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College of Law and Governance Studies
Center of Federal Studies

**A Thesis Submitted to Center for Federal Studies in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master's Degree (MA) in
Federalism and Governance Studies**

***Security Management in Gambella: Legal Framework and
institutional set up***

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June: 2017

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

DECLARATIONS

I, Yohannes Gidey hereby declare that this Thesis is my original work conducted under the supervision of Nahusenay Belay (PhD Candidate) at the College of Federalism and Governance Studies, Addis Ababa University (AAU). This work has neither been submitted ex ante in full nor in part for a degree in this University or elsewhere. I also declare that any information used has been duly acknowledged.

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Abstract

Having seen its great importance and the role it can play in protecting security of individuals, their well-beings and the state; this study was intended to assess internal security management and identify its practical problems in Gambella regional state. It proposes the ways of enhancement in internal security management activities by making communities actors of all local functions. The FDRE Constitution has decentralized powers and functions to regional states. Pursuant to this, the GNRS Constitution provides power to the security institutions at regional level. The literature describes the need for devolution of power, merit based recruitment, implementing activities people-centered, democratic and autonomous security institutions. Officials are better responsive and accountable for their actions to nurture democratic governance and development. This study has employed a qualitative methods. The focus group discussion, interview and observation were utilized as primary data collection techniques. The primary data were gathered from non-random sampling of two Weredas and one city administration in the study region: Godere Wereda, Itang Special Wereda, and Gambella Town Administration. The research participants include youth, students, farmers, women, teachers, religious leaders, and the regional and Wereda executives. The secondary sources of data are acquired from different books, Constitutions, proclamations, journals, documents from the region and Wereda offices, academic dissertations and websites. The ethical values and consent of the participants was maintained. The analysis of findings indicated that internal security management in the region are practically performed in unorganized way. Government officials were not accountable and decision-making process was accomplished in a concealed manner. Findings of the research also revealed lack of participation of community, high illegal arm mobility, problems of land and related issues, cross border incursions, high influx of refugees and officials have a problem in providing speedy responses to the public on time. There are also practices like lack of justice, improper recruitment of security personnel, lack of professional ethics, lack of loyalty and lack of tangible accountability and transparency are observed. To address these identified problems, the regional state should establish an effective reciprocal communication means with the people. This enhances the internal security management to be more effective and to create accountable public officials and participatory citizens. In cooperation with Wereda and zones, the region should create apposite milieu for the augmentation of proper implementation in local operations. Further, the region in collaboration with the federal governments need to give due emphasis to build trained security personnel, undertake remedial measures, uphold public concerns and offer swift responses and work harmoniously with the people in the study region.

Key Words, Security

Highlanders

Refugees

Acronyms

ADB	African Development Bank
AU	Africa Union
CP	Community Policing
CSA	Central Statistics Agency of Ethiopia
DPADM	Division for Public Administration and Development Management.
EFP	Ethiopian Federal Police
ENDF	Ethiopian National Defense Force
ENN	Ethiopia News Network
ENSC	Ethiopia National Security Council
EPPF	Ethiopian People's Patriotic Front
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
ETTIS	European Security Trends and Threats in Society
EFANSPS	Ethiopia Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GNRS	Gambella National Regional State
GPFM	Gambella Peoples Freedom Movement
GTA	Gambella Town Administration
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
LRA	Lord Resistance Army
MOFPA	Ministry of Federal and Pastoralist Affairs
NIA	National Intelligence Agency

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NISS	National Intelligence and Security Services
NPF	Nigeria Police Force
NPSC	Nigerian Police Service Commission
NRMP	National Resistance Movement Party
OETA	Occupied Enemy Territory Administration
OL	Organic Law
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
ONLF	Ogden National Liberation Front
SPLM/A	South People's Liberation Movement/Army
SPNNRS	South Peoples Nation Nationalities Regional State
SS	Societal Security
TGE	Transitional Government of Ethiopia
UNCHR	United Nations High Commissions for Refugees

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

As to Buzan, Security can be define as the pursuit of freedom from threat and the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change, which they see as hostile.¹The bottom line of security is survival, but it also reasonably includes a substantial range of concerns about the conditions of existence.²The African Union protocol relating to the establishment of the peace and security of the Africans article 4C of the protocol explain that the objective of the Union in the continent is to deal with the respect for the rule of law, fundamental human rights and freedoms, the sanctity of human life and international humanitarian law.³

According to Williams, today, it is impossible to make sense of world politics without reference to security. Every day, people somewhere in the world are killed, starved, tortured, raped, impoverished, imprisoned, displaced, or denied education in the name of security.⁴ This is to show how security has great impact on the life of individual societies. For instance, in 2016, the attack of Paris in France and Brussels in Belgium respectively, and the crisis of Syria from the Middle East countries and also the crisis of Somalia, Libya and the newly born state of the South Sudan from Africa are notable examples.

The issue security of is not new today and it has the history of since the beginning of the creation of human being. Religion, philosophy and sciences have tried to explain what it mean by security(it), but the term ‘security’, lacks common consensus at all levels.⁵ Essentially, the term security is as contentious as other major concepts such as ‘democracy’ and ‘terrorism’, and can

¹ Buzan Burry (1983) People, States and Fear, The National Security problems in International Relations, Department of International Studies ,University of Warwick,p9

² Ibid

³ protocol relating to the establishment the peace and security Council Adopted by the 1st ordinary Session Assembly of the Africa Union, Durban,July,9 (2002,art 4c)

⁴ Paul D. Williams Supra note ,4,p1

⁵Estrada Fabian (2011) Development and international Security: Many Theories, One World, Lund University,p26

have a number of different meanings.⁶ “Since its inception security represents the core of international relations, predominantly dealing with the issue of war and peace”.⁷ According to Williams “Security is like beauty: a subjective and elastic term”.⁸

This is because it depends on people's ideas, feeling, culture and perceptions of reality, and due to this the term security gets a different value depending on who defines it.⁹ And its conception is also subject to change as the time and circumstances changed.¹⁰ In its conventional forms, Bubandt define “security” as “freedom from danger and risk”, security is unavoidably political; that is, it plays a vital role in deciding “who gets what, when, and how” in world politics freedom from ‘care, apprehension, or doubt’, as well as “the precautions taken to guard against theft or sabotage”.¹¹

Security, on one hand, deals with the problems of order and disorder, being both the ontological condition of order, in the sense of an absence of doubt, danger, risk and anxiety, and the political means of ensuring that order.¹² Today, security is facing new challenges. In the past, security threats were assumed to emanate from external sources. State security focused mainly on protecting the state, its boundaries, people, institutions and values from external attacks.¹³

Though, the issue of security in Africa is debatable since the 1960s many of African countries get their independence from their colonial masters/white. And since then African leaders have no strong and well institutionalized institution of security which kept and secured regions and also

⁶ Sulovic Vladimir (2010) Meaning of Security and Theory Securitization, BCSP Intern, Belgrade Center for Security Studies policy, p1

⁷ Ministerio De Defensa, IEEE Framework Document, the Evolution of the Concept of Security, *TCol. DEM Mario A. Laborie Iglesias, Principal Analyst Spanish Institute for Strategic Studies, Madrid*, No 5 (2011, p1)

⁸ Paul D. Williams (2008) Security Studies An Introduction, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge,

⁹ Ministerio De Defensa, Supra note 3

¹⁰ Endalcachew Bayeh (2014) Human Security in horn of Africa; Trends and Challenges, International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development, College of Social Sciences and Humanities, Ambo University, Ambo, Ethiopia, p, 341

¹¹ Nils Bubandt (2005) Vernacular Security: The Politics of Feeling Safe in Global, National and Local Worlds, *Department of Anthropology, University of Aarhus, Denmark Security Dialogue* vol. 36, no.3

¹² Ibid

¹³ Commission on Human Security (2003) Human Security Now, New York, p5

in order to maintain peace and security of their citizens. As a result of this, almost for the last two decades seeing insecurity problems has been usual phenomena in this continent and loss of many innocent peoples in different parts of the region of the continent and notable examples, such as the Nigerian militant group Boko Haram, Al-Shabaab from Somalia, Lord Resistance Army from Uganda, and M23 from Congo and many more. It is believed that Security plays a vital role in bringing conducive environment and changing the life style of every individual citizens and also for sustainable development.

Following the downfall of unitary system in May 1991, Ethiopia has made different reforms including a decentralized form of government and governance structure after a long time of centralized government and governance structure. Since then, the government carried out the major role in maintaining stability, peace and security by establishing institution in changing the life of the nation and to make self-sufficient and to achieve sustainable development and also to ensure democracy in general. By giving special and due attention for security issues of the country, the state may ensure sustainable development and democracy, Ethiopia has made different reforms in the public sector so as to ensure security for the overall development of the nations.

However, like other developing countries, nowadays security in Ethiopia at full scale is among the major challenging areas both internal and external in different parts of the region such as the case of Amhara, SNNPRS (Segen zone) and Oromia regional states respectively. It has been argued that the poor state of security system at every level of governments in Ethiopia is significant because of lack of transparency, accountability, the rule of law, efficiency and effectiveness of administration system. Thus, ensuring security should not be compromised for the assurance of peace and stability of citizens as well as for the continuity of sustainable development of the state requires so. At the same time implementing and ensuring security is not an easy task which requires much resources, commitment as well as active community participation and responsive citizens.

The researcher, as a resident of the region in point, got the interest to conduct a study in the region due to the practical problems and challenges of political instability, lack of skilled man power, absence of active public participation, accountability and transparency in governance system that affects the lives of local communities in the study area. Hence, this research study

was explored the legal framework powers and functions of local governments in general and in the region in particular. Accordingly, different relevant concepts such as principles, theories, and ideas of security were utilized. Besides this, the researcher used the experiences, laws and Constitutions of other region in order to authenticate or substantiate the research study. Therefore, this study was designed to assess the internal security management in Gambella, its legal frameworks and institutional set up. .

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Like many other countries, Ethiopia is also suffering both internal and external security problems and faced various challenges in different part of the country, especially in Gambella People National Regional State. To manage this, the 1995 Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia constitution (hereafter FDRE) Art 52 (2g)¹⁴ explain that as every state of the country has the power to establish and administer a state police force, and in order to maintain public order and peace within the State. Pursuant to this Articles, the 2002 revised constitution of Gambella Regional State stipulates that the region shall have the power and responsibilities to establish and administer the state police force, and maintain public order and peace with in the state (Art 49, 2/6).¹⁵

In this regard, the regional state established its own regional police force in 2003 under proclamation No 34/2003¹⁶ and later, the Special Force in 2008 under the proclamation 83/2008 which is clearly defines the role and function of Gambella regional state police. This meant to manage effectively the internal security problems of the region by getting much more close to the people. However, including the management, the state security forces are not capable enough in keeping and protecting peace and security of its inhabitants. Though there are insecurity problems before, since the December 11, 2003the long and deep rooted internal security problems of the region riches in to climax and serious.Whichresulted for the death of hundreds innocent people from both sides (Agnuwaha and Highlanders) including workers of the

¹⁴ The 1995 Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Constitution, Art 52 (2g)

¹⁵ The 2001 Revised Constitution of Gambella National Regional State, Art 49 (2/6)

¹⁶ Proclamation No.34/2003, ‘A proclamation to pronounce and organizing to the regional police force of Gambella National Regional State Negarit Gazeta,1st year July 9 2003, Gambella

Administration for Refugees and Returnee Affairs (ARRA), the government agency while traveling from the capital (Gambella) to Itang.

In addition to this, following the 10th Nation, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia Day celebration in December 2015 in the region, conflict break out between the two major ethnic groups namely Agnuwaha and Nuer and this also resulted in loss of the life including prisoners' were killed at Agnuwaha zone *Aboboweredda* prison and Gambella *Zuria* prison at the capital which is against to the FDRE and GPNRS constitution about the rights of persons held in custody and convicted prisoners.¹⁷

Which states all persons held in custody and persons imprisoned upon conviction and sentencing have the right to treatments respecting their human dignity stipulated as per art 21(1). Furthermore, the South Sudan refugees made killings over the highlander people at *Jewi* camp in the region in March 2015. In addition to this, such event has been committed at *Kule* refugee camp in which the other highlanders were again killed and wounded in August 2015.

Despite this, the large border between Gambella region and the Republic of South Sudan is open for external forces like *Murle* tribes and *Lew* tribes as well as for the influxes of South Sudan refugees which is in turn become the internal threat to Ethiopia in general and Gambella People National Regional State in particular. These all challenges implies that the regional security management is failed to protect the security the society from vulnerability and risks.

Many researches had been conducted by different researchers in the region at different times mainly conflict and other associated factors. For instance, Dereje Feyissa dealt about the power and Discontents in Ethiopia's Western Periphery Anywaa's Reactions to the Expansion of the Ethiopian State in the Gambella Region, from 1950 –1991, Medhanye Tadesse also studied the impact of local conflict on regional security in Gambella. In addition Ochan Obang also studied on the area that focus on the Challenge and Opportunities for Implementation of Community Policing program in the case of Gambella town in 2015 which is launched in 2005 at regional

¹⁷ Art,21 (1) of the 1995 FDRE constitution

levels as it was/ is not effective in providing the security towards to its citizens and others researchers were interested in the region.¹⁸

Though, there are legal frame work and institutional set up of security institution in the region, their applicability is ineffective, lack of institutional capacity and accountability, lack of skilled human resource in the area of investigation and analysis of problems, ineffective leadership and small size of security forces are some the contributes factors for the internal security management problems of the region in a way that to address and to protect the security of their citizens within the respective region and which resulted in the instability of the region. So, due to this, the right to security of citizens in the region is remained in question, there are study gaps that needs to have a further assessment on the internal security management in Gambella, legal frame work and institutional set up in regional states of the country.

Thus, in order to fill the gaps discussed above, it is believed to conduct the internal security management problems towards security management in Gambella, legal frame work and institutional set up of the region has concerned.

1.3 Objective of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

Generally, the objective of this study is examining security management in Gambella, legal framework and institutional set up in Gambella National Regional State and to suggest the possible solutions.

1.3.2 The Specific Objectives

Based on the main objective, the specific objectives is provided hereunder.

1. To evaluate regional state security management in line with the state (Gambella) constitution.
2. To investigate the practical problems of Gambella regional security in policy implementation processes.
3. To examine the activities of security forces in carrying outtheir responsibilities in protectingthe people of the regionfrom insecurity.
4. To identify the remedial measures for problems of regional security in the region.

¹⁸ Ochan Obong (2015) Challenge and Opportunities for implementation of community policing program; in the case of Gambella Town ,Addis Ababa University (IPSS) p12

1.4 Research Questions

This research triad to answer the following questions.

1. What were the legal framework and institutional setup of security in the region?
2. What were the challenges and opportunities of security institutions of the region?
3. What are the key factors that affect the effectiveness of the regional security systems?
4. What remedial measures should be taken to lessen problems of regional security in the region?

1.5 Significance of the Study

Security plays a vital role in order to create secure environment in which citizens can lead their life peacefully, stable and to make goals achievable. It is a basic instrument for securing justice, efficient delivery of services, peace and democracy of nations. Therefore, identifying the basic practical challenges of internal security management in the region and forwarding solutions for these challenges means laying foundation for secured life of individual societies of the region and to have democratic governance.

The researcher understand that the result of the assessment were helpful to the security institutions, planners and other interested groups working with government service provision and other concerned bodies to draw practical and usable hindsight for future planning and implementation of security programs. This research would have the following contributions:

- a. The study would help to identify and come up with the gaps which helps politicians, decision and law/policy makers, and others as a stepping stone of information for the better human security and mutual coexistences of nations of the region; hence, it may possibly contribute to maintain and ensure peace and order of the rights of grassroots communities.
- b. The study would help to security administrative bureau of the region, decision and policy makers as source of information for a better implementation of security; this will plausibly maintain the needs and interests of the people.
- c. It tries to suggest possible recommendations to curtail of the practical problems of security governance in the region.
- d. It also serve as groundwork of reference for further study in the field of security governance in the country.

1.6 Scope or Delimitation of the Study

The study is limited to assess practical problems of Security management in Gambella; legal framework and institutional set up in the region since the conflict erupt in (2003), at Gambella region. This study includes security institutions administration of the town, Godere *Wereda*, Itang especial *Wereda* and the general public to examine their opinions towards the problems and practical challenges of regional security. But the study was not comprehensive to investigate all aspects of security in the region. Therefore, it was designed to assess the internal security legal framework and institutional set up within the region (Gambella). Thus, it takes in to account employees, residences and other officials as well as service users in that institution.

1.7 Limitation of the Study

During the research period, the limitation in this study was inaccessibly of respondents (operational limitation) in the study area. The other was inability of participants to explain their views properly. This is due to the fact that respondents were in fear of the existing security situation in the region, the understanding of officials and the sensitiveness of the issuesor to the research title. This study also faces difficulties to obtain accurate information. Further, there was methodological limitation as this research was focused on qualitative approach, in which generalization is impossible.

1.8 Organization of the Study

The study contains five main chapters and it arranged as follows:

- The first chapter covers an introduction part, which includes background of the study, statement of the problem, objective of the research study, research questions, significance of the research, description of the study area, research methodology, scope and limitation of the study and terms used in the study.
- The second chapter deals with the Conceptual Framework of security policy and Governance in Ethiopia; concept of security (traditional and widener),societal security, experience of African countries in security and security governance (Republic of South Africa and Nigeria),security policy in Ethiopia (Haile Selassie I, Derg and EPRDF),the strategies of Ethiopia national security policy, key concepts definition, the role of government in maintaing security, its achievement and the challenges, the role of traditional institutions and security governances, community participation for shaping governance, basic principles of

governance ,main governance area, actors of governance, decentralization of governance to increase decision-making ,vertical decentralization and the challenges of governance in Ethiopia

- Chapter three also deals with description area of the study and includes location of the study area, the history of Gambella, geographical location, population/demographic, ethnic composition,socio-economic aspects and political administration system of the region
- Chapter four legal framework and institutional set up in Gambella, its application, challenges, opportunities, analysis and interpretation of the collected data in GNRS.
- The last (five) chapter consists of the concluding remarks and reference

1.9Definitions of Key Terms

For the purpose of this study, the following key words would be defined as follows

A. Security: - is refer toprotect someone, something or the peoples from threatening and vulnerability of all things at any possible circumstance that threatens or affects directly and /or indirectly the well-being of individuals or a groups. This includes creating conducive environmentfor the society to livein peace, without fear, and as well as to have workable conditions to fulfill their necessity.And security is being free of from “pure safety conception.”¹⁹ In addition, security can also decide on the fate of the society either to deliver services properly or not.²⁰

BHighlanders;- this refers to those of who came from the highland area of Ethiopia during the Dergue region in 1880s resettlement program as the result of drought and famine in the northern (highland) part of Ethiopia to the western (lowland) parts of the country such as Gambella and Asossa the political tension of the period.²¹

¹⁹ Asmelash Yohannes (2006)Enhancing Human Rights Protection and National Security by Proscribing a ‘Terrorist’ Organization: the Ethiopian Dilemma, Mekelle University Law Journal Vol. 4,,p74

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ Seyoum Mesfin (2014) The Inter-Migration Phenomenon: Response of the indigenous of Majang Nationality Zone in Gambella Region ,Ethiopia in Ethiopian Journal of Federal Studies ,Center for Federal Studies, Addis Ababa University, Vol,1,No,2,p71

C **Refugees**;-the term refugees defined as to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality.²²

1.10 The Research Methodologies

The research assessed the practical challenge of internal security management in Gambella Town Administration, Godere *Wereda* council and security and Administration office and Itang Special *Wereda* of GPNRS council and Security and Administrative office. For these purposes, this research used qualitative research approach, which allow the researcher to investigate participant responses: by using open ended questions like why or how as well as explore different documents, laws, and constitutions both at state and federal level and relevant regional and other relevant documents. This helps to collect the raw data through in-depth interviews and focus group discussion in the sense that the participants can elucidate their attitudes and experiences towards regional security.

