

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

ADDRESSING THE MOYALE CONFLICTS IN
SOUTHERN ETHIOPIA: CHALLENGES AND
PROSPECTS

By: Melkamu Sintayehu Abebe

June, 2016
Addis Ababa

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**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
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Acronyms

FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HSR	Human Security Report
IAG	Inter Africa Group
IGAD	Inter Governmental Authority for Development
IGO	Inter Governmental Organization
KRCS	Kenyan Red Cross Society
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
OALF	Oromo Abo Liberation Front
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
OPA	Oromia Pastoralist Association
SALF	Somali Abo Liberation Front
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
UN	United Nations
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Abstract

The theme of this study is concerned with addressing the conflicts of the Moyale town in southern Ethiopia. There has been conflicts in Moyale and its environs since early times. However, the nature of the conflict has changed in recent decades, both in its actual subject-matter and in the form of its expression. The conflicts were obviously not the usual fights between pastoral communities over pasture, water source or cattle raid. As a result, the study is aimed at identifying the actors, the factors and the interplay between different dimensions of the Moyale conflicts. Qualitative case study method and descriptive design were used to this end. The analysis is also framed using theories of ethnicity and ethnic mobilizations. The finding indicates that the conflicts in Moyale and its environs shaped and re-shaped by historic and ongoing socio-economic and political developments. The Borana, the Garri and the Gabra found to be parties in conflict while other actors such as the OLF, Al-Shabab, Business Men, Community elites, Security forces from both the Ethiopian and the Kenyan sides involved in the conflicts of the area. The factors of the conflicts also includes Land Ownership and Blurred Frontier Demarcations, Politicized Ethnicity and Elite Mobilization, the Location of Moyale and Unenforceable Citizenship Rights. The efforts of achieving lasting peace held back due to the Socio-economic and Political developments, focus on the Immediate factors of the conflict, the Proliferation of Small Arms, Lack of commitment from Local Elites and the Regional Dimension of the conflicts. At the same time, the recent measures of the government upon local elites, the mental set-up of the community for peace, increased dependency on legal instruments and joint planning and execution of social services found to be windows of opportunities in dealing with the conflicts of the area. In general, the study concludes that the conflicts in the town of Moyale and its environs are the result of a number of actors and factors. And also have a peculiar features which cannot be addressed in terms of pastoralist conflicts of the region and calls for a shift of focus to a deeper level, beyond the surface factors, where the underlying factors are directly addressed.

Chapter I: Introduction

1.2. Background of the Study

Any conflict touches all social relationships. Conflict can be an inherent and legitimate part of social and political life (USAID, 2012:32). The nature of violent conflict in the world has changed in recent decades, both in its actual subject-matter and in the form of its expression (Harris and Reilly, 1998:1). As a result, the idea about root factors of a given conflict is so wide and quite complex. How people in a given space and time understand conflict varies to a large degree. Eventually the way people perceive conflict, in turn, could affect the methods ultimately designed to manage or resolve it. One concept of conflict roots it in the material world, as for instance a competition between individuals or among certain group over scarce resources. This competition can also be determined by individuals' perceptions or goals, resources, and finally power. The other line of argument conceives conflict as a question of political power (Avruch, 1998:2). Some other significantly put culture at the centre of current conflicts (Huntington, 1996). Generally speaking the socially inherited, shared and learned ways of living possessed by individuals', in virtue of their membership, in a given social groups and environment determines the course of different conflict (*Ibid*). Currently, the existing literatures on conflict indicates the shift of the nature of the conflict from inter-state conflict to intra-state conflicts. In most cases intra-state conflicts fought along ethnic lines and countries with divided societies are suffering much from such conflicts (Caselli and Coleman, 2002:1).

Ethnic conflicts and violence related to ethnicity are potent forces threatening the existence of states and claiming millions of lives and property. An ethnic conflict occurs when a critical number of people have made the calculated decision to pursue their goals with violent means (Wolff 2006:6). According Harris and Reilly (1998:48), identity differences can lend themselves to political manipulation in such circumstances where a community perceives reasons to fear the policies or activities of other communities, or experiences its economic or social position as clearly inferior to that of other groups with little prospect of amelioration, or where its abiding experience is one of disempowerment and vulnerability. In the Moyale and its environs, ethnic aspects of the conflicts are clearly visible. But ethnicity alone would not explain the protracted conflicts of the area.

Clan based political rivalries have also contributed in the politicization of ethnic claims. Collier (2001) stated that the intrastate conflicts in Africa have been associated with primordial ties of ethnic groups and the mobilizing effect of greedy ethnic leaders in order to achieve their political and economic objectives.

The Horn of Africa is one of the most conflict-prone areas in the continent involving different factors and actors. The Horn is the sub-region of protracted conflict and instability (Weyessa, 2011). Most scholars attributed these conflicts to ethnicity. In the Horn, the conflicts that have occurred since 1960s have largely been internal. Border conflicts have been rare (Ulrike, 2010:117). The factors of internal conflicts are many. It may involve ethnic, resource, economic, political and religious dimensions. Moyale and its environs just like other parts of the Horn has been suffering from conflicts which caused by one or the other factors.

Some even contend that the Horn of Africa region as highly complicated because politics and ethnicity are deeply interwoven. Political elites manipulate ethnic claims to mobilize a given ethnic group towards certain end (Wolff, 2007). In the same vein, in the town of Moyale and its environs ethnic mobilization seems self evident, though overlooked by the existing literatures in the area. Similarly, the region is known for the pastoralist movement from place to place leading to almost continuous local warfare and frequent forced migration. In general, the sub-region is often considered as the most volatile area in the world despite some progress made in ending long lasting regional wars (Dereje, 2010).

The history of Ethiopia is riddled with intra and inter-state conflicts. In its modern history, the country had to withstand several conquests. Internally as well, Ethiopia experienced, for much of its history, acute social, political and economic contradictions. Conflicts in Ethiopia have economic, political, ethnic, religious and regional dimensions (Asnake, 2004). Like other towns in Southern Ethiopia, the development of the Moyale town was associated with the expansion of the Ethiopian State at the end of the 19th century and the formation of administrative and military centers in newly conquered territories. Thus, the majority of the residents were in the service of the government and largely extracted from the northern and central parts of the country (Adegehe, 2009). Thus, it is inevitable that the socio-economic and political dynamics related with formation of towns provides additional incentives for the protracted conflicts of the area.

Asnake (2004) argues that although the introduction of federalism in Ethiopia resolved the longstanding rebel confrontations which were based on ethno-nationalism, the country began to run into a new wave of conflicts which can be categorized under inter-ethnic competition in majority-minority relations and problems related to delineation of regional boundaries. The federal system of government which is introduced by the 1991 Transitional Government requires the assignment the land to a given ethnic group. The issue of self administration and political representation are also closely linked to the possession of land. As a result, land and land related issue has gained a great importance in the politics and conflicts of the area, particularly between the Borana, the Garri and the Gabra ethnic groups. Thus, the political transition in 1991, though it responded basic question related to ethnic identity, respect of culture and self administration which were overlooked by the pervious regimes, it also gestured the emergence of a new threat to the viability of the state in the form of ethnic tensions. The inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic animosities among the pastoral communities in the region under discussion would be seen from this grounds (Tigist, 2014).

Moreover, the proximity of the town of Moyale to the porous border with Kenya and Somalia has significantly contributed to steady inflow of fire arms and infiltration of various armed groups. As verified by this work easy access of firearms added some incentives to the conflicts of the area. In this regards, Dereje and Markus (2008:9) have come up with four different types of resources in which collective as well as individual actors can extract from state borders and borderlands.

These are, first, economic resources (cross-border trade and smuggling); second, political resources (access to alternative centers of political power; trans border political mobilization; safe haven for rebels who strive to alter national structures of power; and strategic cooption of borderlanders by competing states); third, identity resources (state border as security device in an inter-ethnic competition; legitimation of the claim for statehood); and fourth, status and rights resources (citizenship and refugee status, including access to social services).

Therefore, the scope and the nature of the recent conflicts which have engulfed Moyale were unprecedented. These conflicts were obviously not the usual fights between pastoral communities over pasture, water source or cattle raid. Even the range of interests that key parties in the conflict pursue, are far more than the normal interethnic conflicts of the past. As a result, there are frequent conflicts within the town which requires in depth-analysis regarding the factors, actors and the context it would take.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The 2005 Human Security Report demonstrated that over the past twenty years, the number of armed conflicts and direct violence has declined sharply and the global security climate has actually been positively changed. Nevertheless, this doesn't necessarily mean that conflict of interests among the human societies in diverse multi-cultural setting is totally over. Human population are suffering from the violence induced by ethnic, cultural, economic/resource, political, religious and regional factors in different corner of the world. Thus, conflict is the nature of human kind (Lederach, 1996:9). It is neither avoidable nor perishable; instead it is a social fact (Jürgen et al. 2006: 2).

In Ethiopia too, except the border war fought between Ethiopia and Eritrea from May 1998 up to June 2000 the country recovered from a large scale external war. However, internally the state is experiencing different violence which mostly expressed in terms interethnic conflicts. Any list of protracted conflicts in Ethiopia, obviously incomplete unless one can find the conflicts in the town of Moyale and its environs in the list.

Since 1992, the Borana, the Garri and the Gabra have conflicting claims over Moyale town. Due to the territorial dispute between the two regions (Oromia and Somali), there is now a dual Oromo and Somali administration in Moyale town. There are dual authorities for almost all government activities at the district level with overlapping and competing jurisdictions. The continued standoff between the two regions led to the worsening of relationships among the three clans (Adegehe, 2009). On top of these, other ethnic based actors, illegal traders, networks of rebellion movements and the location of the town as border and border land fueled the conflicts.

Thus, 'Moyale' and its environs just like other parts of the Horn has been experiencing a protracted conflicts. The multidimensional nature of the conflict and its execution would require in depth scrutiny to its peculiarities. The identity and specific roles of various actors would further shade some light on what actually is going on in Moyale conflicts. The factors of the conflict are enormous, though ethnic and territorial claims are mentioned repeatedly to replace the pervious competition over pasture. By and large, Moyale conflict involves a number of actors and it is an outcome of a dozen of interrelated factors. The major actors of the conflict involves the Borana, the Garri, the Gabra, and other ethnic groups to mention some. As verified by the community, there is a common rumor that hidden players have also been involved in the Moyale conflict one way or the other. These suspected actors of the conflicts in Moyale includes Al-Shabab, the Oromo Libration Front (OLF) fighters, the Business Men and the Kenyan security forces. On top of these the Ethiopian security forces and governments both at local, regional and national levels intervenes in the Moyale conflicts one way or another. The actors of the conflicts also found to include ethnic, cultural, resource/economic, political and religious dimensions.

It is thus imperative to cautiously and systematically study each of these actors and factors in order to establish relationship among the attributes involved. To this end, many scholars have made their valuable efforts to discern the main factors and to contribute in ending the protracted conflicts of the area. For instance, Belete Bizuneh (1999) discussed the Enter-Ethnic Relations in Borana. This work provides a detail and comprehensive information on pre 1943 enter-ethnic interactions. However, it fails to include other social actors and the changes brought with the introduction of ethnic federalism. Gololcha Balli (2015) 'Ethnic Conflict and its Management in Pastoralist Communities: The Case of Guji and Borana Zones of Oromia National Regional State, 1970-2014.' and Tigist Kebede (2014) 'Conflicts Among Pastoralists in the Borana Area of Southern Ethiopia: The case of Borana and Garri.' Both work give emphasis on the general tendencies of conflicts in southern Ethiopia and the ethnic aspects of the conflicts. The peculiar feature of the Moyale conflicts and other aspects of the conflicts were understated.

Fekadu Adugna (2006) 'Making Use of the Kin Beyond the International Boarder: Inter Ethnic Relations Along the Ethio-Kenyan Border.' and 'Overlapping nationalist projects and contested spaces: the Oromo–Somali borderlands in southern Ethiopia' focused on the regional dimensions of Moyale conflicts and the multifaceted interactions between state patriotism, ethno-nationalisms, irredentism and ethno-federalism in these borderlands respectively. This study attempted to examine the actors and the factors of the conflicts in Moyale with modest detail.

In general, based on a review of literature on conflicts in Southern Ethiopia, a clear gap is still evident. First, most of the studies only emphasizes on a general tendency of conflict in southern Ethiopia from reference to the pastoralist conflicts. Thus, a clear contextual approach is something just useful in an endeavor to resolve Moyale conflicts. In this regards, the work at hand put forth its effort to discern the peculiarities of the conflicts in Moyale by drawing some kind of indistinct boundaries between Moyale town and the pastoralists of the region in general.

Second, the conflict in Moyale are reduced conventionally into inter ethnic conflict as if it is only a mere conflict between Borana and Garri. Other social actors and aspects of the conflict such as those related to border and border lands are not included in the existing literature. Unlike other works in the area attempts has been made in this work to analyze issues related to other social actors and factors that can broaden the ethnic tensions. For this purpose, the study discussed briefly actors other than ethnic groups, issues of elite/political mobilization, economic and political resources which can be extracted from border and borderlands.

Third, the fact that the conflict involves different actors and a long list of factors, the complex interplay between different actors have not been studied by the pervious works. In this regards, this study exhibits a good start, but invites further investigation to establish the interplay between different actors. In its part, this study tried to discuss the actors with their interests.

This in turn may help to infer the interplay between the actors of the conflicts. More importantly, unlike other works in the area, the challenges of previous efforts in the peace process and the prevailing prospects which can aid the peace process addressed by this study.

Therefore, the study by undertaking the analysis of different interplay, actors and factors of Moyale conflicts have contributed some insights which can help in providing a comprehensive picture of the conflict. After disclosing the limitations and shortcomings of past attempts at resolving the conflicts, this study tried to suggest on possible conflict resolutions mechanisms on the basis of its findings.

1.3. Objective of the Study

In line with the statements of the problem sketched above, this study dealt with the following general and specific objectives:

1.3.1. General Objective

The study by undertaking an area based approach in the analysis of the actors and the interplay between different factors of Moyale conflicts and its environs provides a comprehensive picture of the conflicts and point out the existing challenges of peace process and prospects for peace.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

- a) To identify the critical actors who influenced or who are being affected by the conflicts.
- b) To describe the specific interplay between the different dimensions of the conflicts that engulfed Moyale and its environs in Southern Ethiopia.
- c) To analyze the values and positions of groups involved in the Moyale conflicts and their capabilities.
- d) To evaluate state (local, regional and national) mechanisms and the role of non-state actors in resolving the state of affairs.
- e) To suggest possible conflict resolution mechanisms on the basis of the findings.

Accordingly, the study attempted to respond the following questions:

- a) Which groups in the town of Moyale and its surrounding have benefited or lost in the conflicts, or have the potential to be driven into conflicts?
- b) What are the basic factors behind the protracted conflicts of Moyale and its environs?
- c) What are the different values and positions across actors with regard to the Moyale conflicts?
- d) What are the roles of local community, government institutions, IGO's and NGO's in the peace process of the area?

1.4. Significance of the Study

It is inevitable to have widely competing interests in an area that have different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. I hope this kind of study helps by giving some insights about the prevailing situation of the area which should be taken into consideration in handling the conflicts of the area. Thus, the study is important to improve the peaceful co-existence of inhabitants of the town and to recommend a possible solution to manage and prevent conflicts. Additionally, the study may serve the following purposes:

- Serve as additional input to the works that have already been done in the area.
- Gives a piece of information for students and researchers working in this area
- Pave a way for further research
- Help government bodies to check their weakness that exacerbate conflicts.
- Contribute to enact fair policies, and strategies
- Finally, it provides me a practical skills in my scholarly endeavor.

1.5. Limitations of the Study

In understanding of being a herculean task of the study, it is obvious that I encountered different challenges particularly during my stay in the field. The challenges I faced with no doubt manifests itself in the whole process of the thesis unless proper mechanism are designed to reduce its impacts on the results of the work.

First, I promised in my proposal to have equal number of informants from both the Borana, the Garri and the Gabra ethnic groups both from the local officials and the community. This strategy is preferred to keep the objectivity of the research results by cross checking the information obtained from members of both ethnic groups. However, the limitation occurred in this regard when the Garri local officials show their unwillingness to cooperate either by providing the necessary information or facilitating or allowing me to communicate the community elders. To overcome this handicap, I repeatedly visited the Woreda Administration office of Region 5 and discussed with the administrator showing the letter wrote by Institute for Peace and Security Studies of Addis Ababa University that indicated the purpose of the field work. But, unfortunately the administrator warned me that he may arrest me unless I stopped my effort to convince him. At this time, I understood that, I have to look for other options. To this end, I used the family networks and I found one prominent person who is previously a close friends of my father. Then, he persuaded two local officials by explaining the purpose of their involvement and introduced me with four Garri elders in the town telling them the benefit of participating in the interview. Taking into consideration his educational background, pervious position both in Region 4 and 5 and his Garri identity I used him as one of the key informants.

The fact that I am fluent speaker of Afan Oromo put me in a plus and minus position when it comes to obtaining trust from the people I interviewed. First, it enabled me to freely interact with informants without mediator. Second, I have secured confidence from Region 4 local officials and elders. As a result, I used all the facilities like place to conduct the interview and focus group discussion. In this regard, from the Office of Security and Administration one of a responsible person in position called Conflict and Conflict Resolution assigned to follow and facilitate my activities. This support significantly contributed to come up with this work. Contrary to this, the Garri informants and officials, even if they are fluent in Oromo language, they seem uncomfortable the fact that I communicate in Oromo language. At this point, I have to made clear the objective of the research and ethical issues related to objectivity.

Representatives of NGO's were not included in the interview, but feedbacks about their contribution in the peace process of the area collected from the participants of the interview.

1.6. Delimitations of the Study

Several conflicts have been occurring in southern Ethiopia and the surrounding area all of which need thorough inquiries to delve into their peculiarities thereby finding exhaustive resolutions for each of them. However, for the sake of convenience/feasibility the study has attempted to focus on the conflicts which affect the security of Moyale town, without denying the inseparable nature of the conflicts of the area. Even, the Moyale conflict covers the two adjoining Ethiopian Moyale and Kenyan Moyale . The scope of this study, however, limited only in investigating the conflicts in the case of the Ethiopian Moyale which has direct impact on the town life. Furthermore, there has been conflicts in this area since early times. But, this thesis delimited to focus on the events that happened in the post 1992 period; the time in which ethnic federalism introduced in the area. Moreover, among the major violence of the conflicts in Moyale and its environs the 2012 violence have been investigated thoroughly in line to the research questions.

1.7. Organization of the Thesis

The thesis organized into six chapters. The first chapter presents background of the study, brief description of statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, limitations and delimitations. The second chapter discusses the concepts of conflicts and the general overview of contemporary conflicts, theories of ethnicity and ethnic mobilization; interethnic interaction in Moyale and its environs and the shift from unitarism to federalism and its impact on the conflicts of the area. In addition to framing the thesis, major historic events and interactions which fueled the current conflicts in Moyale and its environs briefly discussed in this chapter. The third chapter establishes the general context of the study area, major ethnic groups and methodological tools that have been employed in the study. Chapter four and five focuses on the presentation and analysis of the empirical data. Findings, results and discussions provided in these chapter on the basis of the data gathered from different sources. A summary and concluding remarks of the study offered in the final chapter, chapter six.

Chapter II : Literature Review

Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to address the Conflicts in Moyale and its environments. The factors of the conflict regarded as political, ethnic, economic, regional (due to its location), etc. Thus, the literature review of this study arranged to have three parts. The first part is devoted to highlight the concept of conflict in general. By doing so, it provided a platform to which one can conceptualize the conflicts in Moyale and its surrounding. The second part discussed theories related to ethnicity and ethnic mobilization. Because, most of the time conflicts in Moyale and its environments fought along ethnic lines. The purpose of this section is to mirror the way in which ethnic identity is articulated and whether ethnic mobilization prevailed or not in the case of the Moyale conflicts. It is obvious, whatever the factors of the conflict, recent conflicts have some elements of ethnicity and ethnic mobilization inside it. The stake is high when it comes to the Moyale conflicts. Therefore, this research employed theories of ethnicity in explaining the way identity is prescribed and ascribed; and theories of ethnic mobilization in describing the causes of the conflicts in Moyale and its environments.

The third part deals with the historic interaction between ethnic groups in Moyale and its environments. Based on the works of other scholars issues that can put the conflicts of Moyale in plus and minus positions have been briefly discussed. This part enabled me to grasp some historical facts which affect peace and stability in Moyale and its environments in multi ethnic setting. The purpose of reviewing these scholarly literatures is to show the link between the structures, the issues and the dynamics in a given conflict setting. Thus, the following sections aims to provide some direction through the jungle of definitional and theoretical imprecision that is prevalent in the fields of conflict studies.

2.1. Definitions and Concepts of Conflict

Scholars in the field of conflict resolution and peace building process have defined conflict in different ways, but having almost similar meaning. Hence, conflict can be defined as an incompatibility of goals or values; and in which each parties aware of the incompatibility and perceived it as antithetical to its own goals or values in their relationship combined with attempts

to control the antagonistic feelings of each other (Fisher, 1990:1; Galtung, 2004). Conflict thus refers to explicit or implicit behavior initiated by one contending party against another. In the physical sense, conflict may be taken to mean 'a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals' (Cosser, 1956:7).

According to (Galtung, 2003:7), full conflict involves contradiction (C) attitudes (A) and behaviors (B) and the roots of conflict are contradictions (incompatibilities). He defined, contradictions as actual or perceived incompatibility of goals between the conflicting parties. Attitudes are the perceptions and misperceptions that the parties pose towards self and others while behaviors defined as actions and measures that the parties take in the pursuit of their goals. Based on this, the necessary empirical conditions for the existence of conflict includes: the existence of two or more parties, a situation of resource or position scarcity, the presence of behavior that is designed to hurt or injure the other , and mutually opposed goals (Mack and Snyder, 1957). These conditions may exist within and among individuals, groups or nations.

