interviewed twenty (20) informants, from which 10 were my key informants. Regarding gender composition of my respondents, 18 of my informants were male. However, though much of my informant is male I have interviewed 2 female respondents. In regards to their age composition, as I selected informants in condition whose knowledge may provide important insights about the issues of the study, most of my respondents were adult people and elders.

In addition, since I assumed people of adult age would give better information, I have also included this age group. Data about historical relationship about the Borana and Guji people have been gathered mainly from this age group.

### **1.7.5.2. Focus Group Discussions (FGD)**

According to Morgan (1988), the focus group discussion method is used for both exploratory and descriptive social sciences research. In addition, the focused group discussion method of inquiry has become immensely popular and influential in contemporary culture (Lapan, 2004). It is useful tool to look into people to explain their feelings and group reflection on certain issue. Due to limitation of time, only two focus group discussions composing of 12 informants were arranged. The purpose of this is to gather diverse information on the conflict over the ownership of Negele Borana town. On top of this, this method is used to fill the gap that other methods could not cover. The interview questions were prepared to guide the FGD.

### **1.7.5.3. Document Analysis**

Documents that are relevant to conflict and its management had been consulted and analyzed. In line with the theory building and literature review, in order to triangulate the data collected from different sources, like different books, articles, journals, magazines and newspaper has been reviewed. And as well as different documents regarding to the town and conflict and conflict management has been used in the study. Regarding to this a document from the government institutions has been used to assess the extent to which people look for indigenous mechanisms verses bureaucratic law and it also used to investigate the basic differences and similarities between indigenous mechanisms and state court proceedings. Furthermore, it has been equally important for identifying the nature of conflict cases and their motives.

### **1.7.5.4 Secondary Data**

Secondary data from different books, published and unpublished dissertations and thesis, bulletins, journals, articles and other relevant materials were reviewed in line with the study's objectives. The data from these secondary sources supplemented my fieldwork information and

enabled me to recognize the gaps in the study. This method also helped me to cross check the data obtained through several data gathering methods.

### **1.7.6. Data Collection Procedure**

As soon as the approval of the topic, literatures related to the topic were reviewed. Then, research questions and objectives of the study have been identified. Detailed interview guide was prepared and data was collected mainly focusing on the intra-ethnic conflict and conflict management between Borana and Guji people. The data collection instruments were prepared in English and translated into the peoples' language, since I realized that it is necessary, I asked the Department of Social Anthropology to write a support letter that helped the participants to understand who I am and what the purpose of the study is. Interviews were made by going where the respondents are, offices and homes. After asking the willingness of these respondents, I made an appointment based on a personal visit. Thus, the interview sessions were arranged based on the convenience of the respondent.

### **1.7.7. Method of Data Analysis**

According to Creswell, (2009) qualitative data analysis is conducted concurrently with gathering data, making interpretation and writing reports. Since there is no appropriate set of rules of analysis or simple guidelines, which guarantee good results, the main difficulty I encountered was what to do with the data after it has been collected. However, following Sapsford's and Jupp's, (2006) suggestion, the first task I did was assigning data to categories and developing the categories at the same time. The process entails mutual fitting between data and categories; then. The dynamic process focuses on the links between the problem, research design, strategy, research techniques and theories (Bryman, and Burgess, 2002). As making sense of information is a continuous process with the researchers' investigative progress (Ibid), I used a multidirectional interaction between conceptual and empirical world, deduction and induction occurring at the same time in processes of data analysis. I continuously examined and interpreted the data in order to reach conclusion by focusing on the research questions. Thus I employed major idea analysis or thematic analysis techniques and content analyses by involving necessary element of creativity. Data are displayed using qualitative descriptors and provide quotes from

respondents throughout the report. In the process, I followed every data collection by analyzing concurrently by starting data analysis immediately after data was collected. Reflection was made on every response through interpreting. In summary, the design and methods discussed allowed a holistic approach towards the study.

## **1.8. Ethical considerations**

Regarding to ethical issues in research, first the participant must be informed about the procedures and risks involving in research and must give his/her consent to participate. Second, the researcher also must not force the participant taking part in the study (Trochim and Donnelly 2008). Prior to participation in the study, it is important for all participants to understand why the research is being done and what their participation will involve. Selected participants were given explanation about aims of the study, eligibility to participate in the study, possible benefits of participating in the study, and concerns with regard to data keeping and confidentiality issues. All of them were informed that participating in the study is voluntary and secrecy of their responses would be maintained based on their personal interest.

Generally to accomplish the research ethical issues has been very important, thus in the study following ethical consideration has been considered in all stages of the research.

1. Permission has been asked from the municipality of Negele Borana town administrative
2. Explanation of the study objective and significance has been expressed to sampled persons
3. Information obtained from the respondents has been kept confidentially

## **1.9. Limitation of the study**

One may experience many difficulties in conducting a research work of any kind. Particularly, the major problem I faced in studying this topic is the confusion, where I should start the study of intra-ethnic conflict between Borana and Guji Oromo, before directly embarking on the intended objective because, this obviously required me to understand the social, cultural and political life of the people, that was previously lost and difficult for me to accomplish at this instant.

In addition, the shortage of time was the major problem. I only had 2 month and fieldwork, which is too short time for an anthropological study of this nature. In addition, many people were also reluctant to discuss the issue of conflict in relation to political culture. Only those who are aware of my objectives have shown willingness for the discussion. In relation to this there were some kind of unwillingness of some individuals in municipalities of Negele Borana Town especially the office of public relation which they are politically in charge, even if I have a letter from my university and letter of cooperation order from mayor of the town, they refused to give me information by saying that *“it is bad history or it is black point of history between Borana and Guji, so we do not need to record these history between this people of Oromo”*. I was initially eager to cover various settlements inhabited by around Negele town for my study. However, the inaccessibility of the area, coupled with the limitation of time made the study to be limited only to limited sites. Had it covered more sites the data would have been richer and the analysis deeper. Hence, these constraints forced me not to claim my study is complete, exhaustive and comprehensive. However, I hope, my effort establishes adequate ground for further research.

### **1.10. Organization of the study**

This study has been organized into five chapters. Chapter one is an introduction part, under this chapter the background of the study, statement of the problem, research questions, objectives of the study, methodology and methods, significance of the study and scope of the study has been provided. Chapter two covered review of literature, which about definition of conflict and relevant of theories conflict has been discussed. Chapter three examined the brief description of the study area and the people of Guji and Borana as well as it give some explanation about the Negele Borana town.

In chapter four of the study, it has been looked at the finding of the study, it describes the finding trough narrative way of describing and analyzing the gathered data and it also look at the mechanisms of conflict management and its impact. Finally in the last chapter, it ties to give the conclusion of the study and recommendation.

## CHAPTER TWO

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

In chapter one, the research problem, its purpose and methodology have been introduced. The purpose of this chapter is to give the thesis a theoretical basis by reviewing materials on the contextual study of conflict and conflict management. A careful reading of related materials on conflict and available works in the research area is important for establishment of theoretical background that may direct the line of argument in the main body of the research. Though, this chapter presents a review of published and un published works with its focus on the concept of conflict, theories of conflict, the source of intra-ethnic conflict and conflict management.

#### **2.1. Definition of conflict**

Conflict, a Latin word by origin, means to clash or engagement in a fight: a confrontation between one or more parties aspiring towards incompatible or competitive means or ends (Miller 2005). Conflict is often defined as a struggle between individuals or collectivities over values or claims to status, power and scarce resources in which the aims of the conflicting parties are to assert their values or claims over those others (Schelnberger 2005, Draman, 2003).

There is no universally accepted definition of conflict; due to this different scholars define it differently. On the other hand, different scholars define conflict in various ways. For instance, Miller (2005) defines conflict as an “engagement in a fight or possible confrontation between two or more parties aspiring towards incompatible or competitive means or end”. Moreover, according to Martin Deutsch (1968) a conflict exists whenever incompatible activities occur. The incompatible actions may originate in one person, in one group, in one nation; and such conflicts are called intra- personal, intergroup, or intra- national. Or they may reflect incompatible actions of two or more persons, groups or nations; such conflicts are called inter personal, inter-group, or international. Terry, (1983) defines conflict as the existence of opposition or dispute between persons, groups or institutions. Conflict as the process which begins when one party perceives that the other has frustrated or is about to frustrate with some concern of his/hers as well as Conflict is caused by unlike points of view (Lippitt, 1982).

According to Schmidt & Kochran, (1972) conflict is a struggle between two parties and is characterized by overt expressions of hostility and/or intentional interference in the goal attainment of the opposing party.

Conflict, is a constant companion on the road of both economic crisis and opportunity because it involves changing configurations of power and resource allocation, as well as challenges to existing interests, aspirations, perceptions, and expectations. As such, conflict is a necessary catalyst to, and an inevitable by-product of, development. The challenge thus becomes one not of limiting conflict but of managing it in constructive ways (Patrick, B. Claire, and Q. Michael, W., 2004).

As Sen 1999 clearly (cited in Patrick, B. et al., 2004) point out that understanding conflict is important for both instrumental and intrinsic reasons in formulating development policy. Instrumentally, we need to understand the processes by which violent conflict breaks out because destructive conflict can set back social and economic development gains by decades hard won development successes can be wiped out in an instant. Moreover, the physical, economic, and psychological insecurity that accompanies outbreaks of violence and that remain long thereafter, negatively impacts on freedom and choice, the very basis of development itself (Patrick, B. et al., 2004). Generally speaking the concept of conflict is applied in different contexts, ranging from intrapersonal conflict, a conflict people experience when deciding between doing what they want and what they should to violent confrontation, which can lead to an elimination of another person or groups of persons. The complex interactions among the society and the existence of human need could make up a conflict. It is a phenomenon, which is ever-present in the societies of people and it is almost inevitable. Each conflict is different and people will react in their own way to a situation.

## **2.2. Theories of conflict**

Theories in the social sciences are fundamentally details with reference to the causes of human behavior. Theories of conflict consist of explanations about what causes the various types of communal hostility that influence the world. Normally, theories are upright through way of thinking that is the use of premises or one or more statements of an argument to infer another statement called the conclusion. This means that theories are developed in three different ways through induction, deduction, or a combination of the two. In inductive reasoning the analyst

conducts reasoning from the particular observation of the facts or data to the general conclusions. In other words, it is a bottom-up approach in which the premises provide evidence only for the conclusion. In the social sciences, most explanations fall under the inductive method of analysis rather than the deductive method (Morgan, E., 2004). Conflict theory states that conflict is inherent in all societies and it manifests itself in different ways, these include conflicts between religions, between gender and between races or between within groups. Conflicts between races had taken global dimension and had even led to wars, while conflicts between ethnic groups have increased greatly in the past twenty years since after the end of the cold war, especially in states where many ethnic groups are found. These states exist either by conquests as in Northern Ireland or by artificial creation and colonialism. In these states the dominant groups have more access to resources like land and minerals which will metamorphosised in to power domination (World Bank, 2010).

### **2.2.1. Structural Conflict Theory**

According to this theory incompatible interests based on competition for resources are causes for conflicts. This theory has two sub-divisions. They are radical structural theory represented by Marxist Dialectical school-Marxian and liberal structural theory represented by Rosa, and John Galtung (1996). The Marxian presents conflict as tied to economic structures and social institutions. They assume sources of conflict are poverty, political and economical exclusion, exploitation and inequality. Central to Marxist analysis of conflict is the division of society into classes. Basically there are two classes in capitalist society: the capitalists and the working class (class struggles). The conflict is mostly as a result of the exploitation by capitalists. On the other hand, the liberals propounded the theory of negative and positive peace to buttress how structural conflicts can occur in society. Negative peace is a situation where there is no violence. However, there could be wide spread of poverty, inequality, human right violation and the like. Positive peace is a situation where equality, respect for human rights and justice prevail. According to liberals, conflicts occur as a result of injustice, inequality and human rights violation which further reformed and lead to peace. Therefore policy reform is a solution to structural conflict where as, for Marxists the solution to structural conflict is revolution.

### **2.2.2. Identity Theory of Conflict**

Conflicts fueled by feelings of threatened identity are particularly difficult to resolve, for the issues are far deeper and tied to the political constructions of self and another that create fear and hostility. Mobilization by one community may activate counter mobilization by the other group that attempts to defend its interests (Jeong, 2000). The group may feel that their identity is threatened by the demands of other group for the recognition of cultural rights/autonomy and political status. Since people rally around issues that express their grievances due to previous experience, exploitation and victimization could strengthen the groups identify consciousness. Moreover, since memories of past persecution portrays, as well as, legitimizes acts of violence as morally binding individuals can take revenge on others who have harmed them or their kin (including their ancestors' for both immediate and symbolic significance (Gurr; 2005).

Primordialism and social constructivism explain why and when identity differences are perceived as being socially significant or not, at individual or group levels. The primordialist approach understands identity as a cultural product being determined by one's blood, which might include socio-biological factors in extreme cases. It considers identity as something objectively given and genetically determined. Primordialists attribute the sources of intractable conflicts to the feelings of threatened identity rooted in unresolved past loss and victimization (Jeong, 2000: 73). Social constructivists, on the other hand, regard identity as a novel social construction than given. They consider identity not as a fixed primordial factor, but as the protean outcome of endless social processes that can be recreated and refashioned out of both old and new elements and perpetually in the process of creation (Berman, 1998). For the social constructivist approach identity emerges from dialectic between similarity and difference in group interaction. For social constructivists, motivational forces behind the mobilization of ethnic groups can be explained by instrumentalism. Identity can be used instrumentally to promote individual and collective interests. For instance, in their struggle for power, competing elites can use identity as a tool to mobilize popular support. On the other hand, identity categories can also be consciously manipulated to maintain the power of a dominant group and to justify discrimination against other groups in education and employment (Jeong, 2000). Identify differences are not themselves cause of conflict. Rather, the salience of group identity is awakened by socially derived inequalities in material well-being or political access. Identify distinctions are deepened by the denial of political participation, as well as, lack of physical and economic security (Jeong, 2000).

### 2.2.3. Marxists theories of conflict

The basic elements of conflict theory are all apparent in Marx's work. He believed, first of all that people have an essential nature and predefined interests. Indeed Marxists generally argued that if people do not behave in accordance with these interests it can only mean that they have been misled about what the true interests are by a social system that works in others favor. Second Marx analyzed both historical and contemporary society in terms of conflicts between different social groups with different interests. Finally he emphasized the link between the natures of ideas or ideologies and the interests of those who develop them and be instead that the idea of an age reflects the interest of the ruling class (Wallace, 1995).

According to Robert Michels (1876-1936) (as cited in Wallace, 1995) although argued that only a small number of peoples in any organization can hold authority and that their occupation of these positions automatically place them at odds with those subjected to it. At the same time Mosca argued that conflict between holders of political powers and those whom they dominate, indeed Mosca turn over Marx identifying political positions as the source of domination in all other area including the economics. In addition to this Marx considered that or the unique mark of his analysis is that it identifies economic factors as the fundamental determinants of social structure and change (Wallace, 1995). In addition to the above point Marx believed that

*Marx argued at any one time, it is class struggle that defines the essential characters of a society it is the product of, first, the incredible difference in interest between class and second, the fact that a class common interest will encourage its members to group together for common actions. However at any given time, the degree to which members of a class recognize their interest will depend on their level of class consciousness. The dominant idea of any era may stand in the way of their recognizing their class identity, but so too may the circumstance of their lives (Wallace, 1995: 90).*

At the same time regarding to conflict theory of Marxist, Karl Marx believed that 'matter' and not idea are the essence of the universe and that social institutions were the results of changing material conditions. Thus materialism forms the basis of the historical economic system that is inherent in all societies, where each individual functions to maximize their benefits. It is this materialism that essentially divides the society not necessarily in to two equal halves, which now struggles to dominate each other. Struggle for materials created classes in the society. Classes are forms of stratification which all societies surrender. Conflict theory explains class conflicts as it may be between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, capitalism and communism, landlords and

tenants, the oppressor and the oppressed and so many stratification lines in the society (Mbah, 2006). Conflict theory basically believes that the world is not utopian or ideal and inequality is an essential character and which the Marxist believes revolution must be used to correct with time (Peil, 1998).

Regarding to the conflict theory, it was additional developed by other scholars especially Max Weber, Vilfredo Pareto and Max Gluckman. Most of the later authors that developed the conflict theory recognized that social stratification caused by materialism is also transformed in to power based classification in which the whole society is structured not only between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but also between the elites and the masses. So, the struggle for scarce resources has led to social inequalities which has transformed into classes based on power. The continuous struggle of the classes is essentially to maintain or better their status quo as the elites continues to use various means to manipulate the masses and continue to stay in power (Peil, 1998).

Conflict arises from the friction that exists in a society where the greed for power and material by the few elites creates a grievance by the deprived masses. Class struggle has basically created a state of conflict within the society but with the most powerful seeking to exploit the weak either through their consent or without. The society is now divided in two layers in the pyramid of power and wealth with the elite bourgeoisie at the peak and the most miserable at the base of the pyramid. Stratification is a feature of most society in the world today (Peil, 1998). Withstanding to this there are different theories of conflict, in the study of conflict and conflict management.

With the notion of conflict conceptualization and conflict model there are different conflict model which studied by scholars, from thus Webel and Galtung, (ed) (2007) point out on the book entitled the hand book of peace and conflict studies show the model of conflict security.

*The model has three columns for three conflict aspects A, B and C. 'Conflict' comes from configure, 'shocking together'; compatible with the usual Anglo-American Behavioral interpretation as parties 'shocking together', in violence. But it also opens for a subjective attitudinal interpretation in the inner worlds of the actors,...Then the trans-subjective, relational Contradiction interpretation what is 'shocking together' are goals held by the parties when the realization of one excludes the realization of other(s) (Webel and Galtung, (ed) 2007 : 22).*

As well as on the topic of conflict conceptualization there are typical security model, according to Webel and Galtung, (ed) (2007) they point out if there are inappropriateness, or disagreement of goals, like between independence for a province, and unitary state for the country, no inter actor violence is assumed, nor that the shocking is known to the actors, the goal holders. An incompatible goal does not imply incompatible actors. That focused on attitude, behavior, and contradiction. In the sequence contradiction is greater than attitude, attitude is greater than behavior ( $C > A > B$ ). A conflict starts objectively, takes on inner, attitudinal life, and finds an outer, behavioral expression, verbally and/or physically, violent, or not. But any other attitude, behavior and contradiction (ABC) sequence is possible empirically. Since all three interpretations are valid we pick up all three this mean, Conflict = Attitude + Behavior + Contradiction. But our definition tilts in favor of the contradiction orientation. And they define the contradiction aspect as the root of conflict, and attitudes and behavior as Meta conflicts, after contradiction. This extensive explanation make possible us to talk about A, B and C orientations in conflict theory and practice about A, B and C phases in conflict dynamics. And in other hand if conflict equals violence, however, then conflict is bracketed between outbreak of violence and end of hostilities. And if in addition peace equals absence of violence, then the implication is that there was peace before and there will be peace after violence. That makes work for peace = work for violence control, a behaviorists reductionism easily turned into a political disaster. And they argued that, if consciousness and violence control are unsuccessful, a country may be attacked. The consciousness of self is left unexamined. Attitude and behavior problems are in other, as actors, not in self. The focus is Autistic, not reciprocal as Piaget said. There is no contradiction focus on the self other relation (Webel and Galtung, (ed) 2007).

In addition to the above theory of conflict Social psychological theory about social identity and intergroup conflict supports identity Politics. According to this theory experiments find that in-group preference (ethnocentrism) derives from social categorization as such, even without competition, hostility or rejection of other groups. Self esteem, social identity, and ethnocentrism are validated in social interactions with like-minded persons. When group membership becomes salient in conflict, social boundaries sharpen, individual relations across groups become depersonalized and stereotyped, and intergroup behavior becomes more aggressive and competitive than interpersonal behavior. Competitive and offensive public display of group identity symbols sets off unrest and violence as social tensions rise. To lower competition and

uncertainty in ethnic relations, Identity Politics favors language and cultural autonomy, power sharing, diminishing the salience of ethnic identities and boundaries, and promoting a shared identity. Furthermore on the topic of identity Politics, it is also known as Symbolic Politics, according to Huntington 1997 and Kaufman 2001, (as cited in Leicht and Jenkins (eds.) (2010) holds that in multiethnic societies, the root cause of ethnic conflict is a vulnerable change in the existing ethnic hierarchy of dominance and subordination. unconvinced of prehistoric ethnic identities, identity politics holds that social construction of group identities is explained by the social psychology of intergroup relations. There is a cultural tendency toward ethnocentrism and group self defense that is evolutionarily favored, i.e. it is a normal, not a pathological or uncontrolled aspect of group relations. Leaders create national and ethnic identities with powerful symbols and myths that have emotional appeal. Violence breaks out during ethnic rivalry over control of territory and governance amid inflated fears of extinction. Unless ethnic relations are properly managed, divisive ethnic myths, symbols, stereotypes, suspicions, and fears resonate in the population and get activated in ethnic cleansing, massacres, and atrocities (Leicht and Jenkins, (eds.) 2010).