1.10.1 Sample size

The study utilized 40 sample of population (respondents). Of these 12 of the respondents were key informants selected from Gambella Town Administration, Godere *Wereda*, Itang Special *Wereda* and GPNRS and 28 of the respondents were selected from the study area and grouped in to four for FGD and the participants is selected purposively. Besides, during the time of interview and FGD the researcher includes from all educational levels and age groups.

1.10.2 Sampling Design

For the purpose of ‘generalization’ and validity in the study and in applying appropriate techniques, the researcher used the non-probability sampling technique. Accordingly, for the completion of this thesis, one town administration and the two *wereda* (Gambella town administration, *Godere wereda*, and *Itang special wereda*) in the study region were selected purposely. Therefore, for the source of data, the researcher used focus group discussion and key informant interviews. This research study area were selected because of their frequently bad security problems and also they are the center of risks area of insecurity in the region.

²²Law of the Republic of Tajikistan on Refugees No 52, 2002, p 1, The Refugees Act to The Uganda Gazette No. 47 Volume XCIX UPPC 4th August, 2006., p7

1.11 Data Source

In this study, both primary and secondary sources of information were applied. The researcher investigated the internal and practical problems of regional state security in GNRS. The data collection techniques are discussed below.

1.11.1 Primary Sources

According to Kothari, primary data are those which are collected afresh and for the first time or first-hand information, and collected by the researcher for specific purpose and thus happen to be original in character.²³ Primary data was gathered from officials and the local community through interview, observation and focus group discussion and also personal experience was also employed as primary sources of data. Primary data assists the researcher to obtain accurate information from the relevant samples of the study. Furthermore, primary data also came from personal observations or experience of the researcher.

1.11.2 Secondary Sources

Kothari suggested that secondary data means that are already available, this means that they refer to the data, which have already been collected and analyzed by someone else at different time.²⁴ The secondary data was collected from different published and unpublished materials such as books, proclamation, documents, constitutions and internet sources. Secondary sources of data mainly used that have relevance to the subject under investigation were analyzed together with the data collected from primary sources through interviews and focus group discussion. This also helps to support and to cross check the primary data that were collected from the field of the study.

1.12 Data Gathering Techniques

This study was utilized qualitative descriptive method and it applied interviews, FGD and personal experience as data gathering techniques.

²³ C.R. Kothari (1990) Research Methodology Method and Techniques, New Age International (P) Ltd., Publishers

Published by New Age International (P) Ltd., Publishers College of Commerce University of Rajasthan Jaipur (India) , Second Revised Edition P,9

²⁴ Ibid, p111

1.12.1 In-depth Interview

At the First place, an interview guideline was developed for both the in depth interviews and FGD by the researcher. The interview guideline was designed to attempt to understand the views of the societies/residence about internal security management; legal frame work and institutional set up in the study area (GPNRS). The instruments were used interview guides, FGD guides and personal observation in order to asses more information from the research participants and respond to the research question. The instruments were first developed in English and then translated into the local language of Amharic by the researcher. This enables the societies to understand and respond all questions easily. The interview was employed for the government officials, security expertise and security intelligence. During this time,the role of the researcher was as facilitator for the key informant interviewer activity.

1.12.2 Focus group discussion (FGD)

As Dawson pointed out in his book Practical Research Methods argue focus group discussion is where a number of people are asked to come together in order to discuss a certain issue for the purpose of research.²⁵ Focus group discussion (hereafter FGD) is also an important tools to have extended discussion involving participants .The role of the researcher during the discussion was as moderator or facilitate. The advantage of FGD was that the group has acquired Information about the practical security problems that helps the researcher to understand the security challenge, and the impact of security on peace and security of the region. The FGD was conducted mainly with the state officials, security officials and the community have known deeply about the internal security management problems of the region.

The data collected through FGD enabled to seen the majority of input to answer the required question of the study. These tools contributed a vital role to obtain detail information which was relevant to the objective of the study. According to Dawson, FGD helps in order to receive a wide range of responses during the discussion and also helps people to remember issues they might otherwise have forgotten.²⁶

²⁵Catherine Dawson (2002) Practical Research Methods, Oxford OX4 1RE. United Kingdom,p76

²⁶ Ibid,p,29

1.13 Data Analysis and Interpretation

The researcher has employed different techniques and methods of analyzing and interpreting the collected data from the interviewees and focus group discussants. In this regard, after the data was collected, it has been first translated from Amharic to English by the researcher in which qualitative descriptive methods are applied. Then, it was transcribed and narrated. This has been summarized by using and categorizing the research concepts according to the main thematic issues. The themes have been brought together by a method of triangulation of content analysis. The data were also coded from the in-depth interviews and FGD transcript using coding categories. Further, the researcher had analyzed the raw data by describing each of the participants' view, and by using direct quotes from the interviews. In line with this, the FGD were utilized largely as a check for confirmation of the experiences of participants across the sample in which the researcher included in this study.

1.14 Ethical Consideration

The researcher approached the research participants first by requesting their willingness to participate in the research. Then, the researcher introduced his name and where he was from and the informants were assured that the objective of the research is only for academic purpose and they were assured that the protection of their identities and the guarantee of their safety of whatever information received in the course of the research would remain confidential. Moreover, the researcher valued and appreciated for knowledge of the issues. In all cases, names are kept confidential thus collective names like discussants, participants, informants and interviewees were used in the presentation and analysis of data. The researcher tried, as much as possible, not to be biased and has done his best to avoid prejudice in the process of collecting and interpreting the data.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of Related Literature

2. The Conceptual Framework of Security Policy and Governance in Ethiopia

2.1. Introduction

This chapter comprises a number of related issues regarding security policy and governance in Ethiopia. It includes the concepts of security, and security governance in Ethiopia. Moreover, this section focuses on the theoretical literature review on security policy and Governance in Ethiopia. Thus, it provides the definitional framework, the role of government in maintain security, its strategies, its achievement and the challenges of security management in Ethiopia, and challenges of governance in Ethiopia would be discussed.

2.2 Meaning and Concept of Security

Originally the word “security” is derived from two Latin words “Se” and Curus”. “Se” means “without” and “curus” “uneasiness”.²⁷ That is “security” means a peaceful situation without any risks or threats.²⁸ The English word "security" also give different types of meaning including "to feel safe," and "to be protected" and a situation without any risks or worries²⁹ As Arnold Wolfers 1962 cited in Mesjasz in his book titled ‘Security As An Analytical Concept’³⁰ security define inmore comprehensive way, ‘Security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked’.³¹

“Security is also a situation wherein a person or thing is not exposed to any form of danger or risk of physical or moral aggression, accident, theft or deterioration. Both security and peace are together and one depend on the other and also people use some times these two word interchangeably.”³²

²⁷Mesjasz Czeslaw (2004),Security As An Analytical Concepts, Paper presented at the 5th Pan-European conference on International Relations, in The Hague,Cracow University of Economics Cracow, Poland,p4

²⁸Ibid

²⁹ibid

³¹Ibidp5

³²Ibid p283

The concept of security is a difficult and highly contested one. Panic in his article ‘Societal Security- Security and Identity’ argue that it is very difficult to reliably and accurately determine the meaning of the concept of security. He also mention that as there is no agreed meaning of the concept which accepted and no definition is in place.³³

The issues of security, Roalnd Paris argues that, “has for too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of nuclear holocaust”.³⁴ The contest is not so much about the meaning of security but about whose security is most paramount and how to provide security.³⁵ It is important to mention that security is profoundly political, a tendency that provides an ideological dimension to the security debate and how the concept is defined.³⁶ Security is not the only concept through which the national security problem can be approached. Most of the literatures, which attempt analysis or prescription, are based on the concepts of power and peace. ‘Security is primarily about the management of threats’.³⁷

Security is increasingly viewed as an all-encompassing condition in which people and communities live in freedom, peace and safety, participate fully in the governance of their countries, enjoy the protection of fundamental rights, have access to resources and basic necessities of life, and inhabit an environment which is not detrimental to their health and wellbeing. [...] the security of people and the security of the State are mutually reinforcing.

Security embraces all aspects of the society including economic, political and social dimensions of individual, family, community, local and national life. The security of a nation must be constructed in terms of the security of the individual citizen to live in

³³ Branka Panic (2009) Societal Security- and Security and Identity, Carl Schmitt and Copenhagen School of Security Studies,p1

³⁴ Roland Paris (2001) Human Security Paradigm Shift or Hot Air? *International Security*, Harvard College and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Vol. 26, No. 2,p89

³⁵ Kenneth Omejeet.al (2010), Conflict of Securities Reflections on State and Human security in Africa, Whose Security ? The Global Security Debate and The African Paradox, Adonis & Abbey Publishers Ltd; Large type edition,p3

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ Rodrigo Tavares, (2007), How do Peace and Security Cluster Regionally? *UNU-CRIS /Gothenburg University Garnet Working Paper*: No 13/07, Sweeden,p6

*peace with access to basic necessities of life while fully participating in the affairs of his/her society in freedom and enjoying all fundamental human rights.*³⁸

This is due to the fact that the definition of the term security is increasingly changing itself with political dynamism of international politics and the type of threats. Security therefore is about creating conducive environment or situation that can help peoples and communities live together in peace, freedom, safety and enjoy their life without risk, danger and threatening things every were they live. Security is not only about the already stated matters above, but it also includes that political, economic and social affairs of individual and collective citizens of a particular state could be secured and the state in general from internal and external aggression.

2.3 Traditional Concepts of Security

The theory of realism was a dominant theory during the cold war period and it belongs especially to traditional approaches to security study. As noted by Endalcachew Bayeh, traditionally, the concept of security was associated directly with the state security, where state was the main concern. “State was the main referent object of security. Security was mainly understood as the security of the state in a sense that security of the state from military aggression and use of force”³⁹ As the understanding of the traditionalist (realist), the state are both the main sources of security and the central part to security threats.⁴⁰

Security, according to traditionalist (realist) school of thought “security define as a freedom from any objective military threat to the state survival in an anarchic international system”.⁴¹ The realist also argue that military power is the only instrument or guarantee for security. Stephen Walt 1991 cited in Suvovic, ‘Meaning of Security and Theory Securitization’, explain about the traditional understanding of the security problem, Walt defines security studies as ‘the studies of the threat, use, and control of military force’.⁴² Traditional approach to security mainly focuses on

³⁸Karim Hussein et al (2004) Security and Human Security: An Overview of Concepts and Initiatives What Implications for West Africa? Issues Paper, Sahel and West African ClubsChardon Lagache Paris, France.P14-15

³⁹ Endalcachew Bayeh Supra note, 6

⁴⁰ J. Jackson- Preece (2011) Security in international relations, International Programmes, the London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London (LSE),p,19

⁴¹ Supra note Sulovic Vladimir, 2,p,2

⁴² Ibid

the component of the state threat and this mainly related to the issue of sovereignty of the state.⁴³ Sovereignty of a state is refer to being free of influence and interference of any state on the internal affairs of the state.

2.4. The Wideners Concept of Security

The other school of thought is the “wideners”, in this school of thought, the famous proponent of modern security concept Barry Buzan challenged the concepts of the traditionalist conception of security fundamentally analyzing the security issues, both ‘horizontally and vertically’. In the horizontal dimension, the wideners think that in real sense the concept of security has to be expanded beyond what is discussed by traditionalist as security goes further from exclusively military in to political, economic, societal and environmental sectors. In the vertical dimension, the altered security concept should also be open to other referent objects other than the state. In the view of Barry Buzan, security is” holistic” or it view in general form how people uses the term security and state are linked together.⁴⁴

The National Open University of Nigeria also suggest that as the definition of security has to go beyond the traditional military use of force of protecting the state against internal and external aggression. Therefore, security should also encompasses defining citizens domestic Cause of insecurity.⁴⁵

2.5. Societal Security (SS)

There are various types of security under the field of security studies. For instance, information security, environmental security, food security, national security, human security and others. Among these different types of security, this section would attempts to focus on societal security. Societal security has recently become a new concept, which has get concern and an increasing of

⁴³Seongjin Kim (2008) Concept of Societal security and Migration Issue In Central Asia and Russia, Central Asia Migration Management and International Cooperation (CAMMIC) Working Papers No.2 Center for Far Eastern Studies University of Toyama,p5

⁴⁴ Barry Buzan (1983) people ,state and fear An Agenda for International Security Studies in Post-Cold War Era, Department of International studies Second Edition, University of Warwick, p24

⁴⁵ National Open University of Nigeria, Principles of Security Practice and Management,2008,p22

attention in the mind of academicians and practitioners as well as politicians and policymakers.⁴⁶ As the concepts of ‘Security’, ‘Terrorism’, ‘Development’, there is no single or ‘fixed’ definition to societal security and also faced a strong debate about really the meaning of societal security.⁴⁷ In European Security trends and threats in Society (ETTIS), among different issues of the debate were about the object and subject of societal security, what is secure and who is securing, as well as the fundamental nature of security, what security is and is not, and what it actually means to be secure. Were central⁴⁸

According to Branka Panic’s view, the idea of societal security directly relates to the capability of a society to preserve its essential characteristics in the face of variable circumstances and despite the potential or actual threats.⁴⁹ This implies that realizing societal security is the same as that of ensuring the stability of the state. It is possible to say that security is core and essential for the daily life of all societies.

In this case, societal security is not an issue to be compromised and left to government and government institutions alone. It also needs close efforts and cooperation of the society itself. And it is impossible to make sure that the sustainable development and democratic governance of any country will not be achieved without the collective effort of a government and the society in general. On the other hand, maintaining societal security by the government takes the lion share of its responsibilities and the society itself is likely opening the road for development and making the society directly beneficiaries from the results. Societal security is very important instrument or tools for policy maker and to professional handling national and international security concerns.

Today, elsewhere in this world (developing and developed), there are various reasons or causes that challenge for the societal insecurity problems. These causes are both domestic/internal/ and external, such as organized crime, fear, war and disease, equity, equality, poverty, political matters and personal interests are some of the major challenges (see chapter one). For the

⁴⁶ETTIS - European Security trends and threats in Society, A Working Definition of Societal Security Seventh Framework Program, ETTIS Coordinator: Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), 2012, p4, Available at <http://www.ettisproject.eu>

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ Ibid

⁴⁹ Supra note Branka Panic, 32,

purpose of this study, the researcher tries to discuss the issue of societal security problems in the case of GNRS.

The 1995 FDRE constitution in its preamble explain as an individuals of society has the right to be protected from any threat and vulnerability of risk and dangers which emanated either from the internal or external factors and has to be free from insecurity. The 1995 FDRE constitution explain that “... capable of ensuring a lasting peace, guaranteeing a democratic order, and economic and social development” and Art 14 (1) of the constitution “*every person has the inviolable and inalienable right to life, the security of person and liberty.*” Similarly this idea explained in the preamble of the 2002 revised GNRS constitution and Art 15 (1) of the constitution to grantees all right of any person that mentioned above. However, the practice is in the opposite side in the region.

This all issues of security and constitutional duties implies that as the federal and regional government (executive, judiciary and legislative) at all levels have the constitutional obligation and responsibilities to respect and enforce properly these provisions which stated in the constitution. In addition, establishing institutions of security to address the internal security problems carefully in the region in particular and in the country in general is mandated to both level of governments.

Though, institutions of security are established in accordance to both the federal and regional constitution to provide peace and maintain security for the society of the region, since December, 2003, the societal security of the region (Gambella) is facing various internal security challenge by the name of security including loss of human life, displacing from their home by incursions from *Murle* tribes and other local bandits (gunman's), power and resources competition, illegal firearms as well as inter-ethnic based conflict in different parts of the region and which became fashion recently.

By and large, in the case of Gambella, the regional government and the regional institutions of security are unsuccessful to protect the societal security from threat, danger, risks and vulnerability of insecurity in their respective region particularly in since 2003.

2.6 Experience of African countries in Security and Security Governance

2.6.1 Security and Security Governance in Republic of South Africa

Different countries may have different experiences on security and security governance including the structure, which they designed to address the challenges and to provide basic security services as well as for their effectiveness. In this regard, three African countries namely Republic of South Africa, Nigeria and Ethiopia will be attempted to discuss their experience of security and security governance system in this section.

African countries have made progress after their independence of 1960s on peace and security in different ways, either in regional integration or independently. Moreover, the state of African countries have experienced on security and security governance and they take as it as the first tools to preserve their power.

But effective security cooperation within and in integrating form still falls far short of the formal provisions, and the capacity of African states to assure the security of their own citizens, let alone prevent conflicts and build peace in the continent as a whole, varies greatly. This is due to the fact that African leaders are likely to lack fully legitimate public authority and have little ability to safeguard their citizens from poverty and violence.⁵⁰

As mentioned above, the complex situation in Africa regarding to their security and security governance within their respective region, the 1996 constitution Republic of South Africa (hereafter RSA) gave due attention following the apartheid departure from the state. As the result, it was mandatory to RSA to re-established different institutions of security at every levels of government that can address the great demands and challenges of peace and security of the citizens and the state in general. Accordingly, Article 198-210 of the constitution RSA deal about the security services and institutions with their clear power, function and responsibilities. The institutions such as the South Africa Defense Force, the Command of Defense Force, State of National Defense Force, Police Service and the Intelligence are some of the security institutions in RSA.