Mack and Snyder (1957) indicated that conflicts to occur needs the existence of two or more parties. The parties in conflict could be individuals, groups or nations at large. In Moyale and its environs groups have been considered as parties of the conflict mainly due to two reasons. First, individual disputes unless turned into group conflicts adjudicated by courts without requiring research investigation. Furthermore, when group identities are manifested in individual conflicts and attracted the attention of the group towards the conflict they are treated as triggering factors of the conflict instead of parties in the conflict. Second, conflicts in Moyale and its environs are taking place among citizens of the same state, although there are some regional factors which have been aggravating the conflicts of the area. Thus, in the conflicts of Moyale and its environs nations by no means could be taken as parties in conflicts. Therefore, on this backgrounds the conflicts in Moyale and its environs could be seen as group competition or conflicts in situation of resource or position scarcity accompanied by the presence of behavior that is designed to hurt or injure the other , and mutually opposed goals (Mack and Snyder, 1957)

Intergroup conflicts could generally involve different conflicts of interests within the competing groups as well. It refers to a situation in which groups take antagonistic actions toward one another to control some outcome important to each. Realistic group-conflict theory (Coser, 1956; Levine & Campbell, 1972; Sherif, 1966) maintains that intergroup conflicts are rational “in the sense that groups do have incompatible goals and are in competition for scarce resources.” Thus, group conflict involves purposeful struggles between collective actors who mobilize the group power to defeat or remove opponents and to gain status, power, resources and other scarce values. Groups mobilized due to the fact that the benefits associated with the outcome of intergroup conflicts (e.g., territory, political power, status, pride) are public goods that are non-excludable to the members of a group, regardless of their contribution to their group’s effort (Rapoport & Bornstein, 1987).

Intergroup conflict above all involves two or more groups with conflicting and sometimes incompatible interests or goals, which may be expressed as material or in other ways; and, they could react accordingly. In his “triangular” model of conflict and violence Galtung (1996) has states that if there are evident incompatible goals; like one group’s goal is blocked by the other group’s goal, contradictory attitudes; and violent behavior (physical and/or verbal) concurrently, there exists an intergroup conflicts. The more basic the blocked goals are- such as access to grazing land and other basic needs, the more likely the conflict will turn violent (Finlev, 2012:47).

Conflicting parties in the Moyale and its environs more explained in terms of groups. Groups can be formed on the bases of different backgrounds which can set them as one. Those individuals who have similar belief, religion, culture, language, common territory, ethnic identity, etc. regarded as a group. From this point of view, groups in Moyale seems to have been formed along ethnic identities. The Borana and the Garri considered as the major conflicting parties in the area. The Garri considers the Borana as a barrier to access pasture, pride, status political and economic power, territory, and other basic needs and vice-versa. The Gabra, the Burji and other ethnic groups also have their own interest in the conflicts of the area. Therefore, the Moyale conflicts involves two or more ethnic groups with conflicting and sometimes incompatible interests or goals, which may be expressed as material or in other ways; and, they could react accordingly.

2.1.1. General Overview of Contemporary Conflicts

In their work *Democracy and Deep-Rooted Conflict*, Harris and Reilly (1998:5) argued that:

Most of today's violent conflicts are not the wars between contending states of former years, but take place within existing states. Many are inextricably bound up with concepts of identity, nation and nationalism, and many stem from the competition for resources, recognition and power. While these conflicts may appear very differently from place to place, they often have, at their base, similar issues of unmet needs, and of the necessity to accommodate the interests of majorities and minorities alike.

The conflict in Moyale and its environs could be treated as internal conflicts without undermining the ethnical, economical and the linguistic integration of the Ethiopian and the Kenyan Moyale. The concepts of identity; and competition for resources, recognition and power found at the heart of the conflicts.

Harris and Reilly (1998:9) also identified two powerful elements of mobilization in such conflicts. One is *identity*: the mobilization of people on the basis of shared identity elements such as ethnic group, religion, culture, language, and so on. The other is *distribution/allocation*: the means of allocating the socio-economic and political resources within a society. Where perceived imbalance in distribution coincides with identity differences (where, for example, a given ethnic group is dispossessed of certain possessions accessible to others) the conflict is more likely to occur. It is this combination of compelling identity-based factors with broader perceptions of economic and social injustice that often fuels what they call “deep-rooted conflict”.

In the Moyale and its environs the three major competing and conflicting groups: the Borana, the Garri and the Gabra have developed a strong sense of hostility to each other (Gololcha 2015; Tigist 2014). Among the communities of the area the Borana considered as having been dominating the economic and the political spheres. These developed some kind of sentiments particularly on the Garri and the Gabra ethnic groups. The wider perceptions of economic and social injustice now gained identity based factors in the Moyale and its environs what the literature calls 'deep-rooted conflict'.

There are also other complex and fundamental issues that fuel identity based resentment in the recent intra-state conflicts. The proliferation of small arms and light weapons further boils the situation. This easy availability of small arms has increased the intensity and the frequency of identity-related conflicts (*Ibid*). Identity based conflict, in most case, has ramifications far beyond its own geographical borders. The presence of a significant number of fellow population outside the state such as refugee or emigrant communities, or a section of a community cut off by partition may engage with the conflict through close identification with one side or another (*Ibid*).

Similarly, in Moyale and its environs, the porous border allowed easy entry and exist of firearms. The conflicts of the area also exhibits spillover effects which could be discussed as a regional dimensions of the conflicts in chapter 4. Major ethnic groups in the area have their counterpart in the Kenyan Moyale and other parts of the Kenyan Republic who have been cut off as a result of the political boundaries.

When it comes to managing such conflict, Harris and Reilly (1998:12) state its immense difficulties as follows:

There can even be a difficulty in correctly identifying the parties to the conflict. The picture is even more confused when we factor in the external sponsors of the conflict. Sponsors, regional allies, kin states or whatever, will usually be operating in general support of one side's agenda, while also bringing their own specific agenda and interests to the conflict. The result can be a degree of interference, which actually reduces the disputing parties' chances of resolving the conflict. With so many factions involved, both internal and external, the task of satisfying the key interests of the various actors makes a solution far more difficult to achieve.

In the same vein, the challenges of addressing the conflicts in Moyale and its environs includes difficulty in correctly identifying the parties to the conflicts, the involvement of external actors and regional allies; and difficulty in satisfying the key interests of the various actors. In Moyale too, these scenarios seems to have make a solution to the conflicts of the area far more difficult to achieve.

A salient feature of such internal conflict is its complete persistence. And this arises, above all, because its origins often lie in deep-rooted issues of identity. In this respect, the term ethnic conflict is often invoked (Harris and Reilly, 1998). Thus, the conflicts in Moyale and its environs could be addressed within this frameworks. As a result, the concepts of ethnic conflict and theories of ethnicity used in framing and analyzing the conflict. Identity related factors such as the distribution of resources like territory, economic and political power have also given due attention. At this point, it seems sound to have snap look of ethnic group and ethnic conflicts.

2.1.2. Ethnic Group and Ethnic Conflicts

There is no generally agreed definition of ethnic group; scholars define and describe the concept in various ways. Ethnic groups can be defined as those groups whose members differentiate themselves from other groups based on religion, culture, or appearance; they may include nationalities, tribes, races or castes. Membership in such groups is determined through self and outside ascription, mainly on the basis of actual or imagined descent (Chandra 2012; Fearon 2003; Horowitz 1985). Ethnic groups in moyale and its environs differentiate themselves from other groups based on genealogy, culture, language sometimes religion. Self and outside ascription have also been playing a significant role in determining individuals or sometimes collective ethnic group. Weber (1968) as cited in Verkuyten (2005) states ‘ethnic groups’ as those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of custom or both.

An ethnic group (community) also defined as a ‘named human population with a myth of common ancestry, shared memories of the past and having some familiar cultural elements in common, a link with a historic territory or home land and a measure (sense) of solidarity’ among at least some of its members (Brown,1993:28-9; Hutchinson and Smith 1996:7). In Moyale and its environs the myth of common ancestry or shared descent presented as evidences to show that the Gabra are more Somali than Oromo. Similarly, having related cultural elements such as language and a link with historic territory offered to justify that the Gabra are more Oromo than Somali. ‘Ethnic’ or ‘ethnic group’ has been used to mean: race; specific major races; socio-cultural groups; sub-groups living among others in a foreign country; or, a group of people who ‘contrast themselves or are contrasted by others, on the basis primarily of sharing certain cultural

criteria such as language, beliefs and values, religion or history' who may or may not share 'geographical contiguity' and 'racial characteristics'.

The debate on ethnic group could also deal with ethnic conflicts. This is because there are no precious criteria upon which the conflict is treated whether it is ethnic one or not. For instance, a close look into the conflicts of Moyale and its environs displays ethnic, economic/resource, political, regional and religious factors with varying degree. In most case, struggle for political power and economic resources articulated as ethnic conflicts for empowerment and equal distribution of economic resources. In this sense, there is no purely ethnic conflicts. The conflicts in Moyale and its environs approached from this angles. In the area, ethnic groups are the main actors of the conflicts; but ethnicity alone could not explain the protracted conflicts of the area. Addressing the Moyale conflicts entail approaching it from different perspective. Yet, as ethnic groups are the main actors of the conflicts, we need to have some insights about the concepts of ethnic conflicts.

Amare (2005) states that when two or more ethnic group has contiguous habitant and share similar resource, conflict is inevitable. Inter-ethnic conflict is therefore, conflicts which take place between two or more politically identified ethnic groups because of various antecedent factors at different place. Ethnic groups in Moyale and its environs have not only contiguous habitant, but also competitive administrative structures over the same land. They share similar resources, at the same time they are considered as politically identified ethnic groups particularly following the introduction of federal system of government in the country.

Ethnic conflict could arise, for instance, when ethnic coalitions formed to gain a greater share of commonly desired goods, which is hard to explain in models where "the action" comes from assumptions about conflicting preferences over types of goods (Varsheny, 2000). Generally speaking, a violent attack might be described as "ethnic" if either (a) it is motivated by animosity towards ethnic others; (b) the victims are chosen by ethnic criteria; or (c) the attack is made in the name of an ethnic group (Fearon, 2004). The conflicts in Moyale and its environment seems to have some elements of animosity towards ethnic others (Tigist, 2014 and Informants); victims are chosen by ethnic criteria; and the attack is made in the name of ethnic group. Thus, ethnic

conflicts are conflicts in which the warring parties are defined by a combination of historical, linguistic and cultural features.

Horowitz (1985) states that conflicts along ethnic lines are more likely to turn violent than are conflicts along ideological and other political cleavages. This is mainly due to the fact that ethnic members are understood as metaphorical family members. As a result, ethnic conflicts engage intense emotions and a sense of existential threat and it becomes easily susceptible for political/elite mobilization. However, it should be important to note that ethnic homogeneity by itself is not a means to achieve peace. And also Ethnic differences are not necessarily the factor of interethnic conflicts.

2.2. Theories of Ethnicity and Ethnic Mobilizations

The concept Ethnicity has dominated contemporary discourses on the politics of multi-ethnic countries. Ethnicity as a key concept of discussion in social identity has got a prevailing recognition among scholars and entered the academic arena since the middle of twentieth century. Since then although a lot has been written and debated about ethnicity, there is no agreement among scholars on its meaning, its expression in social or group dealings and the role it plays in groups' mobilization.

Literally, ethnicity is a noun form of the word ethnic. The word ethnic is derived from the early Greek word 'ethnos' which implies unstructured, tribal and peripheral people (Tonkin et al, 1996). Although the concept ethnicity debated rigorously among scholars, no consensus reached. As a result, 'Ethnicity' remains a mobile term (Glazer & Moynihan 1975), meaning different things to different people.

To some, ethnicity is "objective" or primordial having innate and biological characteristics, an external world with distinct categories existing independent of interpretation, with an absurd identity based on blood, language, religion, territory and common understanding about the criteria of membership or empirically verifiable similarities among themselves and differences with 'others'(Barth, 1969:11; Smith, 1999:25; Geertz, 1996:20). Hence, ethnicity and ethnic group is fixed at birth and did not subject to any alteration.

Others argue that ethnicity is the reference to descent and common origin that makes a group an ethnic one; that it is the idea and belief in a common origin, descent, and history that distinguishes ethnic identity from other social identities. For instance, Harff and Gurr (2004) stated that ethnicity refers to group of people who share a persisting sense of common interest and identity based on some combination of shared historical experience and values (cultural traits, beliefs, language, way of life and a common residential territory). Therefore, the term ethnicity as a matter of “*individual choice*” is fluid and subjective. There is no biological or societal demarcation and attachment to ethnic identity (Isajiw, 1993:4).

Eriksen (2002:12) describes ethnicity in terms of relationship that exist between two or more culturally different groups. This is, to mean that, ethnicity emerges when there is self and other categorization of the community coupled with acceptance that different standards apply to one than the another.

2.2.1. Different Analytical Approaches to Ethnicity

The concepts of ethnicity we have seen above emerges out of the specific Anthropological and Sociological theories and approaches. On the basis of the anthropological views, there are three major analytical approaches to ethnicity: primordial, instrumentalist and constructivist approaches. All these three approaches are complementary rather than contradictory. For instance, ethnicity is both primordial and instrumental, as it ‘cannot be invented or imagined out of nothing. It can be manipulated, used, exploited, stressed, fused or subdivided, but it must correlate with a pre-existing population bound by preferential endogamy and a common historical experience’ (van den Berghe 1995:361). The conflicts in Moyale and its environs exhibited both primordialist, instrumentalist and constructivist viewpoints when it comes to the issue of ethnicity. Let’s have a snap look on each of them separately.

2.2.1.1. The Primordial Approach

According to the primordial approach, ethnicity is established at birth when people are born into an ethnic group in which they will stay until they die (Horowitz,1985). Cultural norms and blood relationships determine for one’s identity and to the relationship between members of an ethnic group (Geertz,1973;Van den Berghe,1979). According to this approach, ethnic entitlements established more from innate similarity than from social process. Thus, according to the

Primordialists line of argument, ethnic identity is neither capricious nor accidental, but is connected to unique and very close nurturing and relationships that make a bond from generation to generation with an experience of deeply rooted, intimate and eternal belonging (Balcha, 2007:36). However, some view primordial ties in to innate biological phenomenon (something innate, irreducible or biological ascription); and others relate primordial ties to the cultural, historical, foundational myths, symbols and social phenomenon. Despite this categorization, they still share the view that ethnicity is established at birth and unchangeable part of one's identity.

Thus, Primordialists believe that pre-modern attachments and historical memories are crucial in shaping and mobilizing groups. 'Ethnic groups and nationalities exist because there are traditions of belief and action toward primordial objects such as biological features and especially territorial location' (Grosby 1994:168). Generally the primordial perception or approach of ethnicity deeply relies on ones biological heredity (independent variable) and attachment which is fixed at birth and always remains the most significant determinant of one's identity throughout the life time and cannot be subjected to any alteration (Amare, 2011:22).

The primordial approach was criticized for the assumption that ethnic divisions are fixed, natural and static (Tigist, 2014). Similarly, Balcha (2007:39) on his part corroborates along the same line as follows:

Primordialists underemphasize people's passions and strong dedication to rational values, sense of duties, classes and other socially constructed supreme goals. Cooperation and intimacy among people do not take place only between kin, but also can extend to non-kin groups based on belief system, ideological commitments, professional interests and other pragmatically required or developed shared commonalities beyond primordial sentiments. Economic, social, political or environmental conditions have a capacity to generate both conflict and cooperation among humankind.

2.2.1.2. The Instrumentalist Approach

The instrumentalist approach established on the beliefs that ethnic relations are fluid and negotiable; that their importance varies situationally; and that, for all their claims to primordiality and cultural roots, ethnic identities can be consciously manipulated (Eriksen, 2002:21). The instrumentalists approach perceive ethnicity as calculated social construct by ethnic elites as a focal point for mobilization. It focuses on the manipulability of an ethnic identity and the role of

elites in politicization of ethnicity. Ethnic identity can be changed, constructed and manipulated in the pursuit of some economic interest and wealth. The symbols of an ethnic identity are something useful to the elite political leaders to mobilize the group along that symbol in pursuing their political goals (Cohn,1996; Brass,1996). It is the elite group (political entrepreneurs) who create identity-based differences and manipulate those differences (political ethnicity).

According Amare (2011), instrumentalism considers ethnicity as a dependent variable, externally controlled by elites for achieving political and economic gains, is synthetically formed human identity which is shaped, flexible, changeable and manipulated or framed for the benefits of the elite, (formally in the name of the group, in fact solely to the elites' advantage; at the expense of the group).

Instrumentalists criticized for it reduces the ethnic identity to cost-benefit oriented economic choices. It fails to account for the deeper social structures that allow manipulation of the grievances of the ethnic group by their elite leaders (Vayrynen,1999).

2.2.1.3. The Constructivist Approach

The constructivist approach theoretically lay between the construction of metaphor practice and the basic factors shaping the structure of all social phenomenon's. The constructive approach emphasizes on the processes by which ethnic group identities emerge and change over time. The social construction and reconstruction of ethnic identity happens overtime and involves families, members of the ethnic group, other ethnic groups, the state, globalization and the media (Jenkin, 1997; Esman, 2004). It is therefore ethnicity is fluid and subjective. The basic notion in this approach is that ethnic identity is not something people "possess" but something they "construct" in specific social and historical contexts to further their own interests (Isajiw, 1993:4).

2.2.2. Ethnic Mobilizations

Even though violent ethnic conflicts often look like highly unorganized and spontaneous outbursts of popular anger, in reality they always involve a certain degree of planning, organizational effort and strategic deliberation. Hobsbawm (as cited in Balcha, 2007:8) stressed that 'ethnicity can mobilize the vast majority of its community- provided its appeal remains sufficiently vague or irrelevant.'

Moreover, elites could easily mobilize a given ethnic group in order to achieve their hidden political and economic goals by exaggerating the benefit of genealogical solidarity, and construct the sense of ‘us’ and ‘them’ dichotomy. The 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 (Balcha, 2007:9). The politicization of ethnicity varies markedly, in a pattern that to some extent reflects variation in the prevalence of socially relevant ethnic distinctions. Ethnically based parties are common in sub-Saharan Africa, and access to political and economic benefits is frequently structured along ethnic lines (Fearon, 2004). In Ethiopia parties started to organize along ethnic lines with the introduction of federalism. In Moyale too, political elites mobilize their ethnic groups along ethnic lines using the opportunities provided by federal system of government. The struggle to annex Moyale either in region 4 or 5 follow similar path. Even insurgents and rebel groups in the region need to achieve their hidden objectives in the name of ethnic groups. Furthermore, the Kenyan electoral competition also run along ethnic lines. Due to these facts, this thesis attempted to provide some theoretical aspects of ethnic mobilization.

In the broad literature of ethnic mobilization, which has its roots in the 1960s but grew considerably in the 1990s, one can now discern roughly four different theoretical perspectives on ethnic mobilization (Vermeersch, 2011:4). Each perspective takes a different set of factors could be largely responsible for causing and shaping ethnic mobilizations. This four-pronged distinction is of course a rough analytical device. Among the four theoretical perspectives, I found three of them relevant in relation to the conflicts in Moyale and its environs.

2.2.2.1. Culturalist/ Primordialists Approaches

Proponents of this view argue that ethnic ties are stronger than other types of group identification because they are based on kinship and therefore produce feelings of intense solidarity among group members, even giving an aura of sacredness to the ethnic group. Ethnic mobilization is seen by them either as a direct outgrowth of intergroup cultural differences or as a part of an effort to avoid domination by a group with higher status. Ethnic groups are mobilized for the protection of their culture and way of life. Because of the intense emotions produced by cultural solidarity and the unchangeable nature of ethnic identity, ethnic conflict is viewed as particularly intense and difficult to resolve (Gorenburg, 2003). In this regard, the Garri elites seems to have

mobilized their ethnic groups advocating that their ethnic group have been dominated by the Borana.

The approach states that ethnic mobilization is the natural reflection of cultural structure. Thus, since people from the same ethnic group have some sort of a fundamental connection due to their shared culture they could be organized easily for similar purpose. Their political or economic position may to a certain extent facilitate or suppress that mobilization, but it is ultimately the cultural content that forms the backbone of the mobilization process. The approach overlooks the economical, political and social relationships between members of an ethnic group.

2.2.2.2. Ethnic Competition/Instrumentalist

The ‘competition’ perspective focuses on ethnic leaders making rational calculations about their identity and invoking ethnicity in their struggle for resources and power. In this perspective ethnic groups seen as political coalitions formed to advance the economic interests of members (or leaders). Thus, ethnic groups are essentially modern creation formed for the purpose of securing economic benefits for their members. In political economy work, ethnic groups are sometimes treated as an extreme form of interest group whose members share enduring common preferences over all public policies (Vermeersch, 2011:6). Accordingly, ethnic mobilization is initiated by elites who seek to use the power of the group to acquire material benefits or political power. Elites persuade potential followers to join the mobilization effort by providing selective benefits to participants. Members of the group mobilize when the gains from a combination of these benefits and the potential benefits of victory outweigh the potential costs of losing (Bates, 1983; Hardin, 1995; Hechter, 1992).

Paul Collier (1999:2) also found that economic gains appear to be essential to understanding why conflicts occur between different social groups. Conflicts are far more likely to happen as a result of economic cost-benefit analysis than by grievance. If economic agendas are driving conflict, then it is likely that some groups are benefiting from conflict and that these groups therefore have some interest in initiating and sustaining it.

According to this view, groups competition for the same resources in order to advance their economic gains contributes to conflict. This competition becomes greater when the inequalities increase both on the elite and the mass level (Langer, 2005). In addition, some proponents of the competition perspective emphasize ‘the entrepreneurial role in ethnic politics: how the mobilization of ethnic groups in collective action is effected by leaders who pursue a political enterprise’ (Barth, 1994: 12). Therefore, ethnic group identities are not a pre-existing fact, but a phenomenon that arises, or at least gains new meaning, during the process of ethnic competition. In order to defend material interests, self-proclaimed group leaders invoke an ethnic group identity or apply new meaning and interest-based connotations to existing ethnic terms. In this way identity and interests are mutually reinforced.

According to Daniel Bell, ethnicity in the competition perspective ‘is best understood not as a primordial phenomenon in which deeply held identities have to re-emerge, but as a strategic choice by individuals who, in other circumstances, would choose other group memberships as a means of gaining some power and privilege’ (Bell, 1975:171). This is evident in the conflicts of Moyale and its environs. Members of one ethnic group in some other time have been seen choosing other group membership as a means of gaining economic or political privileges. Other authors approaching ethnic mobilization from this perspective have emphasized that it is not only the economic position that contributes to the construction of certain patterns of ethnic mobilization, but also the differential distribution of political power (Oberschall, 2000:983).

In summary, for Primordialists, the primordial attachments inherent in ethnicity cause and explain action; for instrumentalists/ethnic competition, actions have other (often material) causes, and ethnicity can be either a by-product, or resource in the achievement of these other events and factors, but does not cause them (Sarah, 2003:45). This view invites us to question whether ethnicity causes the conflicts or it’s supplemental to other factors to justify the conflicts in Moyale and its environs.