### **2.3. Source of conflict**

conflict studies in inter ethnic context have focused on cause for some psychologists and physical anthropologists (e.g Freud 1960 and Ferguson,1984 as cited in Kelemework, 2000) conflict derive from an innate human tendency to act aggressively, they assert that the tendency of people to defend their territories instinctively is a universal phenomena about which noting can be done to eliminate with anthropology, several writers interpret the view on individual psychology in social terms they explained how frustrations emerging in daily life can act as emotional fuel for external conflict and war while reinforcing the internal solidarity of group. However the view that hostility and frustration within a group can be redirected to out sliders was rejected by other writers (Kelemework, 2000).

Near the beginning of assessment in the field of conflict resolution identified a large number of method for describing sources or types of conflict. According to Daniel Katz one of the early theorists on conflict, (as cited in Fisher 2000), created a typology that distinguishes three main sources of conflict: economic, value, and power.

1. *Economic conflict involves competing motives to attain scarce resources. Each party wants to get the most that it can, and the behavior and emotions of each party are directed toward maximizing its gain. Union and management Conflict often has as one of its sources the incompatible goals of how to slice up the "economic pie".*
2. *Value conflict involves incompatibility in ways of life, ideologies the preferences, principles and practices that people believe in International conflict (e.g., the Cold War) often has a strong value component, wherein each side asserts the rightness and superiority of its way of life and its political economic system (Fisher, 2000:2-3).*
3. *Power conflict occurs when each party wishes to maintain or maximize the amount of influence that it exerts in the relationship and the social setting. It is impossible for one party to be stronger without the other being weaker, at least in terms of direct influence over each other. Thus, a power struggle ensues which usually ends in a victory and defeat, or in a "stand-off" with a continuing state of tension. Power conflicts can occur between individuals, between groups or between nations, whenever one or both parties choose to take a power approach to the relationship. Power also enters into all conflict since the parties are attempting to control each other. It must be noted that most conflicts are not of a pure type, but involve a mixture of sources. For example, union-management conflict typically involves economic competition, but may also take the form of a power struggle and often involves different ideologies or political values. The more sources that are involved, the more intense and intractable the Conflict usually is (Fisher, 2000:2-3).*

In other way according to Terry, (1983) Competition for resources is one major source for conflict the scarcer the supply of resources relative to the amount needed by rival parties, and the more important the resources are to them, the greater the likelihood of a conflict developing and for its intensity to increase. Furthermore regarding to the cause of conflict, according to Ustinia and Judith, (ed) (2006) Ethnicity and Conflict it is now becoming common understanding in the field that ethnicity itself is not a source of conflict. Rather it is the particular demographic mix of different ethnic groups that is likely to have an impact on whether or not hostility is more or less probable. Another source of conflict related to and flowing out of identity politics are violent movements for self-determination. The number of such movements has been diminishing in recent years but once these movements embark on a strategy of violent rebellion this tends to become normal if the ends are not realized (Ustinia and Judith, (ed), 2006).

In addition to the above point regarding to the source of conflict Regumamu (2001) argued that (as cited in Bezunhe, 2006) rationalizing the source of conflict, conflict is generate by structural factors such as political, economic and social conditions State repression, lack of fair and equitable access to political power, poor governance, unequal distribution of wealth, cultural identity and history of groups who share resources can contribute to conflict Oppression constitutes structural violence.

Conflicts come out as a result of different backgrounds and sparking events and Miall, (2007) has pointed out that: “conflicts emerge as a result of a combination of background factors, proximate causes and trigger events. Each is unique and has a particular relationship with its historical setting”. According to the statement, the usage of “historical setting” appears like a foundation for each particular cause as they seem to get their meaning from their particular historicity. According to Mayer, (2000), the history of the people who participate in a conflict, the systems in which the conflict is occurring, and of the issues themselves has a powerful influence on the course of the conflict, So that it is vital to address the roots of conflicts in times of conflict resolution. The structure, the external framework, in which an interaction takes place or an issue develops, shapes intergroup relations and sometimes could be a source of a conflict. The element of structure may include available resources, decision-making procedures, time constraints, communication procedures, and physical settings (Mayer, 2000).

The destruction of cultural identities, inequitable share of resources, unequal access to political power and cultural marginalization of certain groups are some of the major structural conditions for the emergence of social conflict. Hence, the lack of legitimate structures and policies along with increasing inequality of opportunities could be a primary source of conflicts Fear of re-stratification and the loss of political dominance, an assertion of group worth and place, the existence of negative memories or images, determination to resist the dominant group's effort to spread its language, culture or religious and a sense of superiority over a minority group are some of the sources of conflict intractable conflicts involve intense demands for power, status, territory and the protection of cultural and physical identities of groups (Bezunhe, 2006).

In most cases, the key actors of internal conflicts are agents of governments and rebel groups particularly when state structures are weak, various groups could fight among themselves to secure their interests (Zartman, 1989).

## **2.4. Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict**

The terms ethnicity and ethnic group have elusive and controversial meanings (Smith 1996; and Merera, 2003). The term ethnicity is often used to refer to relationship between different groups whose members consider themselves as distinct from others. In other words, for ethnicity to exist there must be contacts among groups; each group claims a distinctive cultural self-expression (Eriksen, 2002). According to Fekadu (2004:12) “the study of ethnicity has relatively short

history in social science in general and in anthropology in particular". And the notion of ethnicity and ethnic group lack specificity, much confusion surrounds the concept in both popular and academic discourse about ethnicity. They are complex, elusive and often controversial, described in vast literature, but no conclusive agreement on its definitions, scope and understanding exists (Allen, 1994, Ratcliffe, 1994 and Ahamed, 2000 cited in Fekadu, 2004). Ethnicity has become one of the pervasive ideologies within nations. It has ever appeared as a basis for individual security and social, economic and political wellbeing of the groups. The phenomenon of ethnicity is being declared by many to be cause of all problems of Africa, especially those of violent conflict (Abbink, 1997).

Ethnicity and ethnic feelings are used by politicians to various ends. The social differentiation along the ethnic lines, unequal access to government structures, legal and cultural discrimination, persisting ethnic hierarchy and negative ethnic stereotypes and prejudices give rise to ethnic tension. At the same time, they are the necessary conditions for the ethnic mobilization (ibid). Ethnic conflict is a new phenomenon that exploded worldwide mainly, after the end of the cold war (Wolf 2006, and Yidnekachew, 2012). Since then, conflict within states has become more prevalent than conflict between states.

The political history of Ethiopia is riddled by intra and inter-ethnic conflicts. Similarly Merera (2003) characterizes the history of the Ethiopia state as the history of conflict with varying dimensions based on class, ethnic, religious and regional sentiments. Even in the post- 1991 period in which federalism is presented as a better political instrument of managing the country's ethnic relations, inter-ethnic tensions and conflict have accompanied federalization process (Merera, 2003). The Ethiopian ethnic federalism and the recognition of the right to self-determination including secession are designed to avoid ethnic domination and lay a favorable condition for lasting peace. However, in the years of its implementation, the major challenge remains to be unprecedented ethnic conflict and border disputes.

The issues that drive ethnic conflicts cannot be easily explained simply because there are numerous causes. The literature however, points out that struggles over disputed territory, competitions over resources, economic development and marginalization that may increase inequality can cause ethnic conflict. Ethnic conflict is highly attached with certain policies of the former colonial powers mainly upon internal border demarcations and indirect rules formulated

to achieve their administrative objectives. This affected the customary system of negotiating resources access, a reciprocal relationship that has existed among various pastoral groups before the advent of colonialism. These agitate pastoralists to cross over colonial demarcations and national states administrative borders that precipitated into immediate conflicts (Markakis, 1993). Ethnic conflict can also occur due to political differences. For instance, in a multi ethnic setting, politics can find its way into myriads of issues such as development projects, decision on education, affairs of local or national unions, and jurisdiction on land and business systems. It is therefore, argued that in societies where ethnicity is part of organizational life, all political issues develop ethnic appendages that often lead to conflict (Horowitz, 2010).

## **2.5. Causes of intra-ethnic conflicts**

Concerning to the cause of intra-ethnic conflicts different scholars and researchers come up with some common cause for intra-ethnic conflicts. It has been attributed more to internal phenomena like dispute over ownership of land and population explosion (Babajimi, 2003 and Idowu, 2001). On the other hand as Akinteye, (1999) and Babajimi (2003) pointed out elite competition for economic and political resources, clash over titles and use of derogatory words and terms to refer to a group are can be a cause for intra-ethnic conflicts. Nevertheless, intra-ethnic conflicts can be generated by externally-induced factors and policies emanating from outside the ethnic group. Rupensighe (1996) make the point clearer when they argue that moves to solve inter-ethnic clashes through reservation of political offices on an ethnic basis can foster intra-ethnic conflicts. In other words, intra-ethnic conflicts can arise when sub-groups of an ethnic group compete for political and economic resources allocated to the ethnic group at national or regional levels. From the general observation of the above cases, the study has found out that the nature and causes of conflict vary with the geographic, time and administrative differences of various case areas in the county.

## **2.6. Conflict management and its approach**

Conflict management refers to the limitation or containment of a conflict that has already broken out in the form of searching for a solution that would reduce the intensity of violence and prevent its escalation (Miall 2005). Conflict Management is concerned with the ways and means of

controlling and harmonizing conflictual relationships with the objective being the creation of space for the long-term resolution of the underlying causes of conflict (Imogibhe, 2003).

Blake, Shepard & Mouton, (1964) (as cited in Fisher, 2000). Conflict can result in destructive outcomes or creative ones depending on the approach that is taken. If we can manage conflict creatively, we can often find new solutions that are mutually satisfactory to both parties. Sometimes this will involve a distribution of resources or power that is more equitable than before, or in creating a larger pool of resources or forms of influence than before. Creative outcomes are more probable when the parties are interdependent, i.e., each having some degree of independence and autonomy from which to influence the other, rather than one party being primarily dependent on the other. Given interdependence, three general strategies have been identified that the parties may take toward dealing with their conflict win-lose, lose-lose, and win-win.

Wallensteen (2002) argue that conflict management should imply change from destructive to constructive in the mode of interaction and Zartman, (2000) argue that conflict management refers to eliminating violence and violence related actions and leaving the conflict to be dealt with on the political level. It is far easier to change the mode of interaction from destructive to the constructive in an early rather than later phase. Conflict management as presented by Dejene, (2011), refers to controlling, rather than resolving a long-term or deep-rooted conflict. It assumed that conflict is long-term process that often cannot be put to an end, but a phenomenon, whose volatility needs to be controlled and reduced. Some conflicts are intractable and resolution resistant, yet nearly all conflicts can be made less destructive and more constructive when appropriate and timely mechanisms are employed. "The goal of conflict management is to intervene in ways that make the ongoing conflict more beneficial and less damaging to all sides.

Parallel to the theories of ethnicity and sources of ethnic conflicts there are variants of approaches regarding the mechanisms to be used to resolve ethnic conflicts. The contending theories of the sources of conflict have clear implications in their approach to conflict management. As Burton (1998) discusses it, if inherent aggressiveness is inborn human quality the source of conflict is unaltered and consequently at best, there could be corrections of perceptions and adjustments of personal behavior in particular cases through different socialization, threats and deterrent strategies. On the other hand, if social, economic and political conditions are the problem, then conflict management would be possible by removing the

sources of conflict: institution and social norms would be adjusted to the needs of persons. As Burton (1998) argues deterrent strategies are unable to mitigate conflicts over human needs and aspirations.

Donald (1995) identifies two approaches of conflict management, namely distributive and structural approaches. Distributive approach intends to changing "the ethnic balance of economic opportunities and rewards." It aspires at ethnically designed investments so as to favor the economically disadvantaged groups and achieve even handed economic development. On the other hand, the structural approach endeavors at changing the political frame work that caused ethnic conflict.

Even though different ethnic groups have gone through conflicts, which are caused by different factors, they are endowed, with different mechanisms having different procedures to manage their conflicts. Conflict management is largely seen in terms of social control designed to minimize the social challenges to the core values of the system (Jeong 2000). According to Imobighe (2003), if conflict management is conceived in its integrative form, it would include a broad collection of actions: prevention, mitigation and resolution.

## **2.7. Conflict Management Mechanisms**

Different scholars have discussed different mechanisms of conflict management. Scholars such as Bohannan (1967) categorized conflict management or resolution mechanisms in to the: The violent (disassociate) and the peace full (associate). In the former case conflict can be resolved by using violent means. Whereas the later helps the community to solve their differences, using peacefully means. Gulliver (1979) divides the mechanisms of conflict management as negotiation, mediation, arbitration, adjudication, avoidance and burying the disputes in the symbolic process under peaceful conflict management mechanisms. On the other hand he mentions dual war and self-help as the violent means. Of the above two mechanisms, peace researchers and even the contestants have recommended and preferred respectively the peaceful conflict management mechanisms. Each of them has their own characteristics. For instance, avoidance is one way of managing conflict peacefully. To Gulliver (1979), this type of mechanism for either contestant to leave their rivals behind or move to another place is a way to look for a solution. The pastoralists and hunter gatherers usually employ this type of mechanism because they have unoccupied places to wonder here and there and subsequently to avoid

disputes. Another peaceful mechanism of conflict management is negotiation. It is a mechanism through which discussions conducted between two or more contestants in order to reach an agreement. In this case no third party is allowed to propose and give decisions. Rather the decisions are given by the disputants themselves (Gulliver 1979). Assefa (2005) categorizes negotiation into two parts; competitive and collaborative. In the former case either of the contestants won at the expense of the other. Gulliver (1979), states that during negotiation it is the potential of the disputants to gather support from the community, which determine the fate of either of one party to be beneficiary.

However, during collaborative negotiation, one groups gain is not balanced by the loss of the other group or vice versa. Rather it aims at 'win-win' solutions. Barash et al (2002), state that sometimes collaborative negotiation is disadvantageous when both disputants failed to be satisfied or when they lost something and split the pain among themselves. In addition to the above point as Pfetsch, (2007) figured out negotiation is a social process in which two or more parties interact in the search for an acceptable position with regard to their difference and concerning the same issue of conflict and the most important point that should be bear in mind, when negotiating two conflicting parties is the application of negotiation principle and the eradication of communication barriers.

Pfetsch, (2007) explains that mediation is a process of conflict management, related to but distinct from the parties' own negotiations, where those in conflict seek the assistance of an outsider to change their perceptions or behavior. In this case the contestants tried to do so without resorting to physical force or invoking the authority of law. The basic principle in this approach is to bring the disputants together voluntarily and work with them to reach an agreement that satisfied both or all of them. In other words, according to Gulliver (1971), and Galtung .et al (2002), the mediators should have to perform the following tasks according to their order: gathering information by acting as broker between the principals, framing the issues, developing options (proposing possible solutions) negotiating and formalizing agreement. Even though mediators suggested different solutions for some kind of resolution, they have no power to make decision over the outcome. Rather the final decisions are reached based on the voluntary agreement of the two principal's disputants.

Conflict could also be managed violently through the mechanism called self-help. This type of mechanism most of the time is used by those societies (community, who have no strong socio-

economic relation. In connection with this, Bohannan (1965) explains that there could be strong hostilities between segments when the social distance is high. Though different scholars have forwarded different mechanisms to manage conflicts, the followers of the 'innateness paradigm' have developed different views. Advocators of the 'innateness paradigm' state that even though conflict is inherent, human beings could prevent its frequent appearance by using different technique. For example Yihun (2010) argue that the appearance of aggressive behavior could be reduced by inter breeding the aggressive with the less aggressive ones. Besides the occurrence of conflict among a society could be minimized by controlling reproduction i.e. allowing those who have good behavior to reproduce themselves. And also violent conflict could be reduced by introducing complex structures which could help to minimize the power of the dominant groups. Hence it allowed equal access to resources.

## **2.8. Indigenous Conflict Management Institutions**

In a country like Ethiopia that has a strong cultural heritage; informal institution can play a significant role in conflict management and resolution. These institutions also play another equally significant role in community's stability, cohesion security and wellbeing (Bedeso 2013). Tarekegn (2008) explains that the traditional conflict management mechanisms could help us to resolve conflicts, reduce tensions and rebuild social relations. This is because to Bohannan (1976), then entertained traditional values, opinions, customs or activities to reconcile the conflicting parties. Consequently the peaceful and full re-integration of the disputants in the community would be ensured. In Ethiopian different ethnic groups have institutionalized different practices to manage conflicts and then to create friendship relations among themselves and also outsider their community. For instance Taddese (2000), Assefa (2005) and Dejene (2007) discuss how "*Jaarsummaa*" (assemble of elders), "*Gumaa*" (lblood money), "*Michu*" (creating friendship) and others played a great role in conflict management among the Oromo people. Different members played a great role in managing conflicts among the "Indigenous" communities.

The well-known traditional institution of conflict management and resolution among the Oromo people is the Gada system. Weyesa (2011) suggests that Gada is a democratic institution of governance and conflict resolution. Certainly, the Gada is found at the center of Oromo culture. It is recognized as a root feature of Oromo culture, and there by a very strong share symbols of

the Oromo Bassi (1996). Asmeron (2006:31) defines Gada as a system of class/luba that succeed each other every eight year in assuming military, political, judicial, legislative, and ritual responsibilities.

The Gada system was and still is at the center of the Oromo indigenous institutions. The status of the Gada system, however it varied across the vast Oromo inhabited land during the incorporation of the areas into the Ethiopian empire. As a result of internal and external factors, the system has undergone considerable changes. Pre 1991, the provision of the cultural rights by the federal constitution, the promotion of the culture of the various ethnic groups has not happened in similar fashion all over the Ethiopian territories. The levels of recognition, the role assigned to and the source of legitimacy of the indigenous leaders varies across specific local contexts. In case of my area under study, almost all, the Borana, the Guji fully practiced the Gada system to manage their conflict.

Generally, different ethnic groups have used different mechanisms either informal or formal to manage conflicts but not to totally eliminate. A given intra-ethnic group could be able to manage conflicts than founding lasting solution to conflict over the ownership of urban center.

## **2.9. Formal Conflict Management Institutions**

Government is a vital organ of conflict regulation and mediation in any state because it is the only organ capable of collect enough legitimacy, resources and facilities to effectively manage conflicts. Governments at different levels have a power and capacity to manage conflict. It is the prime responsibility of the government to manage and resolve conflicts. To discharge this responsibility, governments establish institutions to manage conflict at national and local levels. In Ethiopia, the house of federation, which is the upper house of the country's parliament, is the highest body to manage and resolve conflicts in the country (Weyesa, 2011). Under article 62(6) of the FDRE constitution, the house of Federation is authorized "to find solutions to disputes or misunderstandings that may erupt between states." The house facilitates necessary conditions to resolve disputes that may arise between the regional states given the concerned parties are willing to solve their dispute through mutual agreement. However, when the parties fail to rich an agreement, the house has the power to decide on the matters to settle the dispute (FDRE, 1995; Art. 48 1, and 2). Regarding dispute related to border and rights of nation, nationalities and

peoples to self-determination, the HoF gives decision based on the settlement patterns and interest of the peoples in all the disputed territories (Art 48:1).

There are also institutions within the regional states, which directly or indirectly involve in handling conflicts in the country. These institutions are structured at regional, zonal, and District levels. Among them are the justice and security Bureau, neighboring regions affair and conflict resolution bureau, regional police commission and regional militia offices.

However, these regional offices seem to have failed to execute their responsibility by over simplifying cases of conflicts at regional level. As a result, minor conflicts often turn in to unmanageable and deadly violence (Trsit, 2004 cited Bedeso 2013). There are many factors for the failure of these offices to discharge their responsibilities effectively. Some of the observable factors that have affected the efficiency of the Bureau are lack of adequately trained and qualified manpower failure to remain non-partisan on the part of the officials, lack of commitment, the tendency to benefit from conflicts, manipulating identity politics and corruption associated with the occurrences of conflicts (Kelkelachew, 2004). Of course, there are many problems related to the formal institutions of conflict management in general. The first problem is that government officials and the institutions mentioned above are not committed to manage. The mobility to distinguish violence and conflict by these decision makers leads them to conclude that conflicts can be managed and resolved by sheer indoctrination of the people involved in the conflict about the destructiveness of the violence rather than resolving the conflict from their roots (Trsit 2004 cited in Bedeso 2013). Furthermore, government officials often rush to take the option of handling conflicts by force (Dereje 2010).

The second point which has to be emphasized is that conflict management in Ethiopia is not systematic. Though there are minor differences from place to place in general, and the process is not performed in a systematic way. As a result, the intervention efforts done by government bodies become costly, time-consuming and unsustainable. This unsystematic approach to conflict is the result of government officials' inability to see conflict handling mechanism as a process. Their perceptions of the conflict as an intrinsically negative dynamic to others government official are often busy urging parties in the process to expose the perpetrators of the violence, rather than identifying and addressing the root causes of the conflict (ibid). The third key point is the fact that conflict has not usually been properly recognized and addressed until it becomes violence. Less attention and under estimation cause of conflict by officials at different levels of

administration increased the violence. There are not enough attempts to control conflict at eruption because they dislike not to be disappointed by any conflicting groups. This is what has been happening in the case of Guji and Borana conflict over the ownership of town in the study areas

Therefore, based on the above conceptual and theoretical frameworks, the researcher has discussed and analyzed the causes of intra-ethnic conflict and its management mechanisms between conflicting community particularly in the Guji and Borana zones of Oromia National regional state.