⁵⁰ Security Sector Transformation In Africa , Bryden and Funmi Olonisakin (eds) Geneva Center For Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) Alan Geneva ,2010 ,P27

Beside this, according to Gavin Cawthra, to support the security apparatus of the RSA, “two principal of civilian intelligence agencies were set up, the South African Secret Service (SASS) for foreign intelligence, and the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) for domestic intelligence.”⁵¹ Furthermore, the traditional leader’s institutions including their role and responsibilities recognizes in the constitution of RSA consciously by assuming their significance role in the maintenance of security in sustaining the internal security management of the state.⁵² In addition to formal institutions of security in the region, civil society organizations (CSOs) and academia were involved in the post-apartheid in the history of RSA at all level of the state to make more effective and efficient the security institutions and to prevent the society from vulnerability of risks and dangers and the governance system as well.⁵³ In this regard, the civilian Secretariat for Safety and Security is one among others civilian security institutions and was established in 1994 to deal with policy, budgeting and political accountability issues.⁵⁴ However, it’s influential and power is declined.⁵⁵

In general, this all multi and diverse institutions of security in RSA are established to run the overall security and security governance in the region and to fulfill the gap in the security sectors. Even though, there are internal insecurity issues that raised at different time that has to be improved, the security apparatus of the region have played significant role in the maintenance of security. Moreover, when security institutions are more effective and efficient, the political stability, economic stability, and proper service delivery will grow up and if not the reverse will be true.

2.6.2 Security and Security Governance in Nigeria

As state, Nigeria is the richest in its oil and populous region in Africa with the total population of 170 million people. And it is also the largest producers of oil from Africa to the other world and

⁵¹Gavin Cawthra (1997) Security Governance in South Africa ,Paper for the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Security Governance Project, P12

⁵² The Republic of South Africa constitution of 1996 Art 198-210

⁵³Supra note Gavin Cawthra, p14

⁵⁴ Susanna Bearne al.et (2005) National Security Decision-Making Structures and Security Sector Reform, United Kingdom’s Security Sector Development Advisory Team, Rand Corporation, p11

⁵⁵ Ibid

the owner of largest economy in the Africa continent.⁵⁶ Nigeria, despites its huge resource and richness, majority of its people are subject to abject poverty while unemployment and insecurity is growing.”⁵⁷ Among the diverse challenges, bad political leadership is the major factors that create insecurity problem in Nigeria and this is believed that the challenges to the new government Nigerian, Major General Mohamed Buhari who win the election on 29 May,2015.⁵⁸

However, among one of the very critical problems security is the largest challenges that faced Nigeria today traditional security threats including violent conflicts, militancy, armed robbery and kidnapping have assumed worrisome dimensions in Nigeria. Evolving threats such as insurgency and terrorism have also further complicated the situation in Nigeria.⁵⁹ On the other side, economic pervasive poverty, rising unemployment, fuel crisis and declining economy and also political challenges that the current administration needs to give urgent attention and also solution.⁶⁰

Accordingly, like the state of Republic of South Africa, the Nigerian government has also its own various type's security institutions and to mention same of the security institution; State Security Services (SSS) and also known as Department State Service (DSS), is the primary domestic intelligence agency of Nigeria.⁶¹ It is primarily responsible for intelligence gathering within the country and for the protection of senior government officials.⁶² The other institution is the National Intelligence Agency (NIA), which is responsible for foreign intelligence and counterintelligence operations service and Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA).⁶³

The DIA is the primary military intelligence agency of Nigeria, which was established to support the state defense force and also Nigeria Police Force (NPF) established under Nigerian Police

⁵⁶Freedom C. Onuoha, et.al (2015) Repot on Political, Economic and Security Challenges Facing President BuhariAl Jazeera Centre for Studies P2

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸ Ibid

⁵⁹ Ibid,p7

⁶⁰ Ibid

⁶¹Oluwakemi Okenyodo (2016) African Security Brief ,Governance, Accountability, and Security in Nigeria ,African Center For Strategic Studies ,No 31,p 5

⁶² Ibid

⁶³ Ibid

Service Commission (NPSC) is also another security institution whose primary responsibility is to manage the internal security in the region.⁶⁴ Beside to this, as to John Domingo and Ubong Evans Abraham, Nigerian government established others law enforcement agencies like Nigeria Security and Civil Defense Corps (NSCDC) in addition to existing military police to assist in the process of law enforcement and maintenance of order in the country. These established security institutions are charged with the responsibility to protect government properties and ensure civic security.⁶⁵

*The Independent Corrupt Practices and other related Offences Commission (ICPC) to tackle corruption and its perpetrators; National Drug and Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) to combat illegal drug business; National Agency for Trafficking in Persons (NATIP) to tackle human trafficking; etc. Also, other Private Security Companies such as; ASE Security Limited, Bemil Nigeria Limited, Cardinal Security Limited and a lots more have been given constitutional approval through the Private Security Act to assist in the security business and their activities are supervised by the NSCDC, that is, the Nigeria Security and Civil Defense Corps.*⁶⁶

By and large, there are more than 2.000 Private Security Companies (PSC) in the state of Nigeria operating their job in collaboration with NSCDC.⁶⁷

To sum up, these all institutions of security are mandated to manage the internal security instability of Nigeria, which arisen at different time in the region and also to protect the state from external aggression and possible threats. Their main function is to ensure security of the individual citizens and the state in particular. Yet, there are progress in Nigeria but the security institution are ineffective in their coordination as well in protecting the individual citizens from threat and attack of the insurgents militants group like Boko Haram and remain problematic.

⁶⁴ Ibid

⁶⁵ John Domingo and Ubong Evans Abraham (2013) Policing Nigeria: A case for partnership between formal and informal police institutions, Merit Research Journal of Art, Social Science and Humanities Vol. 1(4) Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Uyo, Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria, p54

⁶⁶ Ibid

⁶⁷ Ibid, P58

2.7. Security policy in Ethiopia

2.7.1. The National security and Foreign policy of Ethiopia

2.7.2. Security and Security Governance during Emperor Haile Selassie

According to W.O. Alli point of view, “Security policy of any state derives from its geo-strategic environment and the kind of security threats perceived to be confronting the state. It is the primary responsibility of any state to ensure the safety of life and property of its citizens.”⁶⁸ In all dimension, Security and security governance are inseparable and goes hand to hand to any state in this world for its stability and/or for its instability. Ethiopia as independent state was ruled by different emperor at different time having their own foreign policy and national security agenda. As regent to Empress Zewditu (1916-1930) and as Emperor of Ethiopia (1930-1974), and four years later due to the fact that Italy invaded Ethiopia, the power of the emperor did not able to continue as long as his king and chose as alternative to exile to England. Few years later, the emperor and his family return from his five years of exile to the palace mainly by the greater support of British government for the withdrawal of the fascist Italy. Post-liberation period (1935-1941), Haile Selassie regain his power and ruled the country almost for half of a century which stayed until 1974.

Muzeyen Hawsa suggest in ‘*Ethiopia and the Rising Power: A case study on the Post-Cold War Era Ethio-Turkish Relation*’ as the Ethiopia foreign policy and strategy of the past several decades was mainly characterized by “western –centric” influence and highly securitized approach.⁶⁹ This helps to the emperor to have a great tie with foreign countries on collective security policy and which was outward looking policy. The majority area cooperation of the foreign relation cooperation was in providing military equipment and training.⁷⁰ This helps to the emperor to consolidate his authoritarian regime rather than keeping the national interest of the country and its people survivals in general.

⁶⁸W.O. Alli (2012) The role of Nigeria in Regional Security policy Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Regional Office Abuja, Nigeria ,P40

⁶⁹ Muzeyen Hawsa (2015) Ethiopia and the Rising Power: A case study on the Post-Cold War Era Ethio-Turkish Relation, Journal Of The Academic Elegance Vol,2,Issue 2,p89

⁷⁰ Ibid

For instance, by disregarding existing fact of internal issues of the time (poverty, diseases) of the state and its people, the emperor was devoted in building up his own arms that aimed to safeguard the regime of the ruling class fundamentally in military school with the support foreign countries (Haile Selassie I Military Academy open in Harar in 1957 which was managed and staffed by Indian that stayed up to 1971 and Holeta Military Academy which is reopened in 1941 with staff of British instructors which stayed up to 1951 and the Imperial Air force which was established at Debre Zeyit in 1945 with the support of the Swedish Government).⁷¹ These all institutions of the emperor are established as a result of external foreign policy of the emperor by the foreign aid primarily to transform the traditional military system in to modernized military system and to have all rounded personnel officers and who is loyal to the regime.

As the result of this, the large population of the country particularly the northern part of Ethiopia (Tigray and Amhara -Wello) was unable to survive and feed themselves due to lack of rain and proper designed development and agricultural policy, they fail in to hunger, famine and together with other factors are contribute to the problems .While the emperor lacking to give immediate response and by his partners to the much affected area of the country. This is because due to the less attention by their ruler and unclear policy and international aid at time as well as outward (external) oriented policy of the regime.

As already mentioned above, security is fundamental issue and take the first place at all levels that can address and uses as means to protect people from threatening, striving, war, poverty, hunger, disease and at the same time the issues of security uses to create favorable environment in every aspect for the people. Security is also a means to develop self -confidence of individuals. In the contrary, during the time of the aristocracy feudal regime of Ethiopia of Haile Selassie I, security and its foreign policy was viewed as the only instrument or machine that can guarantee the power of the regime and not the state as well as its people.

Basically, without giving attention to the national survival of the state and its peoples, the age-old regime of Haile Selassie I, effectively used security and its foreign relation as a means to

⁷¹ Berouk Mesfin (2002) The Role of Military Power In Ethiopia's National Security (1974-1991), Addis Ababa University, P65

strengthen his authoritarian rule and build his military capacity.⁷²This seriously affect the contribution foreign policy of the country towards its domestic insecurity.

2.7.3. Security and Security Governance during Unitary (Dergue) Regime

For many reason, for any system of government either in the developed or developing world security is necessary and put at the first place. It is believed that if any form of government have strong base and well institutionalized institutions of security, it create the possibility to control every internal structures of the government and to defend its country from external aggression. Accordingly, Mengistu and his followers by using their military experience and military science systematically hijacked and made their way towards the king and finally succeeded to removal the emperor from power. Following the removal of the monarchical regime of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974, the military Dergue control power with its philosophy of Ethiopia Tikidem (Ethiopia First)

As researcher tried to indicate under security and security governance at the time of the imperial regime of Ethiopia (Haile Selassie I), the dictatorial regime of the Derg also follows the same philosophy as the emperor. Security is viewed as the only machine that can protect the regime of the revolutionary Derg and ensure its existence. The military regime under Colonel Mengistu was outward looking in perspective and externalized almost all the country's problems by focusing on, and building military defense capabilities against, the historical located external enemies of Ethiopia. For a long time, Ethiopia's main focus has been to address external threats and collaborate with regional and global actors for collective security. Rooted in its ideological thoughts about the root-causes of Ethiopia's internal troubles and possible solutions⁷³

These actions were deliberately done by the military regime Derg in order to sustain in power and to make more secured his regime as well as it was an alarming bell for others as not guarantee and the same measure may take at any time in the future. The military Derg also follows the same policy as the emperor outward policy as the only enemy of the regime were the external insurgence (freedom fighters) that templates the revolution.

However, due to lack of improper designed policy of development, agricultural policy and less attention, several crises were happened in the half of 1970s in Ethiopia history. This crisis was

⁷² Ibid

⁷³ Ibid

including famine, economic collapse, large numbers of people in central Eritrea, Tigray, Wello, and same parts of Gonder and Shewa were the major victims of the crises and also military setbacks in Eritrea and Tigray that confronted to the regime for their independence. And these resulted for the death of many peasants in this area as the result of poor policy.

2.7.4. Security and Security Governance in Federal Ethiopia

The concept of national security policy is complex and sensitive issue than other policy and it depends on the very nature of government's ideology. This is because it helps easily to determine the survivals of the state. It also indicates that how much the state has strong and effective security policy is seen as the central policy of every other policy of the state. Basically it dealt with protection of its citizens, state sovereignty and national interest of the peoples and the state itself.

There is no debate on the importance of national security as to be given an absolute and first place priority to ensure the national objective of a states. The security policy of different countries is defined to meet the national development and assure the national survival and protect the national sovereignty of their region.⁷⁴ In addition, security serves as a cornerstone or key-driving engine for every sustainable development of any countries.

However, today there are various challenges concerning security problems in different parts of the world externally and internally. This includes the external insurgency and internal problems that threatened the citizens. This is happening because of the weak of institutional set up, absence trained man power, lack of logistics, and problems of commitment, weak political leadership, weak economic capacity, maladministration, accountability and transparency and others contribute as aggravating core cases to the issue of security especially in Africa. But, this doesn't mean there are no any security problems in developed countries.

In this regard, it is possible that today to witness that security problems are common phenomena in different corner of this world some due to are their economic problems like Greek and Iraq, France due their political situation and Germany, from Europe are notable examples. African states have experienced different forms of security challenges both internal and external since their independence. These conflicts include: political and socio-economic agitations, ethno-

⁷⁴The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Foreign Affairs and national Security Policy and Strategy , Ministry of Information Press & Audiovisual Department,2002 Addis Ababa,p5

religious crises, ethnic militias, terrorism, boundary disputes, and organized crimes. These problems may occur individually and collectively and may constitute as threats to peace, security and sustainable development of the continent.

Due to this fact, most African countries are becoming are facing challenges of security like others countries. For instance, the kidnapping of more than 200 children from Borno state, in Nigeria; by the fundamentalists Boko Haram militant groups, including the crisis of the Niger-Delta which is “rich endowed with crude oil deposits”⁷⁵ the cup Dee’ tea against over Murriss government in Egypt, the down fall of the government of Gadhafi from Libya and the crisis of Tunisia in that removed Ben Ali through a popular uprising are among the security challenges in North Africa and the devastative civil war in Somali and the attack of Garisa University and Westgate Commercial Center by Al-shabaab in Kenya, and others in the Horn Africa and in the continent in generals. This is because of “Africa of today is made up of nation states with boundaries set to suit the interest of the past and present colonizers”.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the case are different and vary from region to region.

As many other Africa countries, as Kidist Mulugeta pointed out that in her discussion argue that the ruling party of Ethiopia, currently faced security challenges from a number of insurgents armed groups in different part of the country; this includes the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF), the Ethiopian People’s Patriotic Front (EPPF) and others liberation front are recently becoming the main security insurgence groups for Ethiopia today.⁷⁷ Thus, the ONLF attack that happened on the Chinese oil exploration camp in the Somali region of Ethiopia in April 2007, killing many civilians of Ethiopian as well as

⁷⁵Ufot Akpan Phenson et al (2014) The Nigerian State, Security Management Mandate and Challenges in the Niger-Delta Region, Nigeria., IOSR Journal of Research & Method in Education (IOSR-JRME) e-ISSN: 2320–7388,p-ISSN: 2320–737X Volume 4, Issue 3 Ver. V, Department of Political Science & Public Administration, University of Uyo, Uyo, Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria,p13

⁷⁶ Ike, C.C., Ifesinachi, K., & Rebecca, N.G. (2014) Reflections on State Security and Violence in Africa: A Prognostic Analysis. Open Journal of Political Science, Rebecca Department of Political Science, University of Nigeria, Nsukka,p157

⁷⁷ Kidist Mulugeta (2014), The Role of Regional Power in the field of Peace and Security the case of Ethiopia, Horn of Africa Dialogue, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, p10

Chinese citizens' of the oil exploration company. In response to this, the Ethiopia National Defense Force of Ethiopia took measure on the attacker (ONLF).⁷⁸

The Ethiopia government repeatedly confirmed that the challenge that faced the country today are mainly poverty, development and backwardness and therefore, when these challenges are fast addressed or get answered through short term, middle and long term plan and when citizens of the state become beneficiaries from the result of the development of the country in equitable way, and in the long run it is possible to create strong and committed citizens towards the security of the country. Therefore, the challenges that can trigger internal security issue, which are mentioned above, would possibly solved or at least minimized.

The FDRE document on Foreign Affairs National Security and Policy and Strategy (FANSPS) argued that the attainment of speedy economic development, democratization process and peace is fundamental to the survival of the country, which finds itself in a state of abject poverty and backwardness. Moreover, the failure to realize development and democracy would result in the nation's security being threatened.⁷⁹ In nutshell, the policy document states that the primary source of vulnerability is internal economic and political issues. According to FDRE policy on security and strategies plan explicitly mentioned that;

There can be no doubt that the attainment of speedy economic development, democratization and peace is fundamental to the survival of our country which finds itself in a state of abject poverty and backwardness. That is why the Government gives priority to matters that are to our survival and well-being. Unless the overall policy direction pursued by the Government takes this basic reality into account, our national existence and security will face grave danger. In this respect it is clear to see that our foreign relations and national security policy and strategy can only have relevance if it contributes to the fight against poverty and promotes speedy economic development, democracy and peace. If we do not realize our goals, one can predict that our country will be exposed to great instability and even collapse and our very security, and indeed survival, will be at stake.

⁷⁸ Ibid

⁷⁹ Fact About Ethiopia, Ministry Of Information Press and Audiovisual Department, 2004 p54

Former governments pursued external relations and national security policies that disregarded internal problems that were fundamental to our national condition. Rather, the effort was to focus on the outside world and to look in from the outside, as it were. Such an approach could not adequately protect our national interest and security. There is no point in trying to pursue a foreign relations and national security policy to be implemented externally without a major and effective in-country effort to realize our vision of development and democratization.

It should also be noted that the foreign policies of past governments were, in part, founded on a 'siege mentality' which considered the country to be surrounded by enemies. Its effects on the psychology of the people and its adverse impact on our relations with the outside world cannot be underestimated⁸⁰.....

Therefore, it is possible to understand from the above security policy of FDRE, the primary objective of Ethiopia foreign and security policy is to ensure the internal security agenda by having suitable space to achieving its development and democratic systems. Although, the development stage of the country at national level is still at its infancy, the basis and goal of Ethiopia foreign and national security policy is defined to realizing the sustainable development and democracy of the country at national level.⁸¹

Alemayehu Fanta suggested that “security policy must be formulated first and foremost to ensure national security. Other issues such as issues of democracy, prosperity, sustainable peace, development and stability and other related concerns then follow.”⁸² This implies that without having proper designed security policy and institutionalized approach that can address directly or indirectly the demand of the society, it is impossible to assured sustainable peace, stability, order, social services, democracy and prosperity.

