



**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY STUDIES (IPSS)**

**HUMAN SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF OROMO-SOMALI CONFLICT
INDUCED DISPLACEMENT IN ETHIOPIA: THE CASE OF BURAYU
TOWN**

BY: GUDETA REGASSA

ADVISOR: YONAS ADAYE (PhD)

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF
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APPROVED BY BOARD OF EXAMINERS

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Declaration

I, the undersigned Gudeta Regassa a student of Peace and Security Studies, declared that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented in any other academic institution and also all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name of student: Gudeta Regassa

Signature: _____ **Date:** Dd/ Mm/ Yy_____

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List of abbreviations

ARPD:	African Rally for Peace and Development
CID:	Conflict Induced Displacement
CHS:	Commission on Human Security
CSA:	Central Statistical Agency
DID:	Development Induced Displacement
DTM:	Displacement Tracking Matrix
FDRE:	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
GRID:	Global Report of Internal Displacement
IDMC:	Internal Displacement Monitoring Center
IDPs:	Internally Displaced Persons
IOM:	International Organization For Migration
NDRMC:	National Disaster Risk Management Commission
UN OCHA:	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OSCA:	Oromia Saving and Credit Association
UNDP:	United Nations Development Program
UNGP:	United Nations Guiding Principle
UNHCR:	United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugee

Abstract

This study is focused on the human security implications of Oromo-Somali conflict induced displacement (CID) on human security in Ethiopia particularly who are relocated to Burayu Town. To achieve the objective a qualitative descriptive research design was implemented. The primary source of data was collected through key informants and in-depth interviews. Key informants were purposively selected from different governmental organizations whereas in-depth interviewees were selected from internally displaced persons (IDPs) based on snowball sampling technique. The finding of the study shows that lack of quick response to demarcate the boundary between the two regions as per the 2004 referendum, rent-seeking and contraband, and failure to deploy security forces timely as the causes of displacement. Instrumentalism and primordialism were also initiated the displacement under the shade of ethnic federation. The study also revealed that Conflict induced displacement negatively affected human security, means of livelihood and properties of Melka Gefersa Kebele IDPs. As the result, they are suffering from food, water, health insecurities and psychological inferiority complex. Inadequate housing and lack of social services nearby relocation site are among the major factors that have negatively affected security of Melka Gefersa Kebele IDPs. The rehabilitation mechanism of IDPs is also just like lifesaving since it is short term based both in food and nonfood assistance. Furthermore, Melka Gefersa households IDPs are challenged to borrow money from micro-financial institutions in rehabilitating their life because of delayed responses to give residential site plan for all households.

Keywords: *conflict induced displacement, internally displaced person, human security, ration, Burayu Town*

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the study

Internal displacement is a global phenomenon that has been a major human security challenge in the world (Global Report of Internal Displacement (GRID), 2018). However, it has got international concern in the late 1980s and became prominent on international agenda in the 1990s (Brun, 2005). The 1st Guiding Principle on Internally Displaced Persons was developed by the United Nations (UN) in 1998 (Delbaere, 2016). Brun (2005) suggested that the growing number of conflicts causing internal displacement after the end of the Cold War as the major reason for this attention. As it is defined in the 1998 UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) are persons or groups of persons who have been obliged to leave their habitual place but who have not crossed their own country.

Internal displacement is an important public matter and reflects a global crisis since it affects all aspects of life and all layers of society (Delbaere, 2017). It can be caused by different reasons including ethnic violence, violation of human rights, development projects, famine, flood, drought, armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters (Preamble of UN Guiding Principle on Internal Displacement, 1998). Inter-state and intra-state conflicts are actual problems of Africa (Abraha, 2012). Some illustrative examples of ethnic conflicts in Africa are existed in Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan and Democratic Republic of Congo. Ethiopia is an ancient African state which constitutes multi-lingual, multi-ethnic and diversified society in terms of religion and culture. These facts make the country the mosaic of people, culture, tradition and religion. Despite Ethiopia is a country where various forms of human interaction and complex forms of social relations have existed, the history of Ethiopia is riddled by intra and inter-state conflicts (Tigist, 2014).

One of the better devices to calm inter-group or intrastate conflicts is through federalism since it accommodates differences in multi-nations, nationalities and peoples of the state (Habtamu, 2013). However, Lubo (2012) argued that in spite of the creation of ethnic federalism is to

address inter-ethnic conflict problems in Ethiopia, many ethnic conflicts have occurred after 1991. As he stated some of the major inter-ethnic conflicts observed in Ethiopia after 1991 are “the Silte-Gurage conflict, the Wagagoda language conflict, the Sheko-Megengir conflict, the Anuak-Nuer conflict, the Berta-Gumuz conflict, and the Gedeo-Guji conflict, the Oromo-Amhara conflict, the Borana-Gerri conflict, the Afar-Issa conflict, and the Oromo-Somali conflict” (Ibid:68).

The recent Oromo-Somali conflict which has resulted in mass displacement was different from the previous conflicts. The previous conflicts were localized, solved through local conflict resolution, and not displaced hundreds of thousand people, but the current conflict covers large geographical areas and affecting the communities along the border as well as marked devastating loss of human lives, economy and displaced large number of population (Qawdhan, 2017). Although it does not qualified the exact number of IDPs, as Displacement Tracking Matric (DTM) 9 which was conducted between 2 January and 6 February 2018 the conflict along the border separating Oromia and Somali regions has displaced around 1.070 million IDPs (Ethiopia: Conflict Displacement Situation Report #3, 17 April 2018). This figure represents more than 87% of the total number of conflict-induced displacement in the country. Evidence from Oromia Risk and Disaster Management Bureau September 2018 suggested that the majority of Oromo-Somali conflicts IDPs are returned to their previous area whereas 36,049 IDPs of them are relocated to eleven towns of Oromia of which Burayu Town hosted 2,257 individuals.

However, unlike refugees whose protection is rested upon the hosted country, national authorities have the primary responsibility to protect the security of IDPs under the territory of its jurisdiction. In other words, although refugees are crossed their border state and their right is respected and protected by hosted nation, national authorities have primary duty to respect and protect rights and security of IDPs in their jurisdiction. In this regard United Nations Guiding Principles on IDPs and African Union Convention on Protection of IDPs obliged state parties, of which Ethiopia is a founding member of the two, to prevent conditions that might lead to displacement and to give guarantees where displacement is unavoidable. Thus, the UN Guiding principle, under principle 18/2 obliged competent authorities to provide and ensure safe access to essential food and potable water, basic shelter and housing, appropriate clothing and essential medical services and sanitation for internally displaced persons (UNGP Principle 18/2).

1.2. Statement of the problem

Traditionally, Somali and Oromo communities have been mostly peaceful neighbors, interconnected by cultural, social, economic and historical bonds (Ismail, 2017). However, there is a long history of conflict between and among pastoralists, clans, tribes and ethnic groups of two regions (Asnake, 2009; Tigist, 2014; Muhyadin, 2006; Mesfin, 2006). According to Herbert Lewis cited in (Asnake, 2009), since their interactions began during the 1500s and 1600s the two groups were competing for about 400 years in their borderlands for water, grazing and agricultural land.

Asnake (2009) claimed that the territorial dispute between Ethiopia and Somalia since the 1960s because of Somalia's aspiration of uniting all Somali-speaking under its jurisdiction adversely affected the relations between Ethiopian Somalis and Oromo. These relations became politicized because of the partition of the Horn of Africa at the beginning of the 20th century by different powers, state nationalism and ethnic politics since 1992 (Ibid). Furthermore, the tensions between Oromo and Somali have been increasing since the formation of ethnic federalism which has experienced intermittent conflicts over resources, including land and water (Salem, 2017).

In addition to the violent resource conflicts, the recent disputes have resulted in areas where the administrative boundaries between the two Regional States are drawn in mixed cultural, linguistic and ethnic affiliations (Tigist, 2014). However, this conflict became dangerous and has increased the number of IDPs from time to time. Even though it is difficult to put the exact number of IDPs, UN OCHA (May 2005), reported that clashes along the Oromia-Somali regional border have displaced 20,000 people in 2003, and 80,000 people during the last months of 2004 and at the beginning of 2005 from both ethnic groups. However, as Conflict Displacement Situation Report #3, 17 April 2018 indicated, in 2018 the conflict along the border separating Oromia and Somali region has displaced around 1.070 million IDPs.

As a result of the Oromo-Somali conflict, Afaan Oromo-speaking students in Jijiga University, which is found in Somali region, were pursued their study in other universities of the country for the sake of their safety (Borkena, Ethiopian News November 3, 2017). Evidence from the

Oromia Risk Management Bureau September 2018 suggested that 176,325 IDPs of Oromo-Somali conflict are returned to their previous place whereas 36,049 IDPs are relocated in 11 Oromia towns. Among these 416 households and 1,841 families totally 2,257 IDPs are resettled in different *Kebeles* of Burayu Town. Displacement caused by violence and conflict may cause humanitarian crisis and political instability if not resolved through peace-building (Christensen and Harild, 2009). The Oromo-Somali conflict induced displacement is an example that breeding ground for human insecurity, human rights violations, general violence, crime, and instability. Displacement also negatively affects human and social capital, economic growth, poverty reduction efforts and environmental sustainability.

The United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement obliged state parties of which Ethiopia is one of the founding members, to address internal displacement: protection against displacement, protection during displacement, and protection after displacement which is mainly focuses on assistance, durable solutions, return, and resettlement. According to this guiding principles the national authority has the duty and responsibility to prevent and avoid conditions that might lead to displacement (the preventive way to overcome displacement) and respect and protect every human being from arbitrarily displacement (principle 5 & 6); and in case where no alternatives to avoid displacement exist government have to minimize its effects and provide access basic needs for IDPs (Principle 7 and 18).

Unlike refugees, who cross internationally recognized territory and assisted by other country, IDPs are usually more vulnerable to different security threats in their state because they are closer to the source of the violence. Under international law, it is the responsibility of national governments to protect and assist those displaced within the borders of their territory (Ferris, 2016). The 1995 Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia constitution article 43 and 32, here after the 1995 FDRE constitution, also claims that every nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia have the right to work and improve his/her living standards and live everywhere in the country. The Oromia Regional State Communication Bureau on magazine called *Kallacha* posted in May 2010 suggested that even though the primary responsibility to protect these rights belongs to federal governments, thousands of Oromo are forcefully displaced from Somali Regional State because of their ethnic background. This Communication Bureau also claimed that 4,085 Oromos are displaced from their residency and properties because of this conflict.

Many works have been done on Oromo-Somali conflict by different individuals at different times. However, to the extent of my knowledge, the existing studies regarding this conflict were mainly conducted before the recent displacement and not conducted on human security implications of the displacement on IDPs of the study area. Again in case of displacement, many studies have been done on development induced displacement (DID). Negera (2018) studied human rights impacts of development-induced displacement in Addis Ababa, Kirkos Sub City Woreda 11 and his finding confirmed that DID was arbitrary displaced people without their consent and participation in the process of the displacement and it affected their human rights. Muhdin (2016) also studied whether development projects were undertaken in line with UN GP and AU Convention in his work “Development Induced Displacement in the Context of UN Guiding Principles and AU Convention”. His finding also revealed that there was no consultation and participation of displacees in the initial phase of project initiation and where to relocate. Additionally, Bikila (2014) examined the impacts of development induced displacement on the social and economic life of displaced people who forced to leave their homes by development projects.

But, regarding to one of my specific objectives “causes of the displacement” time departure may make different or similar results. For instance, Fekadu Beyene (2017) has mentioned the causes of resource related conflict among Oromo and Somali pastoralists in his article entitled “Overlapping nationalist projects and contested spaces: the Oromo–Somali borderlands in southern Ethiopia”. His finding revealed that cultural, ecological and political factors, ethnic based federalism and creation of new administrative units (*Kebeles*) and competition of resources as the major causes conflict among Oromo-Somali pastoralists. Another article written by Fekadu Adugna (2011) also stated contests on water points, tracts of land, ritual sites along two regional borders and contests on Moyale towns as the causes of conflict between Borana and Garri pastoralists. Muhyadin (2006) also studied “Local conflicts between Somali and Oromo people in the context of political decentralization in Ethiopia: Comparative case study on Ma'eso and Babile Districts”. In his finding he pointed out that the formation of ethnic based regional states, physical mobility of pastoralists in search of water and pasture which leads to competition of sources as the causes of conflict particularly in Ma'eso and Babile Districts.

The finding of Mesfin (2006) on his study, Ethnicity and Ethnic-Conflict in Post-Federal Ethiopia: A case of Mai'so District Conflict Between Oromos and Somalis, revealed that the boundary dispute and the manipulation of local elites further intensified the conflict over resource. Tigist (2014) also studied "Conflicts among Pastoralists in the Borana Area of Southern Ethiopia: The case of Borana and Garri". Her study suggested that conflicts in pastoral areas particularly in Borana-Garri pastoralists resulted from a myriad of historical, political and economic factors like shift in center-periphery relation with respect to Borana and Garri; first in favor of the Borana during the Imperial and Derg regime and later in favor of the Garri during the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front, competition over scarce resource and clan based raiding of livestock. Melkamu (2016) in his work "Addressing the Moyale conflicts in southern Ethiopia: challenges and prospects" also suggested politicized ethnicity, elite mobilization, the location of Moyale as the factors of Moyale conflict.

Thus, the above studies were not examined the human security implications of IDPs under study. Hence, due to the existence of literature gap in the area of the study, this study could add some knowledge to the existing literature. Therefore, this thesis was investigated how the situation where Oromos are displaced from Somali regional state and return to Oromia regional state and vice versa has affected the security of IDPs under study in line with United Nations Guiding Principle on IDPs.

1.3. Objectives of the study

1.3.1. General objective

The major objective of this study is to examine the implications of the displacement on the security of persons who have been relocated in Burayu Town as the result of Oromo-Somali conflict.

1.3.2. Specific objectives

1. To identify causes that displaced population understudy
2. To assess the implications of relocation on security of IDPs understudy and
3. To examine rehabilitation effort of IDPs understudy

1.4. Research questions

1. What were the causes that displaced population understudy?
2. How the relocation has affected the security of IDPs understudy?
3. What rehabilitation mechanism provided for IDPs understudy?

1.5. Scope and limitation of the study

This study thematically focused on the implications of conflict induced displacement on human security. Although the concept of human security by its nature is too broad, thematically the study was delimited to the causes of displacement and its impacts on economic security, basic social services and means of livelihood without ignoring other components of human security. Geographically the study was also delimited to Burayu Town due to shortage of time and resources to apply all over the IDPs of the Ethiopian Somali and Oromo conflict induced displacement and the existence of those IDPs in the town. In this town those who are displaced from Oromo-Somali conflict are relocated in five *Kebeles*; Melka Gefersa, Gefersa Guje, Gefersa Burayu, Burayu Keta and Laku Keta (Burayu Culture and Tourism Bureau, 2018).

Since this study dealt with sensitive issues about the causes of displacement and its implication on the security of relocated persons sometimes obtaining frank response both from displaced people and key informants of different governmental organizations challenged me during data collection. Obtaining timely and adequate responses from key informants of different governmental organizations was also another challenge. Even there was probably exaggerating information from IDP informants. For instance, Ethiopian Human Rights Commission and National Disaster Risk Management Commission refused me to give documented files (reports) concerning the displacement. They said we cannot give you documented files because it is yet not published. Thus, data from these informants was collected through interviews. To identify the causes of displacement the researcher used almost all information from key informants from governmental organizations (Ethiopian Human Rights Commission, Ministry of Peace, National Disaster and Risk Management Commission and Oromia Disaster and Risk Management Bureau) since they may represent both groups and probability of biased information from IDP interviewees.