2.2.2.3. Political Process Approaches

The political process perspective on ethnic mobilization gives crucial weight to the institutional environment (the political opportunity structure) and the symbolic and discursive dimensions of mobilization (framing processes). Ethnic mobilization shaped by the institutional environment and the dominant discursive context. In this regard, in Moyale and its environs the ethnic federalism adopted by Ethiopia and the voting system in Kenya could be considered as political opportunity and dominant discourse upon which ethnic mobilization envisaged.

Institutionalists argue that identity is shaped by the institutions of the state, which establish the ethnic categories to which individuals can assign themselves and create incentive structures that induce these individuals to choose one or another ethnic identity. Identity shift, thus, occurs not because of the incentives of economic competition but as a result of institutional change, which is usually a slow and a gradual process (Gorenburg, 2003).

While institutinalist scholars agree with instrumentalists that differences in preferences explain whether individuals join ethnic mobilization efforts, they are more sensitive to the psychological dimensions of these preferences. It is important to recognize, this literature argues, that social movements evolve around the articulation of identity and the awareness of the influence of power relations on the creation of identity.

2.3. Inter-Ethnic Relationship in the Town of Moyale and its Environs

Elsewhere in the world the relationship between various people can best be described as dynamic. Some of which are amicable, some discriminatory and others outright hostile but usually not on permanent basis. Here, I discussed the relationship among peoples of Moyale and its environs with focus on fluctuating relationships between its communities at various times. For instance, Belete 1999 has expressed territorial fluidity and the intensive interaction this flexibility allowed as the major characteristics of the region. The section goes to narrate highlights of key events that fed directly into the escalation of the current conflicts.

The Borana, the Garri and the Gabra belong to the Cushitic linguistic group of the Horn of Africa. They relate to each other in terms of language and culture. Sociologically, they are all organized in patriarchal clan structures. Both the Garri and the Gabra practice Islam almost exclusively and are predominantly engaged in nomadic pastoralism. In contrast, the Borana practice traditional religion (predominantly), Islam and Christianity. While similarity in language and culture could serve as an instrument of integration, pastoralism, which depends on the mobility of livestock, brings them into frequent resource conflicts (Adegehe, 2009).

The Borana, the Garri and the Gabra over the years developed multifaceted interaction, i.e., some time peaceful cooperation and conflicting claims in other times. All of the clans speak Afaan-Oromo. Initially the Gabra are adamant that they spoke Arabic or a language related to the Somali. The Watta seem to have also spoken a different language of their own. With the arrival of the Borana, these groups abandoned their respective languages and Borana as a result become the "lingua franca" of the region (Belete, 1999:30). The *Gada* system also practiced by both the Borana and the Gabra. The Borana seem to have also influenced some institutions of the earlier inhabitants.

Moreover, all of the clans are predominantly engaged in pastoralism (*Ibid*). There are, however, differences in terms of ethnic categorization. The Borana belong to the Oromo ethnic group, while the ethnic identity of the Garri and the Gabra remains controversial. E.R. Turton, for example, discusses the flexibility of the identity of the Garri between the Oromo and the Somali seeing that many of them speak Afaan-Oromo and culturally mixed (1975:536). In the same vein, Getachew mentions the Garri as 'partly Somali and partly Oromo' (2003:1). Equally, the ethnic identity of the Gabra remains questionable. Gunther Schlee (1989:5), for example, questions the assignment of the Gabra as sub-clans of the Borana-Oromo and implies that these 'so-called Oromo are more Somali than anything else.' At the same time, he underlines that even if one accepts the Somali origin of the Gabra, it is their Oromo origin, that is, 'their political association with the Borana and their use of the Boran language/Afaan-Oromo, that sets them apart from other groups and establishes their separate identity' (1989:137).

Similarly, Belete 1999 discuss the conflictual traditions about the identity of Gabra. Although few travelers and officials identified the Gabra as low status Borana, the Borana view that the Gabra are Borana. Above all, the Gabra view themselves as a separate group from the Borana and they declare that the similarities in language and customs are the result of their close relationship with the Borana over a long period of time (Belete, 1999:10). On the other hand, the Garri and the Gabra utilize their Islamic religion as an essential aspect of their ethnic symbol and a crucial factor that brings them together with other Somali clans (Schlee 1998:143). 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, 1997:271).

Although the incorporation of other groups seem to have given the Borana numerical strength to occupy a wide area and sphere of influence, their position challenged at different times by different groups (Belete, 1999:32). There was intermittent fighting in the area. These fights between the Borana and their neighbors seem to have been occasioned by a number of factors. Watering and grazing questions seem to have been one important cause of conflict. Customarily practices such as genital mutilation which is under taken by the Borana and as well as their neighbors was another cause of these conflicts. Stock raids were a third reason that resulted in wars between the Borana and their neighbors (*Ibid*). As a result the three clans, to deal with conflicting interests, also developed such institutions as Nega-Borana (peace of Borana) which provide stability for inter-clan relations and help manage resource conflicts (Obba, 1996:118).

According to Herbert Lewis, 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 (1966:35). On the other hand, different neighbors of the Borana started gradually settle on the land under the Borana control. Over time the gradually loss of land resulted in the erosion of Borana hegemony. For instance, the last quarter of the 19thc witnessed that in the south and south east the Somali pressure seems to have intensified forcing the Borana living in the peripheral areas to retreat to areas where more populous members of their groups lived (Belete, 1999:33). This means the two groups were competing for about 400 years in their borderlands for water, grazing and agricultural land (Lewis, 1966; Turton, 1975).

Moreover, the last decade of the 19thc introduced an important events that fashioned the history of the Borana in particular and the region in general. It was in this decade that the area was conquered and incorporated in to the Ethiopian Empire by Emperor Menelik's forces. Like other parts of the Empire the conquest followed with the establishment of a new political order in the area which in turn bound to affect the lives of the various pastoralist groups and the existing relationship among them (Belete, 1999:34). Due to the precarious nature of the area, the conquest of Borana was not accompanied by large scale northern settlers. As a result, the conquest could not immediately lead to a radical shift in the inter ethnic relations in the area. Though the Borana now paid tribute to their new masters, they seem to have continued to collect tribute from the Gabra who continued to be vassals of the Borana (*Ibid*:37).

Furthermore, inter-clan relationships changed after the advent of colonization which introduced political boundaries. Hence, the establishment of artificial boundaries and the divide and rule policies of these powers adversely influenced relationships among the three groups (Bassi, 1997: 26; Yacob ,1997: 20). More specifically, the Borana lost much due to the partition of the region between the Ethiopian Empire and the British. Groups such as the Sakuye and the Gabra who previously had been vassals of the Borana now came to be outside their control and these diminished the power and sphere of influence of Borana in the area (Belete, 1999:37).

In 1907 the demarcation of the Ethio-Kenyan boundary put much of the Garri settled territory under the Kenyan jurisdiction. At the beginning the Garri were comfortable with the assignment of the territory under Kenyan control as they abolished to pay tribute and ritual reverence to the Borana (Belete, 1999:44). But later on, when the Kenyan government decided to start registration of stock and taxation the Garri fought with the British forces and these followed with a large scale movement of the Garri to Ethiopia territory in 1924. Also these event viewed as an opportunity to increase the size of taxpaying population by the officials in Borana, it has affected the Borana who were one of the largest ethnic groups in the area. Although there are evidences that there had already been a conflict between the Borana and the Garri prior to 1924, immediately following these events the conflict had broken out and inflicted casualties (*Ibid*).

During the Italian colonial regime the ethnic tension in the Borana had reached its highest pitch. The Italians were fueled the conflict by providing firearms to the Garri with the objective of harassing the Ethiopian forces. Taking these advantage the young Garri started to carry out raids against the Borana. In general, the Italian period was created a favorable environment for some groups to harass and sometimes carry out atrocities of all kinds against their previous antagonists. The Borana being aware of that the Italian rule was partial to the Somali, came to closer to the Ethiopian state than before. Thus, the suspicion and hostility between the Somali and the Borana get deeper and deeper. This growing suspicion and hostility that aggravated during the Italian period, boiled over in the aftermath of the defeat and subsequent evacuation (Belete, 1999:68).

On top of these, the boundary dispute that emerged between Ethiopia and Somalia since the 1960s because of the latter's ambition of uniting all Somali speaking territories under its rule adversely affected inter-clan relations. In other words, the inter-state conflict became an inter-clan conflict in the region whereby the Garri and the Borana respectively supported Somalia and Ethiopia (Adegehe, 2009).

Moreover, when Somalia established the Somali Abo Libration 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 1996:210). Similarly, the three clans suffered divisions during the 1977-78 Ethio-Somalia war. The Garri and the Gabra stood by the Somalia government, while the Borana who feared that any military success to Somalia would change the local balance of power in favor of their traditional foes firmly rallied behind the Ethiopian defense lines (Yacob, 1997:20-1).

Following the downfall of the military government, the relationship between the Borana and the Garri ethnic groups reached at its climax. At that time, they have even brought themselves under the same political organization called Oromo Abo Liberation Front (AOLF). However, the intimate relationships based on the neighborhood and social network, but not blood relation, was short-lived. Soon they became rivalry. The fierce rivalry began when the Garri sided themselves with the Somali wing of the Somali Abo Liberation Front (SALF). Contrary to the Garri ethnic group who joined the Somali based rebel group, the Borana remained with the Oromo wing of

the Oromo Abo Liberation Front (OALF). Intermittently, the Borana have fought against the Garri to withdraw the Garri from the place they expanded by the joint force of the Somali side rebel group. Ever since, the Borana called the Garri as *Nyapha- brutal enemy* (Gololcha, 2015)

The above literature seems to have been strengthened with the information collected from the informants and FGD discussants. According informants, the area is characterized by full of inter-ethnic and inter-group relationship, sometime peaceful and conflictual in other time. The hostilities or the amities among different ethnic groups were not in a permanent base. All informants asserted the dominance of the Borana language and administrative systems in the region. According to the Borana and the Gabra informants, the Borana were customarily tasked to control the land and the natural resources particularly water and grazing lands without denying the right to equal access. Unlike their Gabra counterparts, the Garri informants, admit that the jurisdiction of Borana covers the largest share of the area but they underline that they have their own share of land which shrunk and expand depending on their power to check the Borana.

As stated above, the power and the sphere of influence of the Borana changed at different times due to factors produced internally in the region or externally from outside. In nutshell, as history tells, elsewhere in Ethiopia various conflicts have been taking place between different interest groups for economic or political gains usually led to massive damages. Such conflicts have had long-lasting consequences on the social harmony and peaceful co-existence of the various religious or cultural groups of the country. Nevertheless, conflicts agitated by one or another factor, until the late 20th century, were not connected to ethnic interests (Tigist, 2014). The economic and political reasons of the conflicts took a different dimensions and became more serious since the down fall of the monarchical system in 1974. Since then, liberation movements has been augmented calling for either regional autonomy or outright secession from Ethiopia making 'national integration' very difficult (*Ibid*).

2.3.1. The Turn from Unitarism to Federalism and Its Impacts on the Moyale Conflicts

In 1994 Ethiopia introduced a federal system of government as mechanism to intra-state conflict management and respect of the right to equality between different identity groups. Attempt of previous regimes to homogenize cultures and languages of different nations and nationalities led to the emergence of ethno-national movements and civil wars that concluded in the collapse of the unitary state in 1991 (Mesfin, 2011). Federalism has been introduced as a cure to the previous injustice and as a response to the demands of different ethnic groups for equality and self administration. Federalism has been used as a principle of government for reasons such as better economic and security opportunities and accommodation of different identities in the political spheres. Federalism is a multi-layered government structure which combines elements of unity and diversity, shared rule and regional self-rule, national sovereignty and regional autonomy, centralization and decentralization of power. It aims to achieve both unity and diversity by accommodating, preserving and promoting distinct identities within a larger political system (*Ibid*).

The federal system of government formed either through coming-together/integration or holding-together/disintegration process of federalism. The federation of a unitary state may be based on territorial, cultural, linguistic or other divisions that the unitary state intends to resolve (Mesfin, 2011:35). The Ethiopian federalism was also introduced to address the causes of conflicts, derived from the diversity of the population and ethno-national movements. In Moyale case, the federal restructuring of Ethiopia which is based along ethnic lines has brought a political implication to the question of whether a clan is Oromo or Somali (Schlee and Shongolo, 1995:8). More importantly, as the new ethnic regions have the rights of regional autonomy and secession, as stipulated in the FDRE Constitution, stakes are high in the process of marking inter-regional boundaries. Thus, the new way of territorial division between the Oromia and the Somalia regions was considered enormously important for both the local actors in the zone of conflict and the new regional authorities as a way of consolidating the territorial and political identity of their ethnic regions. In other words, the conflict now has regional and ethnic dimension between the Oromia and the Somali regions. Now, claims and counter-claims over territories around the borders of the Oromia and Somali ethno-national regional states of Ethiopia became the centre of conflicts (Fekadu, 2011).

The other key factor that seemed to give an additional incentive for the Moyale conflicts the large influx of Garri and other Somali clansmen to the Moyale town and its surroundings as 'returnees' through controversial refugee repatriation programmes during the 1990s (Bassi, 1997). In the meantime, the Garri ethnic entrepreneurs chose to join the Somali region. This decision transformed inter-clan conflicts between the Borana and the Garre into a boundary conflict between the newly created Oromia and Somali regions. Soon after their decision to join the Somali region, the Garri laid claim over territories and other resources including permanent water wells (Tamrat, 1994).

In contrast, the question of either joining the Somali or the Oromo regions has been internally divisive for the Gabra and brought them more conflicts with the Borana. The Gabra within the Borana dominated areas like Yabello, Arero and Surupa identify with the Borana. They nevertheless quietly demand the establishment of a Gabra special woreda within the Borana zone of the Oromia region. However, this demand is distasteful to the Borana, who fear that if the Gabra have a special-woreda, they would claim Somali identity like the Garri and cause further territorial loss.

The Gabra who identify themselves with the Somali demand the assignment of Moyale and its surroundings to the Somali region. They also attach much importance to those points such as religion (Islam), styles of dress, way of constructing houses and others that make their clan distinct from the Borana, but bring them closer to the Garri and other Somali clans.

At this point, all the informants including local government officials and FGD discussants indicated that with the introduction of the federal system of government the nature and the dimension of the conflict has changed, the frequency and the intensity of the conflict increased as well as the identity, the size and the interest of actors also varied to a large degree. Participants of FGD emphasized that the problems aggravated not because of the nature of the system, but because of the flawed awareness of the system by the people and some political entrepreneur or local elites. In line to this argument, during my stay in the area as a researcher, I realized that elements of diversity emphasized at the expense of elements of unity.

Chapter III: Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Description of Study Area

The name Moyale and its environs used for the area with which this thesis is concerned. Like other towns in southern Ethiopia, the development of the Moyale town was associated with the expansion of the Ethiopian State at the end of the 19th century and the formation of administrative and military centres in newly conquered territories. Moyale was a small town under *Sidamo* province. Initially it was in the district of *Gardula* and later in Dirre (Belete, 1999).

Under the centralized administrative classification of 1941 Moyale gained the status of a sub-district within the same province of Sidamo. Moyale remained in the Dirre district until 1948, when the sub district came under Borana district (Belete, 1993). As soon as the Derg came to power, it established new strong province called Arero *Awuraja*, which included Moyale. By that time, all pastoral ethnic groups of the area were administered under Arero *Awuraja*. The Derg put those different ethnic groups together under one administration because it had the strategy to block the expansion of greater Somalia (Gololcha, 2015). Then, under the administrative classification of 1988, Moyale became part of the Borana administrative region and attained the status of district. Moyale served as a district until 1991. The town of Moyale was the capital of the district bearing the same name (Belete, 1993:1).

Moyale is a market town at the main border crossing between Ethiopia and Kenya. The larger part found in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian Moyale, the concern of this thesis, is located in southern Ethiopia across the Somali and the Oromo regional states. Moyale town is found around 771 kilometers south of Addis Ababa and about 211 kilometers South of Yabello, the capital of Borana zone. It is found at 3⁰ 33'N latitude and 39⁰ 06'E longitude. The town of Moyale is at the centre of an ample pastoral area, and, at the same time, is at the meeting point of two border lines: the border which separates Ethiopia and Kenya and the border which separates two Ethiopian Regional States: Somali and Oromia.

The town has a strategic significance as a border and border lands in Kenya and Southern Ethiopia. The strategic significance of the town emanates from its utilities as an important gateways that allows the trans-clan and trans-national trade network for the movement of goods and people. An asphalt road connects the town to Addis Ababa.

Following the 1992 linguistically based administrative restructuring of the country, a large chunk of territory in the eastern part of Borana, predominantly inhabited by Somali-speaking groups, was transferred to Liban zone of the Somale Region...Region 5 (Belete, 1999:1). Since then, both the Oromia and Somali regions claim the town and its surrounding areas and became a conflict area. This marked the division of Moyale town into two competing regions. Now Moyale is administrative centre at the district/*woreda* level for both Liban and Borana zone of Region 5 of Somali and Region 4 of Oromia respectively (*Ibid*).

Moyale is a multi-ethnic town. However, the conflicting claim over Moyale town between the two regions stems from the three Afan Oromo speaking clans over their ethnic identity (Kefale, 2009:183). In Moyale the Borana, the Garri and the Gabra ethnic groups constitute the majority. However, none of them occupy precisely demarcated boundaries (Belete, 1999:5). A large number of immigrants from the surrounding agricultural areas have also settled, especially in the urban centers (Guji, Burji, Konso, Amhara, Tigre, Gedeo, Gurage and others). After the sedentarization process started, it has been possible to differentiate in the target area a small portion of urban population and a larger portion of rural population (*Ibid*).

The people in the study area can be classified also along linguistic lines. The prevailing local languages are Oromo and Somali, both Cushitic. The Borana, Guji, and Gabra speak Afan Oromo. The Ogadeni, Mareexaan, Digodia speak Somali. The Garri are linguistically heterogeneous, with most members being able to speak both Oromo and Somali (*Ibid*).

In Moyale area, the Ethiopian and the Kenyan sides are economically well integrated and movements from one side to the other are usually frequent and smooth. The people of both sides generally call the other one *Gambo* which means the other side in Swahili, the language spoken in Kenya and also by some people of the target area. This study is concentrated on the Ethiopian side, but I have referred to *Gambo*, for some specific phenomena.



Map 1: Location of Moyale Town

Source: adapted from Map data @2016 Google

3.2 Major Ethnic Groups in the Study Area

The question of who were the earliest inhabitants of the Borana and since when the settlement was started in the area were not convincingly answered by the existing research (Belete, 1999:6). But research tells us that prior to the conquest of Moyale by the Ethiopian Empire, the dominant people in the area were the Borana with a small number of Gabra.

Belete 1999, on the basis of the evidences and oral traditions he found, states that the Borana and the adjacent lands of northern Kenya were inhabited by the Somali and the Rendille by at least the beginning of the second Millennium. In the area, a number of groups declare that they precede the Borana in occupying the land. The Gabra, the Watta, the Warda and the Sakuye claim to have lived in the land before the arrival of the Borana. There is a clue to a people called Madile or Mandale as having been one of the earliest residents of the land before the Borana movement to the area. The Madile are, therefore, described as having been the stronger of the pre-Borana inhabitants (Belete, 1999:8).

Residents of the area in general referred to as a pastoralist communities of southern Ethiopia seeing their style of life and cultural elements. Pastoralism is a cultural and economic system in communities founded on livestock rearing as the primary economic activity. Different authors at different times dealt with their way of life and the pastoralist elements of the conflict in detail. However, for the purpose of this thesis, here under I have discussed the major ethnic groups of the area separately in snap shot.

3.2.1. The Borana

The Borana is, of all the groups that currently inhabited the area under discussion, the most important in terms of their numerical rank as well as political and customary positions in the area. They are an important group that shaped the path of the history of the region (Belete, 1999: 15). The Borana is one of the major pastoralist groups who belong to the large ethnic group of Oromo society. In the southern pastoral or agro-pastoral lowlands, the Oromo territorial subdivision is between Guji and Borana. Roughly the Borana share boundaries with Somali clans to the east and south east, Guji with north and north east and the Rendille and the Samburu to the

south and the Konso, the Arbore, the Hamar to the north and north west respectively (Gololcha, 2015:47).

Territorially, the Borana are found in southern Ethiopia (In Ethiopia they are mainly in the southern sections of Guji and Borana Zones) and northern Kenya. In Borana zone they are found in Yabello, Arero, Dirre , Taltale, parts of Liban and in Kenya in Marsabit, Isiolo and Garrssa districts. The Borana are predominantly cattle pastoralists though over the past hundred years or so they have also started to herd camels, keep goats, sheep, horses and donkeys. A few have also started farming in agriculturally suitable areas as a result of contact with people who come to the area following the conquest of Borana (Belete, 1999:16; and Borana informants)

The core of Borana history and cultural tradition is the *Gada*, a very comprehensive social and political organization based on generation grading system (Tigist, 2014; and Borana informants). The Borana pastoral community has maintained the traditional Oromo institutions almost intact. The Borana system is considered exemplary among the Oromo due to the senior (*angaafa*) position of the Borana in Oromo myths of origin. The Borana *Gada* system (a governance structure) is also the best preserved through the modern times and as a result, the Borana are often seen as the custodians of the core traditions of all Oromo people.

The Borana Oromo people are loyal to the traditional leader, *Abba Gada*. Issues central to the Borana is discussed among multiple people in the highest Borana assembly of the *Gada* organ called *Gumo Gayo*. Here people get the chance to debate and participate in a consensus based decision-making process. The system plays a pivotal role in addressing political affairs, resource and conflict management within and outside Borana (Tigist, 2014 and Borana informants).

With regard to resource management the Borana pastoralists consider land and pasture as the communal property of all of the members of their group. The use of existing grazing lands and water resources, and mobility of people and livestock is governed by the *Gada* System. Pasture is considered as a gift from *Waaqa* and it does not belong to specific individuals. Within the Borana pastoral groups, access to rivers and rainwater are free to all, including neighbors (Tigist, 2014).

In terms of religion, the Borana are predominantly associated to the traditional Oromo belief in the existence of a supernatural power, which they call, *Waaqa*. Islam has also gained a foothold in the last few decades. The Boran community in Moyale and its environs has gone through several changes over the year which partially explains the situation they found themselves in today (Belete, 1999).

3.2.2. The Garri

The Garri are at present found in three different areas in the horn. They are residents in Somalia, Kenya and Ethiopia. They live in Central Somalia, South of the Dawa in Kenya and Somalia and the Moyale and Hudet districts of the Somali regional state and in Wachille, Borana zone, where they have tribal reserve land and pasture (Tigist, 2014; Belete, 1999:21).