In the case of Ethiopia, to ensure its internal insecurity and to solve the existing challenges both at internal and external levels, the Ethiopian government establishes different institutions that

⁸⁰The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy Ministry of Information Press & Audiovisual Department, Amharic Version Addis Ababa 2002

⁸¹ Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Ministry of Foreign Affairs Ethiopia's Policy and Strategy On Foreign Affairs and National Security, 2016, Available at <http://www.mfa.gov.et/policy-issue>

⁸² Alemayehu Fanta (2009) Ethiopia's Foreign Affairs and national Security Policy: The Case for a Paradigm Shift, p1

have the same mission and responsibilities but different authority. This institution includes; Ethiopia National Defense Force (ENDF), Ethiopian Federal Police (EFP), Regional (state) police, Ethiopia National Security Council (ENSC), Ministry of Federal and Pastoralist Affairs (MOFPF), Security and Administrative Bureau (at regional levels), Security and Administrative office (at *wereda* and *kebele* levels) and National Intelligence and Security Services (NISS), Information Network Security Agency (INSA) and others. Among other basic responsibility of both national and regional governments security institutions is to sustain security against external and internal threats and the components of state security including: safety, autonomy, development and rule.⁸³

On the other hand, the overall internal security management and the institutional capacity in Ethiopia are not free from criticism. According to Andargachew Tesfaye cited in Mesifin Mekonnen argues comparing the time of emperor H/silasie –the *Dergue* regime and the time FDRE, the professional and institutional status of the police, was better during the Emperor when compared to the times of the *Dergue* and even with FDRE.

According to Mesifin, he concluded that the modern police in Ethiopia was by far better during the time of the Emperor and much decline in the time of *Dergue* and FDRE respectively with no significant development.⁸⁴ But the argument of Andargachew Tesfaye and Mesifin Mekonnen is highly criticized by Werkinah Gebeyehu and he argued that significant development shown in the police force and the institutional capacity post the regime of the Emperor and the *Dergue* regime. According to Werkinah's analysis, the internal security management and the institutional status of the police during FDRE is much better and improved due to the following three reasons (1) the competence of the police in investigating criminal cases (2) prevention of crime before and after happening (3) the relation that the police has within the community.⁸⁵ Furthermore, it is possible to agree that the institutional set up ingathering information and institutional relationship as well as the chain of command at all levels better than the previous two regime.

⁸³, Ufot Akpan Phenson Supra note,p12

⁸⁴ Mesfin Mekonnen (2006) Police Productivity In Criminal Investigation: An Assessment of the Performance Problem in the Gullele Sub-City Police Department, Addis Ababa University, p7

⁸⁵Workineh Gebeyehu (2016) An Analysis Of The Influence Of Politics On Policing in Ethiopia Police Science University Of South Africa ,p7

Thus, it is impossible to conclude that the current internal security management and institutional set up of FDRE is absolutely poor than the time of the Emperor H/sillasie and the *Dergue* regime respectively.⁸⁶ Though, there are problems particularly in the periphery area in the internal management of security like in Gambella, the researcher also agree with idea of Werkinah Gebeyehu as there is a better improvement in the area which is already mentioned above.

Generally, from the initial point strong security policy of states with organized institutions and also free and active involvement of citizens, makes people free, secure and create situation for sustainable life of citizens and for advanced democratic governance in the study area in particular and in the country in general.

2.7.5. The Strategies of Ethiopia National Security Policy

Strategy is the means by which individuals, groups or organizations set in the long run that can achieve their future objectives or which help to accomplish the objective, vision and mission of an organizations.⁸⁷ According to the Ethiopia's Policy Strategy on Foreign Affairs and National Security policy and strategy, security policy is the only apparatus that serve as a bridge and that helps to facilitate for the ensure effective security, rapid development, democracy and democratic governance. Therefore, security is "Alpha and Omega of security policy of Ethiopia is to ensuring national survival" to get out of poverty, backwardness and undemocratic practices.⁸⁸

Accordingly, Tewelde Gebresslas and R. Durga in their analysis of Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy with special reference to strategy of FDRE claim that Ethiopia has the following strategy on national security strategy to be achieved through the co-operational work of others stakeholders.⁸⁹

❖ Reducing vulnerability (weakness) to threats

⁸⁶ Ibid

⁸⁷ Robert J. Jonas (2000) The Real Meaning of Strategy, Handbook of Business Strategy Journal of Business Strategy, p3

⁸⁸ Supra note, 18

⁸⁹ Tewelde Gebresslase and R. Durga Prasad (2015), Analysis of Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy with special reference to Strategy of FDR of Ethiopia, International Journal of Business and Management –IJBM Global Wisdom Research, Adigrat University, Ethiopia , V no v III , Issue-13, p90

- ❖ Building a reliable defense capability
- ❖ Building strong implementation capacity
- ❖ Minimizing threats on the basis of proper analysis
- ❖ Strategy centered on the economy

2.7.6. The Role of Government in Ensuring Security.

Security is one of the most and basic instrument for stability and sustainable peace of citizens and the state in general. In this regard, the role of government has stand at the first place in creating road map for conducive environment to the players (actors). However, Teweled Geberesslas and R. Durga suggested that maintaining law, order, peace, and security alone cannot be an end by itself for success unless there is properly designed policy and institutions that helps to run the activities that are already designed.

Therefore, security is a means to achieve the policy of a state.⁹⁰ Government has the responsibilities to play a crucial role in establishing institutions and formulating basic rules and regulations that helps to maintain and ensure security of the citizens and for the national survival of the state. It where obvious that peoples have to be free from fear, risk and danger at any time at any place.

BelachewGebrewold also pointed out that the FDRE Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy in its “National Security Strategy”,⁹¹ the Ethiopian government highlights that security policy has the absolute priority as it is a matter of ensuring national survival than others policy of the state.”⁹²

As governor of the state, government has constitutional responsibility to provide and maintain security and protects its citizens from threats of insecurity problems and also their well-being. Constitutionally, the internal security mandate to provide peace, law, order and enforcing rules is given at first place to government and government institutions at national and regional levels. Basically, the FDRE constitution of 1995 explain about the mandate given to Ethiopia National Defense Force(ENDF), regional police (state security) and National Intelligence and Security

⁹⁰ Ibid ,p86

⁹¹ Belachew Gebrewold (.....)The Ethiopia Dilemma between state security and Human Security,p4

⁹² Ibid

Service (hereafter NISS) at both levels (national and regional) and others (Ministry of Foreign and pastoralist Affairs (MoFPA).

The ENDF of Ethiopia was established in 1995 with the proclamation No 4/1995 under ministerial level with the major objective and responsibilities of preempting security threats for the prevalence of peace, democracy and good governance at national level.⁹³ In addition, the ENDF is constitutionally given the mandated to protect the national sovereignty of the state and including at the time state emergency. The 1995 FDRE constitution art 55 (7) and 87 (3) of the constitution explain that as the ENDF has the obligation as *“The state armed forces shall protect the sovereignty of the country and carry out any responsibilities as may be assigned to them under any state of emergency declared in accordance with the Constitution.”*⁹⁴

Moreover, the article above 55(7) also explain about the Federal government mandate on security matter of the state and it say that *“It shall the organization of national defense, public security, and a national police force. If the conduct of these forces infringes upon human rights and the nation's security, it shall carry out investigations and take necessary measures.”*⁹⁵ Although, the regional security forces have the responsibilities to protect their respective region and their citizens from any type of violence and insecurity matters that threatening the society, the federal government has also exceptional clause for intervention in the country.

On the other hand, according to 1995 FDRE constitution art 55 (7) the NISS is organized as per the constitution under proclamation No 804/2013. NISS is established independently as one security institution of the country. This is due to the fact that to strengthen the national intelligence and security service is necessary to protect and defend the sovereignty of Ethiopia, to protect its citizens, safeguarding the constitution and the constitutional order, as well as to support the overall development of the state.

⁹³ Ethiopia Year Book 2012-2013,p198

⁹⁴ The 1995 FDRE constitution Art 87 (3)

⁹⁵ Ibid Art 55 (7)

As a result of this, NISS has the following general power and duties⁹⁶

- Lead the network of intelligence and security services both inside and outside the country in a responsible manner ;
- Formulate national intelligence and security policies, and devise method for their implementation upon approval;
- Establish and administer intelligence and security training and research institutions
- Work in cooperation with relevant bodies to implement the power and duties entrusted to it by this proclamation and provide the evidence necessary intelligence and evidence to the concerned bodies
- Cooperate with similar foreign organizations and as may be necessary ,receive or give intelligence and conduct joint operation and
- Carry out other related activities to effectively discharge its power and duties

2.7.7. The achievement of Ethiopia in maintaining Security

After FDRE control the power in 1991, it established the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) that consists of civic associations and different opposition political parties of the country to put legal foundation of Ethiopian politics and its fate, which lasted from 1991 to 1994. And later on in 1995 the FDRE established a federal system, which constitutes nine regional state with their own self-autonomy and self-determination including up to secession and two semi-autonomous cities that are accountable to the federal government.⁹⁷ To ensure this, Art 39 (1-3) of the FDRE constitution elucidate that the right for Self Determination is given to National, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia. This also aimed at to create among citizens the sense of belongingness within their state

The Ethiopia federal arrangement is based on ethnic federalism that enables the regions for self-autonomous. By giving deep attention to the issues of security as one and main policy of the state

⁹⁶ Federal Negarit Gazeta of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No 804/2013, A Proclamation To Re-establish The National Intelligence and Security Service 19th year No 55, Addis Ababa 23rd, July 2013

⁹⁷ Assefa Fiseha (2007) Constitutional Adjudication in Ethiopia: Exploring the Experience of the House of Federation (HOF) Ethiopian Civil Service College Vol. 1 No.1, P3

the government established institutions of security at national and regional levels and this is aimed at to manage easily the risen security problems within the respective region

Actually there are problems, when it compared to the previous two regime (H/silassie and Dergue) and Horn of Africa in particular, after FDRE came to power in 1991, security policy has made progressive change in history of the country that created a situations to enjoy relative peace within the state such as freedom of movement.⁹⁸ This is due the fact that issues of security needs institutionalized approach in order to provide peace and security to its citizens and to manage easily the ongoing problems of security of the country. As the result of this, Ethiopia enjoy relative peace almost for the past two decades.

Today, Ethiopia play as a main actors in Africa in general and in the Horn of Africa particular in the maintenance of peace and security and resolving deputies among different conflictual groups and in co-up with other countries. This includes peace keeping mission in Rwanda, Burundi and Liberia. In addition, Ethiopia contribute its own peace keeping force under AU peace keeping mission in South Sudan (Abiye) and Sudan (Darfur) and in Somalia and as mediator in South Sudan through Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the AU are among its major security achievement.

However, the state of Somalia and South Sudan have not a success story. Goitom Farus noted that Ethiopia as state and its national interests, continue to support military and training assistance to the transitional government and fragile Somalia security force. Nevertheless, the state of Somalia and others state of horn of Africa are still bogged down in security problems.

2.8. Challenges of Security in Ethiopia

Apart from the major achievement of security, Ethiopia is also facing various challenges. As mentioned by government communication affairs office in its annual publication “Ethiopia’s foreign policy and its achievement”, the Ethiopian government has strong believes or stand that the national interest and security will be ensured and continued if only rapid economic is sustained at a country level.⁹⁹ However, the practices are different in the state like France, and Britain have strong economic bases and security institutions, today they faced challenges. In this

⁹⁸ Supra note, Kidist Mulugeta ,p13

⁹⁹ Ethiopia’s Foreign Policy and Its Achievements, Government Communication Affairs Office (GCAO),2012,p3

case it is possible to mention the 2016 and 2017 incident in France and Britain respectively. Rather, strong leadership, national feeling, good governance and other practical implementation of law.

Today a number of factors contribute for security problems in Ethiopia. This includes cross border crime, absence of good governance, and absence of institutionalized institutions of security at regional, *wereda* and *kebele* levels (feeble institution), development, and political instability, unfair distribution of resource, high rate of unemployment, problems of quality leadership and poverty are among the few cases. These diversified security threats have their own effect in the management of security processes and exert negative impact on the development and democracy of the country.

2.9. The Role of Traditional/ Indigenous and Security Governance in Ethiopia

The traditional institutions of justice are institutions that are traditionally established by the people, when the legal institutions don't reach all the people in every area, peoples use the traditional institutions of justice to manage their own issues. Like the modern institutions, the traditional institutions are not changed at any time when the situation is changed. These institutions that are found elsewhere has "provided a system of administration from which law and order came and provided a stable system of governance."¹⁰⁰

According to Osakede, Kehinde Ohiole and Ijimakinwa, Samuel Ojo pointed out that as the Western scholars considered African societies as communities that had no system of administration, which is no law, no order, no government, and also no civilization.¹⁰¹ In the contrary, various literatures indicate that Africa and African societies are rich in their own traditional system of administration and civilizations. For the purpose of this study the researcher select three African countries experience of traditional institutions; Somaliland, Rwanda and Ethiopia respectively and presented as follows.

¹⁰⁰Osakede, Kehinde Ohiole and Ijimakinwa, Samuel Ojo (2015) Traditional Institution And The Modern Day Administration Of Nigeria: Issues And Prospects *Journal of Research and Development (R n D)*, ZARSMI, UAE, and Regent Business School, South Africa, Vol. 2, No. 9, P32

¹⁰¹ Ibid

2.9.1 Guurti

The “self-proclaimed and internationally unrecognized”¹⁰² state of Somaliland which emerged as a state after the collapse of Somali republic in 1991, has also the some experience on traditional institutions with other African statehood countries. The state of Somaliland has a traditional institution called *Guurit* which was formally institutionalized in 1993 at the Borama Grand conference Somaliland’s’ declaration of independence in 1991 and which is composed of an assembly of elders.¹⁰³ Following this conference the government of Somaliland made an effort in cooperation with the formal state structure and the elder’s institutions to jointly play their role for the stability and peace of the state.

*“...it was made up of 82 clan elders from across ‘Somaliland’ whose primary responsibilities were to maintain ‘Somaliland’s’ fragile peace and mediate all outstanding disputes and any future conflicts. This combination was designed to balance clan representation within the new government so that the institution would best reflect the region’s dynamics and eliminate clan pressures from unnecessarily influencing other branches of government.”*¹⁰⁴

Today, the *Guurti* traditional institution is intergraded with the modern structure of governance system of the government in order to support the overall ongoing development of Somaliland’s success in ensuring stability, peace and security. The house of elders (*Guurti*) institution play indispensable role in the peace building process and maintain peace and security consolidation among the clan and sub clan of the community. At present, “the *Guurti* is a very powerful institution at the top and it even blocks or amends bills passed by the lower house of elected

¹⁰² Carolyn Gatimu (2014) Traditional Structures in Peace and Security Consolidation: The Case of the House of Elders (*Guurti*) in ‘Somaliland International Peace Support Training Centre (IPSTC), edited by Ibrahim Farah, Nairobi, Kenya, Occasional Paper Series 5, N°7, p1

¹⁰³ Ibid

¹⁰⁴ Ibid

representatives of the Somaliland.”¹⁰⁵ However, the *Guurti* has no power of approval of financial matter of the state and this is because the elders of this institution are not educated.¹⁰⁶

2.9.2 Abunzi

Like the Somaliland’s elders institution (*Guurti*), Rwanda have also the so called *Abunzi* traditional and indigenous institution.¹⁰⁷ The name *Abunzi* in Rwanda refers to those who “Reconcile.”¹⁰⁸ The *Abunzi* is recognized under the 2003 constitution of Republic of Rwanda as “Mediation Committee” and also in the received constitutional recognition in 2010 Art 159 and the Organic Law (hereafter, OL) (2008,2010) No 36/2006 and OL 02/2010.¹⁰⁹

The Rwanda constitution underscores that any institution of government including *Abunzi* has to comprise at least 30 percent women. *Abunzi* members serves only for two years term, which is renewable.¹¹⁰ “The system of re-election is designed to give all qualifying members of the community an opportunity to serve on the *Abunzi* as well as prevent complacency, bias and corruption.”¹¹¹ Like any other countries, *Abunzi* mediation committee members are expected to be persons of integrity who are acknowledged for their mediation skills who are respected by the community.¹¹²

As per the constitution (2010) Art 159 and OL (2010) of the country; the *Abunzi* have broad jurisdiction which ranges from civil disputes to criminal cases. Accordingly, *Abunzi* has the following functions:¹¹³

- They mediate over civil disputes related to land and other immovable assets whose value does not exceed 3 million Rwandese Francs.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid

¹⁰⁶ Ibid

¹⁰⁷ Carolyen Gatimu Supra note 63,p7

¹⁰⁸ Ibid

¹⁰⁹ Ibid P8

¹¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹¹ Ibid

¹¹² Ibid

¹¹³ Ibid P8

- They also settle cases involving movable assets such as cattle. Other cases they are mandated to deal with involve civil cases involving breach of contract. In addition, the *Abunzimediate* in family cases, including paternity, matrimonial inheritance and succession issues.
- The *Abunzimediate*s have jurisdiction over some criminal cases; including some land-related matters such as boundary disputes, cases of damage to crop and theft, larceny and extortion committed between members of the same family and killing or wounding without intent

On the other hand, Ethiopia is believed to be the museum of people with more than 80 ethnic groups. Ethiopia is a country of diversified nations with multi languages, variety of religion and quite of many nation, nationalities and peoples with their own history and unique cultural practices. Furthermore, its civilization traced back to the history of Axumite civilization and one of the long-aged history in this world which is account 3000 years. Since then, traditional institutions have their own roles in “regulating societal relationships and often are the reflections of the realities of the existing of the country’s socio-economic development, cultural and historical values and political interaction.”¹¹⁴

To ensure security, properly designed policy of justice is mandatory. Therefore, Justice is fundamental and an important element that helps for certain society to preserve its balance for a long period of time and lives in peace. Justice can be achieved through both modern and traditional institutions. Modern institutions is established and practiced through the formal institution under the regulation and supervision of government organs.