1.6. Significance of the study

This thesis may have academic significance for other researchers who are interested to conduct research in this area. It may also help policy-makers. Actually the basic reason for this mass displacement was the conflict between the two regional states: Oromia and Ethiopian Somalis. Then the findings and recommendations of this thesis may help government or policy-makers to develop appropriate solutions and take proper action particularly preventive methods rather than curative methods of resolving such inter-ethnic conflict which may result in other mass displacements.

1.7. Ethical considerations

A primary consideration in any research study is to conduct the research in an ethical manner (Barbara, 2005). Ethics in research deals with how the researcher treats those who participate in the study and how to handle the data after collection. To this end in this study ethical consideration was considered during gathering and analyzing the information from the respondents. Accordingly, the researcher was respected the rights and needs of his informants and made sure to have informed consent from participants. Again researcher submitted a formal letter to all the concerned bodies to obtain their cooperation and provided a written (and/or oral) statement regarding the objectives of the study so that the informants could be able to understand the purpose of the interviews. Finally, the researcher informed his respondents to use their responses only for the academic research and promised to be confidential regarding the information and identity of participants since the issue of displacement is politically sensitive issue. Thus, disclosing the identity of participants was depending on the consent of respondents.

1.8. Organization of the study

This thesis organized into six chapters. The first chapter is the introduction which deals with the background of the study, statement of the problem, research questions and objectives, scope and limitation of the study, significance of the study, ethical considerations and how the study is organized. The second chapter mainly focuses on the conceptual and legal frame framework and review of related literature. Thus, the chapter gives highlights on the concept of internal displacement and human security, causes of internal displacement, global trends of IDPs, and dimensions of human security. The third chapter deals with research design and methodology.

The next, chapter four, focuses on conflict induced displacement in Ethiopia: the case of Oromia and Somali Regional States of Ethiopia. The fifth chapter deals with data analysis and interpretation in relation to the study area. The sixth and last, but not the least, is about conclusion and recommendation.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL FRAME-WORK, REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND LEGAL FRAME-WORK

2.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the review of related literature from different sources which are relevant to the study. Since this study is aimed to examine the implications of conflict induced displacement on the security of displaced persons, it is important to understand both displacement and human security concepts and related terms. Therefore, the chapter focuses on an integrative conceptual framework, legal framework and review of related literature concerning conflict induced displacement and human security in general and.

2.2. Conceptual framework of the study

2.2.1. Understanding of internally displaced persons

The term displacement has several interchangeable terms including “forced eviction, population transfer, mass exodus, internal displacement”. (Morel, (2013) and Stavropoulou, 1998 cited in Muhdin, 2016:17). Displacement is a broad concept that includes expulsion, deportation, forced resettlement, relocation and transfer of people whether across national borders or within the home country (Stavropoulou, 1994). Muhdin (2016) also noted that displacement is movement of peoples within and across the border of an internationally recognized state that is characterized by force and involuntary departure of peoples from the place where they normally live. Muggah (2003) distinguished displacement from migration. As he stated displacement occurs when coercion is employed and choices are restricted whereas in economic migration there is a deliberate choice of new opportunities. In a similar way UNHCR (1997), stated that in all migration, migrants have choice and autonomy to decide where to go and whether to flee or not at all. In this regard, Ferris (2016) also defined migration as where the decision to migrate is taken freely by the individual concerned and without the intervention of an external compelling factor.

However, displacement is triggered by fear of persecution due to reasons of race, religion, armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, and profound violations of human rights (UNGP 1998). Morel 2013 cited in Muhdin, (2016) also stated that in case of displacement there is forced, involuntary or coerced movement and there can be no displacement when an individual chooses to leave their habitual place. In the case of the study area those who are relocated to Burayu Town as the result of Oromo-EthioSomali conflict left their habitual place as the fear of conflict and to search safe place. Thus, the phenomenon of displacement is not limited to physical dislocation of peoples from their habitual residence and interference of family network but is mainly associated with the loss of their existing economic and social facilities and access to the relevant resources. Therefore, human displacement is different from migration since in case of migration people search another alternative means of life where as in case of displacement there are compulsory causes like conflict, violations of rights, manmade and natural disaster. But although the pain is high in case of displacement, in both case there is pulling and pushing factors.

Displaced person has two broad categories: IDPs and refugees. Unlike refugees who are outside their country of origin because of well-founded fear of persecution grounded on their race, religion, nationality and etc. and who are unable or unwilling to avail themselves from the protection of their original country, IDPs are under the authority of their national government where national government is responsible for their protection and durable solutions. The recognition of internally displaced people is recent phenomenon in the international arena. “There were no international agreements and conventions that disclose the issue of IDPs under international law till 1990s and the year 1992 was the turning point that brought this issue to arena of international community and international law” (Negera, 2018:11). From this idea one can understand that Cold War was a major factor changed national security to human security that would shift the emphasis from conflict between states to the security of all people in their national state and the end of cold war was the period when the roots of human security are horizontally and vertically broadening (Prezelj, 2008). Thus, the concept of ‘human security’ redirects attention in discussions of security: from the state to human beings (Gasper, 2010). Wilson (2006) also stated that human security discourse frames its own emergence as the result

of related circumstances that include the end of the Cold War, the decline in interstate warfare and rise in intrastate conflict.

Terminiski (2013 cited in Muhdin, 2016) also stated that studies on internal displacement appeared in the scientific literature in the first half of 19th century when the problem became a subject of debate within international institutions and agencies like the UNHCR and International Committee of the Red Cross. The 1992 UNSG Representative on IDPs, Francis Deng, and the 1998 UN GP on IDPs provided the common conceptual understanding for the term internally displaced persons. The 1992 United Nations Secretary-General defined IDPs as:

“Persons or groups who have been forced to flee their homes suddenly or unexpectedly in large numbers, as a result of armed conflict, internal strife, systematic violations of human rights or natural or man-made disaster, and who are within the territory of their own country” (United Nations Commission on Human Rights paragraph 17 cited in Igariwey, Ibietan and Ujara, 2017:158).

Mooney (2005) claimed two grounds in which the above definition is narrowed and limited the IDP concepts. First, he claimed that one of the problematic of this definition was the notion of people fleeing ‘in large numbers’ as in reality many displaced in small groups or even on an individual basis. Secondly, he argued that, even though the criterion of being within the territory of their own country indicates who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border, there may be a possibility of sudden border changes, for instance as had occurred with the break-up of the former Yugoslavia and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. However, the most widely used definition is the one given in the preamble of the 1998 UN Guiding Principles on Internally Displaced Persons. The document defined IDP as:

“Persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border” (1998 UN Guiding Principles on IDPs).

2.2.2. The concept of conflict

Conflict is as old as mankind and salient feature of human society. It is ever-present and almost inevitable in human societies (Tigist, 2014). In a similar way, Swedberg 2005 cited in Tesfaye (2018:55) stated that “society is impossible without conflict”. Their idea implies that individuals and states that have nothing in common or do not share anything in common are not likely to be drawn into conflicts. For me, the inevitability of conflict is not because of human beings themselves seek to conflict but unavoidable complex interactions among the society and the existence of human need could make up a conflict. Plato also quoted ‘*human being is social animal*’.

Its manifestation is, however, varies depending on a number of factors such as actors involved, causes or issue of contestation, duration, and accessibility to conflict-sustaining technology and so on. Muhabie (2015) defined conflict as an active disagreement between two or more parties with incompatible interest or principles. Divergent interest could have occurred over resources, power, identity, status and values. Thus, it will happen when two or more groups engage in a struggle over values and claims to status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to revenge their rivals (Jeong, 2000). Galtung (1967) stated conflict as the result of evident incompatible goals where one’s goal is blocked by the other’s contradictory attitudes and violent behaviors.

He proposed an influential model shows how conflict takes place. His model viewed conflict as a triangle with attitude (A), behavior (B) and contradiction (C) at its vertices. Attitude relates to assumptions, cognitions, emotions and disposition that individuals or actors may have towards their adversary. It is about mental image and feeling toward the opponent (Seyoum, 2012). The behavior dimension of conflict triangle relates to expressions demonstrated like verbal insults, physical abuse or simply the denial of people’s basic human rights when a conflict occurs (Esmat, 2013). Thus, behavior could be violent conflict if it involves the coordinated use of violent force. The contradiction dimension of this model represents the main issue of contradiction that causes incompatibility and escalating a conflict over the scarcity of a particular resource that both, individual/s and or group/s, aim to achieve.

2.2.3. The concept of human security

Security is an essentially contested concept and in the eyes of the beholder (Steve, 2002). This makes the term elastic and diverse concept that can be understood differently. The state centric security thinking can be traced back to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, and the birth of the nation state (Brinkeham, 2014). Thus, the concept of security has for too long been interpreted on the base of state security. As Buzan noted in international relations the notion of ‘security’ is primarily codified as freedom of states and its institutions from an existential threat like territorial integrity and national sovereignty.

Security threats were assumed to emanate from external sources and examined in the context of ‘state security’, which is focus on the protection of the state, its boundaries, people, institutions and values from external attacks (Khong and MacFarlane, 2006). Nevertheless, there is an interdependent nexus exists between human and state securities. This means that human security must be the basis for state security and vice versa. Thus, their relationship is not contradictory rather they are complementary: they are mutually reinforcing and dependent on each other. “Without human security, state security cannot be attained and vice versa” (CHS, 2003: 6).

The term human security is mainly associated with the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report (Roznai, 2014). This report is regarded as the first major international document that explicitly articulated human security in conceptual terms (Jolly and Ray, 2006). However, a number of international trends gave birth to the concept of human security. For instance, as Kettemann (2006) claimed the reports from the 1982 Palme Commission, the 1983 Brandt Commission, the 1988 Brundlandt Commission and the 1995 Commission on Global Governance laid the groundwork for the conceptual development of human security. But it was the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report and other reports under its influence that created and shaped the concept and introduced the concept of human security to international forum.

Human security is a broad concept that incorporates economic development, social justice, environmental protection, democratization, disarmament and respect for human rights and the rule of law (Annan, 2000). For the development of contemporary discourse on human security, related circumstances such as the end of the Cold War, the decline in interstate warfare and rise in intrastate conflict play a significant role (Wilson, 2006). The end of Cold War is the period

when the roots of human security are horizontally and vertically broadening (Prezelj, 2008). According to Prezelj horizontal broadening refers to incorporating non-military aspects of security, such as environmental, economic, demographic, criminal, terrorist, health, information, immigration and other aspects, while vertical broadening of security referred to incorporation of other non-state referent objects such as individuals, local communities, global community, etc. This combination: non-military security dimensions and non-state referent objects gave birth to the concept of human security.

The end of the Cold War was a major factor allowing paradigm shift of national security to human security that would shift the emphasis from conflict between states to the security needs of all people, regardless of their membership of a particular state (Ibid). Thus, the concept of human security redirects attention in discussions of security from state to human beings. In the context of human security, the concept of security places the individual at the center (as the first referent of security) and broadened to include protection from various kinds of threats. According to CHS (2003), human security brings together the “human elements” of security, rights, and development. This indicates human security is beyond physical violence and physical harm rather it’s more emphasis is about human freedom, development and wellbeing.

2.2.4. Components of human security

The 1994 UNDP Human Development Report lists seven components or seven specific values of human security. The report defined these seven components are as follows (UNDP 1994, p. 24-25).

- a. Economic security refers to an individual’s enjoyment of a basic income, employment and resources, either through gainful employment or from a social safety net.
- b. Food security refers to an individual’s access to food via his or her assets, employment or income. It is physical and economic access to food for all people at all times.
- c. Health security refers to an individual’s freedom from various diseases and debilitating illnesses and his or her access to health care.
- d. Environmental security refers to the integrity of land, air and water, which make human habitation possible.

- e. Personal security refers to an individual's freedom from crime and violence, especially women and children, who are more vulnerable.
- f. Community security refers to cultural dignity and to inter-community peace within which an individual lives and grows.
- g. Finally, political security refers to protection against human rights violations.

2.2.5. Human security as freedom from fear and freedom from want

The conceptual debate within human security can be categorized under two schools of thought: "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want". Nonetheless, these schools of thought can't be viewed as completely and mutually exclusive. Human security as "freedom from fear" is advocated by Canadian whereas human security as "freedom from want" is by Japanese and 1994 UNDP Human Development Report. Human security according to the Canadian approach is a condition or a situation characterized by freedom from threats to human rights, physical security and life (Jolly and Ray, 2006). It focuses on issues like physical violence, conflict, war, land mines, terrorism, etc. (Elias, 2016). Thus, human security from Canadian approach is mainly related to negative peace.

In contrast, the Japanese and 1994 UNDP approach focuses on freedom from want and it emphasizes the importance of development concerns and human dignity not limited to conflict and violence related threats of human security (Ibid). Thus, they more focus on positive peace. Additionally, CHS (2003) divided human security as freedom from fear and freedom from want. According to this division freedom from want is mainly focused on the threats to life's basic needs such as poverty, famine, financial crisis, flood, drought, and hunger. And the main emphasis of freedom from fear according to CHS (2003) is the human cost of conflict, the loss of dignity or the violation of human rights during wars, because of crimes or terrorism, and the fear of diseases including epidemics such as HIV/AIDS (Acharya, 2001). Since, human security is very broad and unachievable in all dimension, the researcher personally view human security from view point of "freedom from want" because security has no scope and to say there is human security we all should be free from "freedom to want". In other words, if we achieve "freedom from fear" or free from fear still we are not achieve "freedom from want" or development thus human security is beyond freedom from want.

Generally, human security as freedom from fear refers to protection from violence, physical aggression, armed conflict, human rights abuses, public insecurity and organized crime (Brinkeham, 2014). Thus, human security from the perspective of freedom from fear implies protection from sudden and harmful disruptions in the patterns of daily life. However, freedom from want is beyond violence and concentrates on threats to the survival, well-being and dignity of individuals (Tadjbakhsh, 2013).

2.2.6. Human security, human development and human rights

A discussion of human security inevitably brings questions concerning its relationship with human development and human rights. Even though development is different things to different people, traditionally it was conceptualized in terms of economic growth and industrialization. Traditionally development is measured by different economic index such as growth domestic product (GDP), which is the value of all goods and services produced within country annually; growth national product (GNP), the total value of goods and services produced in the country and in abroad, and; per capita income (PCI), which refers to the daily income of national in the country (Sen, 1998). Currently, development is measured beyond economic growth, industrialization and economic index rather development is measured by human development which refers to expanding the choices available to people to live valuable lives.

The UNDP Human Development Report published in 1990 defined human development as expanding people's choices and strengthens human capabilities in their lives. Human rights are universal, inalienable, inviolable and indivisible rights possessed by all persons by virtue of their common humanity irrespective of their status (Donnelly, 2013). The 1994 UNDP Human Development Report defined human security as safety from chronic threats and protection from sudden and hurtful disruption in the pattern of daily life which comprises seven components (see section 2.2.6.2). From these components of human security, one can noted that the relationship between human security, human rights and human development is treated in a variety of ways, but the distinctions may not always be clear. UNDP Human Development Report 2000 stated that:

Human rights and human development share a common vision and a common purpose – to secure the freedom, wellbeing and dignity of all people everywhere. In pursuing capabilities and realizing rights, this freedom is vital. human development and human rights are mutually reinforcing, helping to secure the wellbeing and dignity of all people, building self-respect and the respect of others.

Human rights and human development also share common content of human security threats: freedom from fear, freedom from want and freedom from indignities; and find echo in the first (civil and political rights), second (economic and social rights) and third generation human rights (solidarity rights) (Tadjbakhsh, 2013). In a similar context in the case of security paradigm, human security shifts unit of security analysis from the territory to human beings. Fortman (2004), who call these three concepts as the golden triangle of Human dignity stated that in order to achieve human security a socioeconomic perspective (a functioning economy), good governance and the rule of law (a functioning state) is required and again for the realization of human rights and human development it is also important that people should enjoy a socio-economic perspective and live in peace in a context of political stability; and both of them are important for human security and vice versa.