## CHAPTER THREE

### BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA AND THE PEOPLE

This chapter starts by outlining the historical background of the Oromo in general and Borana and Guji Oromo in particular. And then describe and discusses about the historical background of Negele Borana town with its socio- economical setting.

#### 3.1. The Oromo people in General

Many historians and scholars who studied the history of Oromo people witnessed that it is beyond any shadow of a doubt that the Oromo who belong to the Cushitic stock are one of the earliest indigenous inhabitants in Northeast Africa. To enforce the above point as Ayalew (2005:7) pointed out in the book entitled “The Oromo”, “the Oromo people are one of the least known people of the earth” and ample historical evidence forwarded to cement this argument by different scholars, however the Oromo who constitute probably a good half of the population of Ethiopia are the single largest national group in the Horn of Africa. They are also one of the major African peoples the Oromo call their country *Oromia*. Oromo is slowly but surely being recognized as one of the major African nations. to say that the Oromo are Africans does not mean simply that they are black from the moment when Africa fell under foreign colonial domination in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Oromo shared the fate of other Africans, and like them, they were colonized, brutalized, dehumanized, exploited, unloved, cheated and well acquainted with an unmitigated colonial assault on their language. At the same time one can observe that the Oromo ethnic maintains its own culture, religion and history possessing fertile land along with its natural resource and they live in suitable weather condition. The Oromo have also managed to pass their language and culture to successive generation in spite of psychological warfare aimed at discouraging them from using their identity indicators (Dirribi, 2011).

According to Darrel Bates, (1979), (as cited in Mohammed 1994) the Oromo belong to the Cushitic language-speaking family of peoples, who are known to have lived for thousands of years in what is today Ethiopia. It has been said and rightly that the Oromo are one of the most

indigenous peoples of Ethiopia. In line with the above point as Mekuria (1991) (as cited in Mohammed 1994) point out that *Afaan Oromo*, the Oromo language is spoken by the largest number of people. According CSA, (2012) the estimated population size for the year 2012 was 31,294,992. And *Afaan Oromo* used by a further one to two million non-Oromo as a second language. With over 31,294,992 speakers, *Afaan Oromo* is one of the major languages in Africa. In fact, of the 1,652 indigenous languages in Africa, *Afaan Oromo* is the second most widely spread indigenous language in Africa only Hausa in Nigeria has a larger number of speakers. *Afaan Oromo* is also the third Afro-Asiatic language in the world after Arabic and Hausa. Probably a third to a half of all the Cushitic language speakers are Oromo or speak *Afaan Oromo* and yet, *Afaan Oromo* not only remains one of the least studied languages, but also lacks a developed literature and has less printed materials than any language with a comparable number of speakers anywhere in the world (Mohammed,1994).

Geographically the region Cover around 353,632 square kilometers stretching from the western border to the southwestern corner of the country (see map 2), *Oromia* regional state shares a boundary with every Region of Ethiopia except for the region 1 or Tigray region. This boundary has been disputed with *Oromia's* neighbors in a number of cases, most notably between *Oromia* and the Ethiopia Somali region.

Demographically according to the CSA, (2007) the region has an estimated population density of 76.93 people per square kilometer. For the entire region 5,590,530 households were counted, which results in an average for the Region of 4.8 persons to a household, with urban households having on average 3.8 and rural households 5.0 people. There are diverse ethnic groups in the region include the Oromo (87.8%), Amhara 7.22 %, *Gurage* 0.93 % (some of *Sebat Bet Gurage*, *Soddo Gurage*, and *Silt'e*), the remaining 4% constitute other ethnic groups. 47.5% were Muslim, 30.5% Orthodox Christians, 17.7% Protestants, 3.3% followers of indigenous or traditional belief or religions and 1.1% all other religious groups; in urban areas, Orthodox Christians constitute 51.2% of the urban population, followed by Muslims at 29.9%, Protestants 17.5%, and all other religious groups at 1.5%.

Particularly to the history of the Borana and Guji Oromo groups, they are predominantly pastoralists and they known by the indigenous practices intact, and it is among the Borana

Oromo and the Guji that the original *Gada* institutions continued to operate and survive with its basic traits even up to date. The *Gumi Gayo* assembly, which is the largest gatherings of the Borana held every eight years, is hosted in a place called Gayo in Dire Wereda (Solomon, 2008 and Boku, 2003). And the Guji Gada rituals ceremony held together at *Me'ee Bokkoo* (Bore district) of Guji zone.

Borana and Guji area has been a focus of research, particularly by anthropologists historical and socioeconomic studies, however, have been scarcely undertaken which ought to be done (Bichaka, (ed) 2004). So accordingly the two branches of Oromo the Borana and Guji are the concern of the study.

### **3.2. The Borana Oromo**

As Asmarom criticized the work of Huntingford on Oromo research, his exclusion of Borana Oromo from the ethnographic research of Ethiopian Oromo said that, trying to study the history of Oromo without Borana Oromo, is studying the history of English language without reference to England (Asmarom, 2006). The Borana Oromo are acknowledged by the most Oromo people as the cradle land of Oromo culture. The Borana Oromo themselves point to an area north east to their present territory as the place where they originated (Asmarom, 1973).

Furthermore the Borana land is located in the southern part of Oromia Regional state and extends southwards in northern Kenya (Fekadu, 2004). The Borana are predominantly pastoralist group who inhabited in both Southern Ethiopia and Northern Kenya. The Borana have vast territory and borders with Guji, Gabra, and Garri non-Oromo groups in the area, which inhabit Southern Ethiopia and Northern Kenya. They share boundaries with Somali clans to the east and south east, Guji with north and north east and they depend mainly on their livestock for livelihood dominated by semi-arid climate. The ecological conditions favor pastoralism more than farming (Alemayehu, 1998).

The Borana pastoralists now dwell in the Guji and Borana zones of the *Oromia* regional state with a relatively large population in the Borana zone. The people of Borana known by the *Gada* system, *Gada* a very comprehensive social and political organization based on generation grading system. According to Dejene (2002), *Gada* system composed symbolic cultural system that the Oromo had developed over time and used for long period. The structure is still in practice in the Borana, and Guji areas.

The Borana pastoral community has maintained the traditional Oromo institutions almost unharmed. The leader of *Gada* is known as *Aba Gada*, who is elected every eight years. And the Borana Oromo people are loyal to the traditional leader, *Aba Gada*. Issues central to the Borana is discussed among multiple people in the highest Borana assembly of the *Gada* organ called *Gumo Gayo*. Here people get the chance to debate and participate in a consensus based decision-making process. The use of existing grazing lands and water resources, and mobility of people and livestock is governed by the *Gada* System. The system also plays an essential role in addressing political affairs and conflict issues within and outside Borana. Religious wise, the Borana are predominantly associated to the traditional Oromo belief in the existence of a supernatural power, which they call, *Waaqa*. Islam has also gained a foothold in the last few decades.

On the subject of Borana Oromo people history one aspect is the territory, Borana land used to be huge, they shared variable ethnic and resource borders with to east Somali clans along the Genale River, to the North East the Arsi, to the North West the Guji, and to the south first the Laikipia Massai and Rendile. And for the last century Borana has been under increasing pressure from their neighbors, Borana land has been reduced to the *Dire* plateau, liben and the *Badha* plateau in Ethiopia and in Kenya, to the arid plains of *Golbo* which run from the base of the Ethiopian plateau (Baxter, 1996).

Regarding to the geographical location and demography, the Borana zone is largest zone from 18 zone of *Oromia* regional states. (See map 3). According to Fekadu (2004) the present Borana zone was reorganized at the end of 2002 as independent zone, and formerly it was clustered with Guji zone and known as Borana zone (see map 4). The newly formed Borana zone cover 13 districts and one town under reform: namely Yabello. The zone has 194 *kebeles* association and 19 urban centers including Yabello town, which is zonal capital city. Yabello town is located at distance of 570 km from Addis Ababa the capital of the country as well as the region. Borana zone has an area of about 63939 km square.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> BoFED 2008 Oromia Bureau of Finance and Economic Development regional statistics and information center

Demographically according to CSA, (2012) the total population of the area is about 1,112,987, and this zone share long international boundaries with Kenya which has 540 km long.

### 3.3. The Guji Oromo

The Guji people belong to the Oromo ethnic group. They speak Oromo language and practice the original Oromo culture. They are, even, considered to be the ones who have sustained the original Oromo traditions. In other words, the original Oromo traditions are still active in practices of the Guji people. With the Borana Oromo, they share some ways of life and speak a relatively similar dialect (Van De Loo, 1991). The Guji live in a large territory found in South Ethiopia at approximately 450 kms away from Addis Ababa. The area is bordering with Borana in the South, Walayta and Gamo Gofa in the West, Sidama and Gedeo in the North, and Bale and Arsi in the East. Therefore, the Guji are neighbors with the Borana, the Walayta, and the Gamo, the Gedeo, the Sidama, the Aris and the Bale people. The Guji have not been restricted to Guji territory, but have been diffused in the adjacent areas occupied by other ethnic groups. Some of them live mixed with the Gedeo and Sidama people in Gedeo and Sidama *Woredas* /districts and *Kebeles* (Tadesse, 2004).

In the same way, according to Van De Loo (1991), Tadesse, (1995) (as cited in Tadesse, 2004) they live with the Borana people in Borana dominated areas. However, they sometimes, come into conflict with their neighbors such as Walayta, Gedeo and Borana peoples mainly on account of the possession of farmland. The Guji people embrace three sub-clans. These sub-clans are called *Huraga*, *Mati* and *Hokku*. Such sub-division, of the clans is told in Guji oral traditions. The clan father of the Guji was known as *Gujo*. It seems that it was from this name that the present name of the clan had originated. It is said that *Gujo* had three sons from his first wife. He named the sons *Huraga*, *Mati* and *Hokku*. The sons, after coming of age, married wives and got children. As a result, the three Guji sub-clans emerged. Besides, the three sons of *Gujo* moved to a large unoccupied area and divided it among themselves. The sub-divisions were agreed upon to be called by their owners. Accordingly, the sub division that was taken by *Huraga* was called *Huraga*, that owned by *Mati* was called *Mati* and the third *Hokku*. Eventually, the Guji sub-areas have been called as *Huraga*, *Mati* and *Hokku*. However, there are no clear cultural and linguistic distinctions among the people of these areas. The Guji sub clans could also be further divided into sub-clans. For example, the *Hurga* sub tribe consists of seven clans: *Gola*, *Sorbortu*,

*Agamtu, Hallo, Darartu, Zoysut, and Galalcha*. The *Hokku* sub-tribe includes *Obborra, Bala, Buditu, Micille* and *Kino*. Whereas, the *Mati* Sub-clan comprises only three clans: *Hirkatu, Insale* and *Handoa*. All the clans live scattered on the large territory of the Guji as well as adjoining lands, for example, in *Gedeo* and *Sidama* areas. There are no cultural and dialectical elements that distinguish one clan from another. All members of the tribe live mixed and scattered on the large territory without any conflict and cultural or political differences among them. They consider each other as brothers and sisters, act together in times of war and practice *Gada* rituals together (Tadesse, 2004). In addition to the above point according to Tadesse, (2004) the Guji people are one of the many branches of the Oromo people who mainly live in the Guji and Borena zones of the *Oromia* Regional State, Southern Ethiopia. The Borana, Arsi, Sidama, Gedeo, Burji, Konso, Wolaita, Koyra, Gamo, and Gari are some of the major neighboring groups of the Guji (See map 3).

Demographically According to CSA, (2012) the Guji people have a population of 1,607,797. The Guji Oromo were conquered and incorporated into the Ethiopian empire in the 1890s by the forces of Menelik II (1889-1913) Outside the Oromia Regional State, small pockets of Guji population currently live in the Wando-Gannet area and in the *Nach-Sar* National Park, the Guji in Wando-Gannet area are fairly assimilated to the Sidama culture with which they have lived for centuries (Tadesse, 2004).

Unlike some other Oromo groups that constitute a single section, the Guji are a confederation of three independent, but closely related groups known as *Uraga, Mati* and *Hoku*. Traditionally, each section had its own territorial boundary and political leader in the form of *Abba Gada* "an age-grade leader" However, the three groups are interdependent: they regard each other as tied by blood relations, act together in the case of war against neighboring groups, help each other during economic crisis, and conduct *Gada* rituals together (James, Donham, Kurimoto and Triuliz (eds) 2002).

The traditional socio-political organization of the Guji-Oromo was dominated by moiety clan-lineage family structure and by the *Gada* system, with a *Qallu* supreme hereditary religious leader at the top. There are two non exogamous moieties known as *Kontoma* and *Darimu*. Under these moieties, there are seven non exogamous clans in *Uraga* and *Hoku*, respectively, and three in *Mati*, each clan is divided into a variable number of segments called *mana*, literally means house, which in turn are divided into a great number of patrilineages. The Guji family is an

extended patriarchal family Marriage is based, in most cases, on self selection and on arrangements made between the families of the bride and the groom Polygamy, first born right of inheritance, patrilocal residence, and levirate or the system of remarrying within family are some other features of the Guji marriage and family system (Tadesse, 2004).

### **3.4. Some commonalities between Borana and Guji Oromo**

#### **3.4.1. The Gada System**

One and the best known communalities between Borana and Guji Oromo is the Socio-political system which is known by the name *Gada*. Actually it is not only a socio-political system which found in Borana and Guji Oromo community, but also it socio-political system which found and functioned in all part of the Oromo communities or to the total of the ethnic group. But Borana and Guji are considered as the place where the origin to this socio-political system and the cradle land to the community of Oromo. The *Gada* system is a special socio-political organization of the Oromo people that has its origin in the age-system of the Horn of Africa. In the system, male individuals were grouped into grades known as *Gada*. A son age-based social organization, the *Gada* system provided the mechanism to motivate and organize members of the society into social structure. Various socio-political rights and responsibilities are associated with each group. Accordingly, the system provided a socio-political framework that institutionalized stratified relationship between seniors and juniors and egalitarian relations among members of the grade. Initiation into and promotion from one *Gada* grade to the next were conducted every eight years. The fundamental quality of the *Gada* system is that it has segmentations and specified social functions for its members that helped the members to develop a consistent and stable sense of self and others (Asafa, 2012).

The *Gada* system comprised eleven age groups, based on eight-year increments, and male Oromo gained particular socio-political privileges with certain stages of the *Gada* system (Baxter, 1979). Five successive *Gada* stages make up a generation (gap between father and son) that occupies forty (40) years on the *Gada* cycle. The first five eight years were generally periods of training and military service in addition to shouldering some economic activities. The remaining *Gada* grades consist of the adulthood stage that continues up to the eleventh stage. The stages of adulthood were periods of socio-political responsibilities. An individual entered

the system at a specific age and passed through transition rites at intervals appropriate to the passage from childhood through full adulthood to senility. Recruitment in to the *Gada* system is based on the maintenance of one socially defined generation between father and son (Asmarom, 2006). In other words, enrollment into the system is not by biological age, but upon the recruitment that an individual remain exactly five stages below his father's level so this socio-political system of this community is the common things which both Borana and Guji communities share together.

### 3.4.2. Political Structure and Source of Authority in Borana and Guji

The nature and type of political system in Borana and Guji emanate from the core values of the *Gada* system. Fortunately, Borana and Guji is one of the centers of the major branch Oromo indigenous socio-political system, the *Gada* system where *gummi gayoo* is located. Like the *Oda Nabe* of *Ada'a* which from the five Oromo *Gada* centers, before the weakening of the *Gada* system. Furthermore, the colorful Oromo thanks giving ceremony of annual celebration of *Irrecha* ceremony took place in Bishoftu town of *Ada'a woreda* (Asafa, 2012).

Regarding to the nature and type of political succession of the Oromo in general and particular to the Borana and Guji Oromo it is based on the general *Gada* system this mean; the Oromo people grouped themselves into five parties. For example in Tulma Oromo the five parties are: *Roobalee*, *Duuloo*, *Birmajii*, *Michillee* and *Horata*. They are named after a phenomenon or whatever occurred during the governance of one particular party. And in the *Gada* system there are criteria for electing leaders (*Hayyuu*), there are plenty of elders who qualify for the position of leadership. The criteria for electing few of them to the top positions are as follows: The candidate must be freedom-lover caring for his people. He must be a man who is very healthy. The Oromo's firmly believe that he who does not enjoy health cannot be effective on job. He has to be a well to do man. He must be a brave man. The position of the *Abbaa Duula* requires a vigorous physical and bravery checks, too. At the same time there are standing (executive) committee (*salgan yaa'i Boorana*).The standing committee, the supreme council or the "politburo" members are nine. This group that is named after Borana is the final decision-maker for the Oromo democratic government. Unless the congress that assembles once every eight years changes the decision of the *Salgan Yaa'i Boorana*, no other body can challenge the decision and power of this group. The *Salgan Yaa'i Boorana* will be released only after a new

*Gada* party takes over power at the end of one period of eight years (*Buttaa*). This group of nine is elected among the already elected *Hayyuu*'s. The assembly of the *Salgan Yaa'i Boorana* is conducted at the *Odaa* center only, which is believed to be *Odaa Nabee*, located in the center of Oromia (Gada, 2012).

*Odaa* is a highly respected place where the Oromo basic laws (*Seera*) are passed. All locally amended laws go to the *Odaa* for final approval and distribution. The *Odaa* is somewhat similar to the American Senate, the upper branch of Congress. However, when *Gada* was revised some five hundred years ago, the Oromo's did not enjoy the modern buildings of today. The congress of the Oromo's during those years took place under a big oak tree in the open-air. The species of this oak tree is called *Odaa*. There are six *Odaa* locations in *Oromiya*. They are *Odaa Bisil* in *Maccaa*, *Odaa Bultum* in *Bartuuma*, *Odaa Nabee* in *Tuulama*, *Odaa Garres* in *Borena*, *Odaa Makoodi* in *Walloo*, and *Odaa Rooba* in *Arsii*. The locations of these *Odaa*'s suggest that there were six administrative regions in *Oromiya*, prior to the occupation by the Abyssinians, a little over one-hundred years ago (Gada, 2012).

### **3.4.3. The Marriage System**

Marriage is one of the most important rituals in Oromo culture. The custom of marriage differs in various parts of the world and every civilization produces a marriage pattern appropriate to itself (Gemechu and Assefa, 2006). Concerning to the kinship and marriage practice, the Oromo in general mark out descent through the male line. According to Dejene, (2002) In Oromo people marriage of women descended from an ancestor less than the seventh ascending generation on the father line and five on the mother line is incest or regarded as a serious taboo and the people of Oromo identify themselves from others in terms of lineage appealing to patrilineal ideology. In the meantime, they are aware of maternal kinship (Dejene, 2002).

Withstanding with this point the Borana and Guji Oromo consider incest as like shading one's own blood. If such a forbidden marriage occurs, they believe that it results in serious penalties from the crater (*waaqa*). A child born to such a union would be unhealthy, blind and would not grow up. The couple would be infected with leprosy or suffer early death. According to the Guji marriage custom, marriage arrangements are often conducted between the Guji clans. Marriage to and from alien groups is seen as violating the customs but not absolutely prohibited (Husien, 2002). In Guji traditional marriage arrangements there are also several customs and

preconditions to be met before the final agreement between the two families. Marriage among the Guji is, in principle, conducted between members of equal social status. In fact, there is no social hierarchy among the Guji but there are 'caste' groups living in the community who are seen as inferior. The Guji never marry with these groups (Asebe, 2007).

In the Borana social system descent is recognized only through the male line and men and women descended from a common ancestor constitute a corporate group in that they share many collective rights and obligations (Asmarom, 1973). The Borana people as a whole are divided into two major moieties Sabo and *Gonal* which in turn further branch into numerous clans and sub clans known as *mana* (house) and *balbala* (door) respectively. The number of divisions varies for moieties, the clans and sub clans. For example the clan *Karrayu* is divided into thirty six sub clans while *Mettari* has only seven (Baxter, Hultin and Triulzi, 1996).

The Borana people have a section of four sub-groups known as the Gabbra, the Sakuyye, the Boran-Gutu and the Waat. Currently these Oromo groups have their respective moieties (kinship hierarchies or structures) down to the family or household level. Sabo only marries a member of Bona. There are no institutional procedures for the permanent separation of husband and wife and for the division of the family estate between them .marriage is for life. At the same time Borana make it easy for married couples to maintain legitimate extramarital sexual relationships. According to Asmarom, (2006) says his demographic analysis shows that the two moieties are highly proportional in population. Another important aspect of this division or structure is resource utilization .for instance deep water wells are dug by members of clan or sub-clan and only cattle belonging to that group can drink from the well. At a time of crisis help is organized on clan basis. The Borana people move and live in groups which at least contain five or six homesteads. Their communal life is so strong that no one Borana is found living in isolation they live in very small and rather fragile hunts by women.