Moreover, Ethiopia has develop age-long history of indigenous/traditional institutions that are established by the interest of the society’s in order to manage their day-to-day activities and in handling criminal acts, security matters, clan conflict, conflict resolution, peace –building and peace keeping and also other disputes when individuals and a groups of interests are raising among their own members and more others disputed parties in peaceful ways. The majority of communal dispute and insecurity problems rising in the area are settled through traditional

¹¹⁴ Sisay Mengiste (2014) Customary Conflict Resolution Mechanism In Ethiopia :A Case Study Of The Raya Community In Journal of Federal studies, Center For Federal Studies ,Addis Ababa University Vol,1 No,2,p174

mechanism. Accordingly, the following traditional institutions of Ethiopia like Geda of Oromo, *Yejoka* of Gurague, *KuerMoonof* Nuer (Gambella) and *Mada* of Afar are discussed as follows;

2.9.3 Geda –System

Oromo's are known for their Geda system, which is complex in political and social that affect the whole life style of the Oromo peoples. Geda is defined as a system of class that succeeds every eight years in assuming military, economic, social and criminal responsibilities.¹¹⁵ Each Geda class has to remain in power for a specific terms. The Geda-system has multiple institutional functions such as political, social and economic.

Among the various contribution and functions of the Geda –system, conflict resolutions mechanism take the first place by the traditional judges who adjudicate under the big tree, locally known as *Dahddachaa*.¹¹⁶ The term of office for traditional judges is one Geda eight years. This and others traditional institutions of the country plays significant role in security governance and also in minimizing risks of vulnerability of the society through different mechanism such as negotiation and reconciliation among the victims as well as restoring peace of the community

2.9.4 Yejoka

Like Geda-system of Oromo, *Yajoka* is one of the most important indigenous and traditional institution of the Gurage people, *Yajoka*'s task is to provide a traditional system of conflict prevention and resolution and ensure social stability and maintenance of good social relations among the people. The laws of *Yajoka* thus regulate the political, economic, social and cultural relations among persons in the society.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Sisay Gebre-Egziabher (2007) What Role Should Civil Society Organizations Play to Address Ethnic Conflict in Ethiopia ,The Fourth International Conference on Ethiopian Development Studies (4th ICEDS) on The Challenges and opportunities for Peace and Development in Ethiopia and Northeast Africa, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, USA, p19

¹¹⁶ Ibid

¹¹⁷ Ibid

The Gurage customary law, known as Kitcha, provides legal frame of the *Yajoka*.¹¹⁸ The *Kitcha* is a customary legal system that governs all aspects of human relations among the Gurage people.¹¹⁹ In addition, there is a tribal-wide judicial institution, called the *Yajoka-council*, in which the clan-chief and the titled veterans of the seven tribal groups (*Sebat-Bet Gurage*) were agents.¹²⁰ The council's main function was dealing with political relations between various tribes.

2.9.5. KuerMoon

The Nuer people, like the people of Oromo and Gurage, have their own traditional mechanisms of resolving disputes which risen among the conflictual parties and in the societies in particular and to secure the societies from threaten as well. As to Gatluak Ruon, in Nuer culture there is power full person known as *KuerMoon* (Land Master) and it is one among others of the traditional system of the Nuer people which used as a legal law of the people. And most importantly plays its role in social, political and economic issues of the local people.¹²¹ According to Gatluak Ruon

The person uses the Leopard skin to perform his task. The person is believed to have spiritual power and the Nuer call him Gok in their language. The word Gok means prophet or diviner. The Nuer believe the person has spiritual power to perform many things, even to curse a disdain person to death. Among those many activities the Gok perform one is conflict resolution, being intra and/or inter conflicts. The person (Gok) stops conflict by slaughtering ox to cancel the blood fault cursing who will start a gain the conflict to death or for their side to see more deaths and that stop the conflict¹²²

2.9.6 Mada

¹¹⁸ Ibid

¹¹⁹ Ibid

¹²⁰ Ibid

¹²¹ Gatluak Ruon Jal (2014) Cross Border Conflict in Gambella Regional State (from 1991 to 2011): The Traditional Skills, Experiences and Indigenous Knowledge Used by Nuer, Anyuak and Murle Ethnic in Resolving Conflict International Journal of Science and Research (IJSR) Ethiopian Civil Service University, Department of Public Management, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia Vol 3, Issue 6, p617

¹²² Ibid

The Afar peoples administer themselves through their traditional administrative system, which effectively handles all aspect of their economic, social and political issues at the local level. *Mada* is the traditional legal system for the Afar peoples, which is considered as a base for other administrative system and for the life of the society's .They believe that their traditional institutions are effective in building peace, managing of insecurity and in creating strong social bond among the Afar peoples.¹²³

Most commonly recognized and practiced mechanisms in Ethiopia the so called *Shimglena* or reconciliation by elders and arbitration by tribal leader and religious leaders are used in preventing and resolving disputes among them and play significant role in maintaining various cases of the society. Elders from the same tribe generally handle disputes within the tribe in their early stages. However, if it is an inter-tribe case, elders and tribe leaders of the disputable parities are involved. If the situation is serious enough, elders and leaders from other neutral tribes intervene as arbitrators.¹²⁴

The institutions mentioned above run by elders who are well known in their ethnic and respected by the community and popular in the community, wise of their making judge /decision /. In this regard, these institutions serve as back bone to the modern management of security of a country using their local indigenous knowledge. Indigenous institutions have a multiple advantage for both the society and the government. Moreover, these traditional institutions of the society,are easily accessible, less costly, speeder, open system when they are compared with modern institutions and they are more participatory. On the other hand, they play a significant role in minimizing the working load of the government, finance.¹²⁵

Accordingly, Tesew T, notes that, ‘‘elders are associated with the cultural norms and beliefs of the peoples, and gain their legitimacy from the community values instead of state.’’¹²⁶ Traditional institutions are important instrument in insuring peace and security and significant role in minimizing insecurity cases and maintain stability in a country and in the concerned community in particular as well as in state building and play advisory role at region, Wereda and

¹²³ Ibid ,P20

¹²⁴ Ibid p21

¹²⁵ Tasew Tafese (2016) Conflict Management through African Indigenous Institutions: A Study of the Anyuaa Community, World Journal of Social Science, Institute for Peace and Security Studies, *Sciedu Press*, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Vol. 3, No. 1; p24

¹²⁶ Ibid

kebelle levels.¹²⁷ In addition, the role of these traditional institution is to protect the society from threatening things such as risks and dangers in their own localities. Traditional institutions may differ on their base of their functions.

The constitution under art 91(1) explain that every customary law and traditional practice of the society which is not contrary with the constitution, the government has the responsibility to support and enhance the traditional practice of the society. *‘Government shall have the duty to support, on the basis of equality, the growth and enrichment of cultures and traditions that are compatible with fundamental rights, human dignity, democratic norms and ideals, and the provisions of the Constitution.’*¹²⁸

Similarly, the 2002 revised Afar National Regional State (ANRS) constitution art 104 (1) and the 2002 Oromia National Regional State (ONRS) constitution art 106 (1) as well as the 2002 reviewed SPNNRS constitution art 119 (1) also clearly stated that, *‘All previous laws, regulations and directive which are, to this day in force throughout the NRSs shall have continue their operation as long as they have not been inconsistent with the revised constitution.’*¹²⁹

Therefore, from this point of view it is possible to understand that the role of traditional institutions and other customary practice of the community are vital and recognized under the FDRE and in all regional states constitution. In addition, these traditional and indigenous institutions has social base of the society and also strongly accepted at both levels (national and regional) with the duty of promoting and support for their effectiveness and functioning well, though the constitutional provisions and the practice are two different things.

In general, both in Somaliland, in Rwanda, or in Ethiopia, the indigenous institutions are playing vital role and serve as alternative institution to settle various cases in their respective countries and in their localities in particular in the area where people can get in to disputes and were the insecurity cases are found. As state, Ethiopia has to learn from the experience these two countries (Somaliland and Rwanda) and also share its experience.

¹²⁷ Ibid

¹²⁸ The 1995 FDRE Constitution Art 91 sub Art 1

¹²⁹ The 2002 APNRS constitution art 104 (1) OPNRS art 106 (1) and SPNNRS 119 (1)

In the case of Ethiopia, these institutions also have less interaction with the modern institution of the country that could possibly minimize the load of the court. Though, there is gap in the institutions with the modern institutions, based on their roles and beyond their recognitions, these indigenous institutions have to be promoted, advanced and get full support from the side of the government and the people in general and advertising to other nation of the world.

Thus, the indigenous institutions serve as a bridge between the society and the government institutions as alternative disputes resolution mechanism. Governments at both levels have to do their work effectively to make them strong enough and modernized. The interaction of these traditional institution of the community and the modern or legal institutions are recognized under the 1995 FDRE constitution and the regional state constitutions.

Chapter Three

3. Descriptions of the Study Area

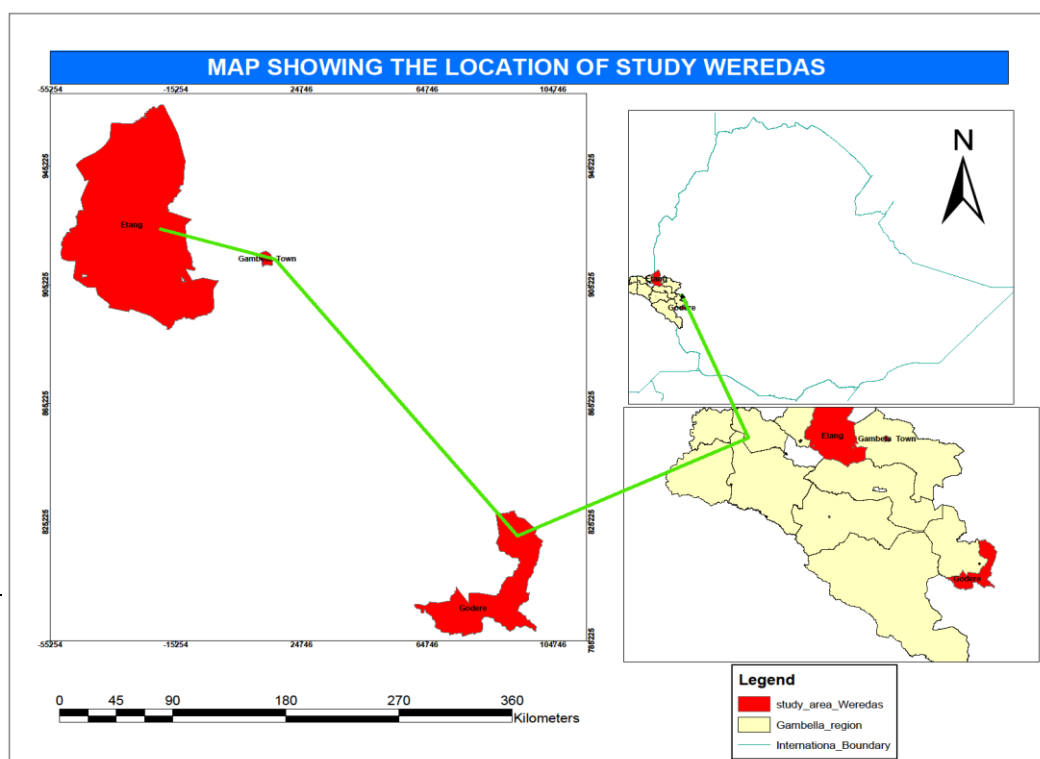
3.1. Introduction

This chapter mainly discussed on the issues such as location of the study area, the overview historical formation of GNRS. Geographical locations, demographic (population), ethnic compositions of the region, socio-economic and political administration system of the region are dealt with in general.

3.2 Location of the Study Area

As per the federal constitution article 52 (2 (b)), regional states had their own constitution and Administrative organization through their constitutions¹³⁰ Accordingly, the regional state (Gambella) established different administrative structure at the regional levels. Among these, this research study area mainly focused on Gambella town administration, Godere *wereda* and Itang especial *wereda* of the hierarchical administrative units of the Gambella regional state.

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June, 2017

Source; Ethiopian Map Agency (EMA, 2017)

3.3. Historical Overview on the Formation of Gambella Regional State

The word Gambella is derived from two words the Nilo-Saharan of the Agnuwaha people “Gam and Bella” which means in Amharic *MashilayenAqebilegn* in literal meaning it is refer to pass my Sorghum and also other indigenous peoples of the region gave their meaning what it mean by the term Gambella. To the Nuer the term Gambella is the same with the term used by Agnuwaha but it has different meaning “*GodoloBeqolo*” which means, Elliptical Maize.¹³¹ This is derived due to the fact that during the exchanging in the market between the non-indigenous and the Nuer and due to this when the Nuer purchase maize from the non-indigenous and the non-indigenous cheat some amount of kilograms from what they purchase and later the Nuer said that “Gam-Belle”.

Like the Nuer and the Agnuwaha, the people of Majang also use the same term with different meaning. According to the people, they named after a person called “Gambella” who live in Gambella. Furthermore, both the people of Komo and Opuo use the same term and meaning to refer Gambella that can reflect the situation. Accordingly, the term Gambella is refer to a cabbage which has a large leaf and grow along the margin of the Baro and *Jejebe* River.

However, according to Robert Colin explanation about the term Gambella get its forename for the first time in 1905 when Ahimmed Rifat, Sudan official of trade controller and Ethiopian stakeholders came to decide on the fate of the port and in relation to the Agnuwaha affluent who live alone in the areas.¹³² Traditionally, before the establishment of Gambella and include under the administrations Emperor Menelik II of Ethiopia in 1898, Gambella was ruled by the local nobilities known as “*Nyia*” which means (king) and “*Kwaro*” also refer to (nobles).

The history of Gambella and its peoples as part of Ethiopia began during the reign of Emperor Menelik II of Ethiopia and the boundary agreement that had been made between Britain and Sudan governments in 1902.¹³³ The region had been ignored by the Imperial regime for a long

¹³¹ Gambella Town Formation and its 100th Development Stage, Gambella Town Administrative Council, 2013,p13

¹³² Ibid

¹³³ Gambella Town Formation and its 100th Development Stage, Gambella Town Administrative Council (GTAC), 2013,p13

period of time and other development issues due to the fact that the region was important as frontier between the Christian highlander and the lowland Muslim in Sudan.¹³⁴

On the other hand, by understanding its historical significance for the socio-economic and strategic place got for the increase need of the Emperor Menelik II on the area, over which it had to compete with the British colonial establishment in Sudan. Dereje Feyissa argued that, this economic stake plays a vital role for the establishment of Gambella commercial enclave.¹³⁵ By the time the imperial regime departed from the political scene, therefore, the Gambella region was weakly integrated with the national center.¹³⁶ Since 1914 came to operational, bots and ships were surfing the Baro River facilitating trade and also its proximity to Baro River play great for its establishment.¹³⁷

After the withdrawal of the unitary system of government in May 1991, and the EPRDF control of power, Ethiopia came in to an end to established TGE. Since then, like other newly emerged states of the country's, such as Benishangul Gumuz, Afar and Somalia, GPNRS is also one of the regional states established in this process and the federal structure opened an opportunities for the peoples of the regions to self- administrations and become an independent region. Accordingly, the 1995 FDRE constitutions Art 39 (3) ensures that as ‘*Every Nation, Nationality and People in Ethiopia has the right to a full measure of self-government...*’ and as the result of this, the region has started to perversion or enjoyed from the result of the country

3.4 Geographic location of Gambella National Regional State

Gambella Peoples National Regional State (GPNRS) is one among the nine administrative regions and two semi-autonomy administrative cities that constituent the federation. Gambella is the capital city of the region Gambella. The regional state (Gambella) is located Western tip of Ethiopia. The region Gambella is found 776 Km away from Addis Ababa and cover almost a total area of about 25,294 square Kilometers. The Oromia National Regional State (ONRS) to

¹³⁴ Medihane Tadesse (2007) Gambella ;The Impact of Local Conflict on Regional Security Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, South Africa, p4

¹³⁵ Dereje Feyissa (2006) Ethnic Federalism; the Ethiopian Experience Comparative Perspective Edited by David Turton Eastern African Studies, Addis Ababa University Press, P210

¹³⁶ Supra Note, Medihane Tadesse ,p4

¹³⁷ Supra Note Dereje Feyissa,p210

the East, the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State (SNNPRS) to the South and Benishangul Gumuz National Regional State to the North and the Republic of South Sudan to the West. The Baro river which divide the region into two, including the capital, the river is the only River that serve for long transportation during the summer season from Gambella and to Sudan and from Sudan to Gambella in the country.¹³⁸

According to Dereje it is possible to define the region (Gambella) in two dimensions, in geographically and in political terms (1) Gambella is hot, having an average temperature of 37 degrees Celsius at an altitude of only 500 meters above sea level, in contrast to the neighboring highland regions, which rise as high as 3,000 meters. (2) Gambella is a periphery situated along Ethiopia's long border with southern Sudan.¹³⁹ The Baro River which divided the region in to two part including the capital city. The region bordered with Benishangul Gumuz regional state, Oromia regional state to the north, the South Nation, Nationalities and Peoples (SNNPR) and the Sudan Republic to the south and Oromia and Oromia and SNNPRS to the east and the Sudan Republic to the west.¹⁴⁰

3.5 Demographic

3.5.1 Population of the Region

According to the 2007 Census conducted by the Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia (CSA), the population of Gambella Region has total number of 307,096, in which 159,787 are men and 147,309 are women; among these the population size of urban inhabitants are 77,925 or 25.37% of the population.

¹³⁸ Gambella People National Regional State ,10th Ethiopian Nation Nationalities and People's day Magazine ,2015,p18 ,152

¹³⁹ Dereje Feyissa (2013)power and Its Discontents in Ethiopia's Western Periphery Anywaa's Reactions to the Expansion of the Ethiopian State in the Gambella Region, 1950 – 1991,International Journal of African Historical Studies(forthcoming) p3

¹⁴⁰ Abraham Sewonet (2002) Breaking the Cycle of Conflict in Gambella Region, United Nations -Emergencies Unit for Ethiopia (UN-EUE),p1,Dereje Feyissa (2009) A National Perspective on the Conflict in Gambella,Proceedings of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, ed. by Svein Ege, Harald Aspen, Birhanu Teferra and Shiferaw Bekele, Trondheim,p641

The Gambella Region is mainly inhabited by various indigenous Nilotic ethnic minority populations (Nuer 46.66%, Agnuwaha 21.16%, Majang 4% , Upo 0.32%-990 and Komo 0.07%-224) as well as some Omotic groups Keficho 5.04% *shakicho* 2.27%), Afro-Asiatic populations (Amhara 8.42%, Oromo 4.83%, Kambatta 1.44%, Tigray 1.32%), and other ethnic groups predominantly from southern Ethiopia 4.86%.¹⁴¹

According to Dereje Feyissa, the Highlanders since the mid-1980s as government policy who came as result of resettlement from different part of the country especially from the Amhara, Tigrai, and Oromo, the Southern Ethiopia that constitute 24% of the region's population and in some areas, particularly in the Majang Zone and in the regional capital; they constitute more than 50% of the population.¹⁴² This is because the high increasing of high agricultural investment, employment opportunities, high refugee's numbers from South Sudan who have settled in Gambella.