2.3. Legal framework of the study

2.3.1. Basic provisions of UNGP on internal displacement

The issue of internal displacement emerged gradually through the late 1980s and became prominent on the international agenda in the 1990s as a result of the explosion of civil wars (Cohen, 2004) and changing patterns of conflict from inter-state to intra-state (UNHCR, 2005; Cohen & Deng, 1998). UN Guiding principle on Internal Displacement is the first international standards specifically tailored to the needs of IDPs (Lwakabuna, 2011). Even if it does not exclusively specify CID, the UN guiding principle set forth the rights of internally displaced persons and the obligations of national governments toward these populations in all phases of displacement. Accordingly, the UNGP on internal displacement mainly focuses on provisions relating to protection from displacement, protection during displacement, and durable solutions after displacement. Thus, my intention is not to discuss the entire article of the UN guiding

principles rather to give highlights on responsibility of government towards human security of IDPs under study.

Generally speaking, towards protection against displacement, of which conflict induced displacement is one, UNGP under principle 6/1 and 5 stipulate that “every human being shall have the right to be protected against being arbitrarily displaced” and all authorities are responsible “to prevent and avoid conditions that might lead to displacement of persons”. UNGP Principle 7 also stated that “where no alternatives to avoid displacement exist all measures shall be taken to minimize displacement and its adverse effects”. Provisions of UNGP Principle 8 related to protection during displacement depicts that displacement shall not be carried out in a manner that violates human security and the basic human right of individuals.

Regarding to assistances and durable solutions after displacement, UNGP Principle 3 stated that national authorities have the primary duty and responsibility to provide protection and humanitarian assistance to internally displaced persons within their jurisdiction. Thus, national government has the duty and responsibility to recover property and possessions left behind or dispossessed to the possible extent as the causes of displacement and to assist resettled IDPs (UNGP Principle 29/2). Furthermore, the guiding principles 18/2 obliged competent authorities to provide and ensure safe access to essential food and potable water; basic shelter and housing; appropriate clothing; and essential medical services and sanitation for internally displaced persons. Therefore, UNGP on IDPs obliged state parties to prevent conditions that might leads to CID and where no alternative to avoid this displacement government is responsible to protect security of IDPs during displacement and give assistances and durable solutions after displacement.

2.3.2. AU Convention for Protection and Assistance of IDPs

Africa Union Convention for Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons also called Kampala Convention was adopted by the AU summit held in Kampala in October 2009 (Kaelin, 2012). This convention aimed to address internal displacement due to armed conflict, generalized violence, violations of human rights, natural and human-made disasters and displacement due to development projects carried out by public or private actors (Ibid). Like the

United Nations Guiding Principle on Internal Displacement, provisions of Kampala Convention address prevention of internal displacement (Article 2 (a&b), Article 3/1 (a &b), protection from arbitrary displacement (Article 4/4&6), assistance and protection during displacement (Article 5/5&9) and the creation of durable solutions for IDPs (Article 9/2). This convention also laid down the primary responsibility on member states of the convention of which Ethiopia is one of the founding members of the Union to assist and protect IDPs under their jurisdiction.

This convention obliged member states to provide adequate humanitarian assistance like food, water, shelter, health services, sanitation, education, and any other necessary social services for internally displaced peoples in post displacement period and particularly provide special protection and assistance for IDPs with special needs including separated and unaccompanied children, female heads of households, expectant mothers, mothers with young children, the elderly, and persons with disabilities or with communicable diseases (Article 9/ 2(b&c)).

2.3.3. Ethiopia's legal framework on human displacement

Legal framework on conflict induced displacement compared to development induced displacement in Ethiopia is lacking. For instance, in case of development induced displacement some provision of the 1995 FDRE constitution; proclamation No. 455/2005 expropriation of landholdings for public purposes; and Council of Minister's Regulation No.135/2007 Payment of Compensation for Property Situated on Landholding Expropriated for Public Purposes mentioned and supported participation and consultation rights, compensation and rehabilitation assistance rights of people displaced by development projects (see the FDRE Constitution Art. 40/8, 44/2; Proclamation No. 455/2005 Article 7 (1), 7(2), 7(4), and 4(3); and Council of Minister's Regulation No.135/2007 article 3 (1), 3(2) and 3(10)).

All persons who have been displaced or whose livelihoods have been adversely affected as a result of State programmes have the right to commensurate monetary or alternative means of compensation, including relocation with adequate State assistance (1995 FDRE constitution Article 44(2)).

However, nothing is said in the 1995 FDRE constitution explicitly about compensation rights of damaged property and life of conflict induced internally displaced people. But among others the 1995 FDRE constitution stated function of state is “to maintain public order and peace within the State” (Article 53 (2) /g); “government shall take measures to avert disasters and in the event of disasters provide timely assistance to the victims” (Article 89(3)); and every one shall not be deprived of his or her liberty except in accordance with legal procedures established by law (Article 17/1). Specifically, every Ethiopian citizen has the right to ownership, acquire, use, dispose and transfer of private property (Article 40(1)) and compensation right for it (Article 40(7)).

Among disasters conflict is one that displace peoples if not controlled on time and against the right of private property rights since in case of conflict induced displacement individuals or groups are coerced to leave their habitual place, properties and find safe place where they save their life. Therefore, since government have primary responsibility to maintain peace and security for its citizen and negation of this responsibility may leads to human displacement and human displacement is violation of the constitution, government have to prevent conditions that might causes conflict induced displacement if possible and or give proper compensation for groups or groups of individual to minimize adverse effects of displacement where no alternatives to avoid displacement is impossible.

2.4. Review of related literature

2.4.1. Global trends of internally displaced persons

As Morel (2013 cited in Muhdin 2016) estimated the overall total number of displaced people is problematic because of methodological and practical difficulties, lack of general consensus on the term and the dynamic nature of displacement. However, global overview of internal displacement shows that IDPs are increasing from time to time. When first counted in 1982, the internally displaced were only 1.2 million in 11 countries (Admasu, 2010) then after by the 1990s, 20-25 million displaced people were to be found in more than 40 countries of the world (Cohen and Deng, 1998).

Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (2008) estimated that 26 million people were displaced by conflict, generalized violence or human rights violations across the world in 2008. This increased by about one million at the end of 2009 (IDMC, 2009). Every year since 2001, the African continent which has nearly half of the world's conflict-induced IDPs, has had the largest number of internally displaced persons fleeing armed conflict, generalized violence and human rights violations (Ferris and Stark, 2012).

According to IDMC 2009 the majority about 70 % of the IDPs in Africa are concentrated in three countries: Sudan (4.5 million to 5.2 million), accounting for 40 % of the total IDPs in Africa; the Democratic Republic of the Congo (about 1.7 million); and Somalia (1.5 million) (Ibid). Even though natural disasters and development projects have been significant drivers of internal displacement, more specifically African continent is vulnerable to conflict induced displacement (Adeola, 2016). Finnström (2008) stated that in Uganda conflict between the government and the Lord's Resistance Army has displaced more than 2,000,000 people in the Northern Province.

In 2014, about 2,700,000 people were displaced in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) mainly from the eastern region as a result of conflicts between government forces and armed militias groups (Norwegian Refugee Council and IDMC Global overview 2015). The ethno-political tensions within the Sudan People's Liberation Movement in South Sudan has resulted in the displacement of an estimated 1,500,000 people since 2013 (Adeola, 2016). In Nigeria, the conflict between government forces and members of the Boko Haram group for close to a decade has internally displaced over 2,100,000 people in the northern region (Ibid).

International Organization for Migration (2017), which conducted a study on the enrollment of internal displacement, estimated about 747,147 IDPs in Ethiopia. Among these 516,005 are people displaced by conflict; 187,243 are by drought; 38,199 are by flooding; and 5,700 are by effects of volcano and the rest are by other factors. Furthermore, Global Report on Internal Displacement of 2018 indicated that 30.6 million displacements associated with conflict and disasters were recorded in 2017 globally. As this report identified thirty-nine percent (11.8 million) was triggered by conflict and violence and sixty-one percent (18.8 million) by disasters mainly weather related like droughts, wild fires, landslides and temperature (GRID, 2018). This

report indicated that the number associated with conflict almost doubled, from 6.9 million in 2016 to 11.8 million in 2017.

Ethiopia is the 10th and 3rd worst-affected country with about more than one million IDPs which is triggered by both conflict and disasters in the world and in Sub-Saharan Africa respectively (Ibid). However, government of Ethiopia does not officially recognize situations of internal displacement because of disagreement regarding to the number of IDPs with different international community or organization concerns IDPs and the government intends to believe displacement as temporary even if it is occurred (IDMC/ NRC, 2014). Bohnet, Cottier and Hug (2013) also identified some of the challenges to collect accurate data on IDPs. These include the IDPs are frequently housed by relatives, dispersed in urban or rural areas and state's unwillingness to admit the existence of IDPs especially if their counter-insurgency policies have been the root cause of displacement. Recently, according to DTM 9 conducted between 2 January and 6 February 2018 and as per data collected by IOM in cooperation with NDRMC a total of 1,737,752 persons displaced by climatic and conflict factors in Ethiopia. Seventy percent of these IDPs (some 1,222,123 persons) have been displaced by conflict or social tensions (OCHA, 2018).

2.4.2. Impacts of internal displacement

Internal displacement has multiple impacts not only on its direct victims but also affecting the local and host communities, the state, neighboring regions and the natural ecology in general. Morel (2013 cited in Tizazu, 2014) noted that displacement has of socio-economic, environmental and cultural impact on displaced people and host communities particularly where it takes place in relatively large numbers. Beyond the experience of violence, destruction of property and hardship of flight, displacement has profound long-term political, economic and social implications. Although he didn't specify which type of displacement, Deng (2007) stated IDPs are deprived of such essentials as shelter, food, medicine, education, community, and a resource base for a self-sustaining livelihood. Those who are uprooted from their homes have been shown to be especially vulnerable to physical attack, sexual assault, abduction, disease, and deprivation of basic necessities. They suffer higher rates of mortality than the general population, sometimes as much as fifty times greater".

Tizazu (2014) further noted that apart from the frequently occurring human rights violations following displacement, the psychological impact of displacement on victims can be far-reaching. Internal displacement made the displaced persons vulnerable to different risks and impoverishments, most obviously it forces people to be ousted from their homes, depriving them of shelter and the basic protection, cut off them from their land, means of livelihoods and means of generating income (Mooney, 2005). Moreover, Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction Model (IRRM), developed by Michael Cernea (1997), which has been initially developed to document the effects of involuntary displacement caused by major development projects, recommends eight interlinked potential risks to displacement: homelessness, landlessness, joblessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, loss of access to common property and social disintegration.

In 26 countries surveyed by the Norwegian Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC) in 2008, IDPs have continued to be exposed to insecurity and violence in the places they fled to. Displacement affects first and foremost those who move. Unlike where slow-onset crises, which tend to allow people time to plan their move and protect their assets, in case of sudden-onset events people fleeing with a more limited degree of choice, often with very limited assets. Thus, displacement particularly involuntary or forced displacement dramatically disrupts livelihoods and leads to a severe reduction in access to the basic necessities of life including food, clean water, shelter, adequate clothing, health services and sanitation (Mooney, 2005). Among the other kinds of displacements, CID has usually a tremendous impact on most vulnerable groups of society such as children, women, elderly, disabled, minority and indigenous peoples (Admasu, 2010). Mooney (2005) argues that displacement is not only causes destruction of property but also affect friendship and belonging to a particular group.

2.4.3. Causes of internal displacement

Literature classifies causes of internal displacement in the context of events that forced people to flee. Thus, these causes include varies events that are obliged persons or group of persons to leave their residential place to other areas of their country. Dominant causes of internal displacement as Terminiski (2013 cited in Muhdin 2016) and Morel (2013 cited in Tizazu 2014)

stated include conflict induced, environmental induced, disaster induced, development induced and systematic human rights violations. Generally, since these causes are manifold and sometimes overlapping some of the major causes are discussed in the following sub-sections.

2.4.3.1. Conflict as the causes of internal displacement

Conflict-induced displacement describes situations in which people leave their homes to escape political violence or escalation of violent conflict (Lischer, 2009). Conflict is one of the factors that lead to displacement. The 2009 IDMC on internal displacement shows that 26 million people displaced internally because of violent conflict, ethnic strife and coercion where Sudan, Columbia and Somalia ranked the top three in terms of ousting and evicting many people.

Delbaere (2017) stated that armed conflicts between states, civil wars, genocides, political instability, inter-communal tensions, generalized violence and human rights violations, are the main causes of displacement in Africa. The number of active conflicts increased and almost tripled from 2007 to 2014 from four to eleven (UNDP, 2016). As this report indicated millions of people forced to leave their habitual place as the result absence of rule of law, weak enforcement of justice, lack of accountability, violations of international and domestic law, injustices and insecurity which are fertile ground to initiate conflicts mainly in Central African Republic, Iraq, Libya, Nigeria, South Sudan, Syria and Ukraine. This report also indicated that endemic political exclusion, marginalization, discrimination and oppressive political environments combined with frequent human rights violations are some of the causes that obliged people to leave their habitual place.

Karsli (2012) stated that conflict induced displacement and violence in Sub-Saharan Africa is triggered by four main factors: the competition for resources, the presence of rebel groups, proliferation of small arms and endemic poverty and inequality. Poor economic conditions, repressive political systems, degradation of renewable resources and extreme ethnic identities are the major causes of armed and violent conflict (Smith, 2004). Mehari (2017) also stated that ethnic based administrative boundaries, weak implementation of the constitutional protection of minority rights and religious based terrorism and extremism as the causes of conflict induced displacement. With regard to ethnic based administrative boundaries, Mehari (2017) noted that among the others conflicts based on administrative boundaries between regional states related

with conflicts over natural resources, including water and land usage and it increased the number of conflict induced displacement in Ethiopia.

Therefore, among other categories of displacement in case of conflict induced displacement particularly during conflicts that resulted in displacement immediate threats of physical violence and the matter of taking revenge between conflicting parties for blocked interest or destroyed property may oblige people to leave their habitual place to find a safe place. Thus, individuals are more likely to flee from their inhabitant in search of a safer place when they are confronted by violence or threat of violence. For example, in Darfur, the Janjaweed deliberately burned villages and fields as a way of ensuring that the displaced would not be able to return (Ferris, 2016). Morel (2013) and Lwabukuna (2011) cited in Tizazu (2014), also stated that as a consequence of conflicts and conflict related factors people compelled to leave their homes in order to protect themselves from the vulnerability associated to the conflict.

2.4.3.2. State fragility as a cause of forced displacement

State fragility is the situation when a state is utterly incapable of sustaining itself as a member of the international community (Helman & Ratner, 1993 cited in Sternehall, 2016). Bertocchi (2010) and Mcloughlin (2012) also described a state as fragile state when that state is incapable in assuring basic security, maintaining rule of law and justice and inability to provide stable and good governance, a persistent condition of extreme poverty, lack of territorial control and high propensity to conflict and civil war. Nevertheless, the description of states as fragile or failed is argumentative for lacking clarity (Betts, 2013). There are different dimensions and range of contexts to describe and measure state fragility. Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development Assistance Committee (OECDAC) (2007) indicated lack of will or capacity to provide and maintain security and human rights of its population, development and poverty reduction as the indicator of state fragility. As Stewart and Brown (2010) stated the concept of fragility has three dimensions: authority failures, service failures and legitimacy failures.