#### **3.4.4. The Religious and Ritual practice in Guji and Borana**

Generally regarding to the religious and ritual practice of the Oromo communities there is Oromo mythology, so based on that as regards to mythology of Oromo *waaqeffana*. God create all human beings politely and with love. Generally speaking the Oromo who follow *waaqeffana* belief understand that some deviation from the normal trend of life, the course of nature occurred because of human misbehavior or abnormal act. The Oromo believes that things go wrong

because individuals or their parents might have gone out of the normal track (*safuu*) and then advise the person who happens to be in wrong direction to correct his mistakes and come to the right track (Dirribi, 2011).

With regard to the ritual and religious practice in Borana and Guji of Oromo communities, the Borana follow indigenous religious beliefs. Islam has been reported to be making inroads very recently, perhaps through the small sympatric groups of Muslim Gabra. The Borana believe that God sent down *Qaallu*, their supreme spiritual leader, who taught the Borana how to sacrifice animals and instructed them in the "Peace of Borana" or *Naga Borena* (Hogg 1990). The importance of the "Peace of Borana" lower should not be underestimated. It is invoked in all aspects of collective decision-making and shapes debate and consensus according to traditional values of well-being and law (Asmarom, 1973). It helps ensure that internal disputes are settled in an egalitarian manner without violence; that cordial cooperation facilitates water point maintenance and resource allocation; and that criminals are punished through exclusion from community resources. It is unclear whether the "Peace of Borana" has ever been transcribed (Coppock(ed), 1994). At the same time the Guji communities also share the indigenous religious beliefs, the majority of the people are still carrying out traditional belief that was also regarded to be the earlier and native belief of the Oromo people. The Guji traditional belief is, presently, called *Waaqefenna*, which has been defined as a belief in one God who has created everything and above all in his power. The belief is led by *Qaallu* who is a significant body in the *Gada* institution (Tadesse, 2004).

#### **3.4.5. Means of economic subsistence**

Economically there had been deep-rooted economic interdependence and trade transaction between Guji and Borana. In both Ethiopia and Kenya, majority of the Borana live in the rural areas and continue to practice pastoral lifestyles, a subsistence production based on herding of livestock such as cattle, goats, sheep, and camel. Pastoralist is characterized by the seasonal migration of the herders and their livestock. Although for the majority of the Borana pastoralist continue to be the main stay of their livelihood, however, the Borana have also adapted many aspects of their life. Some parts of the people are being integrated gradually into the present social, political, and economical systems (Coppock (ed.), 1994).

In case of the Guji area, the zone has a diverse ecology with wide range altitudes and climatic conditions. As a result, it has significant mineral potential and diverse plants and animal species. Its suitability for various crops and livestock types also varies across ecological differences. In the lowland areas, pastoralism dominates while the highland areas grow various cash crops such as coffee and tobacco, and food crops such as *maize*, *teff* and barley. Areas with altitudes above 1800m mostly grow these crops, while the lowland areas grow them to a lesser extent but mainly practice pastoralism (Jemjem and Dhadach, 2011). So in general we can point out that the source of economic subsistence in those dominant communities of Oromo can be also considered as one of the common things between them.

### **3.5. The Historical Background of Negele Borana Town**

According to my informant from Guji, the actual name of the current Nagele was previously called *Qarsa Bilbilo* (currently the center for the town municipality seats). It was renamed Nagelle due to regular ambush killing among the Arsi, the Borana and the Guji at the area. Orally they said the elders from all groups slaughtered bulls for building peace. They prayed God "*Waaqa nageya nuu buusi*" meaning, "God establish peace among us" then the place renamed Nagelle (peace). Since then the intra-ethnic conflict between the Arsi and the Guji totally eliminated but continued between Borana and Guji until the recent time. This justified as there is still gap to be filled between the two. According to the Guji informants Nagelle renamed from *Qarsa Bilbilo* to establish peace among them, gradually changed to Nagele Borana by the manipulation of Borana political leaders during the past regimes which still provoked conflicts between the groups.<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand According to my informant from Borana, formerly the place was known by the name "*Dhakaaba Baqa*" (literally it means that melted/ volcanic stone, currently where the military camp is found). And as he indicates that some fifty to sixty (50-60) years' back there was frequent clashes among the Borana, Guji and Arsi Oromo. Because of different enforcing factors such as grazing land, water ponds and the like, in addition to this the Borana people believed that the area was territorial expansion border, one aspect and quality of *Gada* system in

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<sup>7</sup> Interviews with Jemjem May, 2015 Addis Ababa.

Oromo in general, particularly to Borana is territorial expansion. most of the time such kind of conflict has been taken place between the Borana and Arsi Oromo, at the same time till the resent time the Borana and the Ethiopian Somali liben zone undergone different conflicts because of territorial expansions, the liben zone of Ethiopian Somali wants to include their territory up to the current liben *woreda*/ district including the Negele Borana town.<sup>8</sup>

Finally when the frequent clashes over the area got worse among them, the *Abbaa Gadaa* of three Oromo intra-ethnic group i.e the Borana, Guji, and Arsi Oromo call a conferences on the place called “*Dhakaa Baqe*” and agreed to discuss on their matters. According to my informant from Borana, on their discussion, the raised a question “*why we got ourselves in to conflict*” and discussed on it and came up with solution. On their discussion they agreed to settle the conflict among them, “*Naga haa buusemmuu*” (let make peace) and finally one issue was raised to change name of the place by the name “*Nagee*” and endorse the new name of the place by Negele and gradually changed in to Negele Borana. In addition at the time of peace conference the Borana and Arsi Oromo have taken oath, to mark out the end of conflict between them. And they promised each other if there is a conflict among them one of them should take the negotiations role which mean if there is a conflict between Borana and Arsi, the Guji should take the negotiations role, if there is the conflict between Arsi and Guji Borana should take the negotiations role and if there is a conflict between Borana and Guji the Arsi should take negotiations role.<sup>9</sup>

### 3.5.1. Geographical location of the town

Geographically the Negele town is located in Oromia National Regional State, Guji Zone, and Liben *woreda* at a distance of 610 km from Addis Ababa. (See map 1) Its astronomical location is 50 06’ 23” North latitude and 400 40’ 25” East longitude.<sup>10</sup> Regarding to its historical foundation, as informants from Borana and Guji point out the in above, the area has different social and ritual values to people. In addition to that, the town was founded in 1917 due to the establishment of the military fort center in the south-east parts of the town.

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<sup>8</sup> Interview with Konsole, April 2015, Negele Borana

<sup>9</sup> *ibid*

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.mwud.gov.et/web/negele- Borana> Ministry of urban development and construction (accessed in 2015)

And establishment of the markets, provision of food and local drinks, foundation of the *Kidanemihret* church in 1925, Italian invasion and subsequent occupation of the country (1936-1941), foundation of the Nur Mosque, establishments of the Negele Medical hospital in 1937, and moving of *Borana Awraja* from Mega to Negele town in 1941, contributed a lot for the development of the town. And in 1941, Negele town became seat of Borana and got Municipal status.<sup>11</sup>

The town got the first master plan in 1965. Since 2003 Negele remained as the capital town of the newly established Guji zone. In addition, Negele town has compact shape its altitude is 1416-1594m above sea level its mean annual temperature is 18.52°C to 22.69°C and means annual rainfall is 900-1100 mm.<sup>12</sup> The western part of the town has black cotton soil, while the remaining part of the town has red soil. According to the information from the town municipality official Negele town is one of the reformed towns in the region and have a city administration<sup>3</sup> municipality and four kebeles. It is categorized in 2B grade urban center. The town has a structure plan which was prepared in 2011.<sup>13</sup>

Demographically according to the data of the CSA, (2012) reports shows that, the population of the Negele town is 43,486, from this 22,633 are men and the remaining 20,853 are women. The majorities of the residents are the followers of Muslim, with 54.89% of the population and while 34.25% of the population is followers of Ethiopian orthodox Christine, and 8.24% protestant, and 2.34% practiced indigenous /traditional beliefs.<sup>14</sup>

### **3.5.2. Socio-economic activities of the Town**

The town serves as administrative and market center, center of production and distribution of manufactured goods and services to the rural areas. Farmers in the vicinity districts purchase daily consumables and goods from retailers in the town.

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<sup>11</sup> <http://www.mwud.gov.et/web/negele- Borana> Ministry of urban development and construction (accessed in 2015)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

<sup>13</sup> Interview with Abedulkadre, April 2015, Negele Borana

<sup>14</sup> Central Statistics Authority 2012 Population and housing census of Ethiopia

The urban economy of Negele incorporates tertiary economic activities including trade, services and tourism, civil servant and other (67%), followed by primary economic activities including agriculture, mining and quarry, forestry and fishery accounting for 30%; secondary economic activities including industry and construction 3% of the total economic activity.<sup>15</sup>

There are two fuel stations and six different financial institutions giving services in the town. According to the information from the town municipality official, the average annual revenue of the municipality was 2.6 million Birr and the major sources of revenue were taxes, land rent, and different service charges. The major investment opportunities in the town are: trade, education, health, hotel and tourism, construction material factory and other manufacturing, food complex and agro-processing, recreation, tannery, poultry, and animal husbandry. Negele has economic linkages with the surrounding rural areas and towns. The town gets grain products, livestock supply, and natural resources (fuel wood, charcoal) surplus labor from surrounding areas. Liben, *Goro Dola* and *Mede Walabu* districts, supply cereal crops, pulses, oilseeds, vegetables, root plants and livestock products. Agricultural inputs, manufacturing and commercial products are supplied from Addis Ababa.<sup>16</sup>

In Negele town according to the information from municipality officials of the town there are seven private and one community owned kindergartens, three primaries first cycle schools (1-4), two primary second cycle schools (5-8), three primary schools (1-8), one secondary and preparatory schools (9-12), one technical and vocational education training (TVET) and two college level educational institutions. Regarding to health services there is one government hospital and health center, seven private clinics, four private rural drug stores and one NGO drug store in the town. Negele town has public meeting hall, an abattoir giving slaughtering service for Muslims and Christians general and cattle markets meeting on Saturdays and Tuesdays. In addition to these the town gets 24 hours electric supply from the national grid, and has mobile and fixed telephone lines, internet, and a postal service. The main water supply source of the town is one rain harvesting dam and water is distributed with piped network and 22 public taps. The town has open ditches to discharge storm water.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> <http://www.mwud.gov.et/web/negele-Borana> Ministry of urban development and construction (accessed in 2015).

<sup>16</sup> Data from liban woreda written document trade and industries office.

<sup>17</sup> Information from Negele town and liban worada education office.

Currently there are 6463 houses in Negele town. Out of these 4581 (70.8%) houses are privately owned 1081 (16.7%) owned by *kebele*, 81 (1.3%) low-cost houses administered by Negele town administration municipality and 695 (10.8%) housing units owned by National Defense Force, 19 (0.31%) by faith Based organizations, 4 (0.06%) by NGO and 2 (0.03%) by cooperatives.<sup>18</sup>

Regarding to transport there is daily inter-urban transport service to and from Addis Ababa, *Shashemen, Hawassa Adola, Weyu, Wadera, Harekelo, Bitata, Jidola, Genale, Fulo, Siminto, Bulbul, Hadhessa, Moyale, Dalo, Bidre, and Filtu*. The town has bus station. There are three wheel car (Bajaj), individual motor bicycle and mule drawn carts are giving intra-urban transport service.

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<sup>18</sup>. Data from liban woreda and Negele Borana town municipalities' written document.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA ANALYSIS

Under this chapter of the study, the cause of intra- ethnic conflict between Borana and Guji Oromo over Negele Borana town has been tried to understand and see the cause from different historical background perspective, as well as the ways of conflict management and consequence of the conflict also had been reviewed in this chapter of the study.

The aim was to understand the root cause and its management and consequences of conflict. The findings are based on the research questions of the study outlined in chapter one and the data were obtained through key informant interviews and interviews with group discussion and document analysis.

#### **4. Causes of the conflict**

Regarding the causes of intra-ethnic conflicts in the study area, identity and structural theories of conflicts were selected. Reason of selection is it fits to the issues of causes, frequency and magnitude of the conflict in the study area. According to identity theory of conflict, conflicts fueled by feelings of threatened identity particularly when there will be difficult to resolve, and the issues of conflicts are far deeper and tied to the political constructions of self and another which create fear and hostility (Jeong, 2000). The group may feel that their identity is threatened by the demands of other group for the recognition of cultural rights/autonomy and political status. Since people rally around issues that express their grievances due to previous experience, exploitation and victimization could strengthen the groups identify consciousness. Moreover, since memories of past persecution portrays, as well as, legitimizes acts of violence as morally binding individuals can take revenge on others who have harmed them or their kin (including their ancestors' for both immediate and symbolic significance (Gurr; 2005).

There are approaches in identity theory of conflict called primordialism and social constructivism. Those theories explain why and when identity differences are perceived as being socially significant or not, at individual or group levels. The primordialist approach understands identity as a cultural product being determined by one's blood, which might include socio-biological factors in extreme cases. It considers identity as something objectively given and genetically

determined (ibid) Primordialists attribute the sources of intractable conflicts to the feelings of threatened identity rooted in unresolved past loss and victimization (Jeong, 2000: 73). Social constructivists, on the other hand, regard identity as a novel social construction than given. They consider identity not as a fixed primordial factor, but as the protean outcome of endless social processes that can be recreated and refashioned out of both old and new elements and perpetually in the process of creation (Berman, 1998). For the social constructivist approach identity emerges from dialectic between similarity and difference in group interaction. According to this theory, motivational forces behind the mobilization of ethnic groups can be explained by instrumentalism. Identity can be used instrumentally to promote individual and collective interests. On the other hand, identity categories can also be consciously manipulated to maintain the power of a dominant group and to justify discrimination against other groups in education and employment (Jeong, 2000: 72). Identity differences are not themselves cause of conflict. Rather, the salience of group identity is awakened by socially derived inequalities in material well-being or political access. Identity distinctions are deepened by the denial of political participation, as well as, lack of physical and economic security (Jeong, 2000). Second theoretical framework in this work is structural theory of conflict. This theory assumes that deep-rooted conflicts are caused by incompatible interests based on competition for resources are causes for conflicts. Based on the above two theoretical frameworks the causes, frequencies and magnitude of ethnic of conflict were clearly elaborated below.

#### **4.1. Historical background perspective of Guji- Borana Intra-Ethnic Conflict**

According to informant from both sides, in old day's intra-ethnic conflict between Guji and Borana were incidental clashes initiated by individuals from the both groups used to kill each other as a sign of braveness. Pre 1991 Guji and Borana conflict can be expressed in terms of competition over resources and ritual raids, and killing for honor, "*Qube keyachu*" meaning putting special ring on finger which implies the sign of braveness.<sup>19</sup> According to them this idea of killing was developed during the time of *Sidii Sadiin* (three enemies: Guji, Borana and Arsi) which was initiated by person called Biyyo Sido. During this time and even to the most recent time valued killing was within the group who are orally called three brothers.

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<sup>19</sup> Interview with Godana and Anonymous April, 2016, Harenqello and Negele Borana.

In the past, killing for honor were a stage and/or ceremony of passage which all individuals should pass through. During transition period from adolescent to adulthood among socially endorsed ritual initiation; one requirement has been killing another out group man. Killing from outside group qualified and evidenced him for manhood. Both groups believed a man in order to be a man and get married; he must kill as evidence of being victorious over the enemy. On the contrary, those who have not gained the status of “killer” yet will have a hard time making a bridal match; they were verbally harassed and generally considered as *Yara* (cowards) which finally encourage and force individuals to kill that eventually causes conflict.<sup>20</sup>

These conflicts ranged from ambush killing by individuals to large scale warfare called “*Balbalet dula*” and “*Dula butta*” by Borana and Guji respectively fought by the entire Gada classes and possibly accompanied by other groups outside Gada class. Participants confirmed that the objectives and magnitudes of the war varied from one type to the other, but all involved in killing enemies and raiding and putting ring. *Balbalet Dula* (Borana) and *Dula Butta* (Guji) were a part of the Gada requirement to defend their enemies until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century incorporation of the area into the Ethiopia Empire (Dejene 2011).

Despite the official ban of the war, it even continued until the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Tadese 1988). From the Guji informants points of view still *Didha* which is another form of *Balbalet Bula* (Gada class war) still shows up in Borana Gada class especially during power transfer but in vicarious form which on the contrary cause intra-ethnic conflicts between them and on another hand may devalue democratic characteristic of the Gada system. Killing was not only person but also big game animals like: Lion, Elephant, Buffalo, and Giraffe.<sup>21</sup> A part from the ritual requirement, among both groups killing of male person and /or big game animals qualified the killer to the especial honor that lasts long right from initial report of the killing until his death, even after killing was a source of respect and big reputation. Oral tradition confirms, at arrival a killer receive a warm welcome, women decorate him with their beads and dump his hair with butter. He sings and crows of his deed through a war song called *Gerarsa*. A killer keeps his hair grow and daubs butters for sometimes. He wears special *qube* (ring) and *Hirbora* (armlet) respectively. His family members and other members of the community celebrate his transformation into good social status and were privileged as an indication of heroes.

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<sup>20</sup> Interview with Anonymous April, 2016, Harenqello.

<sup>21</sup> Interview with Galgalo April, 2016, Negele Borana .

In all social events, holiday, ceremonies, killers are song-makers and award receiver and sit decorated place which none killer are not allowed to sit on their way back home killer slaughter “*Kudha*” (calf for purification of blood) (Dejene 2011).

Killers know how they were killing their brothers but considered *Sidii* (enemy). This especial sacrificial ceremony, called *Kudha* is organized by a killer after back home. The purpose of organizing *Kudha* is to cleanse the killer from the potential danger that would result from wrong doing and killing. It is believed that if *Kudha* is missing the killer will become insane or leperory (Tadesse, 1988 and Dejene 2011).

War songs sung by killers as a memory for braveness had provoked and /or still have little contribution in intra-ethnic conflicts between the Guji and the Borena. According to informants those old practices and singing of the war songs are not totally eliminated from both groups even some time reflected in Borana as a form of *Didha* (killing enemy during transferring Gada power)<sup>22</sup>. According to Guji informants, they practiced *Quto* but declared to be stopped during Gada period of Aga Xenxeno (Gada Halchisa) who ruled up to 2007 year<sup>23</sup>. From the Borana points of view *Didha* is the responsibility both Gada council and one age generation should perform in order to join the next Gada stage. They said it is following and fulfilling the *Sera Gada* (Gada law) which Borana received from their ancestors, paradoxically all informants: The Guji, are claiming as still the “*Didha*” which practiced by Borana contributing for intra-ethnic conflict.<sup>24</sup>

The causes and motives of the Guji-Borana intra-conflicts were not merely killing for honor *Midda*; rather it had the economic and political motives behind as well. In the past group had no force to rely on for their peace and security, gradually they formulated the system called Gada to ensure good governance, secure own dignity, and fighting force *Jaldhaba* Guji and *Foolle* Borana to maintain their internal power that helps to defend external rival groups. The structural requirement of waging war against the neighboring ethnic group was a part of the political system designed to protect their territories from external invasion. Gada enabled them to maintain the balance of power over the area in favor of their security and resources.

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<sup>22</sup> Interview with Anonymous April 2016, Negele Borana.

<sup>23</sup> Interview with Godana April, 2016, Harenqello

<sup>24</sup> Interview with Anonymous April, 2016, Negele Borana.

In the old day's warfare that ranged from young men for social status, ambush killing for *qube* (ring) and for raiding animals and defending territories by Gada system mostly emanated from the cultural view of people.<sup>25</sup>

#### 4.1.1. Political Causes of Conflict between Borana and Guji

Conflict between Guji and Borana before the new Ethiopian Empire was internal factors. Conflicts were too traditional, resources and social status based conflicts. The Borana and Guji people were not exceptional from the other peoples of the south facing the conquest of the Abyssinian Empire in late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Following the conquest the state employed both direct and indirect systems of administration<sup>26</sup>. According to Dejene (2011) and informants, Guji were conquered forcefully while Borana were incorporated peacefully. *Qalu* and Gada were used to approach local communities. It was during Gada Tuke Guye when Abyssinian government arrived on Guji land and Gada liban Jaldesa advanced into Borana land. The former Guji Abbaa Gada, Usho jilo was already retired from his Gada power while the Borana *Qalu* (Gedo Jilo) were given responsibilities of representing the central government over their land in the context of the newly created Ethiopian state. The Baatuu (retired), Guji abba Gada Usho Jilo and Borana *Qalu* (Gedo Jilo) were appointed and/or given title called chiefs or Balabat (local leader).<sup>27</sup>

Both as consequence of the incorporation of the Oromo into the Ethiopian Empire and due to internal changes before the incorporation, the Gada system had been weak in other Oromo's people. Dejene (2011) state that apart from internal factors, external factors, such as the introduction of the new political and legal rules had caused the Gada to weaken in Borana and Guji, according informant, the Borana *Qalu* were favored by the Abyssinian rulers, because the office of the *Qalu* institution was /still / hereditary that it was similar to what the Abyssinian Empire builders had practiced since long ago.<sup>28</sup>

Contrary to the Ethiopian Empire political tradition, the office of Gada is elective that changes the leaders every eight years. The approach used by the central government paved the way for both within ethnic and inter- ethnic divisions which further caused conflict in neighboring ethnic groups.