The Agnuwaha live in five *Weredas* (namely Abobo, Jor, Dimma, Goge and Gambella Zuria or Abol) and *Itangspecialwereda* and in the Gambella city administration while the Nuer live in five *weredas* (namely Akobo, Wantiwa, Lare, Makuay and Jikawo), Itang special *wereda* and in the Gambella city administration. The regional state is comprised of 241 *kebelles* and 13 *wereda* under three *zones* (Nuer, Agnuwaha and Majang zones). The regional state also consistone special *wereda* and one city administration.

3.6. Ethnic Composition of Gambella Region

At the first place Gambella has conducive environment for living and rich in diverse ethnic composition. Basically there are five indigenous ethnic groups of the region. These are the Agnwaha, Nuer, Majang, Opuo and Komo and others non-indigenous settlers from different part of the country. These includes from Amhara, Tigray, Oromo, SNNRP.(Welayita, Kembata, Hadiya ,Gurague, Sidama) and others ethnic groups are found in the region.

¹⁴¹Population and Housing Census Report-Gambella Region (2007) *Central Statistical Agency, 2010-07, English , Ethiopia* ,Publisher(s): Central Statistical Agency

¹⁴² Dereje Feyissa (2009) A National Perspective on the Conflict in Gambella, Proceedings of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, ed. by Svein Ege, Harald Aspen, Birhanu Teferra and Shiferaw Bekele, Trondheim, p644

3.7. Socio-Economic characteristics of the region

Due to its richness in resource and suitable land for commercial investment, Gambella attract different communities from different corners of the country. The region (Gambella) is rich in resources including huge and fertile land. Like other nation of the country, the indigenous peoples of Gambella have their own socio-economic characteristics to lead their life. The indigenous people of the regions are predominantly dependent on traditional agricultural activities in the rural area of the region. Accordingly, the people Agnuwaha call themselves Agnuwaha that means “together”¹⁴³. The people of Agnuwaha note that they have started to live in the area since the time their forefathers that settled around the Rivers that roar past the state. As the bond of these ethnic groups with water is strong they are settled around the coastline different rivers like Akobo, Gillo, Alwero and Baro.

They eke out of living from farming mainly they produce Sorghum, maize, traditional tobacco, and pumpkin. As mentioned above, as their original settlement is bounded with rivers they are farmed for producing and consuming fishes.¹⁴⁴ The people of Nuer are also well known for animal is not only question of existence but also a task that has symbolic, religious and social virtues. Animal rearing for Nuer people has greater contribution in cementing social ties, creating marriages and self- respect. In addition, rearing animal for Nuer is count as the major source of income and the major dowry during marriage time.¹⁴⁵

Like the people of Agnuwaha and the Nuer, the peoples of Majangs are agriculturalist and well known in Bee hiving and it is the main source of their income. They also produce coffee, sorghum, maize, Mango, Avocado, papaya and other spices like Ginger and Mace. The people of Opuos call themselves Opuo which means a “human being”.¹⁴⁶ The Opuos are agriculturalist and produce maize, sorghum, Bee hiving. The Komos people are also agriculturalist and they produce Sorghum, peanut, sweet potato, red peppers and cotton, though it is in a small scale they

¹⁴³ Ibid ,p24

¹⁴⁴ Ibid

¹⁴⁵ Ibid

¹⁴⁶ Ibid,p25

are noted for rearing goats and in fishery. The indigenous peoples of the region are also involved as civil servant at all levels of the government's institutions and few are engaged in commerce.¹⁴⁷

In addition to the local people, the highlander also had better experience to be involved in the socio economic at rural and urban of the region such as in huge agricultural investment, constructions hotel, Civil servants, animal rearing and in commerce. This contributed a lot for job opportunities for the nation of the region and the general ongoing development of the region.

3.8. Political and Administrative Structure of the Region

Before the incorporation of the region Gambella was ruled for many years under different system of administration. For instance, during the time of emperor Menelik II of Ethiopia, the region from 1905-1920 was administered under department of trade and Upper Nile Province of Sudan-Khartoum government administration and from 1936-1941 western and southern part of the region was administered under the Italian government.¹⁴⁸

Similarly, during the regime of emperor Hailesilasie and the Dergue regime follows the same administration system in the region. This means that until the end of 1967, under the rule of the emperor the region and was divided in to six administrative area and administered under the administration structure of Oromia -Illubabor district (*awuraja*), and since 1968-1980 the region was established as administrative area and administered under Oromia –*Illubabor* province (*TeqilayGizat*) but latter on from 1981-1983 the Dergue regime decide that as the region has to be administered by the central government.¹⁴⁹

However, after FDRE came to power in 1991, the region was established as one the constituent unit of the country and become autonomous region. During this period the regional state established having four *zones* and one special *wereda* (Godere). But gradually as per the nature of the settlement pattern and names of the people it is that the region divided into three zones (namely Agnuwaha, Nuer and Majang) and one special *wereda* (Itang) as well one city administration (Gambella town administration)and comprises of 241 *kebeles*¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Ibid ,p26

¹⁴⁸ GTAC, Supra Note ,p17

¹⁴⁹ Ibid,p18

¹⁵⁰ GPNRS magazine ,P32

Since, the regional political system of the region is dominated by the major ethnic groups (the Agnuwaha and Nuer) and they ruled the region interchangeably at different time and the third relatively dominated ethnic (the Majang) has the untouchable political seat (power) in the regional council as the house of the speaker.

Chapter Four

4. Data Presentation, Discussion and Analysis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses about the empirical assessment, its practices and challenges in line with the legal aspects of security management in Gambella Town Administration, and *Goderewereda*, *Itang /liyu/* special *wereda*. The data analysis is interpreted by assessing the practical functions and implementations of the *wereda* in which the data is collected from officials and communities through, interviews, FGD and personal observation. Relevant documents have been also utilized for the purpose of this thesis. Besides, a thorough search of related literature that provided support to the conceptual frameworks of security management and methodological issues of the study were made. However, it is vital to start with the Constitutional bases of security management under the Federal constitution and the 2002 revised Constitution of GNRS.

4.2 Legal Framework of Security in Gambella

According to the FDRE constitution of 1995 art 50 sub art 2(g) power gives to regional state in order to established and administer the state police to maintain public order and peace within the state.¹⁵¹ Similarly, the 2002 revised of Gambella constitution also stated under Art 49 sub Art 2(2.6) and Art 52 (1-3) that the regional government has the power and responsibility to establish and administered the regional police force and maintain peace and security of its own region.¹⁵²

Subsequently, the regional state police established under the proclamation No 34/2003 and similarly the revised Gambella police structure and administration proclamation No 81/2008 was aimed at establishing additional regional police/security force in order to maintain peace, order and security of the respective region.¹⁵³ Accordingly, Gambella Special Force (In Amharic, *AdimaBiteaenaTsereShibir* orcommonlyKnown as *Liyu Haiyle*) established under the Gambella Police Commissions in line with the above articles and proclamation, the regional government at different levels security institutions are established in the region (at regional,

¹⁵¹ The 1995 FDRE constitution ,Art 50 sub 2(G)

¹⁵² The2002 GNRS revised constitution Art 49 sub 2 (2.6) and Art 52 sub art 1-3

¹⁵³ Proclamation No 34/2003 of the GNRS Negarit Gazeta Gambella police structure and Administration 1st year July 2003

zonal, and wereda levels). These institutions of the regional security force/state police force/ established with their own specific function, power and responsibilities.

4.3 History of Police in Gambella

The growing of insecurity and the need for safety among the peoples, emperor Hailesilasie was forced to reform the traditional security system which was established in 2545 BC for the first time during the kingSebtahe which was called “Hibert” and later on named “Meri Feresegna Hager Tebaki”.¹⁵⁴ This traditional institution of security/police force also reestablished by King Alemseged Iyassu in 1774 which was called “Leba Adin”.¹⁵⁵ The force was directly accountable to the King.¹⁵⁶ Latter, Menelik II organized a better and more civilized police force than the former and the force was called “Arada Zebegna”. The Italian abolished the “Arada Zebegna” during the invasion in 1936. It was replaced by Polizian Colonial which operated until 1941.¹⁵⁷

As cited in Werkinah G, in the history Ethiopia, modern police force was introduced during the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie I under proclamation no 6/1942 in 1942 with the aim of maintaining peace keeping and security in the province.¹⁵⁸ The name of the police force during the emperor called as Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (OETA).¹⁵⁹ At that time, it was clear that the role of police force is more than providing peace and security to the public but included spying on the behavior of government officials, which is a clear misuse of the role the police for political ends.¹⁶⁰

It is not surprising that the then police force was constitutionally mandated in order to protect the King and the land only and “the King possessed all rights to decide the direction and practice of

¹⁵⁴ Degu Marew Zegeye(2010) Evaluation Of Personnel Management Capabilities Of The Federal Police Of Ethiopia In Addis Ababa ,Human Resource Management of Policing ,University Of South Africa,p28

¹⁵⁵ Ibid

¹⁵⁶ Ibid

¹⁵⁷ Ibid

¹⁵⁸ Workineh Gebeyehu (2016) An Analysis Of The Influence Of Politics On Policing in Ethiopia Police Science University Of South Africa ,p7

¹⁵⁹ ibid

¹⁶⁰ ibid

policing”.¹⁶¹ The police during the reign of the emperor that found at the center and the province were receiving chain of command from the king. Which can erode the influence of the police and its accountability and also make that the institutions lame. Beyene M and Werkinah G also supported this idea.

When the Emperor was overthrown from power in 1974 by the military coup led by Colonel Mengistu H/Mariam, immediately the name of the Imperials police force substituted in to Ethiopian Revolutionary Police Force. Werkinah in his analysis argued that the police during this period only mandated to safeguard and protect the ideology and the fruits of the revolutionary politics.¹⁶² It implies that the police were there to protect the regime and not to serve the public and the interest of the public and highly characterized by Red terror.¹⁶³ Later on, after the FDRE took power in 1991 it established its own security forces from among the local residents both in the cities, towns and rural areas to replace the police force of the Dergue régime.

Gradually in most parts of the country, the police as an institution began to exercise their role. Soon after the establishment of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) by virtue of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia Proclamation No 8/1992 the central and regional governments were allowed to reestablish their own police forces.¹⁶⁴ As already mention above, on this legal ground, like other regional state police institution of the country, the Gambella National Regional State also established its own police force using both constitution and the above proclamation to maintain law, peace and orders of the public and the region in general.

Later on in Ethiopia, the police institutions are established as independent institutions in order to enforce maintain law and order to protect the life and the property of citizens at national and regional level. Therefore, the police was capable and strong enough both mentally and physically in carrying out its responsibilities.

Governments of different regions spent large amount of money to run the institutions in order to fight or prevent crime and maintain peace and order in all over the respective regions to their

¹⁶¹ *ibid*

¹⁶² *Ibid* ,p11

¹⁶³ *Ibid*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*

own citizens in their respective region.¹⁶⁵ This is due to the fact that the duty of police is very complex and problematic.

Crime and insecurity are the major problem that challenges the life of society everywhere in this world. For that reason, it is very important for social science practitioners to study how the crime and insecurity has to be functioning. Among the various mechanisms that provide and maintain justice, police are very crucial in order to address the public demand for justice.¹⁶⁶

According to Natale, the primary objective of police is carrying the life of citizens and prevention of crime as well as maintaining peace and security of the public tranquility.¹⁶⁷ In addition, the police is responsible in investigating cases related to crime, solving problems, detection and punishment of offenders incase crime is committed.¹⁶⁸

4.4 The legal Foundation of special Force / *LiyuHayil* / of Gambella Regional State and their Accountability

The legal foundations of Gambella PNRS special Force /*LiyuHayil* /is based on the revised constitution. Under this provision, the police structure and administration was established.¹⁶⁹ The special force established in 2008 was under the regional police commission for administration reason at regional level. Moreover, the institutional accountability of the special force is responding directly to the regional police commission and has its own military uniform. The criteria for recruitment have also uniformity with regular police of the region. The name special force or *LiyuHayil* is refer to beyond the regular police and took special military training and has better firearms than the regional police force.

According to the higher officials of the institution (police force), the preamble of the proclamation No 83/2008 of Gambella PNRS, the primary objective of establishing the force is to protect and control the anti-terrorist that arises and to control illegal act of protests in the

¹⁶⁵ Mesfin Mekonnen ,Supra note,44

¹⁶⁶ Mesfin Mekonnen(2006) Police Productivity In Criminal Investigation: An Assessment of the Performance Problem in the *Gullele* Sub-City Police Department, Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa, p1

¹⁶⁷ Lara Natale (2010),The police of England and Wales, Civitas Institute for the Study of Civil Society,p1

¹⁶⁸ Ibid

¹⁶⁹ Proclamation No 83/2009 of Gambella *NegaritGazeta* of the Gambella National Regional State's Police Structure and Administration, July,18/2009

region and beyond this the special force has the mandate to protect the public and region in collaboration with regular police. In addition, the special force /*LiyuHayil* / has the role of keeping government institutions, border watching, VIP service for high official of the regional governments and conflict prevention among disputants. However, to carry out the mission of the institution, the numbers of the special force and the levels of its responsibilities don't match.

The numbers of the special force at regional level is 730. Of these 648 are male and 42 are women's. However, after the deep reformdeep evaluation (*Tilk Tehadiso*) of the institution that held at Hawassa city in SNNPR in the second rounds of evaluation, 17 of the 730 of the special force have betrayed from serving and 23 are in prison due to their in loyalty to the constitution and other related ethical and professional problems¹⁷⁰. Such cases made the internal security management of the region in critical and complex situation.

4.5 Selection Criteria for Recruitment of Police in Gambella

In any institution, fulfilling the human resource with skilled manpower as well as well staffed institutions is necessary for the effective implementation of policies and strategies and proper service delivery. Therefore, by taking this in to account, the Gambella regional state police established as per the GPNRS Proclamation No 34/2003. Article 15 of this Proclamation section 3 (1-3) stated that any Ethiopian citizen to be recruited as a regional police, he/she shall fulfill the following criteria.¹⁷¹

- (a) To be willing to serve as a policeman;
- (b) To be loyal to the Constitution to the federal and regional constitution;
- (c) To have fulfilled the educational standard and physical fitness required for recruitment as a regional police;
- (d) To have a good reputation in the community for his discipline and moral character;
- (e) To have no previous record of participating in any kind of criminal act;
- (f) To be of not less than 18 years of age;
- (g) Not to be a member of any political organization and the recruitment to be made in accordance with Sub-Article (I) of this Article shall take into account the balanced representation

¹⁷⁰ Interview Feb 3 ,2017, Gambella

¹⁷¹ Proclamation No 34/2003 of Gambella *NegaritGazeta* of the Gambella National Regional State's Police Structure and Administration, 1st Year July,9/2003

of sex, nations /nationalities and peoples. In addition, the recruitment process of the police shall be based on popular participation.

However, most of the discussant at a time of FGD and interview with public relation core process of police commission and informal discussion with the residents, they argue that the criteria sated in the proclamation are not bad by themselves but directly or indirectly they are not fully implemented.¹⁷² This is due to the following factors;

- Poor attitude towards being employees of police or security man, by the community and other officials see it as simply job opportunities
- Due the official interference during the time of recruiting
- Recruiting those who have been participated and has criminal record the people who are adducted in drug and alcoholic
- Nepotism
- During the recruitment ,including those who are addicted in drug and alcoholic
- The recruitment of personnel to the regional police/special force is not on the basis of public participations
- Taking as a policeman those who are not fit physically is common phenomena and others are mentioned as the main causes.

Therefore, it is possible to understand from the above cases, the institutions of security in the region do not carry out the criteria stated under the Proclamation carefully. And thisalso raises the question of accountability and transparency ingovernment institution and the security institutions of the region in particular.

4.6. Accountability of the Police

The idea of accountability is to enhance democratic rights of citizens and legitimacy for the existence of government. Accountability is a significant provision for any institutions for the assurance service and for the police service and police impartiality in particular. Accountability is one of the basic and fundamentals principles of a democratic ensure as individuals or groups or as institutions are held accountable for their actions.

Accountability includes both what the people do and why they don't do .As a result of this, Police accountability is necessary and it is not questionable for the effectiveness of service

¹⁷² Interview and FGD,02, Jan , 2017,Gambella

delivery. Accordingly, to ensure police accountability, as institutions made effort to using the so called deep evaluation or (In Amharic *Tilik Tehadiso*) the existence performance and levels of the police and the institution during the summer from May 2016-Sep2016 in two rounds at Hawassa; the capital city of South Nation ,Nationalities and peoples regional states. The aim of this evaluation was to assess either the constitutional provisions are carried out properly or not and also to take possible measures on those who are not bind the provision.

Respondents in the FGD replied that institutional and police accountability in the region is in critical situation. According to the discussants, the security /police force are not loyal to the constitution, lacks updating training, skill gaps, ethics gaps, absence of immediate/speedy response, recruiting of from ENDF and Federal police those who are concerted (dismissed) and other are possible to raise as a case in the police force and in the institution. Above all, the key informants said that;

“Not only our regional police, any other regional police have to be smart enough in preventing crimes and testbefore their happing using his/her police professional skill. As the result, police can develop the trust of the public and will be effective in his/her job as well as can address the demand of the public.”

Therefore, the implication of this opinion is that in all dimensions and measurement, police has to be strong enough to quickly investigate based on the case and find solution for the cases in efficient way.

According to the report of regional government, following the so called ‘*Tikitehadiso* ‘or deep evaluation in the police, a number of police forces have been dismissed from their regular jobs and some of them have been sent in to prison from both the regular police and the special force. This was because some members of the police have found corrupt and some have been suspected as narrow nationalist as well as unethical (addicted chat/khat and alcohol) and to strengthen the security institution and finally to create trust by the public.

Being weak the chain of accountability and transparency in the justices system (courts, judges, police station, intelligence and investigator) and problems of coordination within the justice system in giving final decision on cases, the security institutions develop mistrust amongst the public. Such cases also create difficulties either on the regional or *wereda/kebele* policy implementation that designed by governments at both levels.

Generally, the above statements show that, in the eyes of peoples of the region, the police have lost its legitimacy to be trusted as safeguarding of the public and listening to the needs of the masses and guardians of law and order. As a result, security problems are continuing from time to time in the region.

4.7 Community Participation in Management of Security in the Region

Community participation, like accountability is among the fundamental principles of a democratic system in which community can participate directly or indirectly as the right hand of government for the success and continuity of country development. Essentially, active community participations can play a vital role in places where there is high internal insecurity like the state of Gambella of Ethiopia.