Belete 1999 has found that Garri traditions about their homeland are contradictory. According to him, one common tradition considers Chad as Garri cradle land. Another tradition considers the Arabian peninsula as the original Garri homeland. The tradition goes on to say that they fled from these area as a result of burdensome taxation called *Zaka* which was imposed on them by the inhabitants of those lands. Yet the Garri claim that when the Borana came to Dirre and Liban, they had fought with them and subsequently after being defeated they had lived with them by accepting some kind of lower status (Belete, 1999:22). However, the Borana and Gabra traditions about Garri deny the existence of a separate ethnic group called Garri prior to the Borana migration into the area (*Ibid*: 25)

The Garri are a Somali group but they have many cultural links to the Borana (Schlee, 1989; Bassi, 1997). The Garri who live in close proximity to other Somali groups speak Somali languages, and those who live close to the Borana speak Oromo language as well. However, Garri are more closely related ethnically, culturally and linguistically to the Somali ethnic groups of southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya, than to Oromo speakers. They share strong economic, social, cultural, genealogical and linguistic ties with Somali groups, which are evident in the similarities of their oral tradition, history, language and the camel-based economy. Nevertheless, many of the Garri are bilingual and their allegiance to Somali or Borana groups can vary over time (Tigist, 2014). They share many values including spiritual values with their neighbors like the Gabra and Sakuye. In addition, neighborhood ties have also resulted in adoption of some

Borana Customs (Getachew,1996:114). The Garri make use of both Somali and Borana terms in order to indicate elements of the social institutions.

Camels and goats are very important animals among the Garri, but sheep and cattle are also reared. In addition to herding, trade in animal products is also common among the Garri. Like the Borana pastoralists, the Garri pastoralists consider land and pasture as the communal property of all of the members of their group. Pasture is considered as a gift from *Allah* and it does not belong to specific individuals. As the prevailing nature of livelihood of the pastoral communities is based on mobile pastoral production, among the Garri, like other pastoral groups of southern Ethiopia, access to rivers and rainwater are free to all, including neighbors. In the case of borehole water, however individual right of access is not free (Tigist, 2014).

The socio-political organization of Garri is patriarchal and the descent is traced through the father's line. Ownership and inheritance of propriety, residence rules, political and religious leadership are dominated by the patriarchal structure. The concept of gender is related to role division: domestic activities are predominantly the sphere of women, while non-domestic ones are carried out by men. While having common socio cultural practices as an instrument of integration, previously pastoralism, which depends on the mobility of livestock, and recently political development and self and outside ascription related to it, brings the them into frequent conflicts with the Borana.

3.2.3. The Gabra

The Gabra are one of the groups that considered as the occupants of the region before the arrival of the Borana (Belete, 1999:10). The Gabra claimed that they were the original settlers of the present Arero and Dire districts of Borana zone along with other groups, including the Garri before the coming of the Sodoma Booroo (Borana) to Dire (Gololcha, 2015:64). The Gabra are an Oromo-speaking and predominantly camel pastoralist group with a sophisticated land-use management system and high social co-operation. Regarding their original homeland, some argue that Gabra were come from Macca while some other claim Yaman as a cradle land of Gabra. Just like their counterpart Garri the tradition asserts that they left their home land and settled in Ethiopia due to excessive taxation called *Zaka* that the Maccans imposed on them (Belete, 1999:11). The second tradition assert that Gabra have never left their present day

location in the region since immemorial. They assert that they were Muslims since the earliest time and have been camel pastoralists (*Ibid*).

At present the Gabra live in both in Ethiopia as well as the desert and semi-desert regions of north-eastern Kenya. They have two main territorial divisions and sub-identities, the Gabra Malbee, whose territory is mostly in Kenya, in the arid lowlands to the east of Lake Turkana; and the Gabra Miigo, customarily living among the Borana in Ethiopia and sharing pastoral resources with them. The Ethiopian Gabra call their Kenyan counterpart as *Gabra Malbe* (Malbe is a broken, rock-strew desert land) while they call themselves Gabra. The Kenyan Gabra, on the other hand, call themselves Gabra and call the Ethiopian Gabra as *Gabra-Migo*. The Ethiopian Gabra currently occupy the areas from north to south in Surupa, Arero, Liban, Dilo, Goraye, Hidilola and Moyale (*Ibid*).

The Garba claim that their territory has considerably shrunk over the past and they rigorously blame the fact that they had nothing under their autonomous rule neither in the current ethnic federalism of Ethiopia nor in the Kenyan Republic (Belete, 1999:10; and Gabra informants). As a result, institutionally some of the Gabra Migo belong to the Oromia Region, and others to the Somali Region. In most case their identity is also determined on the basis of the institution to which they surrender their loyalty. This ambiguous position helped them to survive during the clashes between the Garri and the Borana.

Their livelihood is based on camel herding, and they have always maintained relations (sometimes good, sometimes less so) with neighbors the Borana, who are however outnumbering them and the Garri. The relation with the Borana can be seen as a sort of patronage: the Borana guaranteed the peaceful access of the Gabra to water sources in exchange for the recognition of the authority of the Borana, especially concerning the natural resources management system. The ability of the Gabra in camel herding represented historically a resource for the Borana, especially in times of droughts. They also developed a social system with many Borana elements, including their own *Gada* system. The Gabra has its own *Gada* system which is different from the *Gada's* of Borana and Guji (Gololcha, 2015).

3.3. Methods of the Study

This research is designed to be descriptive. The study attempts to describe the conflicts in the Moyale town and its environs as it exists at present. Efforts have also made to discover the factors of the conflicts of the area (Kothari, 2004:2). Since it is aimed at describing and understanding the Moyale conflict in southern Ethiopia, the view points of elders and local officials from each groups and outsiders included in this work. So as to reach the research interest, the researcher would therefore used qualitative method of research for purpose of the study, which focuses on the description of subjective perspectives, processes and contextual meaning (Bryman, 2003:59). The approach is preferred due to its holistic nature in analyzing the whole system of beliefs rather than simply in its individual components. According to Creswell (1994), qualitative method enables to properly investigate and describe a social or human problem.

Thus, this study is a descriptive in its purpose and case study in its methodological approach. The case study is one type of qualitative research approach that facilitates exploration of a phenomenon within its context using a variety of data sources. This ensures that the issue is not explored through one lens, but rather a variety of lenses, which allows for multiple facets of the phenomenon to be revealed and understood (Baxter and Jack, 2008). As discussed above, descriptive study is used to describe the real-life context in which it occurred. Therefore descriptive case study design permits the researcher to incorporate participants' actual expression of matters from their own perspective by their own words (Zainal, 2007). The goal of the researcher is to describe the view of the research participant as it occurs in order to give full picture about the context of the conflict and the phenomenon in the area (Snape and Spencer, 2003).

In order to trace the root causes of the conflicts deep into the historical past, secondary sources have been also used. Hence, social norms, the perception of the research participants and the attitude of the people gauged qualitatively by probing the data collected through interviews, focus group discussions, document analysis and observation.

3.4. Participants of the Study

Participants of the study includes elders, local officials, women and public servants in the area. Elders were selected considering their roles in the community, their ethnic groups and involvement in the efforts of conflict management. I have focused on Security and Administration, Police and Wereda Administration offices in selecting local officials for in-depth interview. The key informants were selected considering their previous position and experiences in the conflicts of the area, regardless of their current residence place.

3.5. Sampling Techniques and Procedures

The researcher jointly used two types of non probability sampling of participants. Quota sampling used to determine the number participants to each conflicting groups leaving enough space for the level of data saturation. Once the number of participants was determined, purposive sampling was employed to select the participants. Purposive-sampling technique in which respondents are selected on the basis of certain predefined purposes employed as a tool to select the informants. The rationale is, the researcher would found and discern individuals with knowledge and experience about the study, for instance, elders who are active in peace and conflict dialogue of the area, concerned officials from each levels of government structure. To this end, the selection of informants have been done by the help of two research assistants. In this stage of selecting the representatives, the researcher was vastly cautious in order to stay away from unobtrusive prejudice.

3.6. Instruments of Data Collection

3.6.1. In-depth and Key Informants Interview

In-depth interview has been conducted by the researcher in order to gather reliable data from the local communities such as elders, women and local officials who have experience of the protracted conflicts of the area and participated in the peace process one way or the other. Qualitative research uses in depth interviews as instrument of data collection for the purpose of discovering the underlying motives or desires behind a given behavior (Kothari, 2004:4).

To this end, semi structured interviews have administered focusing mainly on community elites; especially elders, women, local government officials, and some informed informants who has rich experiences about the conflicts of the area. Thus, I relied chiefly on semi structured interviews to explore the views, feelings, emotions and experiences of the local people. In semi-structured interview, the researcher wants to know specific information which can be compared and contrasted with information gained in other interviews. It also allows the researcher to remain flexible so that other important information can still arise (Dawson, 2009:28). Accordingly, I produced a list of specific questions which have been taken to each interview to ensure continuity leaving enough space for flexibility.

Accordingly, I promised to interview 40 informants in my proposal; 10 from each major ethnic group of the area and a total of 10 from other ethnic groups in the town. But partly to proportionate the Gabra and Borana informants with the available Garri informants (4 elders and 2 officials) and partly sensing that the data was reached at the level of saturation I used 29 informants for In-depth interview. Accordingly, I interviewed 8 informants from each the Borana and the Gabra while 6 and 7 informants interviewed from the Garri and other ethnic groups respectively. The process of interviewing informants was done by the researcher and two researcher assistants. The researcher assistants aided the researcher particularly by convincing and demonstrating individuals with deep knowledge and experiences about the problems of the area.

Key Informants Interview- also used to triangulate the data obtained from the local communities and officials. For this purpose I selected four individuals using purposive sampling. I developed some criteria to select the key informants. Accordingly both of the key informants have first degree and above, they have served in the area at high post position which granted them deep experience and knowledge on the conflicts of the area, and lastly their availability and the personal relation I have with them was taken into consideration in selecting them.

3.6.2. Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

On the other hand to aid and triangulate the data obtained from in-depth interview the researcher planned to conduct four equally sized focus groups discussion, each having seven participants. The three groups proposed to constitute the Borana, the Garri and the Gabra ethnic groups (one FGD to each); and the fourth group meant to local officials and NGO's representatives and others who have proximity and interest to the issue under study. However, due to the lack of willingness to cooperate and participate from local officials of region five I was forced to cancel FGD with officials and the Garri ethnic group. Thus, I conducted FGD with the Borana and the Gabra ethnic groups only.

To FGD purpose, I selected 8 basic questions from the list of questions prepared to guide in-depth interview. The same questions were administered to meet the prime aim of cross-checking the data. The homogeneity of the participants maintained not by design, but by default. Fortunately, all the participants of FGD were elders who have a good experience in the peace process of the area. Women and youth are not represented in the FGD. This method helped me to gather data on inter-ethnic conflict, the transformation mechanism used and the feelings and attitudes of the community on peace and conflict, the role of the community in peace process, potential values or elements in the community and on the challenges and peace scenario. Participants for focus group discussion, therefore, selected in purposive sampling technique considering the age roles in the community, participation in the conflict and conflict transformation and their reaction during interview session.

3.6.3. Document Analysis

In order to trace the root causes of the conflict deep into the historical past documents which are relevant to the issue under study were analyzed. Different books, articles, journals, dissertation and theses both published and unpublished; and local, national and international documents were used for this purpose. The information obtained from document analysis have been employed to cross check the data obtained through interviews and focus group discussions. Besides, informal conversation and personal experience and observation were employed to aid the data obtained from the field.

As the data collection was mainly based on in-depth interviewing, note taking and audio recording were employed as main data-capturing mechanisms in the field study. However, I encountered resistances while using audio recording and taking photographs. Only 40% of the informants showed their willingness to be recorded after I demonstrated the confidentiality of their response. Most of the interview conducted using Afan Oromo as a medium of communication, while few interview made in Amharic.

3.7. Data Analysis and Interpretations

Analysis of data in general way involves a number of closely related operations which are performed with the purpose of summarizing the collected data and organizing these in such a manner that they answer the research questions (C.R. Kothari, 2004). In these regard the data obtained from interview, focus group discussion, document analysis and field notes have been systematically formulated and summarized to point out the needed issues. This task carried out by applying thematic analysis, which is a pertinent approach in the qualitative method. As the themes emerge from the data, the data collection and analysis could take place simultaneously. Even background reading can form part of the analysis process, especially if it can help to explain an emerging theme (Dawson, 2009:120). Among the Models of Conflict Analysis, Strategic Conflict Analysis Model which focuses on structures, actors and dynamics of conflict in a given social context have been employed.

In the meantime, triangulation of data predominantly used to compare and contrast the information obtained from different sources descriptively. As part of drawing inferences and establishing relationships within the collected data, the contents, which have similarities, have been organized into categories and subcategories. This was followed by further clustering of different contents and then, the researcher coined the most descriptive topics that capture the content or the essence of each theme.

3.8. Reliability and Validity of the Study

The audio records were transcribed in Afan Oromo and then translated into English. Transcribing the data and translating it from Afan Oromo to English was not an easy task. In order to maintain the original meaning of the data in translating from Afan Oromo to English, one Afan Oromo teacher assisted me from Guangua high school.

The difficulty of getting objective data was also another troublesome. It is evident that in this kind of research the participants took side and bias towards their ethnic groups. To overcome this problem my prior knowledge about the conflicts and the semi-structured interview I employed served me to impose cross-check questions. Moreover, the data gathered from the three major ethnic groups in the area cross-checked with each other and with the data obtained from both Region 4 and 5 local officials. The data gathered from other ethnic groups, FGD discussants and from the key informants also used for the same purpose.

3.9. Ethical Considerations

I approached the research participants first by requesting their will to participate in the research. Then, I introduced my name and where I am from and the informants assured that the objective of the research is only for academic purpose and they were assured the protection of their identities and the guarantee of their safety of whatever information received in the course of the research. Moreover, I attempted to value and appreciate for knowledge of the locals. In all cases, names are kept confidential thus collective names like “discussants” and “informants” have been used in the presentation and analysis of the data. I tried as much as possible not to be biased and avoid prejudice in the process of collecting and interpreting data.

Chapter IV: Factors and Actors of Conflicts and their Dynamics in Moyale and its Environs

The aim of this chapter is to analyze the data obtained from the field and the existing literature about the conflicts in Moyale and its environs. The conflict in Moyale and its environs should be understood within the context of historic and ongoing socio-economic and political developments at the national, regional and global arena. Thus, in this chapter, I present and analyze major actors and factors of the conflicts in Moyale and its environs. By doing so, the section shows the interrelationship between the actors and the factors of the conflict.

Moreover, major ethnic groups in the area in collaboration with government bodies and other stakeholders in peace process enacted a regulations called " *Waliigaltee Aadaa Kan Ijaarsa Nageenyaa Gosa*" literarily to mean " Covenants of the Community to Build Peace among Ethnic Groups". Thus, in addition to the data obtained from the informants and literature, this Covenant (here under: Community Covenant/regulation) used throughout the discussion to support arguments and thoughts.

4.1. Actors in Moyale Conflicts and their Interest

In any inter-group conflicts it is very difficult to have a complete list of actors and factors. This is even sound more when it comes to the Moyale and its environs. The co-existence of various ethnic groups with their own interests, the prevalence of competing administration, the porous border which allowed illegal economic activities and insurgences of all kind put in to the actors and the factors of the conflict in Moyale and its environs.

The regulation which are enacted by the community to mitigate conflicts in Moyale and its surrounding communicate the conflicts as ethnic one. Yet, the ethnic nature of the conflict does not imply the absence of other actors. The fact that the conflicts fought along ethnic lines could not be taken as a guarantee that the factors are entirely ethnic. Thus, without diminishing the spot of ethnicity and ethnic role in the conflicts of the area, this section presents some actual and perceived actors alongside their interests as communicated by informants and other evidences/secondary sources.

4.1.1. Conflicting Parties As an Actors of the Moyale Conflicts

The major ethnic groups in the area are presented as conflicting parties whenever the conflicts in Moyale appear for discussion. Actors in conflict usually includes individuals and institutions. The ethnic groups in the area as one of the social institutions treated as the actors of the conflicts in Moyale and its environs.

4.1.1.1. The Borana

Conflict in Moyale is generally presented as an intermittent engagement between the Borana Oromo and the Garri Somali. The existing literature, for instance, Tigist (2014), treat the conflicts of the area as a pastoralist conflicts between the Borana and the Garri. Similarly, Gololcha (2015) in discussing ethnic conflicts among the pastoralists of Borana and Guji zones mentioned the Borana, the Gabra, the Garri and the Guji as the actors of the conflicts. Borana, when treated as one of the actors of the Moyale conflicts, taking into consideration the numerical superiority and the historical role they played as well as their present interest in the area brings them at frontier. As it has been discussed, in chapter two, different neighbors of Borana due to their long period of interaction with Borana able to gradually settle upon the territory under Borana control (Borana informants & FGD discussants; Belete, 1999). This gradual process accumulated over time and resulted in the loss of Borana land and its customary power to manage resources of the area. One of the key informants underlines that the issue of land and status is uncompromising among the Borana culture. This feeling created sentiments among the Borana and that is why they are cautious about the Garri and the Gabra in particular and any change in the region in general.¹

According to the Borana informants and FGD discussants, Borana's key concern is basically that of self-defense; the protection of their people; land and other properties against attacks from the Garri and the Gabra. They underpin this argument by explaining that all major conflicts in the area initiated by other ethnic groups and Borana involved in self defense only. At this point, it seems crucial to clarify the loaded meanings of the protection of people, land and other properties. The intension of this statement seems to maintain the statues-quo or the traditional

¹ Interview with Police Commander, 24/06/08.

position of the Borana in the area. One of the Burji informants², even raised the scope of these protection, saying "*the Boran in Ethiopia consider themselves as they are the ones who come to rescue their kinsmen in Kenya*". In this regard, Moyale is considered by the Borana as historic platform of Borana land, where both the Ethiopian and the Kenyans Borana subjects have been living. One elder, who is my informant and has had position in the *Gada* system, tells me sadly that their major handicap in providing protection is that they lack the financial muscle and strong networks within the Kenya and the Ethiopia government systems that their rivals already do have. This sentiment seems to have emerged due to the fact that the economic activities of the area is principally dominated by Garri and Burji ethnic groups than the Borana.

4.1.1.2. The Garri

The analysis of historical events and conflicts in southern Ethiopia put the Garri in equivalent position with that of the Borana. Any work that deals with the conflicts of the area seems to be incomplete unless it acknowledged the involvement of the Garri in shaping the course of events. All the informants except the Garri group, put the Garri in the first line when it comes to the question of actors in Moyale conflicts. However, all the Garri informants could not agree with the rank. They insist that it cannot hold water to emphasize on who shot the first bullet, rather it is important to see who causes him to shot. The Garri informants underlined that the Borana still stick into their traditional and historical positions which grantees them upper hand in the area. In this regard, the Garri are forced to enter in to war to avert the status-quo and that is why the Garri are considered as the major actor of the conflicts of the town of Moyale and its environs by others including the Borana.

According to the Garri informants, their interests and what they seek to achieve in this conflict is to have access and use of all resources in the southern part of Ethiopia in equal foot with that of the Borana. Being closely linked with leadership of Region 5, particularly the area which they shares boundary with the Borana, the Garri are tasked to ensure the territorial autonomy of the land under their control and in some case to herald the redefinition of the boundary in areas which they suppose the Borana took over their land using historic advantages. Particularly, in Moyale according to the Garri informants, the Borana is the minority and their claim is

² Interview with Public servant, 01/07/08.

justifiable by the Ethiopian Constitution which approves rule by majority. Yet, informants other than the Garri, disproved the claim that the Garri are the majority in the town of Moyale and relate the interests of the Garri in the conflicts of the area with the quest to control economic and political resources at the expense of other ethnic groups. According to these informants, the Garri are eager to control and reap the economic benefits from the investments of both the Ethiopian and the Kenyan Moyale and they would like to see these two strategic towns included in Region 5 which they already control. Gololcha (2015:61), also states that the Garri objectives in the area as that of owning all the economic and the political benefits of Moyale town.

4.1.1.3. The Gabra

The role of the Gabra in the conflicts of the town of Moyale and its environs can be viewed both as independent actor and as an entity that changes the balance of power taking either the Borana or the Garri side whenever conflicts arise between these two groups. The Gabra, although they could not have precisely demarcated territories of their own (Belete 1999; as informants of Gabra origin), there is no major clashes in the area in which the Gabra cannot take part one way or the other. Like the Borana, the Gabra informants justify their engagement in the conflicts of the area by linking it with the right to self and kinsmen defense. In this case, the scope of self defense encompasses access to key water points, rich pastureland and the gain of other economic and political benefit which is important in the communities livelihood.

Informants and the FGD discussants, other than the Gabra, unanimously accept the claim that the Gabra intervenes in the conflicts of the area for the sake of self defense to some extent. In the same vein, however, they underlined that the Gabra themselves have their own objectives which is far from self and kinsmen defense. The objectives and interests they seek to realize are sensing that they do not have their own territory in either Region 5 or 4 in Ethiopia, they felt urgent need to secure a region or a territory they can call their own. This is confirmed with the views of the Gabra informants who vigorously criticize the Ethiopian government for denying them the rights of self administration which is provided in the FDRE Constitution and available to other fellow ethnic groups as well.³ At this point, one can easily understand that the fluidity of the identity of Gabra is not a matter of choice rather it is a fact of understanding the situation in which they

³ Interview with Gabra Community elder, 29/06/08.

belong. Even currently there is a rumor that the Gabra established a new alliance with the newly emerging economic power in the area, the Burji.

The alliance is formed between the Reddle, the Gabra, the Garri and the Burji. It is known with the name REGGABU; RE for Reddle, GG for Gabra and Garri and BU for Burji. According to Gololcha 2015, the aim of the alliance is to attack the Borana during conflicts. Thus, the historical position of the Borana people in administrating and controlling the resources of the area seems to have contributed to be viewed as a common enemy by the members of the forged alliance. Nevertheless, the Burji informants disproved this giving their ethnic group a neutral position in the politics of the area.

4.1.2. Other Conflict Actors

4.1.2.1. Local Security Forces in the Moyale Town and its Environs

The involvement of local security forces in the Moyale conflict indicated in the Community Covenant/regulation which reads as "*Hidhataan kamiyyuu eeyyama malee iddoo gara iddootti deemuun dhorkaa waan ta'eef to'annaan cimaan akka godhamu*" meaning; any militia is prohibited from moving from one place to another without permission. The intention of this provision seems to prevent a possible conflicts which may erupt due to the unlawful involvement of the militia in the daily life of the community.