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<sup>25</sup> Interview with Jemjem May 2015, Addis Ababa.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid

<sup>27</sup> Interview with Dadacha April, 2016, Negele Borana.

<sup>28</sup> Interview with Anonymous April, 2016, Negele Borana.

The nominated local chiefs (Balabats) were under the strong supervision of the former governors who resided at the provincial and sub-provincial levels. The indirect rules brought impact of subjugation on the people social, political, economic and cultural autonomy. During their expansion to South Oromia region, the emphasized and priority areas were, the coffee producing high land and Gold Mining areas around Mormora, Dawa and Ganale rivers belts compared to the low economic interest of the state in pastoralist economy (Weysa, 2011).

According to Guji informants, Guji people was further marginalized and left to the periphery, Guji pastoralists had been marginalized from the political rule games between the state and local chiefs from Borana as well. The relationship between political marginalization and inter-ethnic conflict is explained interns of divide and rule political arrangement. Ethnic/group boundaries were artificially dawn by state policy makers and Borana local leaders. Among different ethnic groups in southern Ethiopia, Guji were divided under Sidama and Gedio providences, and Borana Awraja as well and a small plot of land was given to Guji and called Jamjam Awraja, at the current Adola district which even denied to be named after their name Guji.<sup>29</sup>

According to informant the other escalating conditions for intra-ethnic conflict between Guji and Borana during pre-1991 was, Borana leaders were working on the side of the Ethiopian governors from Minilik, Haile Selassie and Dergue, that relation was called *Faannoo* (Relative) while the Guji confronted with all and fought at several battles field due to unfair treatments. According to them the Guji people were faced, challenge from both national government and Borana local leaders, and forced Guji to be in collaborate with Italian force during its invention to fight against local conqueror. Their collaboration with Italian forces helped them to defend their territory and wiped out all government forces from Guji land, particularly Nagele where huge military camps established, on the contrary supports gained from Italian force invader created complaint between government and Guji because of cooperation with foreign enemy.<sup>30</sup> According Borana informant, some Guji leaders believed that during the past regime of national government Borana, who tend to facilitate conditions for the national government and internally persecute Guji community by using his power dominance and jurisdiction governance and this cause different Battles (warfronts) between Guji and Borana during pre-1991.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Interview with Dadacha April, 2016, Negele Borana.

<sup>30</sup> Interview with Jemjem May 2015, Addis Ababa.

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Anonymous April, 2016, Negele Borana.

However, according to informant and FGD participants said that, the causes and conflicts between intra-ethnic are magnified and highly intensified in terms of destructions and death, they never kill Abba *Qalu* (traditional religious father), Abba Gada (traditional political leader), and children and women during conflict and evening during fighting as well. It is taboo and unlawful to kill them. Both believed as *Qalu* sent from God as their religious father and bless Abba Gada lead his community in democratic manner and fairways.<sup>32</sup>

So here researcher can say, political manipulation from external systems added a fuel to the problem created in the past as a result of *sidi* *sadiin* (three enemies Arsi, Borana, and Guji) made intra ethnic conflict more severe. As stated by Markakis, (1987) before 1960, ethnographers show that there were low level and intermittent ethnic conflicts among pastoral communities of southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya. It was the conflict managed by customer institution before it rises or escalates. However, since the 1960s the communities had seen tremendous challenges due to political struggles of new nation state formation of Ethiopian Emperor Regimes and unfolded British led colonialism in Kenya. All participants agreed that almost during the much of the Derg time, ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia was minimized particularly in pastoralist communities. There was negative peace between them which resulted under tense political control and harsh measurement taken against the killers.<sup>33</sup> Under the Derg, especially after the Ethio-Somali war of 1977/78, the political situation did not allow any open and violent confrontation to burn up, though latent conflict and traditional enmity between the groups had persisted. The relative positive relations not built upon strong base to endure (Dejene 2011).

After the down fall of the Dreg, which caused power vacuum over the area, situation deteriorated and tension escalated. The collapse of the Dreg regime in Ethiopia and Siad Barre in Somali created not only power vacuum, but also made possible easy access to automatic weapons for all the groups around (Bassi 1997). According to the informants interviewed as well, after the down fall of the Dreg Regime, the frequency, the magnitude and the reasons and/ or causes of the ethnic conflict has changed. The frequency highly increased, the scale is very high, and it engages a lot of people and wider area.

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<sup>32</sup> Interview with Anonymous and FGD participant April, 2016, Negele Borana.

<sup>33</sup> Interview with Anonymous April, 2016, Negele Borana.

This above opinions confirmed that currently prevailing causes of ethnic and intra-ethnic conflict in pastoral communities has become more territorial claims, identity and political representation at various level of administration, in construct to the previous intra-ethnic conflicts which were caused by killing for honor (braveness, prestige), resource based conflict (pasture and water) and colonial division of feudal system (play rule game).<sup>34</sup>

Another causes of intra- conflict between the Guji and the Borana, which started in the past but currently overlapping are, according to informants and FGD participant, the issues of expansion and movements from places and claiming old ritual places. Historically both the Guji and the Borana initially started movement from Tullu Nama durii (hill of human ancestors) to Madda Wolabu/Haro Wolabu until finally reach the current final destination. During their movements, they established many new ritual places all where they passed, Guji in Sidama and Gedio while Borana established in current Guji inhabited land respectively. In the past all used to perform their ritual ceremony in those areas. For instance, in 2007 Guji Gada Council performed ritual at Gadab place inhabited by Gedio ethnicity while Borana sometime perform at Hasuma which is inhabited by Guji.<sup>35</sup>

Currently those cultural places are causing conflicts because groups are claiming their ritual places which are occupied by other groups. December 2013 more than 5 people were killed from both side at *Yamado* ritual site which is in the centers of Guji, this happened because Borana claim places which never used for almost a century. Traditionally in the warfare both the Guji and the Borana do not kill Abba Gada (Gada Leaders), Qallu (ritual father), women and children. In the history of conflict between Guji and Borana only one Abba *Qalu* called Tutto Anna was killed in the war unknowingly. This problem emerged as a result of claiming for previous Gada ritual places.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Interview with Anonymous April, 2016, Negele Borana.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

## 4.2. Right to Self-Governance perspective

Ethnic conflicts, among pastoralists in Southern Ethiopia in general and Guji and Borana Zones in particular have existed in different forms for century and are not new phenomenon in the study areas (Dejene,2011). As Weysa (2011) stated that following post 1991 Ethiopian Macro political environment, the Borana and the Guji have had relations of relative peace and occasional/ violent confrontations. The new political environment has created an opportunity to Guji and Borana to reinstitute their common Oromo identity after a century of separation and hostility that waned and waxed across varying circumstance; and on the other hand, it has led to conflicts that imbedded into the former historical enmity coupled with the newly introduced ethnic territory.

The formation of Oromia Regional State during transitional period of 1992 put the Guji and the Borana, the Gabra, together in Borana zone of the Oromia Regional State. They put under one zone due to the common identity expressed in terms of common history, culture and language served as basis for their new relations (Dejene 2011). The new political leadership introduced a system which promotes local politics in favor of further division down to the local level. The principle of ethnic self-determination and decentralization were constitutionally adopted to attain those goals. According to informants the changes in national political condition brought about change in the intra-ethnic relationship between the Guji and the Borana. The Guji requested for a separate zonal administration named after them as a basis for the recognition of a Guji identity within the wider Oromo identity. Withstanding to the above point these separate local identities of both the Borana and the Guji developed in the course of their past interactions of collectively “enemy”.<sup>37</sup>

According to informants the *Abba Gada* Aga Xanxano of the Guji took the mandate of forwarding official demand for separate Guji from former Borana Zone. He forwarded the request saying that “*Maqaa kiyya naaf kennaa.*” Meaning (allow me to be called by my name) He requested Guji to be called Guji, their land to be called Guji land, their product to be named Guji product, Guji zone was finally established in 2002.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Interview with Konsole and Jemjem April and May, 2015 Negele and Addis Ababa.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

According to informants, the division of the former Borana zone into two Zonal Administrations of Borana and Guji was based on physical convenience, especially accessibility and proximity to the two main roads crossing territories inhabited by the two groups, rather than their local identities and settlement pattern.

The new Borana zone was demarcated to the north western, western and southern part of the former Borana zone following the main road from Addis Ababa to Moyle with its capital in Yabelo. The Guji zone took the northern and north eastern parts of territories following the main road from Addis Ababa to Nagele. Nagele which was the capital town of the former Borana zone, continued to serve as capital of the new Guji zone.

Whereas according to Fekadu, (2004) he stated that;

During the recent political administration the region has suffered from changing of administrative map. Up to 1987 Borana land had been a sub-province under Sidamo province in 1987 Borana was grown to the status of province to be called Borana administrative region. It includes the low land part inhabited by Borana Oromo and the eastern lowland district of Dollo inhabited the Somali clans. A change was again made in 1992 during the transitional period that time Borana administrative region was changed to Borana zone adding some new territories' and losing some of the existing ones. While the highlands part of the north formerly known as Jamjam province, inhabited by the agro-pastoral and agrarian Guji Oromo was added to the lowland Borana. And finally in 2002 Borana zone was divided in to two: Borana zone and Guji zone. According to the new arrangement most of the low land districts inhabited by Borana Oromo such as Areeroo, Yaa-Ballo, Taltallee, Dirre, and Moyyale, and other two districts inhabited by Guji Oromo: Hagaramaram and Galaana Abayaa are put under Borana land. On the other hand most of the highland districts inhabited by Guji Oromo namely Adoolaa, Oddo Shakisoo, Booree Uragaa, and the lowland district mostly inhabited by Borana Oromo, liban are placed under the Guji zone (Fekadu, 2004:25-6)

The creation of the new zone brought tension between the two groups. That was the geographical demarcation was not satisfied by some on both sides. Borana pastoralists, specially the political leaders and elite, have complained of the demarcation of some ritual sites in Guji zone. The Borana have aspired to own Negele and ritual sites in Liban and liban is considered as the traditional land of the Borana. In addition to this, as Fekadu, (2004) stated liban is known for its religious site where several sacred sites are found. According to Borana Oromo tradition liban has the status of seniority.

According to my informant, the actual name of the current Nagele was previously called *Qarsa Bilbilo*. It was renamed Nagele due to regular ambush killing among the Arsi, the Borana and the Guji at the area. Orally they said the elders from all groups slaughtered bulls for building peace. They prayed God "*Waaqa nageya nuu buusi*" meaning, "God establish peace among us" then the place renamed Nagele (peace). Since then the intra-ethnic conflict between the Arsi and the Guji totally eliminated but continued between Borana and Guji until the recent time. This justified as there is still gap to be filled between the two. According to the Guji informants Nagele renamed from Qarsa Bilbilo to establish peace among them, gradually changed to Nagelle Borana by the manipulation of Borana political leaders during the past regimes which still provoked conflicts between the groups.<sup>39</sup>

From the Borana informants point of view the demand of Negale is due to their ritual site in Liban district situated in the newly demarcated Guji zone, which they suspected of the loss of ritual sites to the Somali groups in the east.<sup>40</sup> On the other hands separation of Guji and Borana into two zones dissatisfied Guji as well, with the demarcation because significant number of Guji people and even many districts are still kept in new Borana zone. Five districts (Galana, Abaya, Bule Hora, Dudda-Dawwa and Malka-Soda) of the current Borana Zone are entirely inhabited by the Guji ethnic group. Guji informants said they never complained about population although they are the majority in newly emerged Borana Zone while the six Borana kebeles in Liban district of Guji zone still complain about the Nagele. Those controversial issues been creating huge problems and making conflicts on and off between two groups of both Zones. For instance, the frequency, magnitude and the causes of conflict was almost minimized from new Guji Zone, but repeated in last year in March 2014.<sup>41</sup> And this is (the march 2014, conflict) main concern of the study.

This intra-ethnic conflict was the most devastating and caused huge damage since the establishment of new Guji zone in 2002. Many people were killed and huge properties were lost from both sides. 2014 intra-ethnic conflict between the Guji and the Borana resulted in loss of lives totally 35 people were killed, massive displacement of humans, livestock population and burning of houses and other valuable assets belonging to them.

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<sup>39</sup> Interview with Jemjem May, 2015, Addis Ababa

<sup>40</sup> Interview with Konsole April, 2015 Negele Borana.

<sup>41</sup> Interview with Anonymous April, 2016, Negele Borana.

All FGD participants and informants, from two confirmed that, the cause of the conflict was the name Nagele which is the capital of Guji zone. All Borana want how Nagele called by the name Nagele Borana, but Guji totally denied saying that this name was initiated by former Borana leaders when political administration was together.<sup>42</sup>

According to informant during the separation of Guji and Borana zones in 2002, five Guji districts were kept under new Borana zone from which some like the Galana and Abaya are near to Dilla (Gedio zone) and very far from capital town of zone which make obstacle them to access good governance and get enough social services which may be provided by local government. According to Guji informants interviewed, these distances, lack good governance and some discrimination from local Borana leaders forced them to request other second Guji zone at Bule Hora town which is the center to all Guji districts under Borana zone. This request was directly forwarded to Abba Duula Oromia Regional State president during conference at Bule Hora in 2006. In addition, according to informant above reasons like distances of some districts from both zonal capital towns, lack of good governance and domination and discrimination from Borana zone political leaders were the immediate demand for the second Guji zone its capital to be at Bule Hora town. Question was forwarded on an event of mass gathering in Bule Hora, including Abba Duula the president of the Oromia regional state, regional and both Guji and Borana zonal higher officials, both Guji and Borana elites and some elders.<sup>43</sup>

At the moment requested question was positively and orally accepted by Abba Duula and other regional officials, which on the contrary annoyed the elite and elders of Borana and zonal administrators. Both administrators and elders agreed and send news to local people at home using the slogan says Borana land was given to Guji. As stated in Weyesa (2011) and informant from Guji told in various areas of research site, the intra-ethnic conflict between Borana and Guji in 2006, Borana zonal authorizes mobilized the Borana people by alleging the Borana are to lose their land to Guji. In this regard authorizes of the zone are said to have armed the Borana people to defend themselves from the alleged attack of the Guji.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> FGD participants April, 2016, Negele Borana.

<sup>43</sup> Interview with Anonymous April, 2016, Negele Borana.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

The 2014 intra-ethnic conflict between the Guji and Borana over the Nagelle town was different from previous conflicts in terms of participants. It involved all individuals either physically or ideally. In previous conflicts both group from other zone either the Guji or the Borana do not hear even what happened, problems confined to local area and solved there. Here I can conclude the problem of Negele is not about claiming physical geography but has hidden issue of looking for their local identities.<sup>45</sup>

### **4.3. Third parties perspective**

Conflicts are obviously provoked and started by the certain individuals and/or groups, and it never happens in a vacuum. Here in the study I have tried to categorize third parties argument into two who directly argue with the role of elite, who engage and play shadow role by facilitating inputs for conflicts and may get either visible or invisible benefits from the conflicts outcomes. And the second point is an argument which is related to the role of government. According to the idea from participants in my study areas indirect actors are local leaders and elites by provoking, encouraging and ideally supporters of the action by calculating his/their group's objectives, which may or may not benefit direct actors (the people).<sup>46</sup>

Contributions made by the elites in intra-ethnic conflicts in the study areas were considered here. According to informants the role played by the governments at all levels: national, regional, and local from the time of establishing new Ethiopian empire during the Minilik II and up to the current ruling political system, have been indirectly contributing in those ethnic conflicts in the study areas. During the totalitarian periods governors used divide-rule system to expand territories and dominate political and economic power at all levels.<sup>47</sup> According to informant the deep-rooted causes of their intra-ethnic group with the Borana was severely created during the reign of the Haile Selassie and the Derg, that in favored the Borana both in socio- political empowerment and totally excluded Guji ethnic group because, they refused to participate in their political system while the Borana was peacefully incorporate to the system.

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<sup>45</sup> Interview with Anonymous April, 2016, Negele Borana.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Interview with Getachew April, 2016, Negele Borana.

H/Selassie successfully controls and dominates the politics and resource in the areas, increasing the gap of their relationship through adding fuel to their issues of grievance created during period of Sidii sadiin (three enemies) which further escalate severity of their intra ethnic conflict.<sup>48</sup>

According to informants contribution of the political elites in conflict is high in the causes of intra-ethnic conflict in study areas. Here political elites mostly refer to the zonal and districts government who indirectly act representing their respective groups in the study area. According to informants from both Guji and Borana zones, the practices of supports given by political and educated elites for their ethnic groups initially started during the reign H/Selassie. In both past and current political system, political leaders were involved vicariously in ethnic conflict by providing food and even bullet during the war. According to them, the best examples were 2006 intra-ethnic conflict between Guji and Borana in Guji inhabited land. And the current 2014 conflict over the ownership of Nagele town when government officials involved in conflicts by material provision.<sup>49</sup> with regard on how political elites involved in and aggravate ethnic conflicts, some informants showed a bit of difference, by pointing their fingers at both national and regional governments as a cause of intra-ethnic conflicts. On the contrary all the other informants agreed on how the elites both local political leaders and educated elites involving in the intra-ethnic conflict planning to have better political status and realized their domination in all aspects. Thus they support their group by all means to maintain their political power. Therefore this implies as there was a very significant contribution of political elites in the causes of the conflicts in the both Guji and Borana zonal administrations.<sup>50</sup>

Although the contribution made by community leaders and elders are positively important, for some extent they are as suspected as a shadow players. Local Community leaders and elders in all conflicting group have an influential role in both peacemaking and conflict scenarios. In the past conflicts between the groups had been resolved through the methods created in Gada system like mediation and direct involvement of community leaders and elders which were the most successful and sustainable in conflict resolution. The method of Gada system in solving intra-ethnic conflict was activity practiced by the Borana and Guji. Although there was difference, they recently agreed to establish a common peace making committee at Alona in 2007 to control over the issues of conflicts.

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<sup>48</sup> Interview with Mohamed April, 2015, Addis Ababa.

<sup>49</sup> Interview with Abudlekader March, 2015, Negele Borana.

<sup>50</sup> Interview with Anonymous, April, 2016, Negele Borana.

The elected peace committees were active only during the time of peace and participate indirectly in conflict during war. Although they are not front liners in terms of participating or provoking ethnic conflict, they play shadow rule game in supporting their groups and were not committed to stop the conflict after the conflict breakout and were not settle the conflict genuinely or in an impartial manner until they were finally stopped doing as a peace committee and back to their group.<sup>51</sup>

And the second third parties argument to the cause of conflict is, it is the strategies of the central government which intended to reduce the threat from the border. According to informants the southern border between Kenya and Ethiopia is inhabited by Borana. These Border extends from Moyle all the way to the west very large area; next to Borana the Guji inhabits all the area from Abaya Sea in the southern people region to Ganale River valley in the highland of Bale. So if Borena and Guji fight each other the Ethiopian troops don't need to Patrol these area. They just have to make sure these two Oromo communities are watching each other as enemies and this enables the government to control easily the Oromo liberation front activities in the area. Not only the above argument but also the informants believe that the intra-ethnic conflict between Borana and Guji is an artificial conflict which facilitated and make a fertile ground by the central government, for the sake of government interest to make the Negele Borana town the third federal city state like that of Addis Ababa and Dire Dewa, because the town has strategically advantage for military base and served as to close the threat from the borders of Somalia.<sup>52</sup>

In addition to this according to the view of informant, even if most inhabitants of the town are in favor of Borana's, there are significant numbers political activist whom highlanders engaged in enforcing the Guji's elite to go on the questions of changing the name Negele Borana to "Negele Guji". So to make this interests of government real on the ground they go through the political activist from highlanders of Negele town to enforce the Guji young politicians and elite to claim the changing the name of town, so by transitivity when the conflict happen between Guji and Borana, the central government will gate reasonable ground to make the town the third federal city sate. So this also can be taken as a cause for a conflict.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Interview with Anonymous, April, 2016, Negele Borana.

<sup>52</sup> Interview with Anonymous, March, 2015, Negele Borana.

<sup>53</sup> Interview with Anonymous, April, 2016, Negele Borana.