Therefore, community participation is mandatory in advancing peace and security and to create democratic institutions of the public, the region in particular. However, the role of community participation in the management of security and other issues in region is poor comparatively when it is compared with the city administration. The researcher understood from the key informants and FGD during the research time at *zonal, wereda* and *kebele* levels as there is no room or place for the community in order to actively participate on the issues like development, peace and security, campaign on environmental sanitation, unless there is urgent case in the region.

4.8. Institutional Set up and Security Challenges in Gambella

4.8.1 Institutional Set Up

To address the great demands of the societies, institutions of security have been established at different levels in Gambella region. (Regional, town, *zonal*, *wereda* and at *kebele* level). For instance, at town levels including the main police station, there are four sub - police stations that

are established with cooperation of the community and government (02, 03, 04 and 05 *kebelle*) and each *wereda* and zone have at least one police station.

In addition, there are security institutions at both levels namely regional security and administrative affairs bureau, *zonal* security and administrative office, *wereda* security and administrative office; regional police commission, *zonal* police office and *weredas* police office are some of the security institution which established at the region. Though, this security institutions are also hieratically integrated each other's for the effectiveness of the security of the region, they are weak in operation.

4.8.2 Other internal and external institutional Challenges of Security in Gambella

There are various reason why the security institutions of the region is ineffective and the police failed to manage the diversified internal insecurity in the region. According to the key informants, the security institutions lacks trained man power in the area investigation, ineffective community policing, budget deficit, logistics (military equipment like communication radios, cars,), lack of well skilled and equipped regional security force, high turnover of officials, bad faith, commitment, absence of accountability and transparency, weak political leadership, high unemployment rate are some of the few cases.

In addition, small size of security force with reference to the number and complexity of security problems of the region, poor infrastructure availability and also problems of professional ethics are among the challenges.¹⁷³ The GPNRS document on unemployment survey that conducted in 2017 at regional level reaches 12.2%. Of this 8% are men and 4.2% are females.¹⁷⁴ And this also takes its contribution on the internal security management of the region.

¹⁷³Interview 8 Jan, 2017, Gambella

¹⁷⁴Annual Report on Job Less (Un employers) GPNRS, December, 2017, Gambella.

Table 1 shows the number of Police at Regional Level

No	Male	Percent (%)	Female	Percent (%)	Total
1	1003	81.3%	231	18.7	1234

Source; Gambella Police Commission Human Resource Core Process (GPCHRCP, Feb 2017)

4.9. Regional security challenges and associate problems in Gambella

4.9.1. Lack of effective Community Policing as security problem in Gambella

The introduction of Community policing (hereafter, CP) in Ethiopia and In Gambella in particular was to serve as alternative policy approach is to help and address the challenges that faced at national and regional level in closer ways with the community. According to John Domingo and Ubong Evans, CP is currently seen as one of the credible and styles of policing used at universal levels. It should be adopted after experimentation and should be practiced in every community in the region.¹⁷⁵ CP in Gambella was launched officially as a policy at the regional level in 2005 and it became functional for few months. However, a strategic document and five years implementation plan developed at the end of 2005, yet the practice is to start.

The main objective of CP was to involve citizens in policing duties so that they take more responsibility for safety, security and well-being of citizens in their region. It was understood that CP was to serves multiple purposes from sharing the state's burden of policing with customary actors, to reduce crime, involving communities in security provision and finally contributing to development of the region in particular and the country in general.

According to the data that the researcher obtained during the interviews, though there are few works commenced at the regional level (Gambella Town, Itang, Abobo and Godere) like in the constructing of police station by the contribution of the community there are a numbers of factors to which the CP is not implemented effectively in region. These factors and challenges were absence of closed supervision, commitment of police who work in CP, attention to words the program and poor participation of the community.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ Supra note John Domingo and Ubong Evans Abraham, 63

¹⁷⁶ Interview 3, Jan, 2017, Gambella

4.9.2 The Influx of South Sudan Refugees and security in the region

Horn of Africa is known in its internal security problems and instability and also the most hostile region in this world and in Africa in general (Somali, South Sudan). In this case, it is possible to remind the case of South Sudan and its governance system today. After long years of struggle for peace, equality, justice and democracy by different armed groups, South Sudan got its independence from Sudan under the leadership of Salva Kiir Mayardit and his vice president of Riek Machar in 2011 and got the recognition from the international community.

However, since its independence in 2011 of competition for political power between the government and the opponent, recently the insecurity, instability, civil war, political events, migration and poverty became the main phenomena and it seems that the fate of state of South Sudan is insecurity and instability. Following this, huge number of refugees' influx by crossing the large border of Ethiopia and interred to the neighboring region-Gambella.

According to UNHCR on convention and protocol relating to the status of refugees, the term "refugees" defined as;

*Any person who, owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality or membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of their nationality and is unable or, due to fear, is unwilling to avail themselves of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of their former residence as a result of such events, is unable or unwilling to return to it.*¹⁷⁷

Similarly, Ethiopian proclamation No 409/2004 on the status of refugees, the term refugees is refer to any person shall be considered as refugee where:

*owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion he is outside his country of nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling, to avail himself of the protection of that country.*¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷UNCHR Text of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees Text of the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees Geneva, 2010,p14

¹⁷⁸Federal Negarit Gazeta of The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 409/2004 Refugee Proclamation 10th Year No. 54 Addis Ababa- 19th July, 2004

Accordingly, due to political instability, inter-ethnic conflict and famine, Ethiopia hosts a number of refugees from neighboring state such as Eritrea, Somali and South Sudan. Recently, due to the high insecurity and famine problems in the region (South Sudan) the number of refugees significantly increased and the building of camps in to Gambella at the same time. Accordingly, the camps reaches in to seven in the region (namely Okugo, Jewi, Kule. Terkidi, Piynido 1 and 2, and Nguenyiel).¹⁷⁹

According the data released by International Organization for Migration (IOM) of UN agency, the end of January 2017, there were around 330,018 South Sudanese refugees in Gambella¹⁸⁰ However, by referring the UN Agency, ENN reported in Jan 2017 evening news that due to the above mentioned and other related factors the recent data of refugees in Gambella indicated that the number has increased in to 366,000 in the region and this number is almost equal with the total population of the region.¹⁸¹ According to the informants during the interviews and FGD, the influxes of the South Sudan refugees region are creating its own high influence in the internal security management of Gambella.

The notable example is the 20 Jan 2016 car incident on two refugees that broke out among the local residents/ locally known as highlanders/ and the refugees at *Jewi* refugees camp that resulted for the death of 14 highlanders of the local people. The highlanders who were dead during the incident, some of them were staff and traders in the camp. In addition to this, such event has been committed at *Kule* refugees' camp in which the other highlanders were again killed and wounded in August 2015. Accordingly, mass number of highlanders who live in the capital (Gambella) was moved to attack the refugees to revenge but due to the effort made by the security forces the problem became settling.

The informants also added that the refugees live with the local people of the region by violating the laws in relation with refugee settlement and management, and creating difficulties to identify

¹⁷⁹ South Sudanese Influxes in Gambella Situation Report International Organization for Migration (IOM), the UN Migration Agency, IOM SLO Ethiopia, 2017, p3

¹⁸⁰ Ibid

¹⁸¹ ENN, Friday, 7, Jan, 2017

who is refugee or not. Furthermore, the youth from the refugees are participating in criminal activities outside and in the camps during the day and night time.¹⁸²

The researcher also observed during the field trip the same activity of the refugees when they in and out at Gambella town, Gambella *Zuria (Abole) wereda – Bongakebelle* and Itang especial *wereda*. The influxes of refugees have both positive and negative impact on any local people and the state in particular such as new market opportunities in order to sell new product and job opportunities and also as source of income to the region.

On the contrary, the refugees, in addition to internal security management problem, they also affect the socio-cultural, environment, economic, political and social services like hospital, hoteling, transport and market price of the local people and the region.¹⁸³

4.10. Power, Resource, and Settlement Competition as Cause of insecurity Problems

4.10.1 Power and Resource Competition among Agnuwaha and Nuer

Ethnic based dispute is one among other types of internal security problems that raised within interstate among two and more ethnic groups at different times and places in the case of resource, identity, culture, power, religion and other factors that leads to conflict in the region. The ethnic based dispute between these two dominant groups (Nuer and Agnuwaha) can be seen in two aspects. Contestation over resource and the political (power). The Agnuwaha –Nuer disputes is common phenomena in this region and traced back since the incorporation of the region in to Ethiopia state as one part of the country.¹⁸⁴

But the volatile insecurity problem increase in to mainly happen for the last two decades to control over resource and power, such as the 2001, 2002 and 2016 respectively are among the notable examples of that the internal insecurity raised among the two dominant ethnic groups Agnuwaha –Nuer which resulted for loss of mass of human life from both side, damages of property and ended without champion.

¹⁸²Interview 5 Jan ,2017,Gambella

¹⁸³ FGD, 26,Jan ,2017 ,Itang

¹⁸⁴Marc Seifert et.al (.....) Changing Ethnic Relations. A Preliminary Investigation of Gambella, Southwest Ethiopia,Alexander Meckelburg, Asien- Afrika- Institut der University Hamburg,p2

The Agnuwaha people had develop better settlement pattern along with the rivers like *Gillo*, *Alwero*, Baro and Lake of Tata and created opportunities than the pastoralist Nuer that had developed a pattern of movement particularly during dry season from their residence to look grazing land and water bank of the *Itang* district of Gambella for themselves and their cattle. As a result of this, Nuer ethnic started to search the fertile land of the Agnuwaha for grazing land and water.

The 2001 and 2016 clash between the two ethnic groups is still fresh in the mind of the victims and the residence of the region. For instance, as the regional government documents indicate, during the clash of 2016, which occurred in between the two groups, over 62 people were involved. Of these 22 Special Forces, 15 regular (regional) police, 15 prisoners and 10 civilian were participated in both sides.¹⁸⁵ In that incident, more than 80 peoples were died, 73 peoples were injured, 835 houses were burnt, and thousands of people were displaced from their homelands.¹⁸⁶ This and others competition amongst the two dominant ethnic groups on resource, power and settlement finally resulted in problem of internal security management in the region. Besides, other individual actors were also involved during the problems in killing and burning houses as well as in looting properties.

According to the interviewees and different literatures, the other characteristics are political completion for power among the two dominant ethnic political elites and seeking for supremacy of one over the other at different times.¹⁸⁷ Dereje Feyissa also suggested power completion traced back to the end of 1980s when the *Dergue* regime favored and also give military support to South People's Liberation Movement/Army of the Nuer (hereafter, SPLM/A).¹⁸⁸ The civil war in Sudan also brought a huge number of refugees to the region mostly the Nuer, Denka, and Uduk. The biggest camp for the refugee established in the area of Agnuwaha (Dimma, Pingdo

¹⁸⁵Annual Report of GPNRS Security Council, 2016, Gambella.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid

¹⁸⁷ Interview, 17 Jan 2017, Gambella

¹⁸⁸Dereje Feyissa (2009) A National Perspective on the Conflict in Gambella In: Proceedings of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, eds. by Svein Ege, Harald Aspen, Birhanu Teferra and Shiferaw Bekele, Trondheim, p642 ,UNCEF –Ethiopia Livelihoods & Vulnerabilities Study Gambella Region of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa 2006,p12

and Bonga) by United Nations High Commissions for Refugees (UNCHR) and later on it served as a good opportunity and also uses as base for the SPLM/A.

This was fully accepted by the central government of Ethiopia (the Derg) including closed supervision, the “SPLM/A (Nuer) dominated the local administration system in the region until 1991.”¹⁸⁹ The Agnuwaha educated elites believed that is done intentionally by Ethiopia government to marginalize the Agnuwaha people. This made the Agnuwaha as they were becoming a minority in their own land. The insecurity among the Agnuwaha grew bigger because of the SPLM/A used the region as military base which was supported by the Ethiopian Government (Dergue).¹⁹⁰ The armed struggle to overthrow the Derg regime manifested locally in Gambella zone with an alliance between Anuak insurgents, including the GPLM, the OLF, and the EPRDF; which seized power and control over the country today.

The Agnuwaha fought against the Derg regime along the side of EPRDF. However, following the protracted war against and withdrawal of the Derg in 1991, EPRDF came to power with the idea of federalism. Since then “the region obtained its status as a regional state, but the introduction of federalism in Ethiopia exposed to inter-ethnic struggle for political power.”¹⁹¹ This is especially true since the time of the TGE /1991-94/, fighting between the Nuer and the Agnuwaha for political leadership in the new framework of ethnic federalism became common.

According to Kurimoto 1997 (cited in Marc Seifert) during the election of June 1992 that held in Gambella and three other districts for the regional state council, “Twelve council members were elected, seven of which were Agnuwaha, and three were Majang, one Komo and one Amhara. No Nuer was among those elected”.¹⁹² In the 1995 general election, the Nuer got adequately represented in the council. The regional president was elected from the Agnuwaha and the vice president was from the Nuer side. And this trend of power sharing was continuing until the mid-

¹⁸⁹ Supra note Marc Seifert et.al ,26, UNCEF –Ethiopia Livelihoods & Vulnerabilities Study Gambella Region of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa 2006,p12

¹⁹⁰ Ibid,p9

¹⁹¹ Supra note ,33,p2

¹⁹² Ibid p12

2003 when the Nuer took the power of regional president. The political promotion of the Nuer in to regional presidency is not consignment by the Agnuwaha educated and political elites.¹⁹³

As the result, after the Nuer presidency coming in to power, the insecurity problems is also continued by feeling they lost their opportunities. To note,among the severe and serious insecurity problem of the region were 2015 and 2016 respectively that happened after the 10thNation, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia Day celebration in December 2015 in the region. Which resulted for loss of the hundreds of life including prisoners' at Agnuwaha zone *Abobowereda* prison and Gambella *Zuria* prison at the capital which is against to the FDRE and regional constitution about the rights of persons held in custody and convicted prisoners.¹⁹⁴ Which states that all persons held in custody and persons imprisoned upon conviction and sentencing have the right to treatments respecting their human dignity stipulated as per Article 21(1).

Therefore, the above mentioned diversified issues of security problems replies that the societal security arefailed to be addressed and safe their life and property by the regional security institutions in the region.

4.10.2 Highlanders and Agnuwaha Disputes as Source of Insecurity in the Region

The highlanders and Agnuwaha ethnic disputes began from the mid-1980s due to villagization policy that was launched by the Dergue regime. Accordingly, as already mentioned in chapter three, more than 60.000 peoples were forced to settle without the consent and proper consultation of the people in the region especially from the northern part of Ethiopia (Wollo from Amhara and Tigrean) and from the Southern part of Ethiopia (kembaataa, Hadiya and Welayita) as the result of drought in 1984-88 and political resistance from the northern part of Ethiopia (Tigray and Amhara).¹⁹⁵

All this resettlement programs of the Dergue regime were established in the local territory of the Agnuwaha at villages such as *Okuna-kijagn*, *Ubala* and *Abobo* and others were settled at the present Majang zone. The influx of these settlers to Gambella region brought significant impacts the socio-economy of the region resulting insecurity and conflicts between the local people and

¹⁹³ UNCEF –Ethiopia Livelihoods & Vulnerabilities Study Gambella Region of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa 2006,p12

¹⁹⁴ Art,21 (1) of the 1995 FDRE constitution

¹⁹⁵ Supra note ,Asmelah Yohannes, p21

the new settlers/highlanders. Furthermore, the resettlement program did not welcomed by the Agnuwaha elites and they claimed that the highlander or the occupied their land and they predict that as they may wipe out from center and pushed to the periphery.

Like the Nuer, the resettlement program in the region also created another political tension among the Agnuwaha elites and in the political history of the region. Following this, during the time of the Dergue regime particularly early 1991 at *Okunna- kijang* village and *Ubala* were made massacre on the settlers and similarly an attempts were made at *Abobo PerpengoMenderAnid* (village one).The problems also continued after EPRDF came to power since 1991. Especially, in December 2003 the bloodshed and worst among others and notable clash between the highlanders and the Agnuwaha armed groups which resulted for the lostmany peoplelife from both sides.In addition, schools were closed, houses were burnt, people were expelled from their home and government employees were stopped doing their jobs.

These challenges become more threatening to the societies of the region.Since then,the region is not secured and stable especially after theDecember 11, 2003 crisis. TheDecember 2003 incident was seen as the immediate cause for the long and deep rooted problems of insecurity in the region, which had resulted in the death of eight highlander workers of the Administration for Refugees and ReturneeAffairs (ARRA), the government agency while traveling from the capital (Gambella) to Itang. And later which is expanded to other part of the region.

As a result, after the newsheard, the reaction was not positive from the highland settlers and the local people of the region, especially at the capital city. This action was referred as the immediate cause for the resurgence of insecurity of the region that erupted in 2003 and the highlanders acted as a revenge on Agnuwaha people as compensation and alternative means assuring self-respect. And this was the most difficulties time for the people of Gambella and the region. Furthermore, due to the above mentioned cases the social relations of the two people (the highlanders and Agnuwaha) were also challenged and the economy of the region had seen a kind of crisis.

Following the case, the FDRE government established an independent inquiry commission in order to investigate about the cause and effects of the insecurity and also to give solution for the insecurity which occurred in the region in December, 2003. According to the Legal and

Administrative Affairs Standing Committee of the House of Peoples' Representatives report (2004), between the 13th and 15th December 2003, 65 peoples died while around 75 were wounded and thousands were displaced and fled across the border. In addition, 482 houses were burnt down and 266 households were ransacked. In general, property that was damaged and pillaged is estimated at more than Birr 3,121,065.¹⁹⁶ However, as optional news reported that this numbers may increase. This implies that how the internal security management of the region is poor and residences of the region are highly vulnerable to security problems.

With respect to this, due the internal insecurity problem between the Agnuwaha and the highlanders in 2003, the Ethiopian Federal police (EFP) assigned as reinforcement to the regional police since 11 December, 2003 in the region and this is based on the power and duties of the commissions that allow Federal Police to maintain law and order in regions based on intervention orders given by the federal government¹⁹⁷ and this is based on if the overall situation of regional security become beyond the capacity of the region including the violation of human right and democratic right of the peoples, constitutional violation, and general security disorder.