Local security forces, for the purpose of this thesis, refers the *Woreda* police force, and Security and Administration office in the town, both in Region 4 and 5 and the community militias both in the town and in the surrounding *kebeles* from both sides. Normally, the constitutionally or legally vested responsibilities of these institutions are to provide security and safeguard the well being of the community. The legal instrument of the country requires these institutions to offer their services in a transparent and fair manner. However, sadly there are cases in which individuals who are tasked in these institutions to protect the security and peace of the community could take part in violence against their responsibilities.

In the town of Moyale and its environs there are some clear indications that the local security forces seem to have involved in the conflicts of the area one way or the other. For instance, following the July 2012 violence the government arrested high post local security officers from both Region 4 and 5 as a suspect for fueling the conflict. Their involvement ranges from supplying firearms to directly participating in the conflicts. On this point, all the informants both in interview and discussion except the Garri, strongly criticized the local security forces from the side of Region 5 for instigating the conflicts. The Borana elders had fresh memory, in this case, as one Borana man who came from Dirre killed with the full knowledge of local high post officials in security and administration office in Region 5.

In my stay in the area as a researcher, I have also observed how the security forces of Region 5 in the town harass and mistreat individuals even in the front of higher local officials. Here it should be important to realize that in areas like Moyale there is a high tendency in which individual cases turn into group conflicts and violence. The community being aware of how individual conflicts shift into a large scale group conflicts have enacted regulations to deal properly with it. As a result, the regulation placed high emphasis on handling individual cases to prevent the possibilities of turning into violence. But unfortunately, unlike the community, the local security forces in Region 5 seem to have been handling individual cases against the principle of good governance. What all these means is that the conscious or unconscious acts of local security forces are seen instigating the conflicts of the area one way or the other.

The interests of local security forces, when treated as one of the direct or indirect actors of conflicts, seem to cooperate with the objectives of the community from which they are recruited. In addition to this grand objective, they may undermine their Constitutional and Legal responsibilities in order to satisfy their economic and political needs at the expense of their moral and ethical requirements.

4.1.2.2. The OLF Fighters

Regarding OLF and Al-Shabab the perception of local government officials and local people differs on their organizational status, but not on their existence. The local government officials could not deny the existence of hidden bodies involved in the Moyale conflicts one way or the other, though unlike the local people they do not need to relate them with OLF or Al-Shababa.

According to FGD discussants from the Borana group, though their number is negligible, OLF fighters have settled in Kenya on the border of Ethiopia. Although there are a rumor that they are active in the affairs of the area of Moyale, nobody knows whether they do involve themselves in the local conflicts. One elder from the Borana, indicates that if one Somali person killed by OLF militia, either by design or default, the Garri immediately disseminate a corrupted version of the information that the Borana killed a person.⁴ But the murder had nothing to do with the Borana causes.

On the other hand, the Garri informants insist that there are few former OLF elements, who offer tactical advice to the Borana local militia. The local officials in Region 4 expressed that there is a rumor about OLF's involvement in the conflicts around the town of Moyale. However, they insist that this could not be taken as true. According to them, the OLF and its networks have been brought to an end by the action of the Ethiopian security forces who took crucial measure there at different times. As a result, most of the fighters of OLF voluntarily surrendered to the Ethiopian government and they were already integrated into the local society. Now, in the area, just like anywhere, there might be some crimes that have been easily or simply committed in the form of the local rebels commonly known as *Shifta*. Thus, it does not make sense to give recognition to the already dead front whenever crime is committed with gun holding individuals (informant from police office and *Wereda* administration).⁵

4.1.2.3. The Al-Shabab

The local government officials in both (Region 4 and 5) certainly neglected the prevalence of Al-Shabab in the Moyale conflicts. However, informants from the Borana and the Gabra, suspects the Garri group for providing a safe haven for the Al-Shabab and in return to that they would receive weapons to use it against the Borana. The Borana elders on their discussion underlined that while the Garri have their own agenda, but by associating with this forces, they now have access to massive source of firearms, financial support and technical advice in their campaign against any ethnic groups in the region.

⁴ Interview with Borana Community elder, 01/07/08.

⁵ Interview with police Commander, 30/06/08; Local official from office of *Wereda* administration, 02/07/08.

Contrary to this, however, the Garri elders perceive their role in the region as a counter for the interests of the Al-Shabab to penetrate in to the Ethiopian interior. According to them, the Garri community and the security forces of Region 5 are playing the demanding role in checking the activities of Al-Shabab in the area. This indicates that unlike the local government officials, both the Borana and the Garri informants could not deny the existence of some elements of the Al-Shabab in the area, but they differ on the role played by the Garri communities in this regard.

One of the key informants, who have a rich experience in the conflicts of the area, also asserts the nonexistence of Al-Shabab in the conflicts of the Ethiopian Moyale. Although Al-Shabab is active in the Somalia and Kenya, there is no evidence that Al-Shabab crossed the national boundary of Ethiopia. As to him, the Borana group perception about the link between the Garri and the Al-Shabab seems to have been emerged by the unknown sources of firearms of the former.⁶

In general, even if it is not an easy task to verify the existences and the roles of this entities (the OLF and the Al-Shabab) in the Moyale conflicts by providing hard and tangible evidences, it seems sound to consider these rumors in dealing with the conflicts of the area. The seemingly objectives of these entities can be seen from two perspectives: one as the extension of the international agenda of terrorism in the Horn (destabilizing the region); and second as national rebel groups backed by powers who needs to destabilize and disturb the relative peace and prosperity of the Ethiopian state in general.

4.1.2.4. The Kenyan Security Forces

As another actor of the Moyale conflicts, there is no indications in which the Kenyan Security forces directly intervened in the local conflicts in Ethiopia especially in the border town of Moyale. However, since all major inhabitants of the Ethiopian Moyale have their counterpart in Kenya the actions of the Kenyan Security forces significantly affects the peace in Ethiopia. Moreover, the Kenyan election campaign is made along ethnic lines. The Borana, the Garri and the Gabra, in Kenya, could compete along their ethnic lines to win the election. Voting-politics in this setting have a strong cross-border dimension. Political power on both sides of the Ethio-Kenyan border is contested between various ethnic groups that partly also inhabit both of the two

⁶ Interview with key informant- former Commander, 24/06/08.

states. The ethnic diversity of the Ethiopian and the Kenyan Moyale defies any exclusive ownership claim although some groups constitute a clear majority, whereas others are minorities. A partnership among the minorities, however, could challenge majority rule. In this uneven power arrangement, the cross-border social networks are used for political enlistment in order to broaden one's voters particularly during elections (Fikadu, 2006).

In most cases, according to the informants, the electoral competition could take another dimension when the Kenyan security forces in Marsabet and Ossilo could stand behind one ethnic groups against the other. All the informants on this issue agreed that, at the begging people from the Ethiopian Moyale side follow the process carefully as the result affects the balance of power in the region. However, if one group, in the Ethiopian Moyale considers that the Kenyan Security forces are harassing their counterpart, they could quickly intervene visibly or invisibly to rescue their kinsmen. Thus, these could cause conflict in Ethiopia. From these grounds, the Kenyan Security Forces in the region can be treated as another additional actors of the conflicts in Moyale and its Environs from the external side. In addition, one can judge the Kenyan security forces in the area as one of the actors of the conflicts due to the amalgamated way of life within the two Moyale's.

4.1.2.5. The Business Men

The involvement of several business men in the conflict of the area can be seen from two angles as it goes with the saying "kill two birds with one stone". On one hand they need to pursue the cause of their ethnic group; and on the other they require to defend their position and benefits on the trade of the area. By manipulating the ethnic cause and using their economic power business men in the area shortly become more visible in urban centers. In doing so, they gain gratitude with government institutions and officials who simply got into their networks. It is this companionship which could enlighten the state of affairs in Moyale where a few business men could function above the law and partake in all manner of illegal activities which include gun running, smuggling of goods across the border and human trafficking as well.

Even if it is not in a significant way, according to informants, there are some indications about the involvement of business men in the Moyale conflicts. Although one cannot be sure about their participation in the initiation of the conflict, there is a feeling that they provide financial and material supports once the conflict broke out. According to one of the informants, the visible material support from business men includes firearms and providing cars to allow fast mobility in times of war.⁷ Looking for the big business opportunities, these speculators apparently require huge tracts of land on which to build all manner of business facilities in partnership with local leaders and prominent personnel. To buy the trust of these local leaders and prominent personnel, they could provide some funds to facilitate the current conflicts in Moyale and its Environs.

4.2. Factors Behind the Moyale Conflicts

The factors behind the Moyale conflicts are quite a lot as some are explicit while others are quite implicit. The major ones can be discussed with modest details in the following sub sections.

4.2.1. Land Ownership and Blurred Frontier Demarcations as a Factor

People, anywhere in the world, have fought over land since the beginning of recorded history. Now a days, land is often regarded as a significant factor in widespread violence and is also a critical element in peace-building and economic reconstruction in post-conflict situations. Therefore, land can be viewed as a central element in the varied and complex social relations of production and reproduction within which conflict between individuals and groups are bred.

Land and land related resources such as grazing and watering are always at the centre of the Moyale conflicts. No matter whether the conflict is treated from the pastoralist dimension of resource competition or from the politics of ethnic federalism which requires the assignment of land to one ethnic group against the other land is crucial element. As a result, conflict over land often combines strong economic and emotional values (USAID, 2012: 16). For the sake of the point under discussion, it seems sound to consider land as a generic term. It should also be kept in mind that competition over access to land is often, at its core, about power, both socio-economic and political. Therefore, as in other conflict dynamics, land is tied to a complex

⁷ Local official, 01/07/08

network of issues ranging from power relationships to economics and from symbolic attachments to systemic inequities.

The above expression is more valid when it comes to the conflicts in the area of the Moyale town. All the informants from the Borana, the Garri and the Gabra associate land ownership with socio economic power and symbolic attachments. Moreover, these way of conceiving land is deep rooted in the Borana culture. According to the Borana FGD discussants, land for the Borana, is his everything; sense as supporter of life, prestige, wealth. The Garri, who are not happy with the traditional role of the Borana; and the Gabra, who strongly criticize the current territorial arrangement of local administration, consider land as a means of intensifying systemic inequities. Thus, on the basis of the information given above land is considered the underlying factors of the Moyale conflicts. Although there are many different factors, in the Moyale conflicts, the competition among the three major ethnic groups to own, expand and preserve land is always at the core of the conflicts. At this point, it should be important to be not mistaken the term to own, expand and preserve in the form of pastoralist competition. Rather it is about the inclusion and exclusion of the land either in Region 4 or 5.

Since land is quite crucial in societal life, like in areas under discussion, addressing land issues effectively demands a broad, integrated, and inter-disciplinary approach. All informants and FGD discussants repeatedly indicated that the blurred frontier demarcation between Region 4 of Oromia and Region 5 of Somali as the underlying factor for the protracted conflicts of the area. At this juncture, for instance Fikadu (2011) states that more than 430 *kebeles* (smallest administrative unit) are contested between the Oromia and the Somali Regional States. The stake could become high when it comes to the town of Moyale. According to all the informants and my own personal observation, Moyale can be considered as a space where there is no sustainable peace. Due to lack of clear cut boundaries and the presence of competing administrative structures within one town, there are problems in maintaining law and order. As indicated by local officials of both groups, the duality in administrative structure and the unofficial division within the town enabled individuals who commit crime to evade prosecution by fleeing from one sector to the other. Additionally, as a result of the continued standoff, there is a low level of municipal services and the situation of 'no man's land'. According to one of the informants from police officer, for instance, the easiest task of drawing a Zebra line in the road needs a prolonged

negotiation among the two competing local officials.⁸ As a result, it is not usual to observe Zebra crossing in the town.

Conflicting claims on the ownership of land and its boundaries emanate from three angles. First, when that claims are grounded in formal state law versus informal or customary claims. Second, where overlapping rights were granted to parties under different legal regimes. Third, where overlapping and competitive rights have been granted to different parties for the same land. A close look to the nature of the Moyale conflicts prove the above reality. First, in the area there is an attempt to redraw the boundaries along the principle of ethnic federalism adopted by the state and the need to maintain the traditional position of the Borana in the region (i.e., formal state law versus customary claims). Second, the Derg regime have gave inclusive power to the Borana to administer the region as the Garri and the Gabra were being suspected to rely behind Somalia in the 1977 war (i.e., overlapping rights under different legal regimes). Third, the newly introduced ethnic federalism of Ethiopia failed to decide on the issues of Moyale and granted overlapping and competitive rights to Region 4 of Oromia and Region 5 of Somali for the same land(i.e., competitive rights for the same land).

According to all the informants, the conflicts in Moyale and its environs typically characterizes a situation involving competing claims to the ownership or use of the same piece of land. The competition is not a mere pastoralist competition for resources, it is a competition between distinct ethnic groups or communities which requires the inclusion of the area either in Region 4 or 5. One of the informants from the local police office stressed that when claims are grounded on groups of people, rather than individuals, it significantly intensify the risk of larger-scale violent conflict and eventually becomes difficult to manage it through the routine activities of police force.⁹ Generally as stated in chapter two, the conflict in Moyale and its environs involves two or more groups with different and sometimes incompatible interests or goals, which may be expressed in the form of land control. There are evident incompatible goals; like one ethnic group's aim to control the economic and political benefits of the area is blocked by the other group's goal which in turn resulted in contradictory attitudes and violent behaviors, i.e., what we

⁸ Interview with police Commander, 30/06/08.

⁹ Interview with police Commander, 30/06/08.

call intergroup/ethnic conflicts. The situation in Moyale and its environs, as informants insist, could be seen within these frameworks to have a clear understanding.

Some elders from the Borana groups alleged that the Garri settled on the Borana traditional land very recently following the collapse of the Derg regime. In this regard, Bassi 1997 mentions the large influx of Garri and other Somali clansmen to the Moyale town and its surroundings as in the 1990s as an additional incentive for the Moyale conflicts. In the same line of thought, the Borana FGD participants underlined that encouraged by their political land gains within the new federal arrangements of the country, Garri started to advocate for the re-drawing of Border between Region 4 (Oromo region) and Region 5 (Somali region) including Moyale and all the land lies to the east of the main highway connecting Kenya and Ethiopia. According the FGD discussants, during the transitional period, the government authorized the land to the Borana, though it failed to implement. One elder emboldened that not willing to give up and respect the decision of the Transitional Government, Garri leaders continued to explore all opportunities available to them in their attempt to achieve a dream of including the strategic Moyale town into Region 5.¹⁰

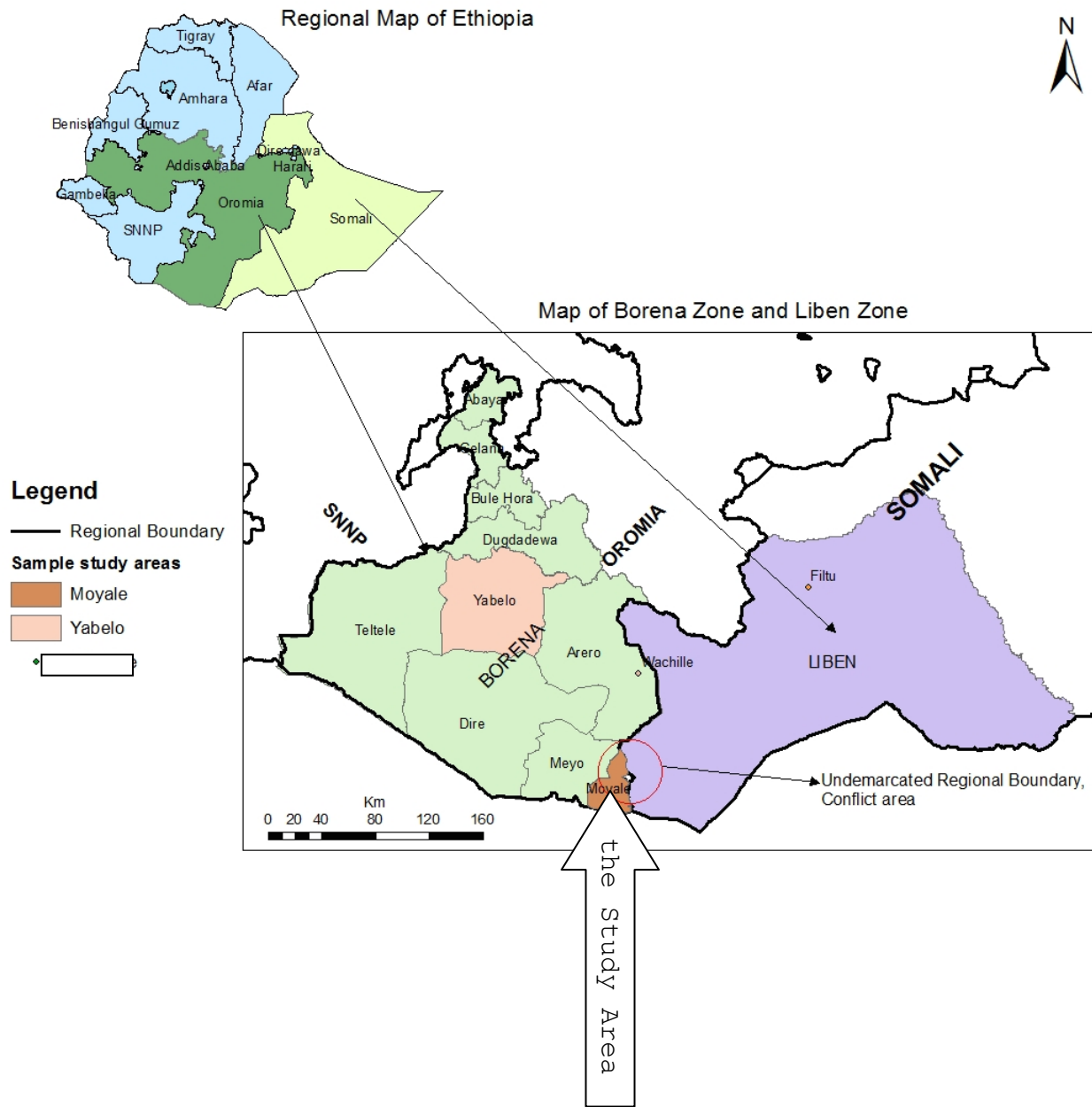
On the other hand, informants from the Garri group, totally reject the assumption that the Garri settled in Moyale and its surroundings following the downfall of the Derg regime. They insist that, this story is fabricated, of course, taking into account few historical facts. It is true that the Derg regime were not comfortable to the Garri inhabitants in the area. The relation of the then government with the Garri ethnic group further deteriorated when the Derg enter into war with the Somalia state as the former suspected the later for supporting the Somalia state. As a result, there was a mass exodus of the Garri inhabitants from Moyale and its surrounding to different neighboring states. Immediately following the collapse of the Derg regime, therefore, the Garri were returned and settled in their original land. All Garri informants underlined that this historical episode could not be presented as an evidences for the inclusion of Moyale under Region 4 against Region 5.

¹⁰ Interview with Borana Community elder, 01/07/08.

On top of these, the likelihood of violent conflict substantially increases when significant part of the community characterize land-holding patterns as inequitable and discriminatory, as in the case of the Gabra inhabitants of the area. Although the fluidity of their identity among the Borana and the Garri groups makes the situation very complex (Gunther Schlee 1989), one thing that I realized from all the Gabra informants, they are eager to have the land they call their own. All Gabra informants insist and approve that their ethnic group members are not happy with the existing land holding patterns as it denied them at least a werda/district of their own. Thus, grievances over inequities, which are deeply rooted in a strong sense of injustice, also increase the probability of violence. Land-holding inequities, combined with other drivers of violence, have been critical elements in many conflicts throughout history.

As already discussed, according to all the informants, regardless of their ethnic background state that the issue of land ownership and unclear demarcation is always at the core of the conflicts in the region. According to them, the conflicts may erupt by one or another pretexts, but inside it there is the question of land and re-drawing the boundary between the competing ethnic groups.

Map 2: Undemarcated Regional Boundaries and Study Area.



Source: Tigist Kebede (2014).

4.2.2. Politicized Ethnicity and Elite Mobilizations

According to literature, ethnicity can be easily politicized whenever political coalitions are organized along ethnic lines, or whenever access to political or economic benefits depends on the role of ethnicity (Fearon,2004). The greatest emphasis placed on ethnicity as a way of representation, citizenship and formation of local and regional administrative structures in federal Ethiopia may be explained by re-examining the three groups' ethnic identity (Schlee 1998:143). Based on this argument, one can easily understand that the conflicts in the town of Moyale and its environs exhibits politicized ethnicity. However, politicized ethnicity, in this case, do not mean the new fabricated identities. Rather, the already existing elements of ethnic characteristics like language, psychological makeup, and history, customs and sometimes myths of origin- were activated as strong engines of mobilization by different elites.

Demarcating the boundary of the two regions around Moyale have become contentious because not only there were longstanding resource and territorial conflicts among the three clans but also due to the difficulty of dividing the three clans into clear-cut ethnic categories/regions. For instance, during my stay in the area, I realized that one cannot distinguish between the three ethnic groups on the basis of such criteria like style of dress, language, physical appearances, etc. More importantly one can face difficulties in categorizing the Gabra either in the broader Oromo or Somali identities. A central problem in trying to manage or transform the Moyale conflict has also attributed to this indivisible nature of socio-cultural aspects.

There are still a blurred vision on the identity of the Gabra. Most of the Gabra informants consider themselves as an Oromo, still they could not deny that a significant number of the Gabra group consider themselves as a Somali. All the Borana informants assume the Gabra as an Oromo indicating that they share similar language and culture. In the same way, the Garri informants acknowledge the Somali identity of the Gabra without denying that most of the Gabra themselves inclined to their Oromo identity. As a researcher, I have also noticed some kind of active involvement of the Gabra elders and personnel's in different office of the Oromia at district level in which I came across.

At this point, it should be noted that primordial approach and constructivist argue differently as far as ethnic group membership is concerned. The primordial approach articulated by the Garri to claim inclusion of the Gabra in to the larger Somali identity referring common descent rejected by the Borana claiming the constructivist elements of common language and culture. The Gabra on the other hand, until they have their own land and administrative structure within the existing Federal arrangements, seems to have been forced to activate the already existing elements that would reflect either of the two groups on the basis of the circumstances. In other words, the Gabra who lives with the Garri continues to be a Somali by claiming the primordial ties, while the Gabra who lives with the Borana Continues to be an Oromo claiming the constructivist aspects of identity. This situation also helped some Gabra elites and politicians to take instrumentalist positions to choose their identity by calculating the benefits of becoming either Oromo or Somali. That means, Gabra elite use both options to secure their political and economic benefits.