#### 4.4. Aggravating factor for the 2014 Borana- Guji intra-ethnic Conflict

The fundamental cause of the Borana-Guji conflicts since the new regional administration was neither resolved nor relinquished, but was rather postponed to erupt whenever a situation would be evolved. Nevertheless the nature and dimension of the issue have continued to be challenged by different factors since then. A single incident was enough to explode a volatile tension. That was what happened in March 2014. As the informant and FGD participant indicated that the pressing factors for the outbreak intra-ethnic conflict between Guji and Borana was related to the renaming of Negele Borana town. As informant confirmed that the main reason behind conflict was some individuals erasing the name 'Borana' from some of the town's government offices. And the clash started on Monday March 24, 2014 in some rural *kabale* of liban *wereda* specifically, at the *Leg gula* and *Ardot* areas outside Negele Borana town. Then it was spread to other *kabales* in liban *wereda* <sup>54</sup>

##### 4.4.1. The action of renaming Negele Borana town as direct cause

As informants confirmed that, the immediate cause of the conflict was the action to rename the and erase the name "Borana" from different government office like the name of hospitals,(still April 2016 the main gate of hospital billboard is painted white color without any name) municipality's name (see figure1), attacking and enforcing bus drivers whom transport people from Addis Ababa to Negele Borana and from Shashemeny to Negele Borana town, to change their (*tapela* name) from "Negele Borana" to Negele Guji", changing letters head in all government office from zonal level up to *woreda* level and specially in the hospital of the town all hospital papers head from prescription paper to medical certificate their heads changed from "Negele Borana Hospital" to "Negele Guji Hospital" , this and other related issues and event were the immediate cause for the outbreak of violent conflict between Borana and Guji in March 2014. <sup>55</sup> Furthermore when the informants explain the event in depth, as already indicated in the cause of conflict, new arrangement of Borana zone excluded liben *woreda* and the new formed Guji zone take Negele Borana town as the capital of the zone.

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<sup>54</sup> Interview with Konsole and FGD participant March and April 2015, Negele Borana.

<sup>55</sup> Interview with Anonymous, March, 2015, Negele.

According to Borana informant, at the time elders and *Abba Gada* of Borana communities asked a question to the regional government of *Oromia* and the federal government of Ethiopia “why our senior land liben and the center of our different ritual practice area excluded from Borana zone?” at the time this questions were not properly addressed by concerned body and the elders and *Abba Gada* of Borana lift their question as even if the land liben is under the administration of other, “we as people and elders of Borana we left it the question of the land liben for the Guji people administration ” because the people of Guji seen as brotherhood for the people of Borana.<sup>56</sup>

According to informants, while few elites and politicians from Guji also has raised questions regarding to the new zonal arrangement of 2002, which is related to town *Bulee horaa* the former (*Hageremariam*), the raised a question were: “In *Bulee horaa* most settlers are from Guji communities, but the town is demarcated under Borena zone, so *Bulee horaa* town should be under Guji zone and we want to make our zonal capital in current *Adola wayu* the former (*kibemingest*)” but this questions from Guji’s side to the government were also rejected and erupted as means of dispute among the elites and local politicians of Borana and Guji communities of Negele Borena town since 2002.<sup>57</sup>

As well as in 1997 E.C the Guji’s elite come with new questions to the regional government of *Oromia* they come with the questions purposely in relation to the national election to use the situation as “political card” and raised this “if the capital of Guji zone is “Negele Borana” why the Guji’s people are named under “Borana’s” so the name “Negele Borana” should be changed to “Negele Guji” at the same time their questions were rejected by the regional government of *Oromia*. And after that the elites of Guji shifted their strategies to smuggling their ideas to local politicians of zonal, *woreda* and Negele Borana town administrates and to the total population by using influential elders in the communities and by using the *Abbaa Gada*'s. They try to make their question as question of the total population of Guji people. Even if the elites and politicians of Guji tries to make the question of changing the name Negele Borana as the concerning agenda of the people, but it was the plans and action of the local politicians of Guji in the Negele Borana town,

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<sup>56</sup> Interview with Anonymous, April, 2016 Negele Borana.

<sup>57</sup> Interview with Anonymous, March, 2015, Negele Borana.

While the rest population from Guji and Borana were not informed what was going on the town and this innocent people from both side were the victim of the conflict which is designed and implemented by both side local politicians. As informant from the town (Negele Borana) told that, the cause of conflict between Borana and Guji is related to renaming of town and issues which seems and tilted to the question of identity, which is highly manipulated by *liben woreda* and Negele town municipal administrators and local politicians whom their communities are from both Guji and Borana. As well as concerning to the case of Bulee horaa town, the Guji's elite raise the issue of *Bulee horaa* town purposely with the intention of influencing the government officials of Oromia regional state to review the question of Guji's to shift the zonal center of Guji to Adola Wayu. By arguing that, the administration of Borana zone earn much resource from Bulee horaa which highly endowed by natural resource like organic coffee and gold mine from the area of Shakiso.<sup>58</sup>

So based on this socio-economic ground the Guji's elite tries to use some economically strong and influential people from Bulee horaa town to raise the question that "Bulee horaa town should become special zone of Guji people?" and to enforce economically the government of Oromia regional state in order to allow for Guji's to shift their zonal capital from Negele to Adola Wayu, as a result there were some kind of promise from a few government officials of the region to the Guji's question and based on the promise of a few government officials of the region, the elites of Guji tries to mobilize economically strong people who born from Guji and who live in the area and diasporas from abroad to invest in Adola Wayu, the former (Kibermengist) which costs high.

According to informants, at the same time to make their interest real in the ground through different methods and activities, the local politicians and elite of Guji become with the hidden agenda, that were the name "Negele Borana" should be changed to "Negele Guji" and tries to work on this issues to make it the question of all Guji peoples and enforce government officials whom work in zonal level and *woredas* specially on officials from Guji background, based on this ground, the elites and some youth from Guji expected that by the conflict which resulted from the name "Borana" in the name of Negele Borana town between Borana and Guji people,

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<sup>58</sup> Interview with Anonymous, March, 2015 Negele Borana.

The government will enforced to respond to the question of Guji's elite and youth to make the zone capital of Guji in Adola Wayu and to the question which is related to Bulee horaa town. So logically they use the issue of naming as tool or mechanism to enforce the regional government of Oromia.<sup>59</sup> According to informants, unfortunately the regional government refused the questions of the Guji's by saying that with the distance of only 120 KM it is not possible to establish new capital because of economically it is wastage to build up new infrastructure in new area. As a result 2000-2001 E.C the local politicians in liban woreda and Negele town municipal administrators whom from Guji's background raise the question "if our capital is remained Negele Borana, why our zonal capital named by Negele "Borana" it should be changed to Negele Guji" at the time, the local politicians (cadre) become anger and some kind ideal conflict born between the local politicians of both Guji and Borana. So since that time because of the above reason there was sense of revival between local politicians who from Borana and Guji background of the town. And finally the ideal conflict of local politicians penetrated to zonal administrators and reaches to its apex and penetrated to the rural area of liben *woreda* as a result in march 2014 it escalate to three day violent war between the innocent people of Guji and Borana, in 8 (eight) rural *kebeles*.<sup>60</sup>

As informant from Guji told that, most inhabitants of the town thought that the cause for conflict is the action to change the name "Negele Borana" to "Negele Guji" by some politician's idea driven youth from Guji. So as a result the youth in Negele Borana town tries standing with in favor or supporter of Borana's position, even by forming some kind of committee and association, with the aim "I am the son of Negele Borena" and through this organization they tries to mobilize resources to finance for different purposes, like for example printing a "T shirts" which holds the name "Negele Borana, the son of liban" in Amharic "ነጋሌ ቦራና ለጎንደር" and with the picture of cattle (ox). According to my informant, that "T shirts" were dispatched to the people who came to the market place at market day without any payment or freely. Subsequently this action irritated the Guji's local politicians and youths and aggravated the situation even some says it fuel the tension.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Interview with Meselu March, 2015, Negele Borana.

<sup>60</sup> Interview with Anonymous March, 2015, Negele Borana.

<sup>61</sup> Interview with Anonymous April, 2015 Negele Borana.

On the top of the above point focus group discussion (FGD) participants confirmed that, the instant cause of conflict between Borana and Guji is the action to rename the name of the town by informal group who works as politicians and youths in different government office in the zone, liben *woreda*, and municipals of the town, while at the same time the others politicians and youths who work in government office and who run their own business in private are defend or confront the action of changing the name of town. According to the participant in different time, the top officials of regional government of *Oromia* came to the town and facilitate a situation to discussions between the Guji and Borana politicians, elders, youth and resident of the town, but there was no solution given to the disputes.

In additions to this according to informant, in one of the meeting among regional government *Oromia* officials, one solution were proposed to the dispute over the name, that was the “Guji’s can call the town by the name “Negele” only without the following name “Borana” but it does not mean that the name will changed to “Negele Guji” and the Borana’s can use the name Negele Borana, consequently top government officials of Guji zone and liban *woreda* leaders changed the seal and titer of their office in to the name “Negele Guji” as well as not only changing the name of seal and titer but also those government officials changed the heading of letters, receipts or voucher in all government office including the hospital of the town.<sup>62</sup>

On contrary according to informant, the youth, politicians and elders of Borana were disappointed by actions of Guji’s politicians and youths. When the Borana’s politicians defend they said that, the legal right to changing the name of town given to the council of the region by law, according to informant, this mean the name of any town is granted by law, so the name Negele Borana was given to the town by (*chaffee Oromia*) people representatives council, as a result the action to change the name of the town did not have a legal ground in law. As a result politicians and youths of Borana send a delegate to *Abba Gada* of Borana and to the federal government of Ethiopia to adders their question by sing that : “*one’s name left when he passed but the Guji’s politicians and youths are currently erasing our name, so we need a solution from government*”.

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<sup>62</sup> Interview with Konsole, March 2015 Negele Borana.

According to informant, unfortunately there were no proper answer to the questions and finally after gradual ideal and office level conflict in the town escalated to violent conflict in rural kebele like *Meleka Guba, Alege, Lega Gula, Mogayo, Ardot, and Deko Qala* in march 2014.<sup>63</sup>

Furthermore according to informants from Borana, even though the inhabitants of Negele Borana town is dominated by highlanders there are significant number of Guji and Borana and, but in that case of liben *woreda* it is dominated by Borana, however Borana's did not share equal political powers in the government office of municipality and in liben *woreda* government office, which mean the administrative power of liban *woreda* is highly overtaken by the Guji's, by the principle the town is the seat of Guji zone and liben *woreda* is one of *woreda* under Guji zone. While the Borana elders, youth and politicians have always asked the question "*in our land why our sons did not share equal power in government offices?*".

According to informant because of this questions in 2013 there were strict and serious meeting among the administrators of liben *woreda* and Negele town administrators, which aimed at evaluating the performance and political stands of those government officials who holds political powers of government office from both Arsi, Guji and Borana background, as a result, at the end of that serous political meeting six (6) government officials who holds political powers of government office in liben *woreda* from Borana background, was excluded from the political powers of government office, by the reason "they are active participant in mobilizing non Borena and Guji youth to participate in fund raising for the printing of "T shirts" which holds the name "Negele Borana, the son of liben" (ኅ ጌ ሌ በ ረ ና ሆ ሊ በ ን ል ጃ ፍ). Consequently the elders, youth, politicians' of Borana became annoyed and refused the decisions which passed by the administrators of Guji zone and liben *woreda* over those six (6) Borana politicians. So this case was also another aggravating factor which fuels the dispute over the name of town.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Interview with Konsole, March 2015, Negele Borana.

<sup>64</sup> Interview with Anonymous March, 2015, Negele Borana.

#### 4.4.2. The Question “who is senior of Oromo? As another aggravating factor

According to informants, the people of Oromo have several clans (*Gosa, qomoo*). The Oromo are said to be of two major groups or moieties descended from the two 'houses' (wives) of the person Oromo represented by *Borana* and *Barentu* (*Barenttuma*).<sup>65</sup> According to Fekadu, (2004:26). “The Borana are part of the larger Oromo nation and in fact are considered as *Angafaa* (the senior) in Oromo myth of origin.” According to informant Borana was senior (*Angafaa*) and *Barentu* junior (*Qutisu*). Such a dichotomy is quite common in Oromo people and serves some aspects of their political and social life. The descendants of *Borana* and *Barentu* form the major Oromo clans and sub-clans are include, *Borana, Macha, Tuullama, Wallo, Garrii, Gurraa, Arsi, Karrayyu, Itu, Ala, Qalloo, Anniyya, Tummugga* or *Marawa, Orma, Akkichuu, Liban, Jile, Gofa, Sidamo, Sooddo, Galaan, Guji* and many others (Gada, 2012).

According to informants, historically the *Borana and Barentu* was the root for Oromo population, not only Borana people but also liben is the cradle land of Oromo in general, in addition according to informants told that in Borana culture they have a trend of giving the name liban to their first son or child to indicate seniority, which mean according to informant the people of Borana is senior of Oromo (*Angafa Oromo*) and liban is senior land of Oromo lands (*Angafa lafaa*). But before the current intra-ethnic conflict between Borana and Guji over the ownership of town, in one meeting of government officials in Negele town, one person from Guji raised the question “who gave seniority to Borana?, The senior of Oromo is Guji “*Eenytu Booranaaf angafummaa kenneef? Angaffiti Oromo Gujjidha*”, according to informant, at the time it was shocking question to Borana’s elders and while a participant of the meeting and meeting leaders from government officials condemned the questions and answered that whether you claimed the seniority of Oromo or not it is given to Borana by custom (*serre Oromo*) of Oromo in general, simultaneously this idea of some groups from Guji, make under the influence some high school students whom their background from Guji’s also take the issue in serious events.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Interview with Konsole, March 2015, Negele Borana.

<sup>66</sup> Interview with Anonymous April, 2015, Negele Borana.

According to informants from Borana in November 2014 during the period of culture day which is celebrated annually through out Ethiopia, there was scenario in Negele Borana high school. It was a conflict between Borana and Guji students on the question of seniority. Which mean at the time there were celebration of culture day in the school, so there were different activities concerning to the culture day, as already known all ceremonies has its own inauguration session or opening ceremony particularly among the Oromo people every meeting, ceremonies, and other social gathering, even the formal government affairs like the annual opening of house of people representatives of Oromia regional state parliament (*caffee*) will opened by the blessing of elders. According to informants if there is Borana Oromo from thus elders whither he is aged or not the leading position will left for him. Based on this fact at opening ceremony of high school culture day the stage man invite the Borana student for blessing the ceremony by saying that senior of Oromo will open the ceremony by giving bless (*Angaffiti Oromo yaa Eebbisu*) on the spot, the student from Guji background make a nose and disturbed the ceremony and asked "who gave seniority to Borena? the senior of Oromo is Guji "*Eenyutu Booranaaf angafuummaa kenneef?*" *Angaffiti Oromo Guji dha*", and totally the prepared culture day ceremony of the school changed to conflict between Borana and Guji students, as a result the students from Borana leave the school goes back to their families to rural areas. According to informants, this event was also taken as aggravating factors for the escalation of 2014 intra-ethnic conflict between Borana and Guji over the ownership of Negele town.<sup>67</sup>

In addition to the above point according to my informant from Guji, he said that in one of the (OSA) conference which was hosted in Seattle (USA) in 2014, one of the participants asked the question "As member of Oromo community I know that the senior of Oromo is Borana, but currently we are hearing that the senior of Oromo is Guji, so how can it be?" according to my informant this kind of individual perception makes the people of Guji to become disappoint and enforced to ask the question "who gave seniority to Borana?".<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Interview with Konsole, March 2015 Negele Borana.

<sup>68</sup> Interview with Jemjem May, 2015, Addis Ababa.

#### 4.5. The 2014 intra-ethnic conflict between Borana and Guji

A deadly violent conflict erupted for a few days that claimed the lives of significant number of innocent pastoral people from both Borana and Guji. According to informants several were wounded, and there was significant destruction of properties and displacement of people from their resource and house. It was not easy to find a genuine report of casualties after such conflicts owing to its political implications. While the information from the Borana and Guji informants claims a higher number, in hundreds, the government officials reported very few numbers, even some government politicians dare to deny the numbers of people died. In addition different international media has reported that in this clash more than 20 (twenty) people were dead and thousand displaced and crossed into neighbor areas to escape the fighting. Whatever the root and immediate cause, the dispute between these indigenous Oromo people (Guji and Borana) the innocent people from both side forced to engage in a war which lasted for three to four (3-4) consecutive day.<sup>69</sup>

According to informant from Borana recalled the situation;

*Because of different enforcing factors and tangible actions like renaming and erasing the name of Borana from government organization, and other related action which was taken by a group of people in the town, forced the students of Negele Borana high school to leave from school and return to their families in March 2 and 3, 2006 E.C. This action of Borana's students changed to a propaganda in the town using flyers and brochures which entitled "the students of Borana get in to forest for preparation of war" this situation intimidated the Guji's student to come to school.*

*According to informant at the time, the government tries to take some necessary measurements in order to get back the students in school, but it was not successful. Even if the elders and government officials from liban woreda and Negele town asked the students to return back to the school, students refused by saying that "leffa maal qebbeennaa, mekka maal qebbeennaa Berrena?" (We don't have name and land, how can we learn?).<sup>70</sup>*

According to informant the above event of students, makes the Borana elders to bother, and then in one of those day the Guji's youngster attacked two Borana's student in their way to their families, at the time one of student ran away but the remaining student was badly injured by bludgeon or stick.

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<sup>69</sup> Interview with Kebret, March 2015, Negele Borana

<sup>70</sup> Interview with Konsole, March 2015, Negele Borana

According to informant this action of Guji's youth was the immediate cause and an event which marked the beginning of war between armed innocent pastoral communities of Borana and Guji in rural *kebeles* in *Meleka Guba, Alege, Lega Gula, Ardot, Mogayo, and Deko Qala*<sup>71</sup>

Regarding to the place of war as information gathered from peace and security office of liben *woreda* indicated that there were three (3) fronts or battles which the war was started on. From 17 *kebeles* of liben *woreda* the conflict were high and worse in, *Meleka Guba, Alege, Lega Gula, Ardot, Mogayo and Deko Qala kebeles*. Geographically this rural *kebeles* share common borders, (see map 5) not only geographical but also demographically the residents of these *Kebeles* are both from Guji and Borana. For instance *Meleka Guba, and Mogayo kebeles* are inhabited by both Borana and Guji, *Lega Gula kebele* inhabited by Borana, *Ardot kebele*, inhabited by Guji and these *kebeles* are a border, based on this fact, as informant from peace and security office of liben *woreda*, confirm that at the time when the Negele Borana high school and preparatory student go back to these rural *kebeles* to their family by revolting against the action of changing the name of Negele town, make threats people who live in thus *kebeles*. As a result except the armed people of Guji who live in *Mogayo, Ardot and other kebele* left to a place like *Haren kello* which is dominated by Guji.<sup>72</sup>

So generally according to informants and FGD participant, the war front was three. The first war front is between the residents of *Meleka Guba, and Alege, kebele* the second was between *Lega Gula kebele and Ardot, and* the third front was between *Mogayo, and Deko Qala Kebele*. In the mean time according to informant from peace and security officer of liben *woreda*, the special police force of Oromia region tries to intervene but it takes a day. But according my informant from Borana, the war was stopped or interrupted and ended by high rain, and then the peoples who were in war run away to skip from rain, as a result because of that gap the government military intervention enable to control the situation and the area.<sup>73</sup> As informants and group discussant evoke the immediate incident of the conflict was the attack of the Guji on two youngsters of Borana. But one of the discussant indicate that, those youngsters of Borana were considered as spy whom sent to Guji's force by Borana's, so the Guji open attack on them, but after time the Guji people confirm that those youngsters were not a spy which sent from Borana to Guji.

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<sup>71</sup> Interview with Konsole, March 2015, Negele Borana

<sup>72</sup> Interview with Anonymous and Konsole, April, 2015 Negele Borana.

<sup>73</sup> FGD participant April, 2015 Negele Borana

According to informants not only this event but also the easy accesses to fire arms of both Guji and Borana rural communities are also one aggravating condition to the conflict. For the question who triggered the first bullet?, the Borana's said the Guji, and the Guji's replied the Borana's , so both Guji and Borana informant confirm that it is not known who has started the war, despite the fact that from both side there was sound of fire arms, and later minor incidents between individuals erupted into a violent conflict.<sup>74</sup> The Guji informants think that it was the Borana who started the conflict and the Borana informants consider the reverse. However, according to informant a simple incident erupted into a big conflict on March 2014 and the conflict escalated into other areas at the border between the *kebeles*; like, *Meleka Guba, Alege, Lega Gula, Ardot, Mogayo, and Deka Qala*.<sup>75</sup> And as informant from Guji recalled the situation;

*Totally the conflict was already facilitated by local politicians and elites of the town from both sides, (Guji and Borana), this mean if you ask a Guji's who started the war?, they replied to you by saying the Borana where as at the same time if you asked one ordinary person from Borana who started the war? Simply they answered to you by saying that the Guji. So it is difficult to know the exact starter of that conflict which costs life and material destruction from both side, Houses were burnt, our family's animals were stolen, and we were displaced from our residence area. We were robbed while we were there. We had nothing when we came back. Our people were killed and several died.*<sup>76</sup>

Both Borana and Guji informants confirm that the federal army and Oromia regional special force usually intervened after many casualties had already happened. To sum up, the conflict between Borana and Guji became political trouble consisted of gaining more territory or losing it, and by using any possible means to win the game and defending one's own rights of territorial integrity from encroachment. The conflict is political, it is not just about resources anymore, and it is about having control over land and has administrative power. The discontent and dissatisfaction between the Borana and Guji is still there. Disagreement and violent conflict continued along the borders after demarcation, even worse in the rural *Kebles* of *liben woreda* area, with conflictual dual administration. Violent conflicts often result from minor incidents, because solid action was not taken to resolve the issue across the administrative borders. The case of Negele Borana town is a question that hasn't been addressed. Below I discuss the consequences and ways of averting the 2014 intra-ethnic conflict between Guji and Borana.