The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development Co-operation Directorate (OECD) (2018) stated that in 2016 1.8 billion people or 24% of the world population were living in fragile context. As the estimation of this organization, this figure will projected to grow to 2.3 billion people by 2030 and 3.3 billion by 2050 representing 28% and 34% respectively of

the world total population. The majority of fragile contexts are situated in sub-Saharan Africa followed by Middle East and North Africa. According to this report, Ethiopia is one of the extremely fragile context states. Fragility as the result of absence of state's basic functions to provide security in its administration unquestionably leads to violence, societal turmoil, conflict, human tragedy and pave the way for mass displacement.

2.4.3.3. Development induced displacement

Development induced displacement is compelling of individuals out of their homes, often also their homelands, for the purposes of development projects (Bikila, 2014). Although it is not limited to construction of dams, large irrigation projects, the building of roads, highways, bridges, urbanization, development of agriculture, exploitation and transportation of mineral resources, establishment of national parks and population redistribution schemes are the major development projects that causes displacement (Stanley, 2004).

As National Research Center for Resettlement in China which had conducted study to find the total number of DID displacees between 1950-2000 indicated over 45 million people were displaced by development projects in the country (Smith, 2000). According to Stanley (2004), the Akosombo Dam in Ghana which displaced 80,000 people, approximately 1% of the country's population is mentioned as good example in this regard. Gibe III Dam construction in the case of Ethiopia has displaced and affected between 200,000 and 500,000 people in the Omo Valley (Mehari, 2017). The livelihood of communities displaced from this construction was always depended on flooding from the river and they composed of the eight minority ethnic communities: "Mursi, Bodi, Nygatom, Suri, Hamer, Dasanech, Me'en, and Kara (Abbink, 2012 cited in Mehari, 2017: 22).

From 2007 to 2017 Ethiopia is estimated to have had close to 220,000 IDPs due to DID, emanating from infrastructure projects, including dams, industries and industrial parks, railways, roads, and urban renewal programmes (Abraham, 2011). In an agrarian society like Ethiopia development induced displacement is closely intertwined with land governance and has various forms including resettlement programs, relocation, and eviction (Mehari, 2017). Mehari also stated that Urban Renewal Program as the cause of development induced displacement and

development of the slum areas in the inner city of Addis Ababa has resulted in massive relocation of many households. His study indicated a total of 17,127 households were relocated in 2015/2016. Nine thousand one hundred and eighty households were relocated from the inner city to a housing project on the peripheries of Addis Ababa. The most affected areas were Lideta (3477), Arada (2558), Kirkos (1330), and Addis Ketema (1851). Similarly, 7,947 farmers were displaced due to the expansion of the boundaries of Addis Ababa City. These were mainly displaced residents of Akaki (4235) Bole (3062), Nefassilk Sub City (568), and Kolfe Keranio (82) (Ibid).

Massive Land Investment Program is the other cause of development induced displacement which takes place in many parts of Ethiopia following the attractive 2010 investment policy for foreign companies (Makki, 2014, cited in Mehari, 2017). According to the World Bank's 2011 report, Ethiopia has granted 1.2 million hectares of land to 406 investors which have displaced many households and negatively affected their livelihoods. In Benshangul-Gumuz, 30,000 households were resettled in 43 villages and there were plans to resettle an additional 10,688 people following further land investment arrangements (Taddele, 2004). Indigenous people and marginalized ethnic minorities are disproportionately impacted by development project. For example, in India the Adivasi tribal people who constituted 8% of the total population make up 40–50 % of the total number of displaced persons (Kidane, 2011). In a similar way the UNHCR expresses poor, indigenous and marginalized groups are frequently displaced without consultation to make the development projects (Ibid).

2.4.3.4. Disaster-induced displacement

Disaster is “a serious disruption of the functioning of a community or a society causing widespread human, material, economic or environmental losses, which exceed the ability of the affected community or society to cope using its own resources” (Muhdin, 2016: 21). Disaster can be natural and human made (Robinson, 2003). Manmade disaster occurred as the result of carelessness of human or mishandling of dangerous equipment. Natural disaster is a disaster caused by natural hazards. The International Disaster Database (2007) classifies natural hazard disasters into two main group namely geophysical disasters (earth quake, volcanic eruption, land slide, rock falls) and climatological (extreme winter condition, heat wave, wild fire).

2.4.4. Causes of ethnic conflict

Ethnic conflict is a form of conflict in which the goals of at least one party is defined in ethnic terms and the conflict, its causes, and potential remedies are perceived along ethnic lines (Horowitz, 1985). Fearon (2004) also stated that a violent attack might be described as ethnic if either it is motivated by animosity towards other ethnicities, the victims are chosen by ethnic criteria, or the attack is made in the name of an ethnic group. In many African countries conflicts have often been presented as ethnic conflicts as they were usually fought by contending ethnic groups or “tribes”. For instance, the Rwandan genocide was fought between the Hutus and Tutsis; the first and second civil wars in Sudan were fought between North Arab Muslim and an African Christian/Animist South; the Darfur crisis presents itself as a fight between Arab Militia and African tribes; and Somalia has been depicted as a conflict between different clans (Olayode, 2016).

However, using ethnic and tribal affiliation as the root causes of conflict and naming conflict as ethnic conflict is misleading and hiding the real causes of the conflict. For instance, Aapenguo (2010:2) quoted “Misdiagnosis of African conflicts as ethnic ignores the political nature of the issues of contention”. Ethnicity by itself is not the means of conflict but the way we use and treat it becomes lead to conflict. In other words, ethnicity is typically not the driving force of conflicts but a lever used by politicians to mobilize supporters in pursuit of power, wealth, and resources. Therefore, ethnicity by its nature does not cause conflict but the social, political, economic and cultural inequalities between ethnic groups leads to conflict. So it needs justice and constitutional relations between ethnic groups.

2.4.4.1. Horizontal inequalities

Inequalities between culturally defined groups, such as ethnic, religious, racial or caste-based groups are referred as horizontal inequalities (Stewart, 2007). As she has stated horizontal inequality is different from vertical inequality in that the former is multidimensional and encompasses economic, social, cultural status and political dimensions of inequality between groups and the latter is inequality over the range of individuals rather than groups. Stewart states that culture could become influential mobilizing agent and lead to political violence where there are social, economic and political inequalities coinciding with cultural differences. The findings of Stewart regarding to exploring the relationship between horizontal inequalities and conflict

conclude that the probability of conflict occurring rises where socioeconomic, cultural status and political horizontal inequalities are higher.

A central premise of the horizontal inequality is that inequalities between culturally-defined or 'ethnic' groups can play an essential role in inducing and facilitating mobilization than vertical inequalities. The finding of horizontal inequalities as the cause of violent conflict implies that the correction of such inequalities is important for conflict prevention, in multiethnic, multiracial or multi-religious societies where horizontal inequalities are severe (Langer and Stewart, 2013). Moreover, this is desirable from the perspective of well-being, justice and efficiency as well as for reducing conflict risk (Ibid).

2.4.4.2. Ethnic mobilization

To conceptualize ethnic mobilization as the causes of ethnic conflict it is important to understand analytical approaches of ethnicity. There are three theories of ethnicity: Primordialism, Instrumentalism and Constructivism. Primordialism argues that ethnicity is something given, ascribed at birth, deriving from the kin-and-clan-structure of human society (Amare, 2003). In other words, for primordialists ethnicity is defined as innate and biological characteristics identity based on blood, language, religion, territory and common understanding about the criteria of membership. Ethnic identity for primordialism is singular, timeless and fixed with distinct social boundaries (Smith (2013) cited in Williams, 2015).

From the viewpoint of instrumentalism ethnic identity is something that can be changed or malleable, constructed or even manipulated by specific political and economic ends (Mesfin, 2011). Instrumentalism argues that the "leaders of modern nations use and manipulate the perception or attitude of ethnic groups or ethnic identity for their own interest to stay in power for a long period of time" (Cohen, 1981; Ted Gurr, 1993 cited in Tesfaye, 2018:41). Lastly, from constructivist perspectives "ethnicity is socially constructed" (Wimmer, 2008, cited in Williams, 2015:149) and "is not something people own rather it is something they construct indefinite social and historical context to enhance their own interests" (Tefaye, 2018:43).

Ethnic mobilization is the process whereby political actors encourage people to participate in some form of political action (Vermeersch, 2011). According to Melkamu (2016), there are two theories that are responsible for causing and shaping ethnic mobilizations: primordialists and instrumentalist approaches. He argued that primordialist ethnic ties are stronger than other types of group identification in mobilizing ethnic group because they are based on kinship and therefore produce feelings of intense solidarity among group members. For primordialists, the prejudices of other groups and enmity based on intrinsic differences of race, religion, or culture cause violence between the groups (Dagne, 2013). However, this does not mean that nearly homogeneous society is guaranteed to have political stability and free of conflict. For instance, in case of the homogeneous Somalia “serious conflicts can easily exist within a single cultural group” (Kifle, 2007 cited in Dagne, 2013: 41).

In the case of instrumentalist ethnic mobilization is initiated by elites who seek to use the power of the group to acquire material benefits or political power. Instrumentalism argues that the leaders of modern nations use and manipulate the perception of ethnic identity for their own interest to stay in power for a long period of time (Tesfaye, 2018). In this regard (Cohn, 1996 and Brass, 1996 cited in Melkamu, 2016: 21) also stated that “the elite political leaders used ethnic identity to mobilize the group along that symbol in pursuing their political goals”. To put it differently, elites could easily mobilize a given ethnic group in order to achieve their hidden political and economic goals constructing the sense of ‘us’ and ‘them’ dichotomy. Furthermore, as Balcha (2007) cited in Melkamu (2016: 21) “ethnic elite could use the ethnic card for personal enrichment and other benefits in order to manipulate and use ethnic causes in the name of ethnic empowerment and rights to political power and economic advantages”.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the research methodology employed in this study. Accordingly, the chapter presents the overall methods of the study which include sampling procedures, sources and instruments of data collection, methods of data analysis and interpretation and location and description of the study area.

3.2. Research method and design

Research methodology includes all the procedures used by a researcher during a research study (Kothari, 2004). According to Kitchen and Tate (2000), research methodology is a coherent set of rules and procedures that are used to explore a problem within the framework of philosophical approaches. Thus, a research methodology includes the tools and techniques of data gathering and analysis. Conventionally, qualitative, quantitative and mixed are the three methodologies for research. However, selection of research design is dependent on the nature of the research problem or issues being addressed in the study (Creswell, 1994).

Accordingly, based on the objectives to be addressed in this study, the researcher applied qualitative research approach. This approach is essential for an in-depth and detailed investigation of problem and praised for exploring peoples' life in a detailed and enriched manner (Silverman and Marvasti, 2008). It is also preferred to collect data about human life, experiences, behavior, emotion and feeling, organizational function, social movement, cultural phenomena and their interaction with nature (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). According to Creswell (1994), the qualitative method enables to properly investigate and understand a social or human problem.

Besides, qualitative methods are instrumental to collect data pertaining to feelings, understanding and perception of respondents, which are difficult to measure quantitatively. Qualitative research method is a holistic picture formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants and conducted in a natural setting. These basic characteristics of qualitative research enable the

researcher to investigate and achieve an in-depth understanding about the implication of conflict induced internal displacement on the IDPs of the study area. Additionally, the researcher employed descriptive research design to describe human security implication of displacement and living conditions of IDPs of the study area by supporting qualitative data. However, this thesis intended to describe the basic research questions on the study area and to generate a better understanding of the problem under the study.

3.3. Sampling procedures

Burayu Town is one among other Oromia towns that hosted IDPs of Oromo-Somali conflict. This town was purposively selected due to shortage of time and resources to apply all over the IDPs of Oromo-Somali conflict and the existence of those IDPs in the town. Melka Gefersa *Kebele* was also purposefully selected from five *Kebeles* of Burayu Town which hosted these IDPs. The researcher selected this *Kebele* since it is the first in hosting IDPs population in the town. The researcher employed purposive sampling and snowball technique to select research participants. Purposive sampling enables the researcher to select the respondents from the total study population depend on his own judgments (Tongco, 2007).

Accordingly, governmental organizations were purposively selected based on their knowledge and experience or their proximity with the study topic whereas participants from IDPs were selected through snowball sampling techniques. Thus, ten households and four youth IDPs of Melka Gefersa (14 IDP participants) and one participant from each of the following organizations (1*6=6): National Disaster and Risk Management Commission, Oromia Disaster and Risk Management Bureau, Ethiopia Human Rights Commission, Ministry of Peace, Burayu Town Labour and Social Affairs office and Manager of Melka Gefersa *Kebele*. Totally twenty respondents were selected. They were interviewed through face to face communication. The reason behind the researcher selected key informants from different governmental organizations is to avoid one-sided or biased response so that key informants diversity interviews allows the researcher to look at varying perspectives and underlying issues or problems of the study. The method of collecting firsthand information from these respondents is discussed below.

3.4. Instruments of data collection

To attain the stated objectives and answer the research questions the researcher collected data from both primary and secondary sources.

3.4.1. The primary data

For accomplishment of this study primary data was collected by using the following qualitative primary data collection instruments from both respondents who are selected purposively based on their knowledge and experience or their proximity with the study topic and by using snowball technique.

3.4.1.1. In-depth interviews

Interview is one of the data collection methods used in qualitative research techniques. It is an important tool to dig out detailed information about one's perception, views, experience and impressions about certain issues. Therefore, to dig out and deeply and explore the objectives of the study the researcher provided open-ended interviews that can extract substantial information and reduces interviewer biases. To this end since all IDPs under the study may have not enough knowledge on the objectives and research questions and difficulty of inviting all IDPs under study, the above stated IDP respondents were used as in-depth interviewees.

3.4.1.2. Key informant interviews

Key informant interview is qualitative in-depth interviews with people who know what is going on in the community. It helps the researcher to collect adequate evidence and to share the experiences of informed respondents on the issue under study. Key informants of this study were those who are selected from governmental organization on the basis of their knowledge and experiences on how the conflict between two ethnic groups brought displacement and how this displacement affected the security of displaced peoples.

3.4.2. Secondary data

The researcher also used secondary source of data. To this end relevant document like books, journals, articles, reports, thesis, governmental and non-governmental organizations report, newspapers, the 1995 FDRE constitution, regional and international documents like UN Guiding

principle on protection of IDPs and AU convention on IDPs or Kampala Convention are assessed in order to gain understanding of the situation.

3.5. Methods of data analysis and interpretation

This study followed qualitative data analysis and interpretation method. Qualitative data analysis is the process of making sense from research participants' views and opinions. In other words, qualitative analysis refers to non-numerical (verbal expression) investigations and interpretation of data for making a detailed description of a given phenomenon. Therefore, for the accomplishment of this study qualitative data generated from interviewees and key informants analyzed, organized, and summarized through careful interpretation of meanings and contents in accordance with the thematic issues under investigation. All primary data gathered through interviews and key informant interviews was recorded by note taking, voice recording, or audio videotaped recording depend on the interest of participants. Then collected data was translated into English under its thematic area.