In the same manner, the identity of the Garri in the area under study seems to have been settled to some extent than before as the vast majority of the Garri community believed in the primordial viewpoint. Nevertheless, the problem arises when one tries to explain the identity of the Garri from the constructivist point of view. Thus, the stake of politicized ethnicity is high in the area not only as a result of emphasis placed on ethnicity as a way of representation, citizenship and formation of local and regional administrative structures, but also the flexibility of ethnic identities in the region.

Moreover, in the area like this, elites could easily mobilize a given ethnic group in order to achieve their hidden political and economic goals by exaggerating the benefit of genealogical solidarity, and construct the sense of ‘us’ and ‘them’ dichotomy. According FGD discussants, in the Moyale conflicts it is not uncommon to find individuals involved, such as conflict entrepreneurs, who manipulate a disgruntled population to achieve personal political or material gain, or to achieve gains for a specific group or socio-economic class within an ethnic or political group. The ethnic elites, in this case, includes the enlightened members of a given ethnic group who are in a position to influence the society one way or the other. Economic elites mobilize their ethnic members to keep their economic benefits, while social elites most notably elders engage in the mobilization process to preserve their social position. In the Moyale conflicts,

economic elites have participated in mobilizing their ethnic groups in order to defend their business by the name of ethnic claims.

Moreover, the political elites in the area use the ethnic card for personal enrichment and other benefits. According to the informants, particularly those political elites who lost their position for some reason mobilize their ethnic groups to regain the political position in the name of ethnic empowerment and rights to political power and economic advantages. Those in power also use the same strategies to remain in position. One of the Burji informants also give emphasis to the role of unemployed youth in this regard. Just like the politicians, unemployed youth in the area mobilize their parents and ethnic group giving the problem of unemployment an ethnic dimensions. He underlined that, the prevalence of poverty and unemployment has driven young people into all manner of compromises.¹¹ One community elder states that young people no longer pay attention to the advice of elders, instead mobilized easily by anyone who gives their cause an ethnic dimensions.¹²

As far as mobilization is concerned, the Gabra elites on their struggle for resources and power seem to have been making rational calculations about their identity activating either their Oromo or Somali identity on the basis of the circumstances. In general, all the informants argued that elites in the area in the form of individuals or groups who benefit in material or political terms from violence may endeavor to further their personal ambitions by manipulating the emotional or symbolic dimensions of land. Thus, mobilization of groups by one side of a conflict typically leads to a corresponding counter-mobilization by their opponents.

In this regard, the Community Covenant/ regulation being aware of the presence of elite mobilizations in the conflicts of the town of Moyale and its surrounding dedicated two of its provisions for this purpose. The first provision warns/prohibits the propagation any information which may cause ethnic conflicts by anyone else. This equates with what literature refers to as elite mobilization. The second provision makes the local officials and elders liable when one ethnic group attacks the other. The provision seems to have emerged out of two assumption. First, local officials and elders are a responsible stakeholders in protecting the peace of the area

¹¹ Interview with Public servant, 01/07/08.

¹² Interview with Religious leader, 30/06/08.

and failure to this resulted in being liable. Second, unfortunately local officials and elders may take part in the conflicts and the provision warns them to abstain from such deeds.

4.2.3. The Location of Moyale as a Factor

In his article *Boundaries and Connections*, Barth (2000:17) as cited in Dereje and Markus (2008:7) argued that:

Throughout history political boundaries have been rich in affordances, offering opportunities for army careers, customs-duty collecting agencies, defence construction contracts and all manners of work and enterprise. They have provided a facility of retreat and escape for bandits and freedom fighters eluding the control of states on both sides; and they are a constant field of opportunities for mediators, traders and middlepersons of all kinds.

Based on this argument, the status of Moyale as border or border lands could be seen as one reason for the protracted conflicts of the area. Scholars briefed borders to represent institution of inter-state division while borderlands to refer territorially defined physical space along the border. On the basis of the case studies from the Horn, Dereje and Markus (2008:9) identified four different types of resources that collective as well as individual actors can extract from state borders and borderlands. These are economic resources, political resources, identity resources and status and rights resources. The town of Moyale and its environs could be viewed within this frameworks. One can extract all these resources from Moyale town both as a border and borderlands.

As it has been discussed above, all the informants witnessed that along the Ethio-Kenyan border there are various Oromo, Somali, Gabra, Burji communities and others who are economically powerful either in the form of individuals or groups as well as rebel groups extracting both economic, political, identity and status resources from state borders and borderlands. For instance, all the informants believe in the involvement of the invisible hands of rebels in the conflicts of the area one way or the other. Here, one can easily infer that the involvement of rebels in the conflicts of the area is not due to the unique nature of the conflicts, but their involvement largely attributed to the location of the town. The competitive environment provided by border and varying identities of the borderlanders adds some incentives to the already existing land and ethnic conflicts.

According to one of the key informants, who previously served as a high post official in the area, while one would normally celebrate the economic development and acceleration of urbanization process brought by the arrival people from interior of Ethiopia, but unfortunately the recent breed of immigrants created another surface of tension among the Borana and the Garri. Both the Borana and the Garri assumed that the condition of Moyale could not remain under two competing regional states for ever. As a result, in case, if the government needs to decide over the destiny of Moyale through referendum the vote of these new comers may change the balance of power. Not to lose this strategic town by any means, there is always a competition between the two competing administrative units to register the new comers under their jurisdiction.¹³ Yet, the intensity of the competition depends on the economic and political significance of the newly arrived person.

On the other hand, the location of Moyale in the border makes it easy for entry and exit of arms, drugs, as well as traffic of humans. As verified by informants, closeness of Moyale to the porous border with Kenya and Somalia has significantly contributed to steady inflow of firearms and infiltration of various armed groups. An armed population frequently implies added risk that situations can turn violent. According to the Borana and the Gabra informants, the Garri community in Moyale and its environs have access to endless supplies of weaponry and tactical support from the local security forces. According to them, the Somali groups who were armed by one way or the other turned their guns on poorly armed Borana communities looking favorable conditions. Gololcha (2015:73), also states that in the region the Garri are well armed and technically qualified enough than the Borana. The Borana is also blamed by the Garri for accessing firearms from the border.

4.2.4. Unenforceable Citizenship Rights

Citizenship is a relationship between an individual and a state, defined by the law of that state, with corresponding duties and rights in that state. Just like anywhere in the world, in Ethiopia too, citizens have rights to utilize and duties to discharge. The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopian (FDRE) Constitution provided citizenship rights that can be implemented throughout the national territory. In Moyale and its environs, however, either by design or default citizenship

¹³ Interview with key informants who has Served in the area for long period as local official, 28/07/08.

rights are not given due attention while benefits related to ethnicity are overstated. Ethnic entrepreneur, particularly in the area under discussion, mobilized their ethnic group placing more emphasis on the benefits of ethnicity at the expense of citizenship rights.

One of the key informants, who is previously a judge in Oromia while he belongs to the Garri ethnic groups, considers the less emphasis placed on citizenship as a major factors of the conflicts of the area.¹⁴ According to him, the people in the area know nothing about citizenship and the rights attached to it. Unless they are told about the rights of citizenship, they will continue to fight in the situation of 'us' and 'them' dichotomy to free the area from 'them'. The local government officials being absorbed by 'us' and 'them' dichotomy reflect similar viewpoint on citizenship. In the town within the competing administrative structure power is attained not by the virtue of merit, but by the claim to the membership of a given ethnic group. The FDRE constitution under article 32, for instance, stipulates that every person has the freedom to choice his residence within the national territory. As per this article, everyone who lives in the area as individual or group have equal rights to choice that part of the national territory as their permanent residence area. Furthermore, the above provision strengthened by article 33 sub article 2 of the constitution which states that every Ethiopian national has the right to the enjoyment of all rights, protection and benefits derived from the Ethiopian nationality. Therefore, absence of consensus and awareness about these constitutional provision or intentionally ignoring them by local government officials on both sides and the people at large could be taken as one of the factor for the prevailing conflicts of the area.

The point which strengthen the above line of thought appeared in the interview with a high school teacher, who is one of the informants and belongs to neither of the three major ethnic groups in the area.¹⁵ According to him, people are fighting and dying for the common property which is neither found nor vanished as a result of the success or failure in the conflicts. In the protracted conflicts of the area there is no winner, both parties are loser as they are the nationals of the same political community. Due to this fact, both parties in the conflict live together over the same land experiencing the hardship of war, a point that makes both of them loser.

¹⁴ Interview with key informant local Lawyer, 15/07/08.

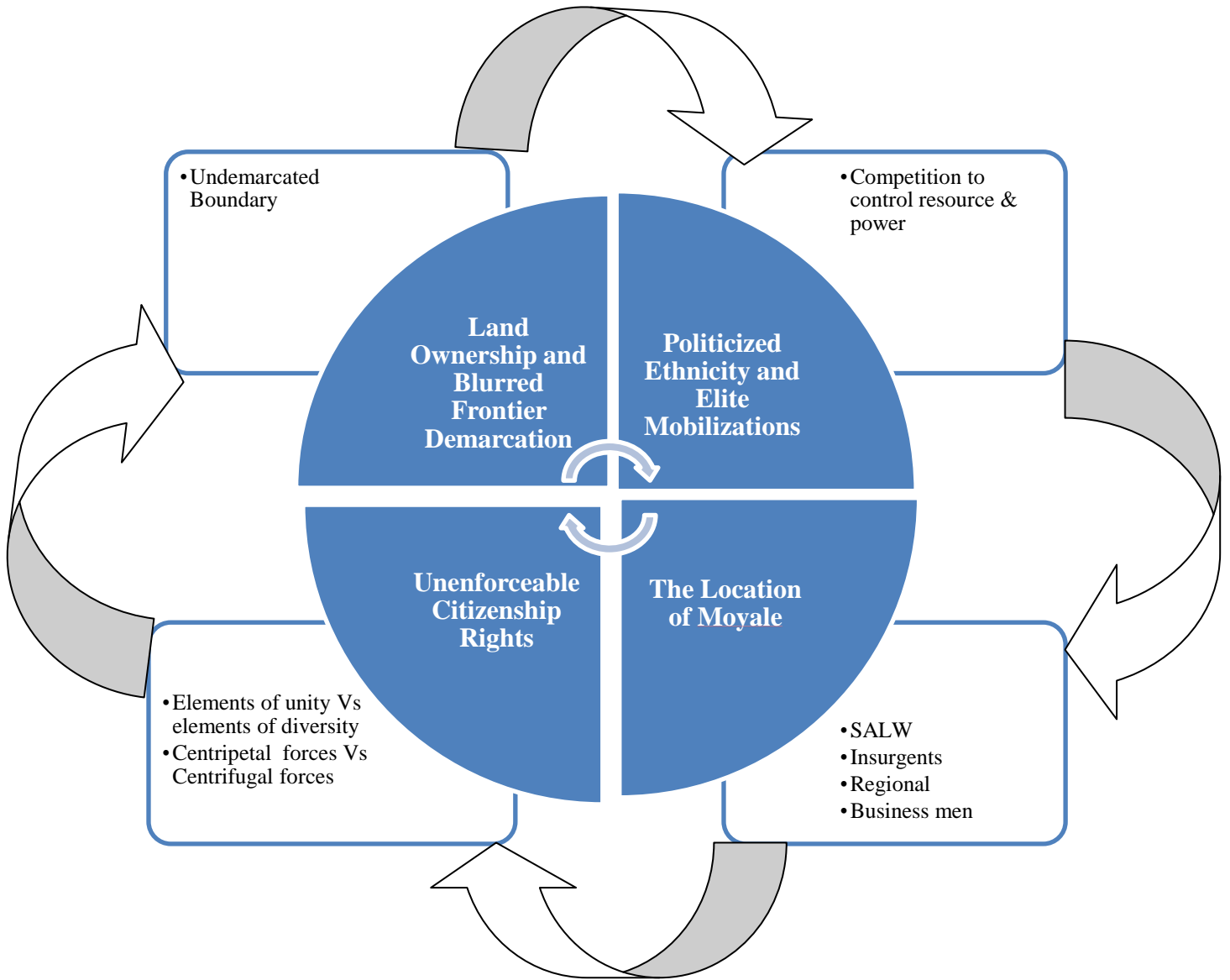
¹⁵ Interview with high school Teacher, 28/06/08

The above argument has constitutional relevance as far as citizenship rights and the ownership of land concerned. The issue of citizenship, in this regard, should be viewed as per the above discussion. But concerning the ownership of land article 40 sub article 3 of the FDRE constitution states that the right to ownership of rural land and urban land, as well as all natural resources, is exclusively vested in the state and in the peoples of Ethiopia. The constitution further goes on to say that land is a common property of the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia. The proper implementation of this provision when goes together with the citizenship rights like freedom to choice one's residence, the right to the enjoyment of all rights, protection and benefits derived from Ethiopian nationality the factors of the Moyale conflicts will lost its ground before the ethnic elites. More specifically the constitution in the same article under Sub-article 5 clarifies that all Ethiopian pastoralists have the right to free land for grazing and cultivation as well as the right not to be displaced from their own land. Yet, the protection of the provision requires a clear awareness and commitment for citizenship and nationality rights.

In general, the objective of this sub-topic should not be mistaken as advocating the abolishment of ethnic boundaries or the replacement of ethnicity by citizenship entitlements, rather particularly in areas like under discussion at least giving equal recognition for these concepts will settle the tension between different ethnic groups. Article 9 sub article 2 of the constitution warns that all citizens, state organs, political organizations as well as their officials have the duty to ensure observance of the constitution and to obey it. Thus, the little emphasis placed upon the rights of citizenship and the exaggerated interpretation of ethnicity by political elites accompanied by lack of awareness of the local people made the Moyale conflicts irreconcilable and unsettled disputes.

In summary, these are not the only factors of Moyale conflicts. More importantly within the framework of these factors, the community covenant/regulations puts individual disputes and murder, cattle raids, religious and cultural bigotry, unlawful use of pasture and watering and rape as a triggering factors of the conflicts in Moyale and its environs. For instance, in addition to court adjudication, the community Covenant/regulations punishes 50 cattle for a life, 30 cattle for an injury nearly survived from death, 5 cattle for a cattle raid, 500 birr for unlawful use of pasture and watering, 10 and 5 cattle for girl and women rape respectively.

Fig. 1. The Complex Interplay Between Different Factors of the Moyale Conflicts



Chapter V: The Impacts and the Challenges of the Conflicts in Moyale and Its Environs

The first part of this chapter deals with the 2012 violence and how different factors of the conflicts manifested. This part provides a concrete insights about the conflicts and some hint about its impacts. Following this the impacts of the Moyale conflicts in general and stakeholders of peace process is analyzed and discussed. Lastly, the challenges of pervious peace attempt and prospects of peace took the turn and discussed accordingly.

5.1. The 2012 Violence and How Different Factors Manifested

The 2012 violence were a series of ethnic clashes between the Borana and the Garri communities in the last week of July in the area of Moyale, southern Ethiopia. The fighting appeared to be caused by a long-standing dispute over land possession. According to FGD discussants and key informants, the clashes began around 25 July and continued for the next three days. The unique feature of this violence, according to the informants, the direct involvement of armed militias including the local police force in the conflict and the conflict largely fought in the town. Although the conflict has started in nearby village (Chamuki), the fighting spread into Moyale town immediately. Moyale as a battle field hosted massive casualties of the conflict.

All the informants insist that the question of land ownership is the major causes of the 2012 violence. The Gabra and Borana informants set similar, but slightly different triggering factors for the 2012 violence. According to the Gabra informants, the conflict broke out when the Garri started to settle their kinsmen on the disputed land (Chamuki) following the rumors about the deteriorating health condition of Prime Minister Meles Zenawi. The Borana elders are not in a position to acknowledge that the land is a disputed area among the Borana and the Garri. According to them, eager to have Moyale annexed to Region 5 either one way or another, the Garri devotedly mobilized their fighting force and started to expand into the Borana land around Moyale following the rumors about the deteriorating health condition of Prime Minister Meles Zenawi. As part of this plan they settled about 600 households in *Chamuki Kebele*. This marked the beginning of the 2012 violence.

On the other hand, the Garri informants, like the Gabra and the Borana informants acknowledged land and land related resources as a fundamental factor to the 2012 violence. However, they underlined that the areas settled by their members are not to be taken as neither disputed nor the Borana land. According to them, even before the settlement scheme Chamuki belongs to the Garri ethnic groups. Thus, to them the conflict broke out due to the unfulfilled interests of the Borana to bring all the area around Moyale under its domination.

From the above discussion I infer that, the question of land ownership is always at the core of the conflicts in Moyale and its environs. The point of departure between the previous work and the work at hand as far as land is concerned, previously land treated mainly as a pastoralist asset from which they gain water and grazing for the time being until they move to other similar place, but in this work land is seen as a political boundary which gives entire control to one ethnic group against the other in permanent basis. The 2012 violence seems to have been emerged out of this backgrounds. The informants from both ethnic groups indicated that there is some kind of settlement scheme from the Garri side. Since there is no clear demarcation among the Borana and the Garri any settlement nearby the Borana land with no doubt impact the Borana's land holding. Due to this fact, the Borana may took gun to push back the settlers and it would become the starting point of the violence. The battle is fought in ethnic lines. Thus, unlike the pastoralist conflicts of the past, the nature of the current conflict seems more of ethnic. One of the key informant stressed that; *"If the conflicts were a competition for resources in the form of pastoralist conflicts, then it could be fought among the same ethnic group. But, this is not the case in the Moyale conflicts"*¹⁶

The violence has resulted in heavy loss of lives and properties. According to all the informants, the violence has left unforgettable memories of destruction on the communities of the area. Life were lost in the town and the nearby kebele Chamuki, businesses were shutdown on both sides of the border, and homes in the villages of Chamuki and Shewa Beri (smallest administrative unit in the town) were reported to have been burnt. However, except one women¹⁷ who lost her son in this violence, no informants are willing even to put the approximate number of deaths. According to elders and local government officials from both side, disclosing the number of dead

¹⁶ Interview with key informant local Lawyer, 15/07/08.

¹⁷ Interview with League of women at *kebele* level, 02/07/08.

individuals counted as accepting the defeat among the local communities. As a result, they hide the dead body from anybody else including the police. This makes difficult the task of getting the exact number of dead persons in the violence.

In my attempt to get at least the approximate number deaths, I found one women who is my informant from Gabra ethnic groups. She reacted to the question very sadly as a mother who lost her son in that despair days:

In the third day of the violence while I was at home one of my neighbors came and told me that my son who came very recently from Dilla university for vacation has been killed in the road. At the time I get nervous and even I do not know what to do. I get out of my home and I run to the road. Even I could realized it later, there was gun shouting here and there. Within those trouble, I reached the area where the man saw my son's dead body, but I couldn't find it. I rummage around the town, including risky areas. Lastly, after I have checked six dead bodies, the seventh one found to be My son's dead body. People around there took the body in the veranda of a nearby house and put on it some closes when I found it.¹⁸

From the above extract one can easily infer that in the third day of the conflict about seven people have dead. This figure is not taken as a complete list of dead persons even for the third day. The figure represents only what is visible to my informant in search of her son's dead body. Therefore, the death casualties become much higher than this when the sum of the three days put together. Although I couldn't found at least an approximate number of dead persons except the above one, on 28 July, the United Nations (UN) reported that at least twenty people had been killed in the fighting. At the same time, the Kenyan Red Cross Society (KRCS) announced that more than 20,000 people had fled into Kenya to escape the fighting.

All the informants indicated that the violence contained by the intervention of the central government army. The Federal Government also took some majors to bring the situation under control. Among others, some key leaders from both Region 4 and 5 arrested and imprisoned by the central government as a suspect for taking part in the violence. After wards, there is no large scale fight in the area. According to most of the informants, the relative peace is achieved partly due to the measures taken by the central governments upon local officials. The government arrested a dozen of local officials as they were suspected for facilitating the violence. Therefore,

¹⁸ Interview with Gabra women who lost her son by 2012 violence , 02/07/08.

the measures taken by the central government upon the local officials and the relative peace achieved following the measure, is a clear indication for the prevalence of elite mobilization in the Moyale conflicts.

5.2. Impacts of the Conflicts in the Residents of Moyale and Its Environs

The impact of violent conflict on the community of the area, economy and political governance is devastating and all surrounding. The effects can be concrete and noticeable, including killed and injured civilians; destroyed and damaged properties both public and individuals. They can also be intangible, such as mistrust and damaged social relationships.

5.2.1. Consequences of the Conflicts in Human and Material Issues

It is difficult to come up with the exact number of people who lost their lives in relation to the conflicts in Moyale and its environs. According to the key informants, combatants as well as civilians including innocent children have died in the conflicts which took place in the past. Although all the informants are unwilling to disclose even the approximate number of death casualties they suffered, it is obvious that hundreds have died since this war began. In the same vein, the damage occurred on individual's as well as community properties are far above the ground. The data reveals that houses and business centres are damaged, burnt and looted. This in turn caused a complicated social problems in the life of the town. When business centres shutdown due to the damage, unemployment increases in the town. The prevalence of a significant number of unemployed youth fueled by the location of the town become a fertile condition for the re-emergent of violence and unlawful activities which prevailed in the town for a long.

5.2.2. Poor Social Services and Infrastructure

The prevalence of two competing administrative structure within the same town fueled by the history and the practice of hostility put the town in the situation of poor social services and infrastructure. Due to its poor social services and infrastructure, the actual status and condition of Moyale is far from what one imagines about it. The low level of social services and infrastructure of the Ethiopian Moyale gave an upper hand to the Kenyan Moyale particularly in terms of economic advantages. Unlike the Ethiopian side, in Kenya business centres are brought to one area and arranged well. As a result consumers from the Ethiopian side prefer to purchase

goods from the Kenyan Moyale. At this point price variation seems the second factor in choosing from where one could purchase goods as I have realized during my stay in the area as a researcher.

The Moyale town is an administrative centre at the district level for both Region 4 and 5. This means that the social services and infrastructures of the town built and managed by these two competing administrative structures. Surprisingly, according to the informants from different offices, there is no cooperation at least in providing social services that needs the collaborated efforts of the two districts such as roads and the likes. But the good news is, in this regard, there is no social service which is exclusively utilized by one ethnic group alone. Regardless of the location and the owner the existing social services utilized by all ethnic groups in the town.