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<sup>74</sup> Interview with Kebret, March 2015, Negele Borana.

<sup>75</sup> Interview with Banata, March 2015, Negele Borana.

<sup>76</sup> Interview with Jemjem, May, 2015 Addis Ababa.

#### **4.6. Major impact of the intra-ethnic conflict between Guji and Borana**

Concerning to the impact of conflict in the area, according to informant told that, the conflict has affected the people in many ways, which is highly destructive and consumes a life human. as Odhiambo, (2012) point out that, conflict make insecurity that weaken entire material of the society and this contribute to a breakdown in societal values, undermine coping mechanisms thereby engendering general economic decline. Food insecurity and lack of essential services are also created by conflict. Conflicts also contribute to degradation of the rangelands as mobility is constrained and the institutions that traditionally ensure their sustainable use are rendered ineffective. The associated breakdown of law and order has effect on all aspects of life, insecurity arising from the conflicts has accorded criminals an opportunity to smuggle in and trade in illegal firearms. According to informant the same thing has happened in the area, unrestricted increase of small fire arms in the border areas of Borana and Somalia ethnic group without getting due attention by the local government bodies and the inhabitants, in most part of Moyale area have also has negative impact on the peace and security of the area.

As Teshom, (2003) point out any members of the community especially the young men can easily get small arms from the bordering area, even the chance of getting small fire arms from black market in the area is also one effect of the conflict. These factors contribute a lot to the prolonged violence and social breakdown of the district especially among the two groups. The conflicts have resulted in the breakdown of contacts between communities; traditional social networks that could be used to address the conflicts have collapsed (Odhiambo, 2012).

##### **4.6.1. Socio-economical impact of conflict between Borana and Guji**

Based on the above point, a key informant from Guji recalled that as a result of a conflict between Borana and Guji, over the ownership of the Negele Borana town, costs a life of innocent pastoralists from both Guji and Borana, furthermore when he elaborate the impact of the conflict, as already known these senior of communities are known by their sense of *Oromuma* brotherhood, their mutual understanding and giving respect to each other extend to giving respect to each other in the time of individual quarrel which may result in killing each other, this mean if the Guji's man kills the hero of Borana he will dressed some kind of ornaments which considered as showing respect to Borana locally it known as *Herbooraa*, which is a kind of respect giving practice between them, this kind of respect is given only for Borana, such kind of

respect is not given to others. But according to informant, this sense of brotherhood and giving social respect to each other has been affected by the conflict.<sup>77</sup>

Furthermore to strength this point of *Oromuma* brotherhood my informant recall that in 2007 there was a conflict between Borana and Digodi of Somali over grazing land which is found around *Welenso kebele* in liben, at that time, in the conflict the Borana people was not alone against the Digodi, there was a support from Guji to Borana in fighting against the enemy which came as a territorial expansion of pasture land to this extent there was a sense of brotherhood. So as result of the intra-ethnic conflict between Borana and Guji of 2014 the social value of brotherhood between them has been broken, in addition to this, the conflict create a wavering condition on the collapse of social psychology and the weakening of social bonding between people as a result of this sense of insecurity take the place.<sup>78</sup>

According to informant, the Borana people lost some area of social value in liben like *Ardajila and muka ebbaa* in *Hardot* and *Balamble*. According to my informant not only these but also in post war period insecurity and revenge increased in the area, because of this different social and economical aspect of the people became endangered, in a post war period totally the agricultural practice were stopped for one season in the area like *Leg Gula, Deko Qela, and Meleka Guba*.

According to the information obtained from group discussion and informant from peace and security office of liben *woreda* show that a conflict over the naming of town, which kicked out by elite and politicians from both Borana and Guji have affected the social life and the blood tie relation of this indigenous Oromo communities, as a matter of fact the Borana and Guji communities are who share so many socio-political and economical aspects of life, for instance they get married to each other, trade with each other, support each other in the time of war against other ethnic group and used the indigenous *Gada* system as their administration commonly. But after the emerging of Guji Zone, there relation becomes distorted and finally reached to the stage of conflict over the ownership of the Negele Borana town. The war disintegrated their bonding and families, which denote that a psychological chaos among their children, because there are a families whom father from Borana and mother from Guji and the opposite. According to my informant from Borana during the course of war a relatives have killed each other, many families lose their father and flee to urban area for survival and so on.

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<sup>77</sup> Interview with Jemjem, May, 2015. Addis Ababa.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

On the top of the above point, different medias has come out with the numbers of people who died in the conflict, for instance Dire Tube (2015), as eye witnesses of the conflict reported to news from five to ten (5-10) individuals must have died in the consequent clash which started on Monday March 24, 2014. In addition to this another web media (blog) Ethiopian opinion (2015) reported that in the conflict that was raised on March 24, 2014 on the naming of the town, news sources said that around 20 (twenty) individuals are killed. Furthermore the fact magazine also reported that the conflict between Borana and Guji over the name of Negele Borana town consume around 30 (thirty) people during the course of war (Mulunhe, 2014).

#### **4.7. The way in which the Conflict has been managed**

Conflict management is a key concern in establishing harmony among the ethnic and between intra-ethnic groups who were involved into conflicts. Conflict management could help us to control and resolve conflicts, reduce tension, and rebuild social relation through full reintegration of the disputants' intra-ethnic groups. To achieve the realistic and durable harmonization among the conflicting intra-ethnic groups, conflict managers could use a series of mechanisms and methods of conflict resolutions like indigenous (traditional) and formal. Corresponding to the formal criminal justice system of Ethiopia, societies also have their own customary ways of dealing with conflict. In many regions of the country, these customary conflict management mechanisms are more influential and applicable than the formal criminal justice system, which is considered alien to the indigenous societies (Macfarlane 2007).

The following section examined the attempts made by different bodies to manage and resolve intra-ethnic conflicts between Guji and Borana, over the ownership of Negelle Borana town. Here both traditional and formal conflict management mechanisms were employed to minimize the grievances among them.

##### **4.7.1 Jaarsumma Conflict Management Mechanism**

Both groups in study areas are practicing the Gada system that constitute and regulate their lives. Until recently, Gada system was effective to settle, managing and resolving conflicts within and with other ethnic group. According to informants interviewed Guji and Borana mostly practice the rules and regulations made in the Gada system to manage their conflicts. The duty of managing conflict is the responsibility of and performed by *Jaarsota biyyaa* (elders of the community) and *hayyuu* (its plural *hayyoota*), meaning elders have a role in Gada council and

look after the whole system to maintain good social relations. The criteria determines to assure the status of *Jaarsa* (elder) is his knowledge on how to manage conflicts, for instance, his knowledge to talk *Dhugaa* (lit. truth) in front of the gatherings and who talk fluently not to make the disputant aggressive, On the other hand, *Hayyuu* is the one who could cover large area to manage ethnic conflicts because of his knowledge about the history of his ancestors and others and customary law (*seera gadaa*).<sup>81</sup>

The method of *jaarsumma* institution could be done every time, pre, during and post conflict periods. According to FGD *jaarsumma* also works during peaceful time to manage the tensions that could lead to serious ethnic conflicts and could try to create comfortable and conducive environments for the groups by minimizing the appearance of conflicts. In addition to the paramount role played during the pre-conflict period, the conflict managers are also responsible to contain the spread of conflicts not to bring serious damages on the groups. Though some intervention performed before and during the time of conflicts, major role played during post-conflict period in managing conflicts. According informants interviewed, ethnic conflict management by the method of *jaarsumma* was most active and sustainable during pre-1991 because the ritual ceremony to settle peace among groups performed only by community elders and *Hayyuu* without the interference of governments at all level.<sup>82</sup>

According to informants in the past, during post conflict lamb and *lichoo/lichee* (Ritual Whip) sent to opponent group by elders from any conflicting groups. Lamb and *lichee* are the symbols of peace. Culturally it is impossible and totally taboo to touch someone with the Lichoo or lamb, because it was considered as a traditional flag and symbol of requesting for peace. Community elders and leaders from any conflicting send delegations to the other ethnic leaders, particularly Abba Gada (Gada leader) and other Gada officials (*hayyuu*) to arrange day and place for negotiation and compromises. FGD participants said this happens mostly after; both groups are exhaustively tired of fighting, loss of properties and destruction of life. Compromise involves going part way to meet an opponent, and expecting that they do the same. It means one or both of conflicting parties must give up its maximum demands. Traditional approaches to this include direct negotiation between the parties, deliberation by council of elders, and mediation by a neutral third party.

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<sup>81</sup> Interview with Dadacha and Gololcha April, 2016 Negele Borana.

<sup>82</sup> FGD participant April, 2016 Negele Borana.

Representative of traditional enemies meet and confirm that the fighting has harmed both, and that both would benefit from peace. They may decide to settle their dispute there and then. On the day they come together, they prepare traditional ritual ceremony. Both involved in conflict bring oxen and *daadhii* (honey-wine), then, the process of slaughtering a sacrificial animal starts.

83

In addition according to informants another symbolic process is breaking a bone of the sacrificial animal the two parties each hold the end of the bone and the two Abba Gadas break the bone by the blunt edge of the knife. Bone breaking symbolizes removing the hostility between the groups. The next step is eating and drinking together, which represents the reconciliation and restoration of the peace and harmony, finally Abba Gadaa concludes the ceremony by blessing the peace to be durable at the same time cursing any attempt of revenge. To them, old methods used in managing and creating peace by such traditional ritual ceremony, were more sustainable and lasts long.

The conflicting groups said, today the practices and procedures of ethnic conflict management are not genuine in maintaining peace because traditional system is less active than formal system of the government. Modernization accompanied by less consideration to this traditional system, the Gada system is said to be lose its integrative and peacemaking role they said, the involvement of political system in the process of traditional indigenous ethnic conflict management mechanism, has contributed to the deteriorating role and rule of the reality jaarsumma in managing the ethnic conflict in the study areas. They said currently both elders from all ethnic groups and government are do not genuinely recognize cause of conflict, who caused conflict and tend to be biased on a certain group which created and/ will be the big threat for the sustainable peace in the study areas.<sup>84</sup>

The 2014 intra-ethnic conflict between Borana and Guji over Negele Borana town, has been tried to resolve the dispute before its escalation trough indigenous conflict management mechanism jaarsumma, according to informant pre conflict time, the elders of Borana has sent a delegate of elders who were recruited from the neighbor Arsi Oromo communities to deal and negotiate with Guji. But unfortunately it was not successful.

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<sup>83</sup> Interview with Interview with Dadacha and Gololcha April, 2016 Negele Borana.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

According to informants there were a promise among thus Oromo communities (Arsi, Guji and Borana), to mediate and negotiate with each other at the time of dispute among them, so based on this promising fact the Arsi elders were expected to negotiate the conflict between Borana and Guji, but according to my informant from both Borena and Guji, the promise among them, the Arsi should took the initiative of negotiation between the disputant but at the time they took a position of abstains. Even the Borana and Guji elders are asked them to deal with the issues, their responses were un satisfactory. If the Arsi elders have been taken the role of reconciliation there may be other story concerning to the 2014 intra-ethnic conflict between Borana and Guji over the ownership of Negele town.<sup>85</sup>

Even though it was not successful before the escalation of violent conflict in march 2014, but according to my informant and the idea of group discussions its role was very fruitful, in each local area of the conflict in collaboration with the government bodies the elders has devoted to peaceful co existence by using and applying indigenouse mechanism of conflict management *jaarsumma*, which mean from both side elders of reconciliation was selected and appointed to deal on how to stop the war and come to the peace full situation by crating intensive discussion with the community in each part and parcel of village in the conflict area. Not only negotiate the war but also this, traditional ways of conflict resolution mechanism has used as a mechanism to resolve the consequence of the conflict, elders were in charge to set rules and regulation, as well in collaboration with government they tried to reconstruct the society by finding the lost materials, and their domestic animals like, their camel, goat and cattle's.<sup>86</sup>

Generally according to informant the conflict between Borana and Guji over the name Negele Borana town has shown different results and affected both communities, even if the cause conflict is varied and different in its nature, the direct victims of the conflict were an innocent people who live in rural *kebeles* of *liben woreda*, the inhabitants of the town were not such mach affected by the conflict without the some shortage of supplies of market food commodities, like, cereals, vegetables, cattle including goat and sheep, so there should be a responsible body who can tackle and minimize such kind of violent conflict among communities.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Interview with Jemjem and Konsole, May, and March 2015 Addis Ababa and Negele Borana.

<sup>86</sup> Interview with Anonymous April, 2016 Negele Borana

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

#### 4.7.2. Formal Institutions to Manage Conflict

It is the prime responsibility of the government to manage and resolve conflicts. To discharge this responsibility, government established institutions to manage conflict at national and local levels. In Ethiopia, the house of federation, which is the upper house of the country's parliament, is the highest body to manage and resolve conflicts in the country (Weyesa 2011).

However, many leaders contributed for managing ethnic conflicts, some zonal leaders were initiated to establish peace committee in the zones. According to informant peace conferences which were included participants from governments, NGOs, and elders selected from conflicting groups (Borana and Guji) held in Nagelle. The selected and established peace committees were empowered by governments and were used to organize consecutive peace conferences for discussion among the conflicting groups (Guji and Borana) in their respective areas on the issues related to security and peace and on how to manage conflicts in the area. FGD participants said, members of peace committee were getting peridium and financed by governments and NGOs, that conditioned their behavior with the benefit and opportunity, until they have finally come to weaken because their objectives diverted to get money rather than making peace among their the fighting groups. It is now difficult to solve the present conflict only by using the Gada or other systems unless on the bases of legality and providing responsible governance to the area.<sup>88</sup>

Concerning to the process of post 2014 intra-ethnic conflict between Borana and Guji conflict management in liben *woreda*, according to my informant from peace and security officer of *woreda*, the application of the newly developed concept of participatory leadership and forming peace committee which is locally known as (*Koree Nageenyaa*) in every parts of the *kebele* played a great role in prevailing relative peace and security in the *woreda* /District. Intensive discussion has been held in each corner of the conflict area among the inhabitants, a peace conference was hosted in 7 (seven) rural *kebeles* which focused on the cause of conflict, and in that peace conference the government played a role of facilitation to discuses on each matters and issues among the community, and finally a delegate who came from Oromia regional government in collaboration with zonal government of Guji they make an intensive discussion with people, on the conflict in Negele town by dividing the participant in to three groups, 1 youths ,2 elders and 3 inhabitants of the town, and the discussion was finalized by hosting

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<sup>88</sup> FGD participant April, 2015 Negele Borana.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION

#### 5.1. CONCLUSION

Conflicts are an integral part of social existence and occur as a result of incompatible goals of human beings. Conflict can be driven by unmet or frustrated human needs that they strive to satisfy those are: the sense of justice, identity, security, recognition, autonomy, participation, rights of individuals and groups, rights of property and land. When they are denied physical and economic security, political participation and recognition from other groups and their distinctive identity is lost, they will do whatever in their power to regain it. The causes of conflicts in the study areas are not different from the above situations and forms but its causes, magnitude, and intensity are gradually getting severe from different time and contexts. The intra-ethnic conflict between the Guji and the Borana was killing as a sign of bravery, and killing for honor, seek social recognition, *qube keyachu* meaning having symbolic ring on finger. Causes and motives of the Guji-Borana intra-conflicts were not merely killing for honor, rather it had the economic and political motives behind as well.

In the past the groups had no force to rely on for their peace and security, but gradually they formulated the system called Gada to ensure good governance, secure own dignity, and fighting force was called Rabaa warriors dula butta (war initiated by Gada system) both in Guji and Borana, to maintain their internal power that helps to defend external rival groups. The structural requirement of waging war against the neighboring ethnic group was a part of the political system designed to protect their territories from external invasion. Gada enabled them to maintain the balance of power over the area in favor of their security and resources. Guji and Borana Conflict before the new Ethiopian Empire was significantly due to internal factors as a result of illiteracy and hate rage developed between them as a result of *sidi* *sadiin* (three enemies). Conflicts were too traditional, resources and social status based conflicts, because it changed from traditional to political manipulation made by authoritarians that explained in terms of divide and rule political arrangement, which treated groups differently based on refusal and incorporation into the system.

The 2002 boundary demarcation between Borana and Guji which did not account for the historical and ritual attachments to the land liben and the settlement patterns of the Borana and the Guji Oromo people, in the area were not considered and the contending political strategies and territorial expansion of the neighboring Somali ethnic and the interest of central government over the importance of the town are also serious contentious issues that continue to fuel the conflict. Economically, competition over the ownership of the town, deficient economic integration and weak linkage to the center, underdeveloped infrastructure, incompatibility between the town establishment age and expectations and the government political distribution of the liben *woreda* further added fuel to the previously enumerated causes of conflict. The conflict is also blast in the question of who is the senior of Oromo. The access to small arms and their use as a legal tender in the area further make worse the conflict. Victimization still survives in the minds of the indigenous people whose ancestors lived through those years, for them maybe like many of the other community; they (Borana and Guji) believe in justice through revenge. This encourages more violence and it also complicates the process of conflict resolution.

So generally the intensity of intra-group conflicts in society is continually increasing, mainly due to, degradation of societal norms, and disintegration of socio-psychological relationships. On the way from the study indicates that interest in indigenous knowledge and practices is significantly becoming weakened due to both internal and external factors. Of all the internal factors, underestimation of cultural values due to 'modernized thinking', increasingly egocentric human behavior, and erosion of the societal norms which is resulting from unhealthy competition over scarce resources are taken as major factors seriously threatening the coexistence of people (Nigusie, 2013).

Regarding conflict management both formal and traditional methods were utilized to manage and solve problems in the study area. Conflict management refers to the limitation or containment of a conflict that has already broken out in the form of searching for a solution that would reduce the intensity of violence and prevent its escalation (Miall 2005). Conflict management is a key concern in establishing harmony among the groups involved into conflicts. Conflict management could help us to control and resolve conflicts, reduce tension, and rebuild social relation through full re-integration of the disputants among group. To achieve the realistic and durable harmonization among the conflicting groups in study area conflict managers tried to use both methods of conflict management mechanisms like indigenous (traditional) and formal.

Though some intervention performed before and during the time of conflicts, major role played during post- conflict period in managing conflicts. The well-known traditional institution of conflict management and resolution among the Oromo nation is the Gada system. The Gada system was and still is at the center of the Oromo traditional institutions. The status of the Gada system, however, varied across the vast Oromo areas during the incorporating of the areas in to the Ethiopian empire owing to internal and external factors, the system underwent considerable changes. The provision of the cultural rights by the federal constitution, the promotion of the culture of the various ethnic groups has not happened in similar fashion all over the Ethiopian territories. In case of my area under study the Borana and Guji fully practiced the Gada system to manage their conflict.

Jaarsumma (traditional) conflict management was the most active and sustainable because the ritual ceremony to settle peace among groups performed lonely by community elders and Hayyuu (father of peace in gada system) without the interference of governments at all level. The modernization accompanied by less consideration to traditional system, the Gada system is losing its integrative and peacemaking role. The involvement of political system in the process of traditional indigenous ethnic conflict management mechanism, has contributed to the deteriorating role and rule of the real jaarsumma in managing the intra-ethnic conflict in the study areas. Other several attempts were made by both federal and regional to manage intra-ethnic conflicts in the study area. Peace committees were selected many times from each group at different places to control and manage the issues that may cause intra-ethnic conflicts.

On and off conflicts due to chronological time, and the changes of political trends in the study area, brought, caused deep-rooted grievance, traditional enmity, high degree of destruction on the properties and loss of lives from involved intra-ethnic groups. Properties destruction, huge displacements of people from their resource, houses, affected economic wellbeing of the groups. Those impacts by the frequent conflicts developed: social hate rage, sense of enmity, poor social bondage, social anxiety and tensions and conditioned negative attitude and wrong way economic competition, economically make poor. The town ownership conflict between Borana and Guji in should be solved in a way that guarantees the peaceful situation of town inhabitants' and pastoral groups and doesn't aggravate resource competition between them. Moreover, the government should integrate and strengthen local governance institutions that are rooted in traditional practice for managing resources and intergroup conflicts. In general, commitment on the part of

the local elders, and local government authorities from both sides could no doubt help to handle the situation.