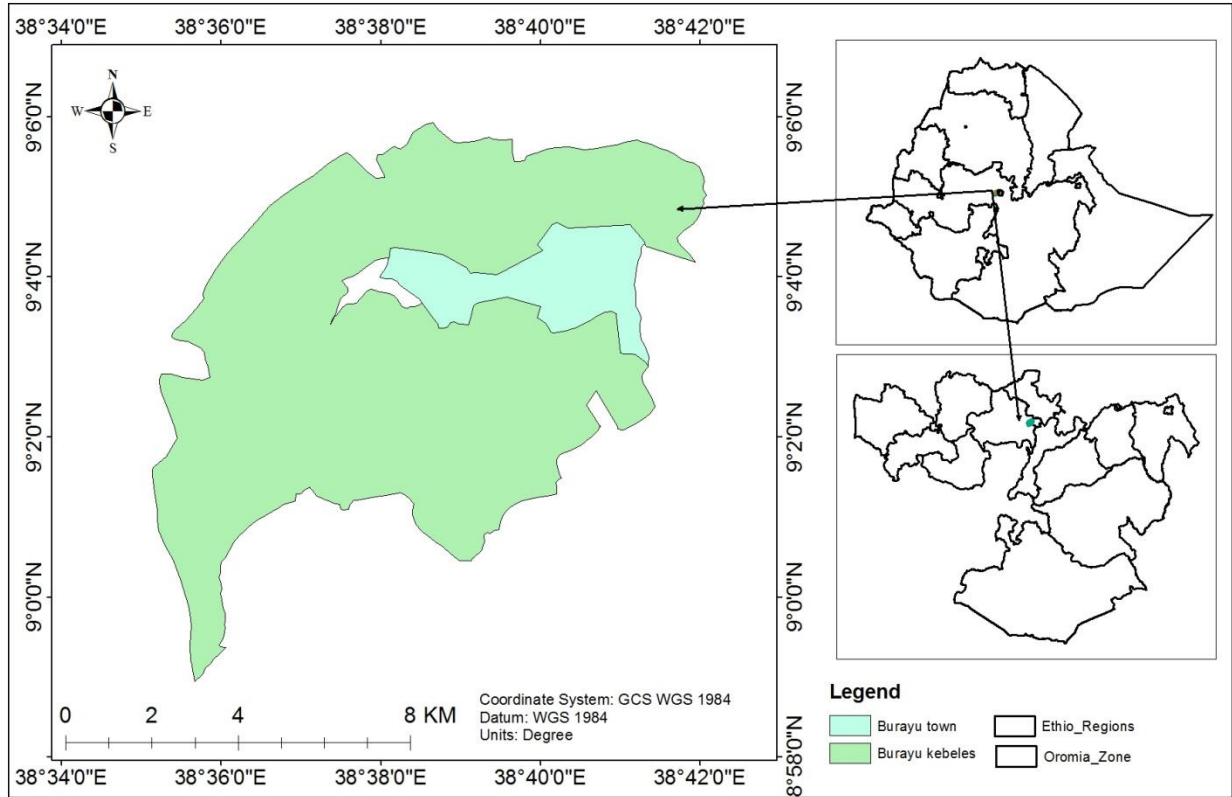
3.6. Location and description of the study area

Burayu Town is one of the Oromia Special Zone Surrounding Finfine in the Oromia National Regional State which is located in the western fringe of Addis Ababa, along the Addis Ababa-Ambo road at about 15 km from the center of Addis Ababa (Piazza) and nearly 27 Km East of Holeta Town, the capital of Welmera District (Tesfaye, 2015). Astronomically the town extends roughly from 9⁰ 02" to 9⁰02"30" N Latitudes and 38⁰03"30" to 38⁰ 41"30" E longitudes (Ibid). The town has a total population of 85,170 and out of which about one-fifth are in age group 15 to 24 years (CSA, 2008). But recently, the number of population increases from time to time because of high level flow of population into the town particularly young population. This is because the town has shown rapidly growing in socio-economic sectors and one of industries zone.

The name Burayu is reported that it was derived from one of the indigenous trees of the region. The name "Burayu" is an *Afaan Oromoo* word which means "*Tiqure Inchet*" in *Amharic* which may represent Black Wood in English (Tesfaye, 2015). Both crop production and livestock rearing activities are taking place in the city and periphery parts of the town. Vegetables are the

dominant type of crop produced while livestock production includes dairy farm, cattle, sheep and goat fattening (Burayu City Agriculture Office, 2014).

Map 3.1 Location of the study area



Source: GIS tool, (2019)

Table 3.1 IDPs relocated in different Kebeles of Burayu Town as the result of Oromo-Somali conflict.

n u m b e r	Name of kebeles	Round of relocation								T O T A L	R A N K
		<i>1st</i> <i>round</i>		<i>2nd</i> <i>round</i>		<i>3rd</i> <i>round</i>		<i>1st + 2nd</i> <i>+ 3rd round</i>			
		<i>Hou se hold</i>	<i>Famil ies</i>	<i>Hou se hold</i>	<i>Fam ilies</i>	<i>Hou se hold</i>	<i>Fami lies</i>	<i>Hou se hold</i>	<i>Fam ilies</i>		
1	Melka Gefersa	42	348	59	230	30	107	131	685	I D P S	1
2	Gefersa Guje	76	209	16	68	48	233	140	510		2
3	Gefersa Burayu	49	242	10	39	4	22	63	303		3
4	Burayu Keta	7	26	20	77	5	17	32	120		5
5	Laku Keta	19	79	12	51	19	93	50	223		4
	Total	193	904	117	465	106	472	416	1841	2,257	

Source: Burayu Tourism and Cultural Bureau October 2018.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONFLICT INDUCED DISPLACEMENT IN ETHIOPIA: THE CASE OF OROMIA AND SOMALI REGIONAL STATES

4.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the historical overview of conflict induced displacement in the country and mainly focused on the recent conflict induced displacement of Oromo-Somali conflict. The chapter is divided under three subtopics: the first section of the chapter presents conflict induced displacement in Ethiopia, the second section is historical relation and conflict between Oromia and Somali regional state of Ethiopia and the last one is Oromia-Somali conflict displacement situation.

4.2. Conflict-induced displacement in Ethiopia

Ethiopia, the 12th and 2nd populous country in the world and Africa respectively, has more than 80 ethnic groups with their own distinct traditions, culture, language, religion, etc. (CSA, 2007). In the long history of its state formation, Ethiopia has never introduced a federal system of government before 1991 (Birru, 2018). However, following the political transition of 1991, the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front introduced ethnic based decentralized regional system (Muhyadin, 2006). The Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front came up with the principle of equality of nations, nationalities, and peoples of Ethiopia and the 1995 FDRE constitution formalized nine regional states: Tigray, Afar, Amhara, Oromia, Somali, Benishangul-Gumuz, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples, Gambella and Harari and two chartered city administrations: Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa (the 1995 FDRE constitution article 47). However, this arrangement is not all in all ethnic based.

Fekadu (2011) argued that from estimated 80 ethnic groups of Ethiopia six of these regional states (Afar, Amhara, Harari, Oromia, Somali and Tigray) are ethno-national regional states [Each of these states are also designated after the name of the dominant ethnic group in each state] whereas the remaining three regional states, the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State, Gambella and Benishangul-Gumuz are either put together in multi-

ethnic regions or attached as minority ethnic groups to the bigger ethnic regions (see appendix IV).

As IDMC (2007:4) reported “relatively little is known about the extent and nature of conflict-induced displacement in Ethiopia”. However, in almost all cases, the displacement was triggered by conflict between different ethnic groups over access to political power or scarce resources such as water and pastoral or agricultural land (Ibid). According to IDMC (2007), administrative regions of Somali, Oromia, Gambella and Tigray are mostly vulnerable to conflict-induced displacement. In addition to these, the government’s counter-insurgency activities in regions such as Oromia, Somali and Gambella have led to serious human rights violations which have also led to displacement of civilians (Human Rights Watch, 2008).

In November 2008 a study undertaken by African Rally for Peace and Development (ARPD) showed internal armed conflicts in most of the regions of Ethiopia including Oromia, Tigray, Somali, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples, Afar, Gambella, and Benishangul-Gumuz (ARPD, 2008). The US State Department’s 2008 Human Rights Report on Ethiopia reported that ethnically-based conflicts in western, eastern and southern areas had resulted in an increase in killings and injuries since 2007 and the displacement of tens of thousands of people (USDoS, 2009). According to ARPD, the major causes of conflicts within Ethiopia’s regions are ethnicity, disputed border and administrative arrangements, distribution of resources and power, large-scale spontaneous and planned migration, religious differences and mineral extraction.

Commissioner of the National Disaster Risk Management Commission, Mitiku Kassa, noted that currently Ethiopia is one of the countries suffering from large numbers of internal displacement (Angela, 2018). The commissioner stated that 2.6 % of Ethiopia’s populations were displaced as the result of climate change and conflict during the 109th Session of International Organization for Migration (IOM) Council in late November 2018 (Ibid). In this regard, the report of the UN Displacement Tracking Method Round 9-11 shows between January and June 2018 over one million people displaced due to conflict in Ethiopia. The report does not include SNNP and Benshangul Gumuz.

4.3. Historical relation and conflict between Oromia and Somali Regional State of Ethiopia

Like other ethnic groups of Ethiopia, Oromo and Somali are neighboring communities that have long-standing interactions and shared a long history. Oromia National Regional State has borderlines with all the Regional States of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, except Tigray National Regional State. The Regional State of Oromia has the longest borderline (1860 km) with the National Regional State of Southern Nations, Nationalities and peoples, followed by Somali National Regional State (1410kms) (Dagne, 2013). The Oromia Region has a population of more than 33 million (CSA, 2012). Administratively, by 2012, the Region was divided into 18 administrative zones, 304 *woredas* (out of which 39 are urban *woredas* and 265 rural *woredas*) (Tesfaye, 2018). Agriculture is the basis of livelihood for the majority of the population in the region and accounts for about two-thirds of the GDP, whereas industrial activities contribute less than 10 % (BoFED, 2012).

The Somali National Regional State is located in the eastern Ethiopian lowlands and borders the Ethiopian regions of Oromia and Afar to the west, as well as Djibouti to the north, Somalia to the north, east and south and Kenya to the southwest (Abduselam, 2018). It has a population of about five million people (CSA, 2012). Most of the people are pastoralists, though there are some agro pastoralists and agrarian. There are nine administrative zones: Jigjiga, Shinile, Liban, Afder, Godey, Korahay, Warder, Dagahbrur and Fik (Tesfaye, 2018). The dominant types of the economy found in the region are transhumant pastoralists and agro-pastoralist comprising about 60% and 25% of the total population respectively (Ibid). The region is almost entirely inhabited by people of Somali ethnicity (95.6 percent) which is predominantly Muslim pastoralists (85 percent) (Ibid). The Somali region has a relatively homogeneous society in terms of language (Somali) and religion (Islam). Demographical lineage underpins Somali society, with divisions defined along clan and sub-clan lines (Dawit, 2009).

Under the FDRE administrative structure, both regions share a long boundary that stretches for more than 1400 kilometers from the Jijiga Highlands in the northeast to the Ethio-Kenyan borderlands in the southeast (Asnake, 2009). According to Lewis 1966 cited in Asnake (2009: 181), “interactions between the easternmost Oromo and the westernmost Somali began during

the 1500s and 1600s as the Oromo were expanding to the north, northeast, and southeast”. This indicated that two groups were competing for water, grazing and agricultural land in their borderlands for about 400 years. There are both connectors and dividers between the Oromo and Somali. Sociologically, they are all organized in patriarchal clan structures (Asnake 2009). According to Baxter (1978 cited in Asnake 2009), both were the main actors in the 16th century population movements in the Horn of Africa.

The Oromo and Somali are categorized in the eastern Cushitic linguistic group of the Horn of Africa. Not only do they share a common linguistic origin, but the two groups have long been tied together in terms of culture, religion and geography. Furthermore, almost the entire Somali practice Islam whereas the Oromo practice Islam, Christianity and indigenous religion (*Waqefannaa*). Moreover, both Oromo and Somali people along the borderland of two regional states reside in arid and semi-arid pastoral areas in which their livelihood is predominantly based on livestock husbandry. Because of their centuries old interactions, the Somali and the Oromo have several commonly shared socio-cultural values. In this respect, Asnake (2009) indicated that some Oromo and Somali groups have been either Somalised or Oromised. This indicated strong assimilation between them. For instance, the Garre clan in the Borana region uses the Oromo language (*Afaan Oromoo*), but due to its Islamic religion and genealogy identifies itself with the Somali (Farah 1996 cited in Asnake 2009).

Against the expectation of the 1995 FDRE constitutional order which is intended to redress the ethno-national grievances among the many ethnic groups in the country, Ethiopia is facing increased frequency of inter-ethnic and violent confrontations within its national borders (Lober and Worm, 2015). Ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia are now common and recurrent across the different regions where there are competing and divergent ethnic groups following the establishment of federal system by creating largely ethnic based territorial units (Bamlaku, Fekadu, Workneh and Wentzell 2015). Conflicts between (agro) pastoralists have existed for centuries in different forms and are not new phenomena in eastern Ethiopia and its neighboring regions in the Horn of Africa (Ibid). In Ethiopia, these conflicts are especially pronounced in the country’s lowlands, where the majority of people are either pastoralists or agro pastoralists (Lober and Worm, 2015).

In Ethiopia, pastoralists are estimated to represent 12 % of the population occupying 61 % of the total territory and made up of 29 different ethnic groups belonging to Cushitic and Nilo-Saharan language families (Abdulahi, 2005 cited in Tigist, 2014). The majorities of pastoralists in Ethiopia belong to the Somali, Borana and Afar groups; and live in the peripheries of the country and bordering neighboring countries. But this does not mean all pastoralists are living in the peripheries. The Karayu, Ittu, and Jille Oromo pastoralists live near and along the Awash National Park in the center of the country. There are also some other small groups of pastoralists and agro pastoralists in western Ethiopia. Although agriculture, industry and human settlements are comparatively high in central Ethiopia with that of peripheries, pastoralist and agro-pastoralists are occupied peripheries of the country since their livelihoods require both extensive use of land and freedom of movement. Thus, from this it is possible to say that in Ethiopia both geographic and power politics have a role in settling pastoralist at peripheries of the country.

In this regard, Asnake (2009) claimed that ethnic regionalization changed the dynamics of conflict from resource conflicts between pastoral communities in the lowland regions of the country into inter-regional boundary conflicts between Oromia and Somali regions where the boundary is ill-defined. Inter-regional boundary making led to a violent conflict not only between Oromia and Somali regional state also between the Gedeo (SNNP) and the Guji (Oromia) in southern Ethiopia who were administered within the former Sidamo province before 1992 and later in line with the principles of ethnic regionalization the Guji who belong to the Oromo ethnic group became part of the Oromia region, while the Gedeo became part of the SNNP (Ibid).

Violent conflicts have occurred between several Somali and Oromo clans that are located along the boundaries of the two regions. Jeylan (2016) also claimed that the conflict between the Borana and the Digodi, and the Borana and the Garri in Southern Ethiopia are among the most volatile conflicts occurring at contested Oromo-Somali frontier areas. These three clans were administered under the Borana Woreda of the Sidamo Zone before the current FDRE administration allocated them to different regional states. The Borana were placed in the Regional State of Oromia whereas the Digodi and the Garri were re-configured into the Somali Regional State (Mohammud, 2005; Jeylan, 2016). The main cause of conflicts among the three

clans in the past was competition over access to land resources such as water and pasture (Bassi, 1997 cited in Asnake, 2009).

Unlike the past conflicts, border disputes between Borana and Digodi pastoralists since 1992 resulted in large-scale damage to property, loss of life, injury and displacement (Mohammud, 2005). In the conflict more than 20,000 animals were looted, deaths and injuries were counted in hundreds and more than 11,000 people were displaced and lost their means of livelihood (Mohammud, 2005; Jeylan, 2016).

Fekadu (2017) also argued that the expansion of the formal administrative structure into pastoral areas (the formation of zones, districts and *Kebeles*) since 1991 has complicated pastoral relationships and prompted each pastoral group to control a specific territory. He further stated that ethnic groups of Oromia and Somali regional state of Ethiopia along the border areas claim over grazing land, pasture and water scarcity; and also he suggested politicization of ethnic administrative boundaries as the causes of the conflict between different Oromo and Somali clans.