5.2.3. Damaged Relationship

The Borana, the Garri and the Gabra lived together for a long period of time. Out of their living they shared many things in common. For instance, these three ethnic groups shared common territory within all its endowments like water and grazing, they shared more or less similar system of administration, they shared culture most notably language and other spiritual and material elements. It is inevitable that in any society conflict affects the long standing relationship and trust among the communities involved in the conflicts. The severity of the problem increases when the conflict is a prolonged conflict like the area under discussion.

One elder, who is informant from the Borana group, reacts on this point as follows:

The relationship we established with the Somali particularly the Garri is now at steady decline; we do not have confidence and trust on them; and they do the same. Everything we share with them like forum, meeting and the like are not genuine rather nominal... we discuss and agree but not from the bottom of the heart...that is why our discussion couldn't reap fruit¹⁹.

The above view point also reflected by FGD discussants and other informants from both ethnic groups. Thus, damaged relationship among the three ethnic groups in the area is one of the serious problems of the on-going conflicts of Moyale. Once the relationship among different communities spoiled, it would be extremely difficult to re-built. Now, according to the

¹⁹ Interview with the Borana Community elder, 12/07/08

informants, the long-standing culture of mutual respect, care for others, trustworthiness and believe on common-good replaced by contempt, selfishness and dishonesty. The damaged relationship in turn makes the efforts of peace process demanding.

5.3. Stakeholders in the Making and the State of Peace in the Town of Moyale and Its Environs

The peace process anywhere, even during safe times needs stakeholders which ensure its sustenance. The community comes at frontier in this regard. The government follows the community with its prime responsibility of protecting peace and providing security. Other stakeholders also engage to support the efforts of the community and the government. Thus, in this part, I brief the efforts and contributions of these bodies in the Moyale conflicts within this framework.

5.3.1. The Local Community

The local communities are now increasingly considered to have a key role in promoting and preserving the peace of the area. Local communities in general are viewed as pivotal in bringing peace of the area. Furthermore, attention to the local communities can give voice to the mass, and enhance their participation in the reconstruction and peace building efforts and alleviate tensions between the communities. According to informants, in Moyale town, particularly following the 2012 violence, the local communities are largely mobilized by government bodies and different IGO's and NGO's as crucial stakeholders in preserving the peace of the town and its surrounding. Local community as a generic term encompasses all the people of the area regardless of any distinction, but for the sake of convenience here I can focus on the role of elders, religious leaders and women.

In the conflicts of Moyale area the involvement of elders in making and maintaining peace is very significant. The efforts of all government institutions including IGO's and NGO's becomes effective when supported by local elders. According to one of the informants from the local officials:

There are a prominent and popular elders in the community. It is difficult to reach the people at the grass root without having them behind. Most of them are highly devoted to bring the peace of the community, but this doesn't mean that all are on the right track. But one thing you should know is in communities like our's the role of elders in making peace are irreplaceable.²⁰

In the same manner, most of the prominent elders, who are my informants, insist that they are contributing what they can in order to maintain peace in the area. Yet, they cannot deny their limitation when it comes to the issue of commitment and the dichotomy of 'we' and 'they'. Once it is believed that the roles of local elders in making and maintaining peace are irreplaceable, exerting effort on their drawbacks can yield the desired results.

Religion and peace have been almost natural companions in the minds of humans. However, many contemporary conflicts have some religious ingredients. This implies that religious bodies are challenged to guide their members, as well as to guard peace. However, the involvement of religious leaders in the conflicts of Moyale and its surroundings seems insignificant. Actually, there is some kind of ambiguity. All the informants insist that religious leaders are taking part in the peace process of the area, but they are not in a position to explain the details. This is partly because of the fact that elders of the community, in most case, considered as religious leaders. By all means, taking into account the pivotal roles of religious leaders and institutions for making and maintaining peace elevating their involvement should be included among the priorities in dealing with the conflicts of the area.

According to the United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security... women's full involvement in all efforts for the prevention and resolution of conflicts are essential for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. In line of this provision, Oromia Pastoralist Association (OPA) and Inter Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD) was making a promising start in Moyale and its environs by participating women in the peace process. A women, who is a chairperson of league of women at smallest administrative unit in the town of Moyale states that:

²⁰ Interview with Local official, 29/06/08.

IGAD started to participate women in the peace process. It organized women and gave training on the benefit of peace and on the damages of war. We know the hardship of war, but the training raised our awareness. After the training IGAD arranged car and other materials like amplifier, using it we preach about peace in the town and nearby kebels including public schools. Government bodies and OPA also used the same strategies many other times.²¹

The peace advocacy programs are arranged repeatedly in the town by different organizations as demonstrated by informants. Most of which exclusively carried out by women. The informants also indicated that the government, OPA and IGAD are vibrant in this regards. Thus, women who knows the ill-turn of war more than anyone else would become a vital stakeholder in the peace process of the area.

5.3.2. Government Institutions at Different Levels

Government institutions at all levels with their institutional structures considered as essential stakeholders in the peace process of Moyale and its environs. It is obvious that the provision of peace and protection of life and property is the primary functions of any government. From this background, all the informants stressed that government institutions are the major stakeholders in the peace process of the town and its surrounding. According to discussants of FGD, the federal government with its security devices contained the Moyale conflicts at different times in a situations when it turns violent and beyond the capacity of the local security forces. For instance, the 2012 violence came under control only after the arrival of federal forces as the local security forces believed to have been taken part in the violence. According to the informants, the involvement of federal government as stakeholder for peace, criticized by the local communities for two reasons: first the federal government plays its role after the community suffered from the violence. This critics seems to have been resulted from the very nature of federal system of governance which is based on the devolution of power between the local and the central governments. Second, the federal government is criticized for not looking and dealing with the underlying factors of the conflicts of the area rather than dealing with the surface pretext.

²¹ Interview with Garri group women, 02/07/08.

In addition to this, government institutions at district and *kebele* levels are the key stakeholders in peace making process. At this level, peace is part of their routine activities. During my stay in the area, I noticed that the District Administration Office, the Security and Administration Office, the Police and the Militia office from Region 4 routinely discuss the security issues, predict the threats and put directions to handle the threats. This preventive approach seems a new shift and still needs to be strengthened, integrated and well organized to be successful. From Region 5, I have not given the chance of observing and even asking about how they react and operate as a stakeholders of peace making. Unfortunately, they denied my request in the name of security. All the informants from the Borana and the Gabra also praised the efforts of local officials from Region 4 and the shift of strategies from curative to preventive, while they have reservation about the local officials of Region 5. The Garri informants, without making any distinctions they are doubtful over the changes of tactic by local officials.

On the other hand, regional states are not visible as stakeholders in the peace process of the area as it could be inferred from the data. Two reasons could be provided for these: first, the regional states reach the local communities through their extensions. As a result, the local administrative units considered as extensions of regional states. Second, since the conflicts of the area referred as a conflict between Region 4 and 5, the regional states seems to have preferred to abstain from directly participating in the conflicts of the area. The intervention of one regional state as stakeholder of peace unilaterally couldn't be trusted by the other. This calls multilateral engagements of the two regional states.

5.3.3. The IGO's and NGO's

As discussed above, there are IGO's and NGO's in the area to assist the peace efforts of the local communities and governments. These IGO's and NGO's as a stakeholders of peace making in the area arranged different conferences, forum and meetings and/or sponsored such activities when organized by government institutions. Their contribution is vital, as verified by informants, particularly in raising the awareness of the community in general and elders and women in particular, providing car and covering some costs to launch peace activities of elders and others.

As far as NGO's concerned the Oromia Pastoralist Association (OPA) is playing a significant role, particularly in raising the awareness of the local community and mobilizing the contribution of local elders for the peace of the area. From IGO's the Inter Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD) is more vibrant in the peace process of the area.

Fig. 2. Stakeholders in the Making and the State of Peace in the Town of Moyale and Its Environs



5.4. Challenges and Prospects

Conflicts are inherently impose challenges upon human beings. The intent of this section is not to explain the challenges of conflict, but to pinpoint the challenges encountered in looking for the solutions of Moyale conflicts. Different stakeholders mobilized their resources, knowledge and experience in pursuit of solutions for the protracted conflicts of the area. However, the Moyale conflict is still believed as ongoing by the outsider as well as by the communities of the area. Thus, whenever the Moyale conflicts comes under discussion one can wonder about 'why this conflict remained unsettled'. There is obviously no easy answer to this question, but the information obtained from different literature and the data gathered from the informants as discussed below seems to have suggest some points that make the quest for peace difficult and demanding.

The section after pinpointing the barriers that made lasting peace distant, in the prospects part provides the rays of peace which will shine on the area when nurtured by all stakeholders and the community at large.

5.4.1. Challenges: Failure Behind Past Conflict Resolution Attempts

The pursuit of lasting solution for the conflicts in Moyale and its environs have entertained a long list of barriers. The major ones can be discussed with the modest detail in the following sub sections.

5.4.1.1. The Socio-Economic and Political Developments

The complexity of issues as a result of developments in social, economic and political spheres affected the traditional way of life and authority of elders that used to hold different communities together. The current problems are believed to be beyond the realm of traditional methods of conflict arbitration by local elders. The development alienated the elders not only from the politics in terms of authority, but also the modern economic systems fall outside the sphere of elders' influence. Moreover, the multiparty nature of actors in current conflicts and their various interests made the traditional institution and ways of conflict resolution questionable.

The politics of the day needs experts to give scientific explanations without ignoring the values of experiences. This is attributable to the emergence of new source of authority, rather than traditional elders and ways of conflict mitigation. But this sources of authority is also not without certain limitations. The personnel's tasked to this purpose may lack deep rooted knowledge about the cultures and the values of the given communities.

According to one of my informant, who is a local official in the district of Region 4:

As with all other traditional communities, in Moyale and its environments too, the old order of inter-group relationship is rapidly weakening. This is partly as direct consequences of modernizing forces and diffusion of civilization and modern style of life. Pastoral groups in particular have undergone continues changes in their lifestyle. Territorial boundaries both at the national and regional level introduced by modern systems of administration influenced their pasture lands.²²

In other hand, the political change which followed the overthrow of Emperor Haile Sellasie of Ethiopia in 1974 accompanied in rapid changes in social and economic condition of people in Southern Ethiopia. The collapse of the Derg regime and the subsequent introduction of federal system of government is also a significant landmark in the socio-economic and political developments of the area. Thus, the limitation of old elders system and erosion of traditional values and relational ties accompanied with the new socio-economic and political developments in the region the attempts made so far to settle the Moyale conflicts are not successful in bringing lasting peace.

5.4.1.2. Focus on the Immediate and Triggering Factors of the Conflicts

In most case the past attempts of conflict resolution in the area aimed at containing the state of hostility and finding solution to the immediate factors of the violence instead of looking into the systematic underling issues. As it has been discussed above the issue of land and the quest for the establishment of clear demarcation between Region 4 and 5 is always at centre of the Moyale conflicts. However, according to all the informants including FGD discussants, all the previous attempts of conflict resolution are focused on addressing the triggering factors of the conflicts and achieving relative peace. The local elders, who are my informants, blame the federal

²²Interview with Local official, 29/06/08.

government for not seeking/giving solution to boundary related issues. According to them, the government is well informed that boundary related issues are the underlying factors of the conflicts of the area, but efforts are made to settle other minor issues of the conflicts. The issue of demarcation under emphasized intentionally or unintentionally by government institutions on their efforts in the pursuit of solution to the Moyale conflicts.

One of the informants from the local police officer reinforced the points of the local elders that the conflict resolution efforts of the area is concerned with immediate factors rather than the underlying issues. According to him, the underlying factors of the conflict has to be identified and differentiated from the contributing factors of the conflicts in order to achieve durable peace. He underlined that the current efforts of peace which is based on settling the triggering factors can only serve to postpone the conflict. The local police force and even the presence of the national army in the area can mitigate and suspend the possible violence, but cannot solve the problem from its roots.

The finding of the study about the measures of government following the 2012 violence supports the above position. According to the informants and FGD discussants, following the 2012 atrocities the government arrested and imprisoned some local political leaders from both districts of Region 4 and 5. All the informants admit that it is true political leaders and elites have considerable influence on the communities they represent, but it would be very unrealistic to expect enduring peace in a complex conflict situation like that of Moyale by arresting finger counted individuals. In addition, different conferences and forums were arranged by the government and other stake holders to make peace and get the people to go back to their village and live together peace fully. It is undeniable that following these actions and activities of the government relative peace is achieved in the area. Nevertheless, all the people in the area including local officials at district level from both regions feel that the conflict is not settled as far as the underlying factors are not addressed. Thus, focus on immediate and triggering factors instead of the underlying factors could take the lions share for the wondering why the Moyale conflicts remained unsettled.

A doctor who treats a patient's symptoms may bring short-term relief of suffering. But a doctor who treats and cures the underlying illness that caused the symptoms brings a long term solutions to the patient's problem (Harris and Reilly, 1998:37). In the same fashion, managing the conflicts of Moyale and its environs needs a shift of focus to a deeper level, beyond the surface factors, where the underlying illness are directly addressed. This could not be considered as overlooking the values of short-term measures, especially in situation of violence and suffering. But the point is that, a shift in focus beyond the immediate to the longer-term, a reorientation from the surface symptoms to their underlying factor, is vital for both the short term process and the long term future.

5.4.1.3. The Proliferation of Small Arms

According to informants, one of the fundamental obstacles to peace and security in Moyale and its environments is the presence and continued proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW). Arms flow into the area would continue as a result of proximity of Moyale to the porous border of Kenya and Somalia. The easy entry/availability of small arms constitutes a major challenge for the peace process and exacerbates inter-communal tensions leading to full-fledge conflicts. More so, the high level of corruption in the security system of Kenya compounds these security challenges particularly the regional efforts at large. In this regards, according to one of the informants from the local police officer, it would be more appropriate that in the first step the government expected to discharge its responsibilities by providing adequate security to all communities and convincingly demonstrate that they do not need fire arms at all.

5.4.1.4. Lack of Commitment from Local Elites

Harris and Reilly (1998:54) state that

Managing inter-ethnic conflicts requires far-sighted leadership. Just as many conflicts are exacerbated by ethnic entrepreneurs who fan the flames of group animosities, so to bring conflicts to a sustainable settlement requires leaders who are prepared to do just that-lead.

The involvement of local government officials from both side in the conflict of the area as indicated in the 2012 violence exhibits lack of commitment in terms of Constitutional and legal responsibilities. Political elites and others who represent a given ethnic group would have both Legal, Constitutional, Social and/or Cultural/religious responsibilities. None of these sources of responsibilities advocate violence as a means of achieving personal or group goals. Therefore, on the basis of this background any kind of elites involvement which exacerbate the conflicts of the area cannot be justified. Some of the informants, from both region, affirmed the fact that the local officials of both ethnic groups or those who are affiliated towards a given ethnic group are mostly unable to be objective in dealing with the conflicts of the area. Thus, the actual or perceived involvement of local officials in the conflicts of the area are partly attributed due to their lack of commitments in the peace efforts.

In the same way, commitment of local people in general and local elders in particular determines the quest of long-term peace in the area. As articulated above, one cannot find contradictions between the different peace conferences arranged by the government bodies or other stake holders at different times versus the values of the community. At this point, I can infer two major responsibilities that should be observed by local people in general and elders in particular. First, the traditional values which foster peace among the people like tolerance of diversities and mutual respect needs to be promoted and respected. Second, the participants of peace conference and forum most notably elders expected to uphold the words of the conference and be faithful for its implementation.

In line to this argument, the Borana and the Gabra elders/informants, couldn't have confidence upon their counterpart Garri as well as the local officials of region 5 at the district level. But the Garri elders see the problem of lack of commitment as the general characteristics of all the stakeholders of peace in the Moyale conflicts. During my stay in the area as a researcher, I noticed that local officials of region 5 at district level seems not to have been worried with the legal and Constitutional responsibilities. They perform their activities and entertain customers only on the basis of their will. It is obvious that the personal will, in some case, may not confirm with legal duties. Though it is difficult to generalize by considering few instances of offices, analogically the critics of the Borana and the Gabra elders on local officials of region 5 at district level seems true to a certain degree.

Therefore, it seems sound to conclude that one of the reasons why solution to Moyale conflict is not still insight, because key segments of the community have no the commitments required to this end. In any effort of conflict resolution the role of local officials and elders is critical, and when they lack commitment, the chance of enacting peaceful mediation and the means of implementing the results of mediation is lost. Only when these bodies are most amenable to the consideration of novel alternative and different solutions, that the best hope for making sustainable settlement could be achieved.

5.4.1.5. The Regional Dimensions of the Moyale Conflicts

One other reason why such conflicts are difficult to be resolved is their regional dimensions. It is rare for domestic conflicts to stay entirely within the boundaries of the state since the boundaries of a state rarely match the boundaries of a "nation", an identity group (Harris and Reilly, 1998:50). This argument has a relevance as far as the Moyale conflicts concerned. The Borana, the Garri and the Gabra predominantly inhabited both the Ethiopian and the Kenyan Moyale. Thus, the Moyale conflicts have been fueled by the proximity and involvement of fellow ethnic groups in Kenya.

The concept regional dimensions, in this context, used only to refer the multidimensional relations largely between Ethiopia and Kenya and Somalia to a limited extent. The three major ethnic groups in the area inhabit both in Kenya and in Ethiopia. In addition, the Ethiopian and the Kenyan Moyale are economically well integrated. As a result, anything which could take place on the Kenyan Moyale has a significant impact on the Ethiopian side. In much the same view, although it is not integrated with Moyale, as the Garri have their kinsmen there and also the presence of Al-Shabab's base in Somalia has some implication in the Moyale conflicts.

The political boundary between the Ethiopian and the Kenyan Moyale are abstract for people; they are ethnically, linguistically and economically well integrated. Just like the Ethiopian side, in Kenya too, organized along ethnic line there is competition between the Borana, the Garri and the Gabra for economic resources as well as for political power. In some cases, conflicts which erupted in Kenya, as verified by the informants, have a spillover effects in Ethiopia. As a result, the relative peace achieved in Ethiopian Moyale interrupted when conflicts occur in the other

side of the Kenyan Moyale. Thus, these regional dimension of the conflict in Moyale makes the efforts of peace process very difficult.

5.4.2. Prospects for Peace/Peace Scenario

Elsewhere outside the region the relationship between various people can best be described as dynamic some of which are amicable, some discriminatory and others outright hostile but usually not on permanent basis. All the informants including discussants of FGD perceive the Moyale conflict as ongoing conflicts. They stressed that after the 2012 violence inhabitants of the town are breathing pure air which is not polluted by gunpowder, though still the odor comes within certain intervals. This is mainly caused as a results of the major of the central government. When the 2012 violence broke out the central government immediately deployed additional security forces to contain the situation. Following the normalization of the area, the government started to arrest all individuals who are suspected to facilitate the violence most notably local officials. This type of measures by the central government could be taken as an indication that the central government in dealing with the peace of the area have started to entertain issues of elite mobilizations.

Furthermore, all the informants insist that the conflicts of the area are not irreconcilable and unanswered. They emboldened that the Moyale conflict have its own peculiar features which needs attentions, but is not without solutions. Accordingly, they urged all concerned body redouble their efforts to orchestrate the peace process. The relevance of this point particularly for the sub-topic should be seen from the mental setup of the community. In discussing the prospects of peace the mental setup of the community is a determinant factor. Outsiders to this conflict consider the conflict as unsettled dispute . Paradoxically, those who experienced the ups and downs of the conflict much of their age strongly insist that the conflict has a solution. They uphold that the genuine commitment and devotion from all the concerned body brings the peace and lasting solution to the conflicts of the area. Harris and Reilly (1998:48), for instance, state that even very intense conflicts are cable of being managed, given the right combination of procedures and institutions, in a way that is both peaceful and sustainable. Thus, assuming the communities mental setup as a fertile soil; if the seeds are properly selected, then the community will soon harvest the fruits of peace.

As expressed by elders, who are my informants, the local people now started to depend on legal institution to rectify unjust activities than before. One elder from the Borana has the following remarks:

Just two week before your arrival, one person who belongs to the Borana ethnic group came from Dirre to Moyale. In his journey from the Ethiopian Moyale to the Kenyan Moyale, the security forces of region five stopped him and requested an Identity Card. As a chance the man couldn't have his Identity Card with him at the moment. The man was arrested. But sadly, in that evening they looted all the properties he has and took him out of the town where we found his dead body. In previous time this is more than a sufficient condition to enter into the war. But now the Borana is expecting justice from courts and the government instead of taking the law into their hands. I think this shows clearly to what extent we started to depend on the law.²³

This way of understanding the law with no doubt serves as pillars of peace building effort in the region. The old man in his expression remembered me Locke's theory of state formation... on the consensus we surrendered our liberty particularly taking the justice into one's hand, in return the government promised to provide protection by punishing proportionately wrong doers of all kind. Therefore, strengthening the belief of the community in the law and promoting awareness in this regards makes the prospect for peace a near future.

To aid state laws the community also enacted its own regulations to punish individual and group behavior which may instigate violence. The regulation enacted by participating prominent local elders from the Borana, the Garri, the Gabra and the Guji elders, local government officials from concerned offices like the wereda Administration office, the Police, Security and Administration office, the Court, etc. The Oromia Pastoralist Association(OPA), Inter Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD) and Inter Africa Group (IAG) sponsored the formulation and the publication of these rules. According to informants, OPA and IGAD contributed the lions-share in the awareness creation activities about the regulations.

²³ Interview with Borana Community elder, 12/07/08.

It is obvious that commonly run development projects foster the peace of the area. In this regards no project initiation mentioned so far. But now, according to local officials at the district level, there is an attempt to engage into negotiations from both sides to develop water provisions in collaboration. One of the informants from Region 4, who is a chairperson, in one of the nearby Kebele pin points the following lines:

*In the previous time we have nothing to do in common. But the people live together mixed. No territorial boundaries among us. Even it is very difficult to identify between us using ethnic boundaries. As a result we face difficulties particularly in providing legal protections and in commanding duties. But now we started to plan together on some selected issues particularly in construction of road by mobilizing the community.*²⁴

The above discussion indicates that there is an attempt to plan and execute some societal activities in cooperation. Even though it is insignificant, it would be taken as a good start for its effect of strengthening the quest of peace in the area.

The roles of IGO and NGO's in raising the awareness of the people has a paramount importance. There are indications that some IGO's and NGO's are engaged in this activities. To this end, as verified by the informants, the Oromia Pastoralist Association (OPA) and Inter Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD) are well known among the communities of the area. Their involvement will add some incentives to the efforts of local people and governments at all level in making bright future.

²⁴ Interview with Kebele Chairman, 11/07/08.