## 5.2. RECOMMENDATION

**To bring sustainable peace and harmony among the conflicting intra-ethnic groups the following are recommended activities to be done:**

- ⇒ As the ideal conflict between the disputant was born in the mind of domestic politicians and elites from both side and the architect of the conflict should come up with the solutions to the conflict, which mean in parallel to the action of reconciliation which has been taken by the government body and elders from both side, the youngsters who run the domestic politics which is based a lecture from their respective elite should also given special attention in management of the conflict.
- ⇒ There should be a responsible government body that can investigate the case and give the final solutions to the ownership of liben land and the Negele Borana town.
- ⇒ Depoliticize the area in order to create sustainable peace among the people.
- ⇒ Create clear local political demarcation and administration between them
- ⇒ Socio-economic interdependences must be encouraged by all group
- ⇒ Pending questions, for development and good governance should answered
- ⇒ Common boarding schools (hostels) for common young people which may develop common goals and identity among them, should be established
- ⇒ Establish good governance and open minded leadership at all levels of administrations
- ⇒ Community should not confirm and obey the conflict request by shadow players
- ⇒ Reconstruct social relations through trainings and common social events which can gradually change social behavior for common good
- ⇒ Community empowerment and betterment, should be continued and expanded to economically underserved communities and overlooked places and issues, to shape attitude for goodwill and economical independence
- ⇒ Establish permanent peace committee, but the right for peace committee selection must be given to direct actors and victims of ethnic conflicts both traditional and modern institutions for conflict management must be integrated and enforced by law
- ⇒ Develop wider sense of Oromummaa among the Oromo group

- ⇒ The question of who is senior son of Oromo? which is now the issue between Borana and Guji should be studied in future research
- ⇒ Avoid in appropriate settlement system which is not compatible with the traditional pastoral natural resource management system.
- ⇒ When indicators of conflict are seen every side should take immediate actions to settle the issue before it goes worse.
- ⇒ There should be regular and continues meeting and discussions among the indigenous elders to improve, re socialize their relationships.
- ⇒ I recommend further the 2014 conflict over Negele Borana town ownership brings and affect the socio-psychological tensions in the community, the eroded social values should be restored, and the community, especially the elders, should be capacitated. Such improvements could become possible through justice reform, cooperative resource management, community empowerment, awareness-raising strategies, and sustained community dialogue. The formal justice systems should cooperate with the customary justice system to deal with issues related to peace and conflict.

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# APPENDIXES I

## Guidelines for the Research Participants

### I. Interview Guidelines for the key informant

1. What are your beliefs about the major/ root cause of conflict between Guji and Borana Oromo over the Negele town?
2. When was the conflict escalating?
3. What do you think about the minor cause of conflict over the town?
4. Does the conflict have consequences to the residents and to the town?
5. If there are consequences, how do you see/ evaluate it from the perspective of economical, social and political impacts?
6. Is there any occurrence or events before the current conflict over the town of Negele?
7. Does there are any aggravating factors to the conflict?
8. How has the conflict been resolved?
9. What was the role of elders in resolving the dispute?
10. What was the role of indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms in settling down the conflict?
11. What was the perception of residents to the town regarding to the consequences of conflict?
12. How do you evaluate the commitments of the Negele town administration and the regional government of Oromiya in settling down the dispute?
13. What should be done to alleviate such kind of problem in the future? Who are the stakeholders?
14. What was the challenging condition to the zone police force before the interventions of additional peace keeping force from the regional government of Oromiya?
15. Can we say that the cause of conflict related to the questions of identity beyond the other aspects of cause of conflict?
16. What is the need of the government regarding to the town?
17. What do you think is a good approach of solving such conflict?
18. What are the perceptions of the residents of the town specially the h

## APPENDIXES II

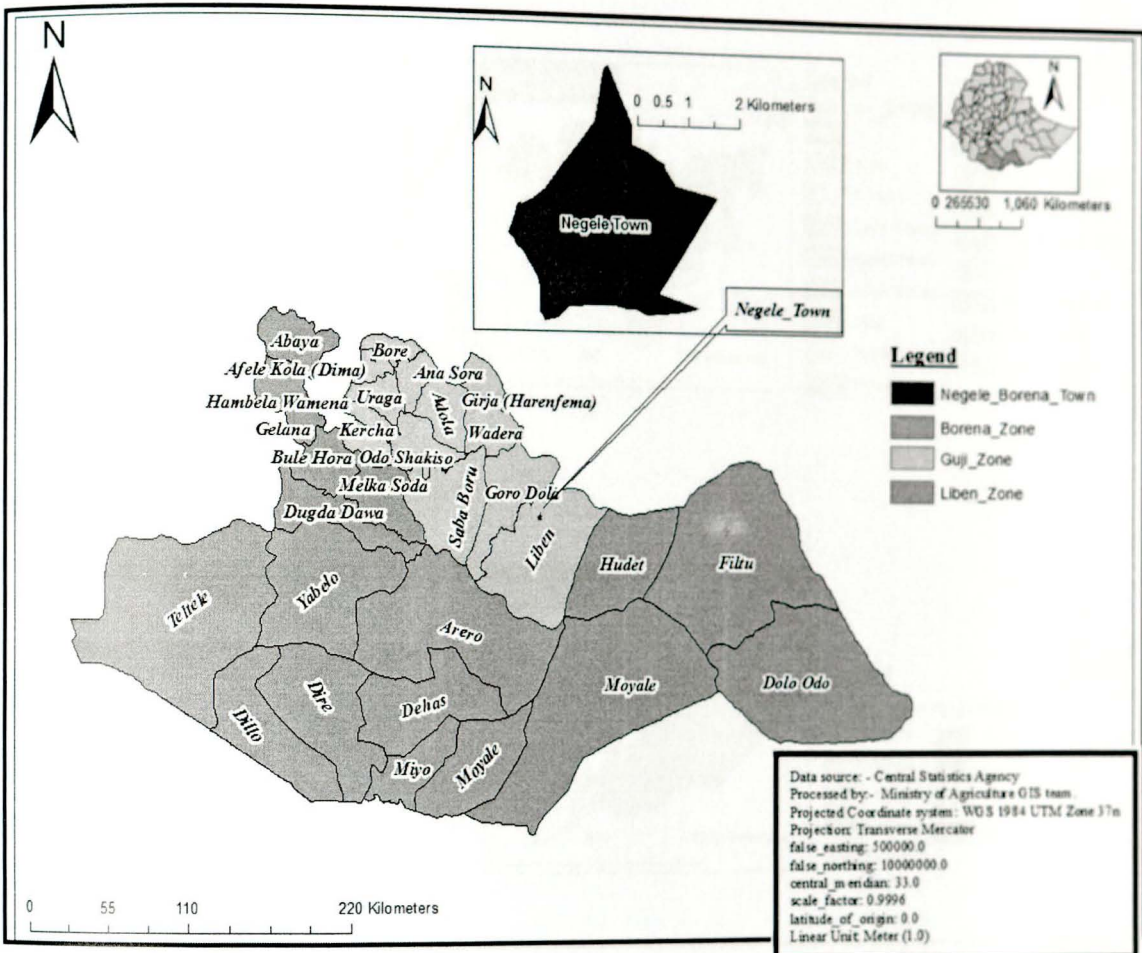
### II. Focus Group Discussion Questions

1. How do you describe the intra-ethnic conflict between Borana and Guji over the ownership of Negele Borana Town?
2. How do you describe the psychological and socio-economic relationships between the Group?
3. How do you evaluate the impact of the dispute?
4. How do you evaluate the role of indigenous conflict mangemant mechanism and government institutions in resolving the conflict?
5. Do you think through the conflict can address group questions?
6. What should be done to alleviate such problem? Who are the stake holders?
7. Can we say the cause of conflict is the question of resource or the questions of identity?
8. Wht are the major aggravating factors for the outbreak of 2014 conflict?

# Appendix III

Map 1

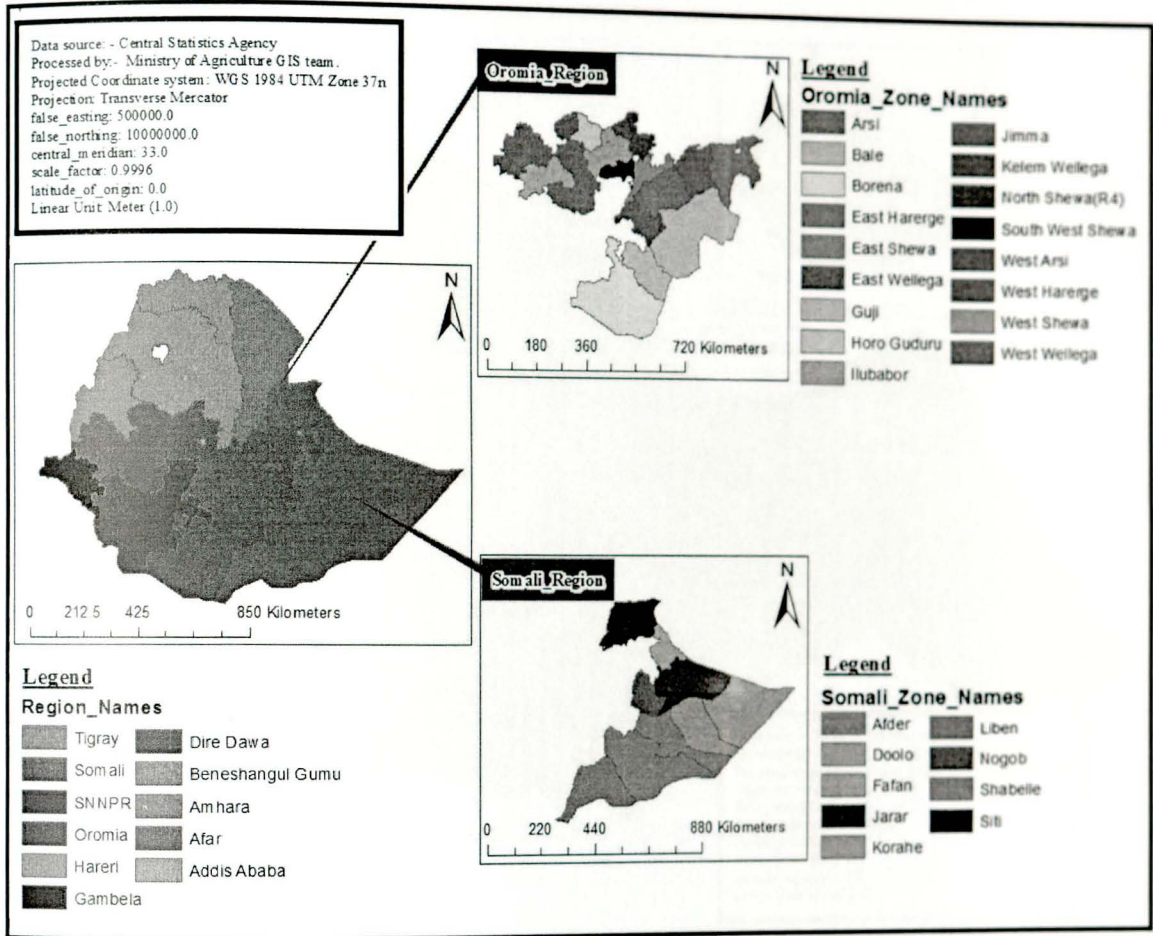
Map of Negele Borana town



# Appendix IV

## Map 2

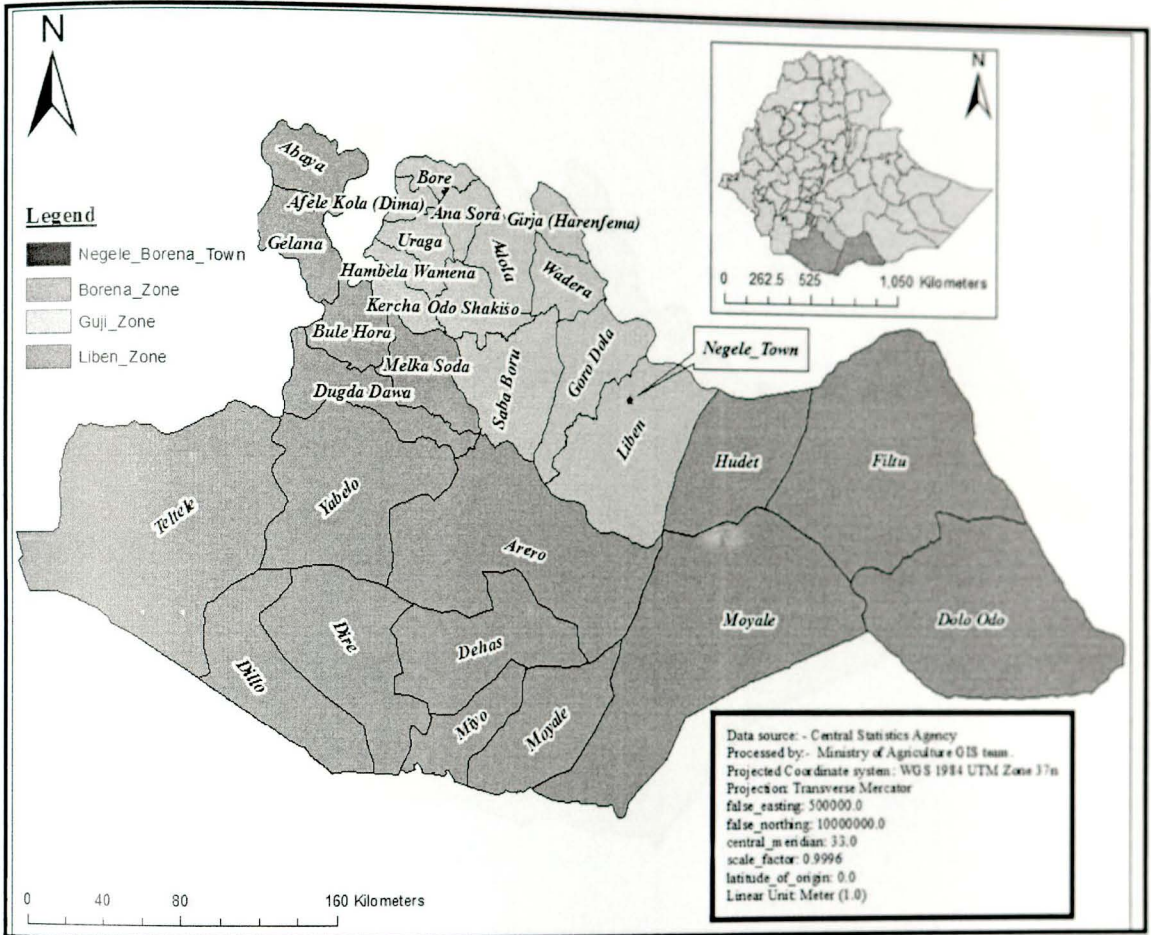
### Map of Oromiya regional state and Somalia



# Appendix V

Map 3

Map of Borana and Guji (Oromo) and liben zone of Somali regional



Source: central statics agency

Appendix VI

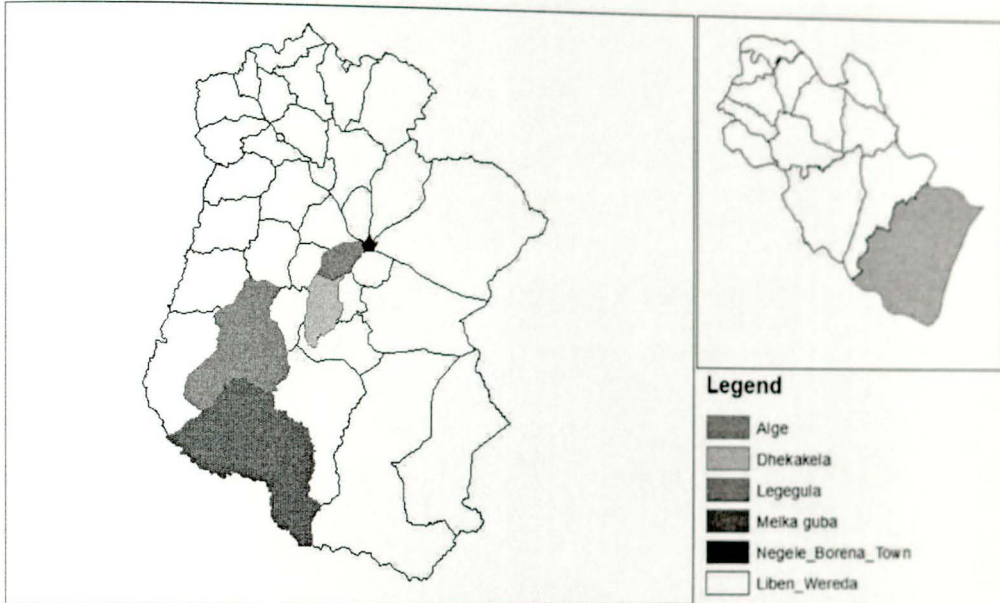
Map 4

The map of former Borana zone

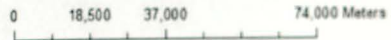


Source: Ethio demography and health.  
<http://www.ethiodemographyandhealth.org/OromAdmMap.jpg>

The map of liben woreda and conflict kebeles



Data Source :- Central statistics Agency  
Procesed by :- Ministry of agriculture GIS Team  
Projected Coordinate System: Adindan\_UTM\_Zone\_37N  
Projection: Transverse\_Mercator  
False\_Easting: 500000.00000000  
False\_Northing: 0.00000000  
Central\_Meridian: 39.00000000  
Scale\_Factor: 0.99960000  
Latitude\_Of\_Origin: 0.00000000  
Linear Unit: Meter



## Appendix VII

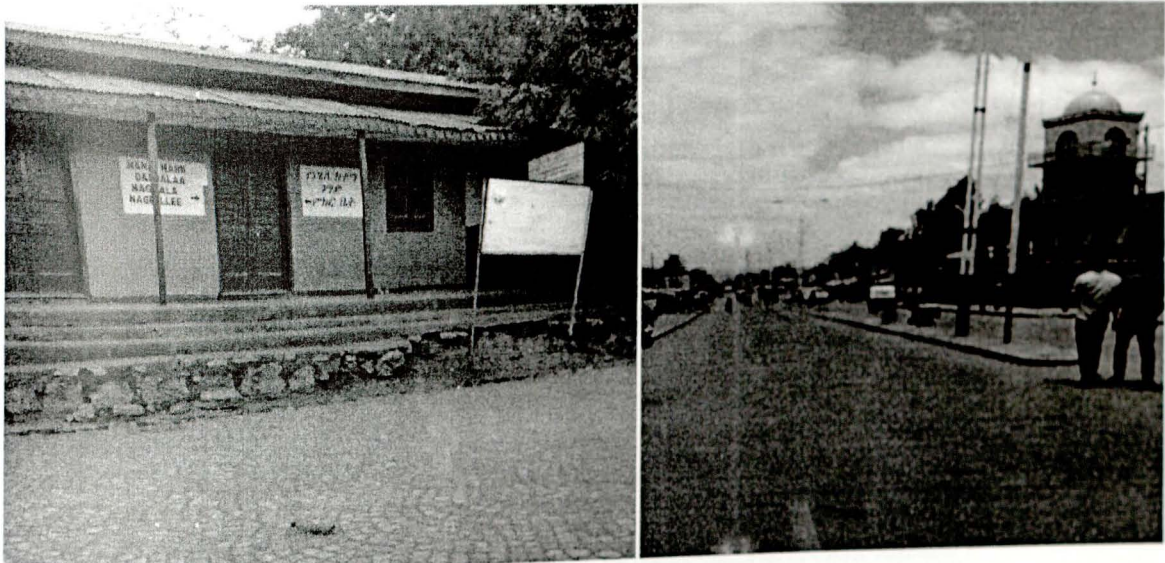
### Pictures of some corners of Negele Borana town

Figure one

Figure of Negele Borena town administration Bored



Source: own March 2015



**Appendix VIII .list of key informants**

Name of interviewees		Age	Sex		Borena	Guji	Other	Living area	Interview date
			Male	female					
1	Konsole	40	√		√			Negele	March 2015
2	Jemjem	45	√			√		Addis Ababa and Negele	May 2015
3	Godana Barko	52	√			√		Haren qello	April 2016
4	Dadacha Balli	60	√			√		Negele	April 2016
5	Meselu	65		√			√	Negele	March 2015
6	Anonymous	41		√			√	Negele	April 2016
7	Galgalo	54	√			√		Negele	April 2016
8	Mohamed	35	√				√	Addis Ababa and Negele	March and April 2015
9	Abudlekader	55	√				√	Addis Ababa and Negele	March 2015
10	Anonymous	58	√				√	Negele	March 2015
11	keberet	38	√		√			Negele	March 2015
12	Banata	40	√			√		Negele	March 2015
13	Anonymous		√		√			Negele	April 2016

14	Anonymous		√		√			Negele	April 2016
15	Anonymous	52	√		√			Haren qello	April 2016
16	Gololcha	35	√		√			Haren qello	April 2016
17	Anonymous	39	√			√		Negele	April 2016
18	Getachew	37	√				√	Negele	April 2016
19	Anonymous	35	√				√	Negele	April 2016
20	Anonymous	25	√				√	Negele	April 2016

Field notes have also been taken in time of interview.

Source: Fieldwork 2015 /2016

## DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

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**BIKILA BULO DIRE**

June 2016

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

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**D.R HIRUT TEREFE** ADVISOR

June 2016