Moreover, according to Asnake (2009), inter-clan relations among the three clans adversely affected by the following three major factors: expansion of Menilik II to conquer unoccupied land of pastoralists to re-counter the European colonial power, division of the region among the British and Italians at the beginning of the 20th century and territorial dispute that emerged between Ethiopia and Somalia since the 1960s because of the latter's aspiration of uniting all Somali speaking territories under its jurisdiction. Even though the Derg won with the help of Cuba and the USSR in early 1978, in July 1977 Somalia invaded Ethiopia and captured most of the Ogaden (Tigist, 2014). The war led to huge outflows of Ethiopian Somalis into Somalia.

With regard to the idea of creating united Somali speaking in the Horn or Pan Somalism, the desire to unite all Somalis across the Horn of Africa into one nation-state, "the Ethiopian government became more suspicious of Somali pastoralists and it began arming and supporting the Borana including Guji pastoralists in their conflicts with the Garri, Digodi and other Somali pastoralists which aggravate the hostility between pastoral groups" (Markakis, 1987 cited in

Tigist 2014: 42). On the other hand, the Italians were fueled the Borana (Oromo) and Garri (Somali) conflict by providing firearms to the Garri with the objective of harassing the Ethiopian forces (Melkamu, 2016). Taking this advantage Garri started to carry out raids against the Borana. Moreover, when Somalia established the Somali Abo Liberation Front (SALF) in 1976 the Garri, the Gabra and other Islamic Oromo clans joined the new movement, while the Borana remained aligned with the Ethiopian government (Gebru, 1996 cited in Melkamu, 2016:29). This inter-state conflict became an inter-ethnic conflict in the region whereby the Garri and the Borana respectively supported Somalia and Ethiopia. The European colonial powers defined state boundaries in the Horn of Africa and partitioned the land of pastoralists between different colonial states. That is why today we have the Borana pastoralists both in Kenya and Ethiopia across the Ethio-Kenyan border and the Garri pastoralists partitioned into three separate states: Somalia, Kenya and Ethiopia (Tigist, 2014).

Moyale, a border town between Ethiopia and Kenya which has strategic significance as a gateway to Kenya from southern Ethiopia is one of the contested boundaries between Oromia and Somali regional state of Ethiopia (Jeylan, 2016). Because of this contestation, there are now dual and conflicting Somali and Oromo administrations within the town, including Oromo and Somali police stations, courts, public prosecutors' offices, finance and educational institutions, all with overlapping and competing jurisdictions (Tigist, 2014). Particularly Borana Oromo and Garri Somali have been contesting the ownership of border lands of Moyale, water holes and ritual sites (Fekadu, 2011). Comparatively speaking, Borana livelihoods are based on cattle whereas the Garri are mostly dependent on camel herding while cattle must be watered every three days camels need watering every 10 to 15 days. The Borana frame and connect water holes with their symbolic terms. They liken water holes as a wife and used the proverb, “*Eeli niitidha!*” (water hole is a wife!), to express the social position of it in their life (Ibid). The proverb implicitly indicates like a wife belongs to her husband and if he died she belong to the clan of her husband, water holes also belongs to a certain ethnic group which aggravates hostility and inter-ethnic conflict.

4.4. Oromo-Somali conflict induced displacement situation

The regional boundary between the neighboring Somali and Oromia regions has remained unsettled for a long time, giving rise to conflict-induced displacement following a 2004 border referendum. In October 2008, approximately 100,000 people were displaced as a result of the conflict in the Filtu and Hudet areas over a disputed border between the ethnically-defined Oromia and Somali Regions (IDMC, 9 June 2009). According to this report, the conflict was triggered by contested land between the Oromia regions of Borana and Somali Regions of Garre which has never been properly demarcated. Some 300 people lost their lives during the conflict (BBC, 26 February 2009) and 70,000 people were displaced (BBC, 13 March 2009).

The current Oromo-Somali conflict (starting from January 2015 up to September 2018) was based on border political dispute which can be considered as competition over resource, demand for ethnic self-assertion and related difficulties of ethnic boundary delimitation plus political disagreement between the two regional ruling party's leaders (Abdusalam, 2018). Since early September 2017, the conflict between Oromos and Somalis has left hundreds of thousands displaced people, and many more death and injury particularly along the two regional borders like Moyale, Meiso, Babile, Tulli-Guled, Mayu-Muluko, Kubi, and Salahad were affected by this conflict (Ibid).

According to the National Disaster Risk Management Commission (NDRMC) estimate, some 857,000 people had been displaced by the Somali-Oromia conflict (OCHA, 2018). Meanwhile, preliminary data from the latest round of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) Displacement Tracking Matrix conducted in November 2017 indicated around one million people have been displaced due to conflict along the Oromia-Somali regional border (nearly 700,000 in 2017 alone) (Ibid). OCHA (2018) also reported that IDPs of Oromo-Somali conflict were settled in close to 400 sites, either in IDP sites, with host communities or in collective centers along with the border areas of two regions and in major towns or villages across Oromia, Somali and Harar Regions, and Dire Dawa and Addis Ababa cities. Among these sites around 637,000 IDPs (60%) are living in 145 spontaneous or planned camps/sites in the border areas. This includes 68,000 Somali IDPs – displaced between mid of 2015 and end of 2017 - living in Qoloji IDP site on the Jijiga-Harar road (Ibid).

As this report indicated the total number of 100,000 IDPs was live in collective centers. Most of these were Oromos with most of the largest sites being located in major towns: Addis Ababa (2,500), Dire Dawa (4,700), Harar (4,500), Adama (3,100), Chiro (4,700) whereas 4,000 Somali IDPs were also located in a youth recreation center in Dire Dawa. Although the report was not the number of IDPs from which ethnic group, at least 256,000 IDPs live amongst host communities or relatives in the border areas or dispersed in the two regions.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to analyze the data obtained from participants of the study and the existing literature on the implications of Oromo-Somali conflict induced displacement on IDPs relocated in Burayu Town in line with the objective of this thesis. Notably, since this thesis is particularly focused on human security implications of conflict induced displacement only on those who have relocated to Melka Gefersa *Kebele* of Burayu Town, generalizing the result of this study to other IDPs of Oromo-Somali conflict relocated to other site is difficult. Accordingly, to put the discussion in its proper context the information gathered has been presented and analyzed under the following three themes: causes that displaced population under study; implications of displacement on security of IDPs under study; and rehabilitation mechanism of IDPs of Melka Gefersa *Kebele*.

5.2. Causes of displacement.

As it is discussed in chapter four of this thesis, Oromo and Somali people are one of Ethiopian dominant ethnic groups who shared long-standing interactions and history. As Melkamu (2016) stated more specifically the Borana, the Garri and the Gabra over the years developed multifaceted interaction, i.e., sometimes peaceful cooperation and conflicting claims in other times. Because of this long social and cultural interaction identifying some ethnic groups of the two is difficult. For instance, as Melkamu stated the ethnic identity of the Garri and the Gabra remains controversial (Ibid). Regarding to the interaction between Oromo and Somalis, Asnake (2009) also stated that some Oromo and Somali groups have been either Somalised or Oromised. This shows how long and strong the interactions between the two ethnic groups are. During data collection from IDPs of relocation site the researcher has also seen few households and youth those who are not able to explain their ideas fluently in *Afaan Oromo* but fluent in *Afaan Somali* in Melka Gefersa *Kebele* relocation site.

They also belong to Cushitic language family and shared long border land from the Jigjiga highlands in the northeast to the Ethio-Kenyan borderlands in the southeast. Oromia National

Regional State and Somali National Regional State are sharing a border of more than 1,400 km (870 miles) (Kalkidan, 2017). As long as their long-standing interactions and history, competition on the resources among different classes and conflict between different ethnic groups of the two regions was also obvious (Lewis cited in Asnake, (2009)).

For instance, as Fekadu (2017) stated there was frequent conflict in three districts during the referendum on disputed administrative districts in 2005 (1) between the Guji clan of Oromo and the Digodi and Garri clans of the Somali in Guji zone; (2) in Moyale district between the Digodi clan of Somali and the Gabra and Borana clans of Oromo; and (3) between the Digodi and Garri of the Somali and the Borana in Arero district in Borana zone. However, whatsoever would be the cause and whoever the actors are; the recent Oromo-Somali conflict is unquestionably incomparable with the preceding ones, at least in terms of its consequences and numbers. In this regard OCHA report published on 07 March 2019 noted that Ethiopia faced a significant spike in conflict-induced displacement in 2018 and even if it does not state exact number of IDPs the DTM 9 which was conducted between 2 January and 6 February 2018 the conflict along the border separating Oromia and Somali regions has displaced around 1.070 million IDPs which represents more than 87% of the total number of conflict-IDPs in the country.

In any inter-group conflicts it is very difficult to have a complete list of causes. This is even sound in case of Oromo-Somali conflict. The issue of the recent conflict was reported differently in different media. For instance, BBC News (18/09/2017) noted Oromo-Somali conflict as “ordinary clashes”, “tribal border conflict”, “fighting between two ethnic groups”, “inter-ethnic violence” motivated by a long tradition of “territorial competition which often leads to disputes and conflicts over resources, including wells and grazing land”. Some also reported it as “boundary disputes between two regions” (Fana Broadcasting Corporation, 17-18/9/2017), while others said “the events triggering the violence remain unclear” (Africa News, 2017).

Regarding the causes of displacement one of my key informants from Ethiopian Human Rights Commission stated that resource competition, failure to demarcate the boundary between the two regions as per the 2004 referendum; rent-seeking and contraband and failure to control illegal Khat export as the causes of displacement. He also claimed that the Ethiopian system of federalism is one of the causes of the conflict. According to him, first since our federalism is

ethnic based, issues of border and resource competition along different ethnic group is immediately changed to ethnic conflict and difficulty of stabilizing conflict once it changed into ethnic side. Second the difficulty of clearly demarcating the border along two ethnic groups based on their ethnicity in some places where it is difficult to identify based on their ethnicity as a result of high assimilation.

All key informants and in-depth interview discussants repeatedly indicated that the blurred frontier demarcation between Oromia National Regional State and Somali National Regional State which usually paves the way for resource competition on grazing land, water etc. as the principal cause that protracted the conflicts. The finding of Fekadu (2017) who studied on Natural Resource Conflict Analysis Among Pastoralists in Southern among pastoralists in southern Ethiopia, specifically the Somali and Oromo ethnic groups also reveal that the conflict resulted from interrelated cultural, ecological and political factors. As he stated the factors that has exacerbated the conflict are ethnic based structure of regions, competition for land and control of water-points and creation of new administrative units (*Kebeles*) close to regional boundaries.

The claim of resource ownership is also other causes. For instance, according to Kassa (2002 cited in Muhyadin 2006: 21), “in the past before Ethiopian state formation and even during Emperor Menelik II, Borana community's grazing land covered huge area of today's southern and southeastern parts of Ethiopia and north and north eastern parts of Kenya however, most of these areas are now occupied by non-Borana people”. Contrary to this, key informants from Human Rights Commission and Ministry of Peace argued that Somalis claim their territory up to Awash River. Another work by Fekadu (2011) who studied on conflict between Borana and Garri pastoralists also stated that competition over water holes, ritual sites along two regional borders and contest on Moyale towns as the causes of conflict between Garri and Borana.

As one of my key informant from Oromia Disaster and Risk Management Bureau stated those IDPs were expelled from different locations including urban and cities of Somali region and along the border woredas of Oromo and Somali region. This indicates the cause of displacement is beyond border issues because people were not only displaced along the border of two regions. The suspicion of this informant not to limit the causes of this displacement only as border issue

was that the situation by which these internally displaced peoples were displaced. He stated that ‘hearsay’ or taking act of revenge for destroyed property and life of individuals which has ethnic side further displaced innocent individuals beyond border areas of both ethnic groups. This situation supports the idea of ethnic mobilization particularly primordialism since it is based on kinship and therefore produces feelings of intense solidarity among group members and thus prejudices of other groups and vulnerability based on ethnic differences cause violence between the groups (Dagne, 2013). The information from Oromia Disaster and Risk Management Bureau indicated that 112, 221 IDPs are displaced from urban cities of Somali Region and Somali Land whereas 178, 517 IDPs are displaced along within the border woredas of two regional states.

As Chanie Shimeka, Deputy Chair of the Democracy, Human Rights and Administration Affairs Standing Committee gave his idea to The Reporter on 6 January 2018 ‘failure to deploy security forces timely has also aggravated the displacement of Oromo-Somali conflict. However, United Nations Guiding Principles on Internally Displaced Person article five and six states that national authority has the duty and responsibility to prevent and avoid conditions that might lead to displacement (the preventive way to overcome displacement). On this regard, one of my key informants from Ministry of Peace stated that although government is a contract by which the right and security of its people is maintained, Ethiopian government was not successful to do that and the conflict between the two regional states resulted displacements of hundreds of thousands. He stated his perception by comparing Ethiopia’s great role in peace-keeping missions to other African countries on one hand and Ethiopia’s unsuccessful to control the conflict before its escalation and safeguard security of its citizens.

Interview from Human Rights Commission also indicated that from the very beginning government has two basic roles in solving conflict: first, if possible eliminating issues which might leads to conflict before conflict is started by implementing good governance, applying rule of law etc. and secondly, immediately stopping the conflict as soon as it is started. Again this informant stated that with the first case regarding to minimizing issues that lead to conflict government was not as much effective. He listed different evidence on this case. For instance, he stated that the 2004 referendum is still not implemented in action for about 12 years and it leads to conflict. In this case even though government has tried to overcome the blurred frontier demarcation between Oromia National Regional State and Somali National Regional State

though referendum in 2004, still it is not practically implemented. As Fekadu (2011) noted four hundred thirty *Kebeles* (smallest administrative unit) are contested between the two Regional States of which referendum is successfully undertaken in four hundred twenty two *Kebeles*. The result of the referendum was showed that “the Oromia National Regional State won three hundred twenty three *Kebeles*, while the Somali National Regional State won ninety nine of the contested *Kebeles*” (Fekadu, 2011: 782).

In case of contraband it was people who give report and struggle to stop it but some “Generals” were suspected as participants of contraband. Additionally, regarding to trading khat, he stated that during the eve of mass displacement there was boycotting of khat traders from some areas of Oromia to Somalis which was played a great role in initiating conflict of interest between the two ethnic groups and further expanded the displacement. Additionally, as he explained his perception, the problem Somalis raised in Moyale town and absence of early response on the issue as the causes of conflict.

In case of Moyale Town, Somalis have asked place to construct their office for long period, but they didn't get an early response and instead of this Somalis cut of river which is drained from Somali National Regional State to Oromia National Regional state on which Oromo people cultivate onion, tomatoes, etc. This also triggers the conflict in Moyale and other areas. Thus, I believe that government is late in giving response to the issues that might lead to conflict.

He also stated that despite government has responsible to maintain security of its citizens and stop conflict before its escalation and resulted in mass displacement, the situation of transporting Oromos from Somali to Oromia region and Somalis from Oromia to Somali region as a means to escape them from violence by government agents further exacerbated the conflict and affect national consensus (interview from Human Rights Commission).

As I have tried to review in chapter four of this thesis political elites at different times play a role in hostility between Oromo and Somali along the border of two regional states. For instance, the Ethiopian government became more suspicious of Somali pastoralists because of the idea ‘to create the greater Somalia’ and it began arming and supporting Oromo pastoralists in their

conflicts with Somali pastoralists which aggravated the hostility between pastoral groups (Markakis, 1987 cited in Tigist, 2014). On the other hand, the Italians were fueled the conflict between Oromo-Somali by providing firearms to the Garri with the objective of harassing the Ethiopian forces. Taking this advantage Garri started to carry out raids against the Borana (Melkamu, 2016). Additionally, as it is stated in chapter four under historical relation and conflict between Oromia and Somali Regional state of Ethiopia Gebru1996 cited in Melkamu (2016:29) stated “when Somalia established the Somali Abo Liberation Front (SALF) in 1976 the Garri, the Gabra and other Islamic Oromo clans joined the new movement, while the Borana remained aligned with the Ethiopian government”.