Chapter VI: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

6.1. Summary and Conclusions

Conflict is a social phenomenon and characterizes all human relationships. However, the idea about the root causes of conflict and the way people understand it in a given space and time varies to a large degree. This is the main rationale behind addressing the conflicts in Moyale and its environs.

The prevalent conflicts of Moyale signify different things at different times and for different people. In the past, the conflict was treated as a mere pastoralist conflict in order to control and/or access pasture lands. But with the passage of time the conflicts in Moyale and its environs have begun to entertain political, ethnic and regional factors. The identities and the size of the actors of the conflict also increased coupled with the social, political and economic developments in the region. It is obvious that as the number of actors increases, the interests they seek to achieve also increase simultaneously. As a result, the conflict in Moyale found to involve a number of actors with their varying interests.

The conflict in Moyale and its environs should be understood within the context of historic and ongoing socio-economic and political developments at the national, regional and global arena. The communities of the study area established complex interactions. They share common language and culture. However, the similarities in language and culture could not prevent them from battling one another. Their relationships have been conflictual due to factors evolved there as a result of both internal and external reasons. Internally the rivalries among the communities of the area to dominate the resources and attempts to implement customary practices have brought them into frequent conflicts. Externally the establishment of new political order during the reign of Minilik II and the subsequent period significantly affected the interethnic relations.

The establishment of the political boundaries and the divide and rule strategies of the colonial power (Most notably Britain in Kenya) contributed by giving another dimension to the already existing resource competitions. This situation putting the communities of the area under different regimes offered additional incentives to the existing 'us' and 'them' dichotomy. Moreover, the Italian colonial regime which favored one ethnic group against the other, the political situations

in the aftermath of the Italian rule, the 1977-78 Ethio-Somalia war and the way the Derg regime approached the problems of the area all aggravated the growing suspicion and hostility among the communities of the area. Therefore, the conflicts in Moyale and its environs shaped and re-shaped by historic and ongoing socio-economic and political developments.

The ethnic federalism adopted by the 1995 Constitution of the FDRE with the objective of responding the longstanding quest for equal recognition of the Ethiopian ethnic groups in terms of self-administration, equitable utilization of political and economic resources; and the promotion and protection of the rights of ethnic groups encountered challenges in demarcating the Moyale area between the Oromia and Somali Regions. This development brought a shift in the nature of the factors of the conflicts. Although land and resources are still at the centre of the conflicts, now the traditional competition for pasture replaced by the enclosure of Moyale and its environs either in Region 4 or 5.

The Borana, the Garri and the Gabra ethnic groups are clearly identified in different sources as parties in conflict with their explicit objectives. Other ethnic groups such as the Burji could side one or the other ethnic groups in order to protect their implicit objectives. The actual or perceived involvements of the government security forces both from Region 4 and 5 at district level and the Kenyan security forces in the border verified from different sources. Although it is not confirmed by the local government officials, the local sources demonstrated the involvement of the unclear or invisible hands of the OLF and Al-Shabab (both are labeled as terrorist under the laws of Ethiopia; an additional point that gives hint for their involvement in destabilizing the state). The finding also admits the participation of business men in the conflicts of the area, albeit they are low status actors.

The factors behind the Moyale conflicts in Moyale are quite diverse and further complex. The study found land and land related resources as the underlying factors of the conflicts of the town of Moyale and its environs. Land is contested between the communities of the area both as pasture and as political territory in which the principle of self-administration implemented. For self-administration, in the current setting of ethnic federalism land is considered both as a means and an end. Thus, the study treated land in terms of politics and ethnic federalism unlike the previous assumption of pasture. The finding revealed that the prevailing factors of the Moyale conflicts are advanced by claim for identity, self-administration (governance), territorial

expansion and political demarcation. The way land is perceived in the area as make and break coupled with the blurred boundaries between the two regions; and similarities of culture between the communities of the area opened a new opportunities for ethnic entrepreneurs to politicize and mobilize a given ethnic groups to achieve personal or group benefits. Thus, politicized ethnicity and the prevalence of elite mobilization found to be another factors for the conflicts of the area.

The location of the Moyale at the porous border which allows easy entry and exits of firearms, cross-border trade and smuggling, trans-border political mobilization and shelter for rebels fueled the conflicts of the area. Furthermore, the little emphasis placed upon the rights of citizenship and manipulation of ethnicity by political elites hampered the peace of the area.

The conflict in the area inflicted different causalities. Although it is difficult to come up with the exact number of causalities lives are lost, both public and private properties are damaged and burnt. As a result people are forced to live in the environment of poor social services and infrastructure. Above all the social bond and trust damaged due to a longstanding animosities.

The peace process needs stake holders to ensure its sustenance. It is obvious that government is primarily responsible to protect the well-being of the community. Although the government is being criticized for not working on the underlying factors of the conflict, still considered as the major stakeholder in promoting and protecting the peace of the area. The Federal Government played the largest part in containing violence and maintaining the status-quo. The government officials at all levels exerted their efforts in the peace process one way or the other. The role played by IGO's and NGO's is also found significant particularly in raising the awareness of the community. The community represented by elders, religious leaders and women headed the peace building efforts more than anyone else. Thus, the study concludes the presence of windows of opportunities in dealing with the conflicts of the area.

Violent conflicts are inherently impose challenges upon human beings. Different stake holders mobilized their resources and knowledge in search of solution to the Moyale conflicts. However, the conflict 'remained unsettled'; and considered so by outsider and the community at large. There are several factors contributing to the conflicts and making the peace process more challenging. The socio-economic and political developments outside and inside the region; focus on the immediate factors rather than the underlying factors; the proliferation of small arms due

the location of Moyale town, lack of commitment from local elites and elders and the regional dimension of the conflict have found to impose challenges in the pursuit of peace.

Although the challenges encountered in the area made the quest for lasting peace at distant, the study provided the rays of peace which in turn allow us to conclude that the Moyale conflict would be settled if the prevailing fertile conditions nurtured by all stakeholders and the community at large. Among others the already started efforts to complement the legal adjudication by the traditional methods, the measures of government on conflict entrepreneur, the mentality of the community that the conflict has a solution and increased dependency on the laws of the state in seeking justice makes the future promising.

In general, the study concludes that the conflicts in the town of Moyale and its environs have a peculiar features which cannot be addressed in terms of pastoralist conflicts of the region and calls for a shift of focus to a deeper level, beyond the surface factors, where the underlying factors are directly addressed.

6.2. Recommendations

- The finding revealed that the Moyale conflict has its own peculiar characteristics which set it in a distinct position from the pastoralist conflicts of southern lowlands of Ethiopia. An effort to treat the Moyale conflict within the framework of the pastoralist conflicts yielded little in addressing it. Despite the efforts of scholars, government, IGO's and NGO's the conflict is still not over. The finding strongly urges these stakeholders; first, to detach the conflicts in Moyale town from the pastoralist conflicts of the region. Second, all concerned party about the conflicts of the area expected to double their efforts with genuine commitment to support the peace efforts of the local community.
- The study found the task of demarcating the Moyale town between Region 4 and 5 demanding. The historic and the prevailing situations lacks perfection to demarcate Moyale either in Region 4 or 5. Yet, the study requires the federal government to deal with this complex and demanding boundary problems as part of its constitutional responsibilities with the aim of settling the underlying factors of the Moyale conflicts. The finding strongly urges the replacement of competing administration structures of the town with specific administration and ownership. Thus, given the complexities involved in Moyale conflicts,

both the Federal and Regional Governments expected to look all the possible means which aims in making the town comfortable to all.

- The social bond and trust between the communities of the area severely affected by the longstanding animosities. A genuine peace building process needs trust and confidence between parties in conflict, the point which is lost in the area. As a result, the study strongly suggest that any activities of conflict settlement and peace building should be supplemented by the efforts of reconstructing the damaged social relations.
- Socio-economic interdependence has a paramount importance in mitigating the possible occurrence of conflicts. In cases of strong interdependence peaceful settlement of disputes becomes the prime option. In Moyale town provisions of social services and infrastructures owned independently. Thus, mechanisms should be sought to create a strong interdependence in order to build a feeling of cooperation particularly between the Borana, the Garri and the Gabra. To make peace work, we must supplement competition with co-operation.
- The study calls for improved coordination amongst diverse actors engaged in dispute resolution- traditional leaders, local officials, courts, police and security forces, and regional and national leaders; to mitigate small disputes before they escalate into more serious conflicts.
- The court has a constitutional responsibility to adjudicate individual cases. The ethnic groups in the area being aware of how individual cases turned into group violence enacted Community covenant/regulations to aid the activities of the court. However, it has some limitations. First, it is not integrated with the formal adjudication. Second, the punishment is not affordable. For instance, 50 cattle for a life is simple when compared to life, but many people can't afford it. Thus, I strongly advice to integrate the community covenant with the formal adjudication. To this end, government should appoint community-based legal assistance, advice, and orientation initiatives that work with local people and organizations to address these problems.

- Lack of accurate information about land issues and other rights related to nationality can fuel confusion and suspicion that can lead to conflict. Awareness raising campaigns at the grass root level on the right of all citizen to use land can help to clarify these issues and correct false understanding. The local officials and other stakeholders should have to arrange awareness raising campaigns which focuses on the rights of all citizens to use land as a common property of the nation.
- Enhancing basic democratic values such as pluralism, tolerance, inclusiveness, negotiation, and compromise. These values requires institutions that emphasize different features than simple winner-take-all majority rule.
- The finding reveals the need for a joint committee between region four and five which oversees new settlement scheme before its implementation in Moyale and its environment.

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Appendix 1: List of In-depth Interview, key Informant and FGD participants

Resp. No.	Sex	Age	Ethnic Group	Educational Status	Role in the Community	Date of interview	Place of interview
1*	M	73	Borana	Religious Education	Community Elder	01/07/08	Compound of Woreda administration
2	M	46	Burji	BA	Government employed	01/07/08	"
3*	M	50	Gabra	7th	Kebele Chairman	05/07/08	"
4	M	39	Gabra	BA	Local official	02/07/08	"
5	M	36	Gabra	Diploma	Local official	29/06/08	Security and administration office
6*	M	60	Gabra	6th	Community elder	29/06/08	Compound of Woreda administration
7*	M	60	Gabra	Religious education	Religious leader	30/06/08	"
8	M	38	From Bale	BA	Commander (police)	30/06/08	Police office
9	M	34	Burji	BA	Government employed	01/07/08	Municipality
10	M	50	Garri	Diploma	Attorney	07/07/08	Koket Hotel
11*	M	51	Gabra	8th	Government employed	02/07/08	Compound of Woreda administration
12*	M	74	Borana	5th	Community elder	09/07/08	Compound of Woreda administration
13	M	46	Borana	8th	Kebele Chairman	11/07/08	"
14*	M	71	Borana	4th	Community elder	11/07/08	"
15*	M	75	Borana	Religious education	Community elder	09/07/08	"
16	F	43	Gabra	3th	League of Women	02/07/08	Kebele office
17	M	76	Burji	5th	Community elder	12/07/08	At his residence home
18*	M	70	Borana	6th	Community elder	12/07/08	Koket Hotel
19	F	53	Gabra	5th	kebele council	16/07/08	By telephone
20	F	38	Garri	Diploma	Local official	01/07/08	Office
21	M	36	Amhara	9th	Private employed	13/07/08	Koket Hotel
22	M	65	Garri	6th	Religious leader	04/07/08	Koket Hotel
23	F	44	Borana	5th	League of	04/07/08	At her home

					women		
24	M	69	Garri	6th	Community elder	28/06/08	Koket Hotel
25	M	38	Borana	BA	Local official	29/06/08	Security and administration office
26	M	56	Garri	Diploma	Government employed	07/06/08	Koket Hotel
27	M	38	Garri	Diploma	Local official	30/06/08	Koket Hotel
28	M	35	Tigre	BA	Teacher	28/06/08	His Office
29	M	43	Konso	6th	Merchant	28/06/08	At his business centre
List of Key Informants							
1	M	39	Bale	BA	Commander	24/06/08	Guangua town
2	M	41	Guji	MA	Official	28/07/08	Guangua town
3	M	43	Guji	BA	Official	05/08/08	Guangua town
4	M	40	Garri	BA	Lawyer	15/07/08	Moyale town

key

* FGD participants (the first group includes 5 discussants from Borana ethnic group and the second 4 discussants from Gabra ethnic group)

Appendix 2: In-depth Interview, Key Informant And FGD Guide both in English and Afan Oromo.

Qualitative In-depth Interview & FGD Guide

This instrument is designed for the purpose of gathering information concerning the “Moyale Conflict in Southern Ethiopia ” Therefore, the information that will be provided by the interviewee expected to be accurate as much as possible. The questions below are formulated and will be used as a checklist for semi-structured interview and FGD respectively. In the process the researcher will not necessarily and strictly follow the guide i.e., omission and addition is possible on the basis of the circumstances. The interview has to be smooth instead of ‘hard talk’, and these questions are only used as starter questions.

General introduction: The purpose of this interview is to gather information related to **the Moyale Conflict in Southern Ethiopia**. The data to be collected will be solely used for academic purposes. Dear participant, your response will be kept confidential and I kindly request you to participate voluntarily in this study. The quality of this study depends upon your genuine response. So, I would like to ask your consent.

Thank you in advance for your kind cooperation!!

2.1.1 Research Site and Personal Information

2.1.1.1 Research Site

Site Name _____ Date _____
Woreda _____ Place _____

2.1.1.2 Personal Information

Sex _____ Educational level _____
Age _____ Ethnic Group _____
Marital Status _____ Occupation _____
For how long you lived in the area? _____ Role in the community _____

About the History of Conflict and Current Context of the Area

1. How was the history of conflict in the area? What type of system dominated? Who was in power and where are they now?
2. Can you explain the current relationship of your ethnic group with others? If they are in conflict; with whom? And why? For how long?
3. How do you explain the conflict situation of the region in pre and post federal rule?

Sources of conflict

1. What are the underlying/root/structural sources of the conflict?
2. What are the triggering factors such conflict?
3. Does high population density produce pressures relative to food supply and other life-sustaining resources? Are essential public services being delivered?

Actors of conflict

1. Who are the main actors of the conflict? Do they operate visibly or invisibly?
2. What are the different values, positions and perceptions across players regarding the state of affairs? What are the incentives and disincentives for these different actors ?

Stakeholders in conflicting Situation of the Study Area

1. Who were the participants in settling the conflict?
2. What is the institutional capacity of the state to respond to such conflict? Is there popular confidence in the leadership of state institutions?
3. What impact (positive or negative) will elite engagement have on the prospects for peace?
4. What are the role of elders, the NGOs and religious institutions? How representative are they for the local people? How do you evaluate their commitment?
5. In what extent the federal government did involve in the peace process?

Challenges of peace talk

1. How people in the area do perceive the conflict? Do you think that the conflict is resolved?
2. Is the security situation improving or worsening in the conflict area? If worsening, what are the escalating factors for regional insecurity?
3. What are the challenges of achieving enduring peace? How genuine and committed the local people and the local government leaders to realize lasting peace?
4. How can programmes be sensitive to the conflict dynamics?

5. For what reasons do you think the area may experience prevailing conflict in the future?

Conflict Consequences

1. What are the human and material consequences of the conflict?

Prospects for peace

1. What do you think is a suitable mechanism to bring peace?
2. How can a programme be designed to support peace building process and mitigate against conflict risks?
3. Which problems can local people solve themselves and which require action by local government and federal government?
4. What do you suggest to end conflict? What do you suggest the role of both regional and federal governments?

Focus Group Discussion

1. How was the history of conflict in the area? What type of system dominated? Who was in power and where are they now?
2. Who are the main actors of the conflict? Do they operate visibly or invisibly?
3. What are the different values, positions and perceptions across players regarding the state of affairs? What are the incentives and disincentives for these different actors ?
4. What are the role of local elites and/or state institutions in the conflict? What impact (positive or negative) will elite and /or state engagement have on the prospects for peace?
5. Is the security situation improving or worsening in the conflict area? What are the challenges of achieving enduring peace in the area?
6. For what reasons do you think the area may experience prevailing conflict in the future?
7. Which problems can local people easily handle by themselves and which require further action by local and federal governments?
8. How can a programme be designed to support peace building process and mitigate against conflict risks?
9. What do you suggest to end conflict? What do you suggest the role of both regional and federal governments?

Seenaa Walitti Bu'iinsa fi Haala Qabataammaa Naannichaa

- 1) Seenaan walitti bu'iinsa naannoo kanaa maal ture? Sirna bulchiinsa akkamiitiin bulaa turan? Sirna kana keessatti kan bulchaa ture eenyu? Yeroo amma eessa jiru?
- 2) Yeroo amma gosni kee gosa biroo waliin walitti dhufeenyi qabu maal fakkaata? Walitti bu'iinsa keessa kan jiran yoo ta'e eenyu waliin? Sababa maaliif? Yeroo hangamiif?
- 3) Haalli walitti bu'iinsa naannoo kanaa sirni bulchiinsa federaalaa osoo hin diriirin duraa fi erga diriiree booda maal fakkaata?

Madda Walitti Bu'iinsaa

1. Maddi/hundeen walitti bu'iinsa naannoo kanaa maali?
2. Ka'umsi battalaa walitti bu'iinsa kanaa maali?
3. Dabaluun lakkoofsa uummataa dhiheessii midhaan nyaataa, bishaan, lafa dheedichaa fi kkf irratti dhiibbaa uumee jira? Tajaajjilli hawaasummaa walgahee jira?

Hirmaattota Walitti Bu'insichaa

1. Walitti bu'iinsa keessatti hirmaattonni olaanoon eenyu fa'i? Kallattiidhaan moo alkallattiidhaan hirmaatan?
2. Qaamonni kun sona, ejjennoo, ilaalchii fi fedhiin walitti bu'iinsa keessatti qaban maal fa'i? Walitti bu'insicha keessatti akka hirmaatan ykn akka of qusatan wanti isaan godhu maali?

Haala Qooda fudhattoota Walitti Bu'insichaa keessatti

1. Walitti bu'iinsa kana hiikuuf qaamonni socho'an eenyu fa'i?
2. Gahumsi dhaabbileen mootummaa walitti bu'iinsa kana hiikuuf qaban maal fakkaata? Gahee dhaabbilee mootummaa kanarratti uummatni amantaa qabaa?
3. Gaheen namoota baratani walitti bu'iinsa kanarratti dhiibbaan inni qabu maal fakkaata?
4. Gaheen manguddootaa, dhaabbata miti mootummaa, dhaabbilee amantii maal fakkaata? Hangan uummata naannichaa bakka bu'uu danda'u? Nageenya naannicha mirkaaneessuu keessatti kutannoo fi qophaa'inni isaan qaban maal fakkaata?
5. Mootummaan federaalaa nageenya naannichaa eegsiisuu keessatti hangam qooda fudhata?

Adeemsa Araaraa keessatti rakkowwan quunnaman

1. Uummatni naannichaa walitti bu'iinsicha haala kamiin hubate? Walitti bu'iinsichi fala ykn furmaata argata jettee yaaddaa?
2. Haalli nageenyaa naannichaa furama jiramoo ykn itti hammaachaa jiraa? Yoo kan hammaate ta'e, wanti walitti bu'iinsichi akka baballattu taasiise maal?
3. Nageenyi yeroo dheeraaf akka hin mirkanoofne wantootni taasisan maalfadha? Nageenya naannichaa mirkaneessuuf kutannoon uummataa fi hooggantoota naannichaa bira jiru maal fakkaata?
4. Sagantaan misooma naannichaa jijjiiramoota walitti bu'iinsa faana dhufan hangam xiyyeeffannoo keessa galchee jira?
5. Walitti bu'iinsi gara fuuladuratti uumama taanaan sababni isaa maal ta'a jettanii yaaddu?

Miidhaa Walitti Bu'iinsichaa

1. Sababa walitti bu'iinsichaatiin miidhaan lubbuu namaa fi qabeenya irraan gahe maalfaadha?

Carraa Nageenyaa

- 1) Adeemsi nageenyi amansiisaan gara fuuladuraatti ittiin dhufa jettee yaadu maalfaadha?
- 2) Nageenya amansiisaa fiduuf akkasumas walitti bu'iinsa hambisuuf sagantaaleen misooma naannichaa akkamittiin qophaaa'uu qaba?
- 3) Rakkoowwan hawaasa naannichaatiin hiikamuu danda'an isaan kami? Gocha ykn hirmaanna mootummaa federaalaa fi naannoo kan gaafatu isaan kami?
- 4) Walitti bu'iinsa kana hambisuuf yaadni furmaataa isin kennitan maalfaadha? Gaheen mootummaa federaalaa fi naannoo maal fakkaatu qaba jettee yaadda?

Qabxiwwan Marii Namootaa Murteessoo/ Marii Garee ijoo/FGD

- 1) Seenaan walitti bu'iinsa naannoo kanaa maal ture? Sirna bulchiinsa akkamiitiin bulaa turan? Sirna kana keessatti kan bulchaa ture eenyu? Yeroo amma eessa jiru?
- 2) Walitti bu'iinsa keessatti hirmaattonni olaanoon eenyu fa'i? Kallattiidhaan moo alkallattiidhaan hirmaatan?
- 3) Qaamonni kun sona, ejjennoo, ilaalchii fi fedhiin walitti bu'iinsa keessatti qaban maal fa'i? Walitti bu'iinsicha keessatti akka hirmaatan ykn akka of qusatan wanti isaan godhu maali?
- 4) Gaheen namoota baratani hawaasa naannichaa fi dhaabilee mootummaa sadarkaa adda addaa walitti bu'iinsa kanarratti dhiibbaan inni qabu maal fakkaata? Hirmaannan/gochi isaanii walitti bu'iinsa xiqqeessa jira moo babaal'isaa jira?
- 5) Haalli nageenyaa naannichaa furama jiramoo ykn itti hammaachaa jiraa? Yoo kan hammaate ta'e, wanti walitti bu'iinsichi akka baballattu taasiise maal?
- 6) Walitti bu'iinsi gara fuuladuratti uumama taanaan sababni isaa maal ta'a jettanii yaaddu?
- 7) Rakkoowwan hawaasa naannichaatiin hiikamuu danda'an isaan kami? Gocha ykn hirmaanna mootummaa federaalaa fi naannoo kan gaafatu isaan kami?
- 8) Nageenya amansiisaa fiduuf akkasumas walitti bu'iinsa hambisuuf sagantaaleen misooma naannichaa akkamittiin qophaaa'uu qaba?
- 9) Walitti bu'iinsa kana hambisuuf yaadni furmaataa isin kennitan maalfaadha? Gaheen mootummaa federaalaa fi naannoo maal fakkaatu qaba jettee yaadda?