The above statements show us how the symbols of ethnic identity are something useful for elite political leaders to mobilize groups along their ethnic identity in pursuing their political goals (Cohn, 1996 and Brass, 1996 cited in Melkamu, 2016). The evidence from in-depth interview also indicated that Oromos and Somalis have strong social interactions and intermarriage with each other for many centuries, but the current conflict is like a political game that those who are not willing to take the administrative change in our country especially to weaken Oromia regional state and the new leadership of Oromia headed by Lemma Megersa. Regarding actors of the conflict mistrust between top regional officials of two regional states could exacerbate the current conflict (Kalkidan, 18 September 2017). Oromia officials claimed Somali Liyu Police whereas Somali Officials claimed Oromo Liberation Front (Ibid). The result of almost all in-depth interviewed informants stated that there were groups of people with military weapons who were searching and asking Oromo and threatened them and as the result of this fear they left all their properties at their habitual place and displaced elsewhere to safe their life. Generally speaking, from the very begging, since the conflict was started between two Ethiopian ethnic groups [Oromos and Somalis] vulnerability from one group initiate revenge from other side and under this shade elites those who are not willing to do with and or not want to administered by existing administration initiate the conflict whether to weaken the ruling government or to establish their own government. Therefore, instrumentalism and primordialism were initiated the displacement under the shade of ethnic federation.

5.3. Implications of relocation on security of IDPs relocated to Melka Gefersa Kebele

As it is stated in chapter two of this thesis human security is multi-dimensional and broad concept that encompasses economic development, social justice, environmental protection, democratization, disarmament, respect for human rights and the rule of law (Annan, 2000). In the context of human security, the concept of security places the individual at the center (the first referent of security) and broadened to include protection from various kinds of threats. The UNDP Human Development Report (1994) classifies these threats under seven categories which are mutually inclusive and interdependent: economic security threats, food security threats, health security threats, environmental security threats, personal security threats, community security threats and political security threats.

Furthermore, threats of human security can be categorized as threats related to freedom from want and freedom from fear. Freedom from want emphasizes the importance of development concerns and human dignity (UNDP 1994). CHS (2003) stated that freedom from want is mainly focused on the threats to life's basic needs such as poverty, famine, financial crisis, hunger, etc. However, freedom from fear refers to protection from violence, physical aggression, armed conflict, human rights abuses, public insecurity and organized crime (Brinkeham, 2014). Thus, under this title the researcher was mainly investigated human security implications of displacement on population under study mainly, if not exclusively, from the perspective of freedom from want.

As it is noted in Kalin (2010) cited in Negera (2018: 63) “arbitrary displacement is violation of the Guiding Principles and the binding international norms and arbitrary displacement may amount to crimes against humanity or war crimes”. Article 6 (1) of United Nations guiding principle on internally displaced persons enshrined prohibition of arbitrary displacement in a situation of armed conflict and every human being have the right to be protected against being arbitrarily displaced from his or her place of residence. Article 3 (1) (c) and (d) of the Africa Union Convention for Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons also stated that “the national authorities are responsible to protect dignity and liberty rights of displaced persons within their jurisdiction during the time of displacement”. Again the 1995 FDRE Constitution Article 15 also stated that every person has the right to life and no person may be deprived of his life except as a punishment for a serious criminal offence determined by law. The constitution in

its article 17/1 also stated that no one shall be deprived of his or her liberty except on such grounds and in accordance with such procedure as are established by law.

Explaining the protection of their security during time of displacement majority of in-depth interview informants argued that conflict induced displacement was violated their rights in many aspects. This displacement violated liberty, dignity, possession of property and means of livelihood of population understudy. They stated that many people lost their lives because of the conflict and they left their means of livelihood and property and they fled to save their lives.

Even though law related compensation of properties as the result of CID is lacking in Ethiopia, compensation of properties in the case of DID is working. For instance, Article 44 (2) of the 1995 FDRE constitution stated that all persons who have been displaced or whose livelihoods have been adversely affected because of state programme have the right to alternative means of compensation, including relocation with adequate state assistance. Expropriation of Landholdings for Public Purposes and Payment of Compensation Proclamation No. 455/2005 article 7/1 & 2 also stated that a landholder whose property has been expropriated by government have the right to payment of compensation for his property and the amount of compensation shall be determined based on replacement cost of the property.

However, United Nations Guiding Principles on IDPs principle 29/2 stated that competent authorities have the responsibility to recover to the possible extent property and possessions of IDPs which they left behind or were dispossessed of upon their displacement. Competent authorities have also the duty to provide or assist these persons in obtaining appropriate compensation or another form of just reparation. Again AU Convention for Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa article 12/2 stated that competent authorities have to provide compensation and reparations to internally displaced persons for damage incurred as a result of displacement. As it is stated in the preamble of both guiding principles and AU Convention for Protection and Assistance of IDPs conflict induced displacement is one category of IDPs and thus has the right to appropriate compensation or another form of just reparation.

Carillo (2009) noted that IDPs displaced by conflict flee in fear to save their lives, mostly, leaving their assets and their socio-cultural and family networks. However, IDPs under study lack compensation rights of their property lost as the result of the conflict. In addition, there are many families whose family-network is interrupted since they relocated at different place and time. In case of compensation rights of their property, majority of in-depth interviewees stated that their properties and means of livelihood are left at their previous home land. Although it might be difficult for national government to compensate all properties of these internally displaced people, national government have to maintain peace and security of its citizen before displacement. However, in the relocation site government gave for IDPs only short term humanitarian assistance like shelter for emergency (house with inadequate facilities) and some sort of rations. This is why Ethiopian government is lacking both national laws related compensation of property damaged as the result of conflict induced displacement and fail to follow United Nations Guiding Principles on IDPs and Kampala convention. As they stated now they are suffering from food, water and health insecurities as well as they are suffering from psychological inferiority complex.

Parallel to the above in-depth interview, the study by Carillo (2009) in Nigeria also observed that, there are psychological consequences of displacement on IDPs, mostly because they have lost a loved one or because they have had to abandon their way of life, assets, customs and culture. The finding of Tizazu (2014) also noted that, apart from the frequently occurring human rights violations following displacement, the psychological impact of displacement on victims can be far-reaching. Food security is seen as a basic human right and as a means of achieving other human rights. The United Nations specified twelve elements for 'living', of which, food, nutrition and food security were the main elements (Adhikari, 2004). However, the assessment on food security on IDPs of East Hararghe indicated that despite some lifesaving responses were being provided by government and partners the humanitarian assistance being provided is far below the international standard (East Hararghe Zone Disaster Risk Management Office Report April, 2019). As the report indicated only response IDPs were received consistently for 9 months is food through World Food Program (WFP). This response itself has got drawbacks' in which the IDPs were not received their preferred food.

In-depth interview informants stated that delay of food delivery, small ration size and lack of nonfood assistance is creating food shortage at household level. Moreover, absence of supplementary food support for delivering mothers and new born children just after some months of their relocation aggravated malnutrition suffers. However, Kampala Convention obliged member states to provide special protection and assistance for IDPs with special needs including separated and unaccompanied children, female heads of households, expectant mothers, mothers with young children, the elderly, and persons with disabilities or with communicable diseases (Article 9/ 2(c)). The ration given to IDPs is nutritionally poor with no protein and vitamin rich foods (interview from Oromia Disaster and Risk Management Bureau). As one of my in-depth interviewee informant *Ato Ibrahim Hussein* stated there are 60 pregnant women and 55 breast feeding mothers at Melka Gefersa relocation site. He stated “*We have asked additional food supports for this group frequently but yet no answers. All the food support was similar to other groups except some month since we are started to live at here site*”. However, evidence from Melka Gefersa *Kebele* and Burayu Town shows although there is delay of food delivery, food assistance for pregnant and breast feeding mothers is not stopped.

Internally displaced persons are vulnerable to different risks and impoverishments, most obviously it forces people to be ousted from their homes, depriving them of shelter and the basic protection, cut off them out of their land, means of livelihoods and means of generating income (Mooney, 2005). Most of IDP informants claim that lack of income generating opportunities and cash obliged them to sell portion their food rations to purchase other ingredients and basic needs like spices, onion and health care service expenses which bring food shortage at household level after significant number of days of a month. Although government gave free public health services for those IDPs, they claimed that there is no full service and most of the time they obliged to use private health sector. However, without satisfying basic need of IDPs like balanced diet, water, shelter, sanitation, soap and other household items giving free services health care cannot save lives. Therefore, food insecurity is one factor that is challenging human security of IDPs under study and among eight Cernea’s (1997) Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction Model (IRRM) joblessness and food insecurity are highly affected their human security.

Article 23 (1) of United Nations Guiding Principle on Internally Displaced Persons stated that “displaced persons particularly displaced children have right to get education and national authorities have primary responsibility to ensure the access of public school. However, all of the respondents from IDPs repeatedly stated that decreasing quality and quantity of humanitarian assistance for children especially nonfood assistance like clothes and educational materials is increasing withdrawal of IDP students which also affects the inferiority complex between the students of host community and IDPs.

The 1995 FDRE constitution, Article 41 (3) and 41 (4) states that “Ethiopian national has the right to equal access to publicly funded social services” and “the state has the obligation to allocate and provide public services” such as public health, education and potable water and electricity”. Relocated internally displaced persons have rights to have access to different social services such as health service and sanitation, school, potable water, and electricity and national authorities are primarily liable to allocate these facilities.

According to Gebre (2008), when displacement of any kind takes place basic physical infrastructures and social services that are unquestionably beneficial in every one’s activities have to be met in a relocation site. Among these physical infrastructure and social services electricity, water supply, sanitation, road, schools and health care services are the major ones. Regarding their access to social services in their relocation site almost all of my respondents from IDPs stated that at the beginning when they relocated to Melka Gefersa *Kebele* the officials promised them to provide social services, but there is inadequate social service compared to hosted community. For instance, concerning public school, the school is far from their relocation site, government neither provides school near to their relocation site nor facilitate the means in which their students arrive at the school like bus or not gave them pocket money for transportation.

As I have observed and respondents from IDPs are stated lack of adequate housing is one of the factors that affecting human security of IDPs in Melka Gefersa *Kebele*. Their houses were simply constructed as a shelter for emergency. None of the houses have kitchen and toilet but common toilet. Access of water is also very problematic around the site and almost always they get water three days per week. Parallel to this, the research finding of Usman (nd) in Nigeria

revealed that IDPs usually live in socio-economically disadvantaged areas, plagued by water, sanitation and hygienic problems, as well as limited opportunity for economic activities, which further affects the lives of both adult and children.

Regarding to education facilities there is no school established for IDPs under study and the pre-established school is too far from the relocation site which is major challenge to children's right of education. Language barrier is also another factor that affects students of Melka Gefersa *Kebele* IDPs. Students of one of my in-depth interviewee *Ato Ibrahim Hussein* who is one of social committee of IDPs under study and who was lived in Jigjiga for long period of time are one of this sufferers. He stated that;

"I have seven children. Three of them were attending elementary school in Somali region in Somali language. One of my sons withdrew from grade three and the other two are from grade five because of our displacement. Now I am living in Burayu Town of Oromia National Regional State. Here most probably academic language is Afaan Oromo and or Amharic. This language barrier obliged my children to start their education from grade one".

IDPs have the right to economic security and earn income to sustain and improve their lives and means of livelihoods. As it is defined in UNDP (1994) economic security is defined as assured basic income, access to employment and resources. Thus, economic security is a basic security in which everyone should claim as a right and an ideal to which all policies and institutions should consider (ILO, 2004). Among the other requirement economic security is achieved if an individual has some reasonable source of income for his/her consumption. UNDP (1994) revealed that economic security is achieved when the basic needs of citizens are attained through their source of income, but the falling of incomes threatens human security in general and economic security in particular.

Regarding economic security the 1995 FDRE Constitution Article 43 (1) states that every Nations Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia as a whole have the right to improve once own living standards. Again Article 41 (1) of FDERE also states that every Ethiopian has the right to engage freely in economic activities, pursue his/her livelihoods and choose his or her means of

livelihoods, occupation, and profession. However, IDPs under study blamed that ‘we are suffering from these rights because we lost all our means of livelihood because of displacement at the place of our previous home land. Some of us were traders, farmers, daily workers and civil servants. Still, there is no mechanism to provide job opportunity for us except for those who were civil servants’. Regarding economic security one of my in-depth interviewees stated that;

I am a widow woman. My husband died ten years ago. Now I do have six children. Before our displacement, we were in the center of Jigiga city, I was a shopkeeper, and I was having a daily income from the shop. I do have many customers there. Besides that, I was also doing different business there, but today thinking like that is dream. As you see, I am selling onion, potato, and tomatoes on the strait. I don't know what will happen to me and my children for future time.

5.4. Rehabilitating IDPs of Melka Gefersa Kebele and its challenge

Rehabilitation assistance is one way to reconstruct demolished social and economic life of the displaced people (Hathi, 1990). According to United Nations guiding principle on internally displaced person Article 25 (1), the primary duty and responsibility to provide rehabilitation assistance for internally displaced persons lies on national authorities. Oromia Disaster and Risk Management Bureau in collaboration with National Disaster Risk and Management Commission (NDRMC) are assisting both IDPs in camps and those who are relocated to other parts of the country. The assistance has two kinds. None food assistance are blanket, shelter, cooking materials, educational materials and soap, whereas food assistance include 15 Kg cereal (most of the time maize and wheat), 1.5 Kg for cooking *shero wat* (most of the time corn and soya bean), and 0.4 liter edible oil given for each individual (interview from Disaster Response and Rehabilitation Expert, from NDRMC). One of my key informant from Burayu Town Labour and Social Affairs office stated that in addition to this ration Burayu Town assisted all IDPs during public holly days.

However, in-depth interview informants of IDPs under study stated nonfood assistance was given to IDPs of Melka Gefersa Kebele only once at the beginning of their relocation and food

assistance was also stopped after about one year and six months of their relocation to the site. The temporarily established committee, headed by Dr. Abera Deressa, intended to assist IDPs by collecting fund from volunteers like civil servants, farmers, investors etc. One of the members of this committee *Ato Beqalu* appreciated the contribution of people to assist IDPs and stated that money collected by this committee provides basic need like food, shelter, water and electricity to some extent. However, rehabilitating IDPs is about creating job opportunities thus it is beyond giving food and nonfood assistance. With regard to rehabilitation of IDPs, Burayu Town in collaboration with Oromia Saving and Credit Association (OSCA) and Technical and Vocational Enterprise tried to provide job opportunities for IDPs (interview from Burayu Town Labour and Social Affairs office).

The mandate of Technical and Vocational Enterprise Office is to create awareness on job creation, create job opportunities, organizing jobless individuals to reduce joblessness and create market links between producers and consumers. Regarding job creation and rehabilitation of IDPs under study one of my key informants from Melka Gefersa *Kebele* stated that there are some challenges hindered IDPs to borrow from this credit association. Among 48 groups, where one group has five to seven members as per requirement of Oromia Saving and Credit Association, only 21 groups borrow money from this credit institution. Even though Melka Gefersa *Kebele* provided place of work for these 21 groups, the groups are not satisfied because of the place given to them is not based on their interest. Many of respondents from IDPs claimed that despite government gave house for IDP households; still the residential site plan is not yet given for all but it was given for some households. Thus, it is compulsory for those who have not residential site plan to organize themselves with those who have residential site plan to borrow money from the above stated credit association.

Therefore, as informants from IDPs stated the delayed response of residential site plan denied the opportunity to borrow money from this credit association, whereas, key informants of Melka Gefersa *Kebele* and Burayu Town Manager stated the problem is mistrust among the members themselves. As key informants from Melka Gefersa *Kebele* and Burayu Town Labour and Social Affairs stated another challenge to rehabilitate IDPs is lack of budget from government and minimum amount of money that OSCA can borrow. Additionally, although one person can

borrow twenty thousand, it is not given at once and half of this total will borrow depend on the status of their work (IDP interviewed informants).

In-depth interview IDPs strongly blamed Melka Gefersa *Kebele* and Burayu town administration because of inadequate means of rehabilitating their life. Their blame is ‘even though we are vulnerable group affected by displacement, there is no affirmative action for us to facilitate how we can borrow money from OSCA and delayed response to give residential site plan violated our right to borrow money from OSCA and other micro financial institution’. Generally, from the above evidence it is possible to say Melka Gefersa *Kebele* and Burayu Town Administration played very little role to rehabilitate IDPs under study. This is because even if borrowing money from micro financial institutions is the right of all citizens who are legible to borrow, delayed response to give residential site plan challenged majority of IDPs understudy to get this chance. However, organizing IDPs and providing work place for IDPs is not minimum role.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the conclusions on human security implication of displacement on IDPs under study based on the analysis of the data in line with research questions and objectives. It also deals with recommendations based on the key analysis and conclusions of the thesis.

6.2. Conclusion

Ethiopia saw a significant increase in conflict induced displacement since 2017 between different ethnic groups in different parts of the country which has a significant effect on people's lives and livelihoods. Among the other, conflict along Oromo-Somali border displaced the highest number of peoples from both sides. However, in case of IDPs displaced from Oromo-Somali border and different parts of Somali to Oromia, many of them who were in the camp are returned to their previous home land, some are relocated to 11 Oromia Towns of which Burayu Town is one and hosted 2,257 IDPs. This study examined the human security implications of Oromo-Somali conflict induced displacement in Ethiopia, the case of Burayu town, Melka Gefersa *Kebele*. The study was mainly focused on causes of displacement, human security implications of displacement and rehabilitation mechanism of IDPs under study.

With regard to the conflict between different Oromo clans and Somali clans the findings of previous studies revealed that, even though Oromo and Somali shared strong interactions and long border land, border issues, scarcity of resources, resource competition as well as political entrepreneur were played significant role to hesitate their relations (Melkamu, 2016). However, whatsoever would be the cause and whoever the actors are the recent Oromo-Somali conflict is unquestionably incomparable with the previous. With regard to the causes of displacement, the finding of the study revealed that lack of quick response (late response on the issues that might lead to conflict) such as failure to demarcate the boundary between the two regions as per the 2004 referendum on more than 430 *Kebeles* of which about 80% of the disputed areas have fallen under Oromia administration, resource competition, rent-seeking and as the causes of displacement.

The finding of the study also revealed that ethnic based boundary demarcation and difficulty of clearly demarcating the border along two ethnic groups as a result of high assimilation and claim of resource ownership is also other causes that exacerbate displacement. However, the cause of displacement is not limited to border issues since people are displaced beyond the border areas of two regions. The study also revealed that, although government have primary responsibility to minimize causes that might leads to displacement to the possible extent and responsible to stop conflict before its escalation, failure to deploy security forces timely and situation of transporting Oromos from Somali to Oromia region and Somalis from Oromia to Somali region as a means to escape displacees from violence by government agents has also further exacerbated displacement.

Conflict induced displacement is worldwide increasing which has an impact not only to expel many people from their homes, homelands and often a place of usual residence but also leads to human security threats. Regarding to implications of displacement on security of IDPs relocated to Melka Gefersa *Kebele*, the study revealed that conflict induced displacement negatively affected human security, means of livelihood and possession of their properties. Despite the fact that Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement principle 29/2 obliged competent authorities to provide appropriate compensation or another form of just reparation for IDPs, there is no compensation paid for IDPs under study which has direct impact on their security. In this regard IDPs under study are suffering from food, water, health insecurities and psychological inferiority complex. The study revealed that absence of supplementary food support for delivering mothers and new born children just after some months of their relocation aggravated malnutrition and small ration size and lack of nonfood assistance is resulting food shortage at household level.

Therefore, lack of income generating opportunities and cash obliged IDPs to sell portion of their food rations to purchase other ingredients and basic needs like spices, onion and health care service expenses also brought food shortage at household level after significant number of days of a month. The study also revealed that lack of adequate housing and lack of social services accessibility at relocation site are among the major factor that affecting human security of Melka Gefersa *Kebele* IDPs. Regarding to rehabilitation mechanism of IDPs the study revealed that there is no long-term plan to rehabilitate IDPs rather short term plan like nonfood assistance for some months since the time of their relocation and food assistance for one year and six months.

Again the study revealed that delayed response to provide residential site plan for all IDPs hinder them to borrow money from micro financial institution, which has direct negative impact on IDPs to rehabilitate their life.

6.3. Recommendations

The conclusion of this study revealed that the displacement has negative implications on security of Melka Gefersa *Kebele* IDPs. Thus taking proper measures can redress such negative implications and minimize the incidence of the same problem in the future. Therefore, based on the finding of the study the following recommendations are forwarded to the concerned body to minimize conflict induced displacement.

- ✓ Government (at federal, regional and local levels) should give an early response on issues that will bring conflict between two or more ethnic groups.
- ✓ Government has to use a preventive ways to settle conflict rather than curative ways.
- ✓ When preventive way of settling conflict is difficult it better to stop the conflict before its escalation.
- ✓ The government should work to take measures on those who instigate violence and unrest in the name of border conflict.
- ✓ Government has to provide legal framework considering compensation of property and possessions lost as the result of conflict induced displacement at national level and able to implement provisions of UNGP and Kampala Conventions concerning rights of IDPs.
- ✓ Burayu Town officials in collaboration with NDRMC and Oromia Risk and Disaster Management Bureau should allocate and provide basic social services including potable water, electricity, school, health services and sanitation for IDPs.
- ✓ Until public school nearby the relocation site is established, it is better if Burayu Town provide the means by which students of IDPs can benefit from pre-established school around the relocation site by giving free transportation services and other assistance for IDP students since their location is far from the school.
- ✓ Melka Gefersa *Kebele* Officials in collaboration with Burayu Town Officials have to give residential site plan for all IDP households and find the way by which IDPs can rehabilitate their life.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The general guide lines for all Research participants

Dear participants! My name is Gudeta Regassa. Currently I am following MA program in Peace and Security Studies at Addis Ababa University, Institute For Peace and Security Studies. As a requirement of the program, I am doing MA thesis on *implications of Oromo-Somali conflict induced internal displacement on human security in Ethiopia: the case of Burayu Town*. To this end the overall purpose undertaking in-depth interview and key informant interview is to gather information for the accomplishment of the objective of the study and solely used for academic purposes.

Thus since the quality of this study depends upon your response, I kindly request your consent to participate voluntarily and openly. For the sake of confidentiality, any personal identifiers, such as your name and photographs will kept hidden depend on your consent. Guiding questions for in-depth interview and key informants as well as the profile of respondents is clarified under the following appendixes. However, the researcher will not necessarily and strictly follow the guiding questions i.e., modification of the question can be possible on the basis of the circumstances and regarding profile of the respondents clarifying identity of each respondents must be according to their consent.

Thank you in advance for your kindly cooperation!!

Appendix II: guide questions for in-depth interview and key informants

I. Guide questions for in-depth interview

A. Questions regarding to the causes and triggering factors of the conflict

1. Where are you displaced from?
2. How long you have been lived there? Could you thoroughly describe your relation with your neighbor Somali people before the conflict?
3. What do you think the major causes of the conflict displaced you?
4. Could you describe the role of government in addressing the underlying causes of conflict before the conflict is escalated?

B. Questions regarding security of IDPs in study area

1. Could you list the property you lost because of this displacement?
2. Who gives you humanitarian assistance since you have displaced? Could you briefly explain the nature, amount, kind and frequency of these assistances from government or non-governmental organization if there?
3. According to UNGP Principle 29/2 competent authorities have the duty to assist resettled internally displaced persons to recover their property and possessions which they left behind or were dispossessed of upon their displacement. Did government pay compensation for your property lost during the conflict?
4. How has been the accessibility of social services such as schools, hospitals, potable water and other in your current relocation site? Please briefly explain social services you have and lack and its side effects on your daily life.
5. Can you explain your life here in the relocation site by comparing it with your life prior to displacement?
6. What was your means of income before your displacement? What is your means of livelihood after your displacement?
7. Could you thoroughly explain the protection and assistance towards children, mothers with young children, expectant mothers, and female heads of household after you relocated to Burayu Town?
8. UNGP principle 18 obliged competent authorities to provide essential food and potable water, basic shelter and housing, appropriate clothing, and essential medical services and sanitation to IDPs. How do you see the implementation of this principle in your site? Please thoroughly explain.

9. What kinds of effects did you experience on your social life after relocation? For instance, such as memberships in community organizations, Children's Schools...etc.

C. Questions regarding to rehabilitation mechanism of IDPs under study

1. In what ways Burayu town administration supports you to create job opportunity and rehabilitate your life?
2. Who are stake holders of this rehabilitation and what they contributed to you?
3. Where did you get fund for this rehabilitation if any?
4. What are mechanisms of government response to mitigate adverse effect of your displacement? Is there any mechanism that government supports specially householders and youth in rehabilitating the life and making job opportunity? If there please thoroughly explain it.

II. Guide questions for key informants

A. Questions regarding to the causes and triggering factors of the conflict

1. What do you think the major causes of the conflict people under study?
2. What factors play a role in triggering the conflict? Or how the conflict is escalated and displaced these peoples?
3. Could you describe the role of government in addressing the underlying causes of conflict before the conflict is escalated?
4. Could you describe the role of government and other body in settling the conflict?

B. Questions regarding security of IDPs in study area

1. What is the responsibility of the government, NGOs and community in assisting and rehabilitating conflict induced displacement in general?
2. Who gives humanitarian assistance for IDPs under study since they have displaced? Could you briefly explain the nature, amount, kind and frequency of these assistances from government or non-governmental organization if there?
3. Council of Ministers Regulations No. 135/2007 stated: *“that an individuals or groups of people who displaced by development project have the rights to take appropriate and adequate compensation for destroyed properties and lost assets due to development projects and for transferring of properties”*. Does this regulation work for individuals or group of people who displaced by conflict and lost their property because of displacement? If no is there other proclamation or regulation regarding to compensation of property lost because of conflict induced displacement? Could you thoroughly describe?

4. According to UNGP principle 29/2 competent authorities have the duty and responsibility to assist resettled internally displaced persons to recover, to the possible extent, their property and possessions which they left behind or were dispossessed of upon their displacement. Did government pay compensation for IDPs' property lost during the conflict? If yes was it enough?
5. How has been the accessibility of social services such as schools, hospitals, potable water and other for IDPs under study?
6. Article 43/1 of FDRE constitution stated that each Nation, Nationality, and People in Ethiopia have the right to improve living standards and to sustainable development. Could you explain how the right to development and improving the life of IDPs is affected by this displacement?
7. UNGP principle 4/2 stated that among others certain internally displaced person like children, expectant mothers, mothers with young children, female heads of household, persons with disabilities and elderly persons, shall be entitled to protection and assistance required by their condition and to treatment which takes into account their special needs. Could you thoroughly explain the protection and assistance towards these groups especially after their relocation?
8. What would be expected from government to protect, assist and provide durable solution to conflict induced displaced peoples?

C. Questions regarding to rehabilitation mechanism of IDPs under study

1. Is there rehabilitation plan for displacees? If there please thoroughly explain how the plan is going on and challenges of the plan?
2. What role Burayu Town Administration contributed to rehabilitate IDPs of Melka Gefersa IDPs?
3. Who are stake holders of this rehabilitation and what they contribute?
4. Were allocated budget for this rehabilitation? If any describe it?
5. What are rehabilitation mechanisms of government response to mitigate adverse effect of displacement? Is there any mechanism that government supports specially householders and youth to rehabilitate their life and to make their own job? If there please thoroughly explain it.

Appendix III: profile of In-depth Interviewees and key Informants

1. In-depth Interviewee

In-depth interviewee respondents are IDPs of Melka Gefersa *Kebele*. The profile of these IDPs are tried to clarify under the following two tables: table one consists household profile and table two consists youth respondents.

Table 1: households IDPs respondents' profile

No	Name	Sex	Where they displaced from	Family size	Interview Place	Remark
1	Ibrahim Hussein	M	Jijiga	7	Relocation site	
2	Siyad Mohamed	M	Jigjiga	5		
3	Abdullahi Ibrahim	M	Jigjiga	6		
4	Yimam Abdi	M	Wacale	4		
5	Hasen Mohamed	M	Harka Shek	8		
6	Ahmed Teyer	M	Wacale	5		
7	Tolassa Bure	M	Argelle	8		
8	Fatuma Nuredin	F	Wacale	6		
9	Bayan Jibro	M	Jigjiga	5		
10	Faran Abdusemad	M	Jigjiga	6		

Table 2: Youth IDPs respondents' profile

No	Name	Sex	Where they displaced from	Interview Place	Remark
1	Bilal Kadir	M	Wacale	Relocation Site	
2	Nasir Ahmed	M	Jigjiga		
3	Nasir Kalifa	M	Cinaksen		
4	Abdubeker Hussein	M	Jarso		

2. Key Informant Interviewee

No	Name	Sex	Their organization and interview place	Remark
1	<i>Informant one</i>	M	Ethiopian Human Rights Commission	
2	<i>Informant two</i>	M	Ministry of Peace	
3	<i>Informant three</i>	M	Oromia Disaster and Risk Management	
4	<i>Informant four</i>	M	Melka Gefersa Kebele	
5	Informant five	F	Burayu Town Office	
6	<i>Informant six</i>	M	Oromia President Office	

Appendix IV: Ethiopian regional population distribution & ethnic composition

Regions	Populatio n	Estimate size in Km²	Ethnic composition (%)
<i>Tigray</i>	3 136 267	50 078.64	94.98 Tigre, 2.6 Amhara, 0.7 Erob, 0.05 Kunama
<i>Amhara</i>	13834 297	159 173.66	91.2 Amhara, 3.0 Oromo, 2.7 Agew/Awi, 1.2 Kemant, 1.0 Agew/Khemera
<i>Afar</i>	1106 383	96 707.00	91.8 Afar, 4.5 Amhara, 0.92 Argoba, 0.82 Tigre, 0.78 Oromo, 0.45 Wolayita, 0.013 Hadiya
<i>Oromia</i>	18 732525	353 006.81	85.0 Oromo, 9.1 Amhara, 1.3 Gurage, 4.6 others
<i>Somali</i>	3 439 860	279 252.00	95.6 Somali, 2.25 Oromo, 0.69 Amhara, 0.14 Gurage
<i>SNNP</i>	10 377028	112 343.19	18 Sidama, 14.72 Gurage, 11.53 Wolayita, 8.53 Hadiya, 5.22 Keffa, 2.0 Mocha, 1.6 Tigre, 5.5 others
<i>Gambella</i>	181 862	25 802.01	40 Nuer, 27.0 Agnuack, 8.0 Amhara, 6.0 Oromo, 5.8 Mejangir, 4.1 Keffa, 2.0 Mocha, 1.6 Tigre, 5.5 others
<i>Benishang ul/Gumuz</i>	460 459	49 289.46	26.7 Berta, 23.4 Gumuz, 22.2 Amhara, 12.8 Oromo, 6.9 Shinasha, 8.0 others
<i>Harari</i>	131 139	311.25	52.3 Oromo, 32.6 Amhara, 7.1 Harari, 3.2 Gurage

Source: The 1994 Ethiopian Population and Housing census