Moreover, the freedom of movement was also suspended during the insecurity problem as well as suspicion also developed among these to ethnic. In addition, in December 2011 another massacre was made by the armed groups and more than 19 students from the settlers in Gambella Teachers and Health Science College were killed at *Jewi* village near to *Bonga* town while a public transportation minibus traveling from *Godere-Meti* to the capital-Gambella and some other passengers also kidnapped.¹⁹⁸ The basic reason by the Agnuwaha elites who lives in abroad and other political entrepreneurs was that highlanders are spoilers of land and also claim as they loss job opportunities. This also brought another tension between the two groups.

¹⁹⁶Resolution on The Report Submitted By The Gambella Inquiry Commission, The Legal and Administrative Affairs Standing Committee of the House of Peoples' Representatives, Addis Ababa, 8th July 2004.

¹⁹⁷ Federal Negarit Gazeta of The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Ethiopian, Federal Police Commission Establishment Proclamation No. 720/2011, art6 sub 22 18th Year No.2, Addis Ababa 28th November, 2011

¹⁹⁸ Seyoum Mesfin (2014) The Inter-Migration Phenomenon: Response of the indigenous of Majang Nationality Zone in Gambella Region, Ethiopia in Ethiopian Journal of Federal Studies ,Center for Federal Studies, Addis Ababa University, Vol,1,No,2,p71

Marc Seifert suggest that civil service reform was launched by the central government (EPRDF) in 2002, job based on qualification.¹⁹⁹ Accordingly, job priority was given to other people and not for the applicants of ethnic background. Following this, due to their access to education, many highlanders were appointed to vacant posts based on their qualification. And this resulted in deposition of political officials and other groups from their posts.²⁰⁰ This forced many government officials especially policemen to go into the bush and become bandits (*shifta*).²⁰¹

After few years of the civil service reform and its implementation particularly since December 2003 came in to practice in the region, the instability and the insecurity was reached in to climax and thousands of the local to secure job. This also led to a very problematic situation among the ethnic groups and also resulted for the death of hundreds and displaced from their homeland as well as same became emigrant to the neighboring state of Sudan and Kenya (Agnuwaha).

4.10.3The Majang and Highlanders Dispute as Source of insecurity in Region

Majang is the third *zone of GPNRS* is located in the southwestern part of Gambella about 302 kilometers from the capital city- Gambella.²⁰²The *zone* is a home of various ethnic groups from different corners of the country such as the Majang people and the settlers locally known as highlanders or *Degegna* .The term highlanders refers to those people who came from highland region of Ethiopia, many of whom were brought to the region during the settlement program which launched in 1980s that includes Amhara, Tigrean and Southerners.²⁰³ As the results of the settlement policy of the *Dergue* regime and other reasons such as for job opportunities and being as employee of government.

These people also known by local people as *Gallaa* –that is, the ‘people of red skin’²⁰⁴ and *Bugn* (red) by the Agnuwaha and the Nuer respectively. Moreover, the introduction of coffee farming as a cash crop and timber production in the Majang *zone* has also encouraged for the arrival of

¹⁹⁹ Marc Seifert et.al, 34, p13

²⁰⁰ Ibid

²⁰¹ Ibid

²⁰² Ibid

²⁰³ Supra note, Seyoum Mesfin, 194

²⁰⁴ Eisei Kurimoto (2005) Multidimensional Impact of Refugees and Settlers in the Gambella Region, Western Ethiopia, eds by Ohta, Itaru & Gebre Yintiso, Kyoto University Press, p3

new wave of highland people in the area and create economic opportunities for operating to settle in the *zone*²⁰⁵

According to CSA 2008 cited in Seyoum Mesfin, the highlander population number constitutes 80% of the population of the *zone* and the Majang population takes the remaining 20% of the *zone* population.²⁰⁶ For instance, among the fourteen *kebelles* of Godere *wereda*, the Majang people currently live only in five *kebelles* and the remaining *kebelles* in this *wereda* are under the highlanders and also out of eighteen *kebelles* of the *Mengeshiwereda* area copied by the highlanders and nine are occupied by the Majang people.²⁰⁷

The people of Majang has strong relationship with forests and impossible to see themselves separately. This is because forest for the Majang people is the main source of their income. The Majang zone is well known its dense natural forests and extremely rich in biodiversity and significant in terms of socio-cultural and economic holds for the people.²⁰⁸ As a result of this, there is always popular saying in the Majang people.

‘‘The Majang peoples out of forest is like a fish out of water’’

This indicates that the relation among Forest and the peoples of Majang is highly interdependent. However, the Majang *zone*, due its fertile land and forest, large number of people from the highlander areas of the country flows to it and also attracts foreign investors such as the Indians. In this regard, most of the Majang occupied by the highlanders and few foreign investors. Due to this, the forests are being cleared for both traditional and investment agriculture and coffee plantation.

Seyoum M noted that some of the highlanders have possession of large area as 400-500 hectares of coffee land in the area.²⁰⁹ For instance, in this coffee land there are about 7,000 thousands of daily laborers who are almost all highlanders.²¹⁰ There occurs insecurity problems at different

²⁰⁵ Ibid

²⁰⁶ Ibid

²⁰⁷ Ibid

²⁰⁸ Ibid

²⁰⁹ Ibid

²¹⁰ Ibid

time in the *wereda* due to the conflict between the highlanders and the Majang peoples but the insecurity case has escalated post June 2015.

In 2015-16, the Majang people and highlanders raised dispute in June 2015 at *Yerikebelle* of the *Mengeshi wereda*. And it was the first place that the insecurity problem broke out and later expanded to other *kebelles* of the *wereda* and to the second *wereda* of the *zone* - Godere and finally both the Majang and the highlanders get in to clash. Due to intensity of insecurity and instability, a number of people from both sides lost their life and prosperity. In addition, many highlanders expelled from their homeland.²¹¹ According to the FGD and key informants from Godere, the cause for the insecurity in the *wereda* can be basically categorized in to four;

(1) Absence of good governance; problems are repeatedly seen in relation to the inability of the officials in giving lasting political and administrative solution to the problems which raised at *wereda* level and regional levels at different times.

(2) The role of the illegal brokers (in Amharic *Delala*): the illegal brokers are either individual or groups of peoples who stand as moderator between the buyers and the seller.²¹² These brokers are self - oriented businessmen and play significant role in biasing and aggravating insecurity cases between the highlanders and the Majang people, of the *wereda*. In this case, Majang people sale their land in a very cheap price to the highlanders. As the result of this the Majang remain poor and lost their land but the buyers (highlanders) become rich.

The regional government and the *wereda* administration are working closely to manage and to give lasting solution and as a result more than 21 suspected illegal brokers are in prison today but there is no assurance the problem not to occur again.²¹³ However, according to the regional security and administrative bureau report of 2015, the numbers of suspected officials from the region and *Wereda* were riches in to 52.²¹⁴

²¹¹ FGD, 3, Mar 2017, Godere

²¹² Interview 28, Jan ,2017, Godere

²¹³ ENN Saturday, Face to Face program ,9, Jan 2017

²¹⁴ Six (6) Month`s Report of GPNRS Security and Administrative Affairs Bureau, 2014, Gambella.

(3) Land and related issues such as land grabbing and deforestation; as mention above as the result of drought in the northern and some other part of the country, people were resettled in Gambella region –Godere and Abobowereda during the Dergue regime in the 1980s and they use lands to sustain their life and as the source of their income.

(4) External propaganda by the Majang and Hunan Right campaigners;

External propaganda from abroad by the human right campaigners (Human Right watch and Amnesty International) are the main actors to trigger factors for the internal insecurity of the *wereda* and as they believed grapping the land and deforestation is deliberately done by the federal government as the favor of the settlers.²¹⁵ Moreover, the discussant groups explain that the Majang elites who live abroad also plays significant role by propagating false information as the highlanders making unfair use on their huge forests and fertile land and by developing sense of ill-felling and prepare for revenge that led into conflict among them.²¹⁶

4.10.4 The Felatta Tribes

Felatta are found in the North West of Nigeria. They are Arabic speakers and Muslim in religion. In their nature, *Felattas* are nomadic and pastoralist people. However, today, they live in different part of Africa such as Sudan; Demazin which is found near distance to Kumuruk;Asossa of Ethiopia and Gambella regional state in Nuer zone, *Itang* especial *wereda* and Agnuwaha zone during winter season and then back to their homeland during the dry season (December to February). To reach in to Gambella it may take them more than two months on foot with their family and cattle.

According to one of the respondents, their movement is in search of water and grazing land to their cattle. Also from the researcher's personal observation, interviews, and informal discussions result, show that the *Fellata* are nomads and pastoralist but by the outcome of peace conference, they are the main pump lines of firearms to the region and they sale to illegal trader and bandits who are found in the region like the Gambella Peoples Freedom Movement No 2 (hereafter, GPLM No 2) and this makes that more complex to the of internal security management of the region in general.

²¹⁵ Interview 30,Jan ,2017, Godere

²¹⁶ FGD 3 Mar 2017,Godere

Accordingly, the regional government decided on the peace conference that held at the capital from 13-14 Jan 2017 and at *Itang* special *wereda* from 25-26, Jan 2017 respectively to discuss on the issues of security and security management as well as on development which consisted of community elders, educated and higher officials of security from Federal Police and ENDF and the regional government reached in to agreement to wipeout *Felattas* from the region and then to deal with bandits (*shifita*) peacefully.²¹⁷ On the contrary, this people were claiming that the Ethiopian and the Gambella regional governments as they didn't perform their duty in protecting their right from risks and dangers. However, during the research time, the researcher witnessed that *Felattas* were freely moving without any restriction in the region.



4.10.5 The Murle Tribes

Murle is a language of Sumric (Nilo Sahara) group spoken in south Sudan adjacent of the Ethiopia border. According to Moges Yigzaw explanation of the self -name of the people as well as the name of the language is *Murleny* (sg) *Murle* (Pl).²¹⁸ Murle also known by the name *Beir* by the Nuer and Dinka and *Ajiba* by the Agnuwaha. As mentioned in chapter one under the statement of the problem, beside the clashes, the *Murle* tribes are also another internal security

²¹⁷ Elders Peace Conference from 13-14 Jan, 2017, Gambella

²¹⁸ Moges Yigzaw (2005) Aspect of Murle Phonology in Journal Of Ethiopian Studies Institute of Ethiopian Studies Addis Ababa University ,Addis Ababa Ethiopia Vol, XXXVIII No 1-2 p115

challenges of the region. The *Murle* always make their offence at dry season when the Baro River decrease its volume and today hearing the attack of the *Murle* became normal fashion in the region. As one of high government official responded that,

Murlewoch bealem lay yalu kebitoch hulu yegna nachew bilew yaminalu, selezihim nibretachin yehonewun masmeles alebin bilew yaminalu.

Meaning the *Murle* believe that the cattle that found elsewhere in this world is belong to the *Murle* tribes only and they are stolen from us and therefore we have to return what is all belong to us

As result of this, by using the four gateways in to the region (namely Sudan- *Puchalla*, *Lare* wereda, *Metahar-Tergol* and *Dimmawereda*) *Murle* uses cross border attack. In addition, the ‘political marriage’ between the South Sudan *Murle* tribe and GPLM No 2 (are local peoples of the Gambella regional State). As a result, in its local name *BuraNgingir* kebele which is found in distance of 142 Km from *Dimmawereda* of Gambella or 16 hours from Gog wereda is one of the first victims of the problems and in that kebele six peoples from the *Agnwahaa* ethnic were killed and about sixteen peoples were taken including their cattle by the *Murle*-Nuer tribes.

In spite of this,during the first attack from March 22 –April 12 -2016, 17 *kebelles* of the regional state were victims of this incidents. Of these 4 *kebelles* were from Agnwahaa zone and 13 *kebelles* were from Nuer zone such as *Jor*, *Buchalla*, and *Nibnib*, *Bilimkun*, *Lueland cheder*, *Lare*, *Jikawo*, and others *kebelles* were the victim of the problem respectively.²¹⁹

The regional security and administration affairs document indicated that 204 peoples where dead, 121 children were kidnapped and 76 injured and more than 2390 cattle were taken and more than 22.000 people were displaced by the attack of *Murle* tribe in 2016.²²⁰ With serious notes the ENDF not to in deeply in the region, President Salvakir and its foreign minister Pitter Beshir Giband reached in to agreement with Ethiopian government to work in cooperative and to

²¹⁹Report on the attack of Murle gun men in Agnuwaha and Nuer Nationality zones of GPNRS, March, 2016, Gambella, p1-2.

²²⁰ Report on Gambella Security and Administration Affairs,2016,Gambella

give support including military to return the kidnapped children and the taken property as well as to end problems in the border and in the region in general.²²¹

On the other hand, as one highest military general of the state Letenal General David Yaouyaou and regional administrator of Buma state got in to accusation one another on the issue mentioned above.²²² According to the Letenal General, these groups are organized and administered as well as under Buma state and they have to take all the responsibility. On other side, the regional administrator of Buma state of the South Sudan, the offense made by Murle organized under the Letenal General of the state.²²³

This attack was also continued in Jan 2017 and 19 people were killed, more than 10 children were forcibly kidnapped and 13 people were injured.²²⁴ Though the FDRE Prime Minister Haile Mariam Desalegn suggested that there are different negotiation being made between the government of Ethiopia and the South Sudan government to end the cross border attack in Ethiopia–Gambella region and in that Ethiopia will take the responsible to construct highway road from Dimma-Gambella to Buma state of South Sudan and also to build bridge on Gillo river in Gambella in mutual benefit and political strategy as well as to settle the attacks.

But as ENN on March 15, 2017 Wednesday airtime at 1:30 news reported the attack is continued in three villages of Agnuwaha zone on March 10 and 11, 2017 respectively.²²⁵ During this attack 18 innocents Agnuwaha lost their life and 30 people were kidnaped as well a number of house are burnt and people were displaced from their home.²²⁶ Furthermore, the news also mentioned that government forces have taken measure in response to the attack.²²⁷

However, the above incidents indicate that the offensives measures are still taking place by the *Murle* tribes and it can be summarized that more than 241 innocent people of the region lost their life and including 4 month children's, 161 were kidnapped and of these around 91 children were

²²¹Addis Admass News Paper March 22, 2016, Addis Ababa, p1-2

²²² Ibid

²²³ Ibid

²²⁴ Federal Government Communication Affairs on EBC News, Tuesday, 21 Jan 2017, VOA, at 3:00 AM News Friday 19, Jan, 2017

²²⁵ Ethiopia News Network at 1 :30 AM Wednesday 15, March, 2017

²²⁶ Ibid

²²⁷ Ibid

back to their home by the effort of the federal, regional governments and negotiating with concerned *Murle* community elders as well as key figures of the South Sudan government in returning the children. However, the fates of remaining children are still unknown and the levels they found.²²⁸ In addition, hundreds of people were injured due to the offensive attack of the tribes and dozens of people were displaced as well as more than 2,390 cattle were also taken by these tribes in 2016/17 only during their attacks.

Though, there are different contested issues regarding to the Ethiopia National Defense Force, in relation to why the largest border is open? Why the Ethiopian government didn't give swift response and lasting solution for the problems and others?

Until now, the federal government didn't have a sound and lasting solutions to border offensives of the *Murle* tribe of the South Sudan at different time in the western part of Ethiopia-Gambella region and to return the peace for the people of the country in general and the region in particular.

4.10.6 Gambella Peoples Liberation Movement (GPLM No 2) as Source of Insecurity

As was explicated in the literature section, problem of security is created as a result of various reasons. For the completion of this thesis, however, during the field work, the researcher has been involved in two big peace conferences of Gambella town and Itang special *wereda* in the respective study area of GPNRS. In this regard, during the Elders Peace Conference that held at the capital city of Gambella from 13-14 Jan 2017 and 24-25 Jan 2017 at Itang, participants of the conference and the panelist reported that the Gambella peoples Liberation Movement (GPLM No 2) is re-established since 2011 as freedom fighter for the people of Gambella and started recruitment of young local people.

According to the report the military base of this armed groups is in Gambella and this was made purposely to get supports of the society and to control closely by all activities of the regional government security forces thereby totally abolish the whole government administrations system of the region and to replace by new one and also organized measure on regional

²²⁸Report on the attack of South Sudanese *Murle* Gun Men in Agnuwaha and Nuer Nationality zones of GPNRS, March, 2016, Gambella, p1-2.

officials.²²⁹ Furthermore, after Omod Odol killed by Federal Anti-Terrorism department in 2001 at Pignido, the secretary and third person of the above mentioned armed group was captured at the capital city of Gambella and he was also living with the local people.

According to ENN on Dec 27, 2017 report a public bus was attacked while traveling from the capital town Gambella to *Ningnagang* by having 40 passengers 60KMs away from the capital. The Bus was attacked by GPLM No 2 and in the incident 5 passengers died, 9 injured and the Bus and the property of the passengers was burnt.²³⁰ One day after the incidence, the researcher also had got the chance to observe that the place where the incident happened (see the below picture). Similarly, in 29, Dec, 2017, this groups of attacker has made an attempt of assassination on the Gambella Police commissioner within the same month.

As an offensive measure of the government side, one member was killed and five were captured at some place where the bus is attacked. And later on, after peaceful negotiation among higher officials of the region, others high security officials as well as the armed bandits, 9 members of the bandits capitulated in peace to the regional government, among these Luk Ogala are notable.²³¹



Picture 2-shows Public Transportation Bus attacked while traveling 60km from the capital –Gambella (photo by the researcher, December, 28, 2017)

²²⁹ Elder Peace conference from Jan 24-25, 2017, Gambella

²³⁰ ENN at 4 :00 AM Wednesday 27, Dec, 2017

²³¹ Interview in Peace conference 26, Jan, 2017, Itang

4.10.7 Illegal Firearms and Ammunitions as Sources of insecurity in Gambella

As the region is found at periphery, illegal firearms mobility is common and it is the major challenges to internal security management in the region. As government document indicated in 2014 fiscal year, the regional security and administrative affairs bureau Gambella Town Security and Administrative Office and other stakeholders such as (Federal Police, Regional police) made effort to prevent illegal firearms mobility but still continues.

Such documents also indicated that through the four main check points of the region (namely Metumazoria in Gambella, Eleya, Abobo and DembDollo - Itang), 133 firearms and 1,449 bullets checked while getting in to the capital in 2014 fiscal year. And in the fiscal year of 2015, 118 firearms and 33 bullets were put under control by the effort of government security.²³² The problem also continue in the 2016 fiscal year and more than 216 firearms and 801 bullets were also controlled by the authorized institutions.²³³ In 2017, Ethiopian Broadcast Corporation (EBC) police news on Sunday 30, Dec, 2017 at 6:00 AM on its airtime reported that more than 70 firearms and more than 150 bullets were also controlled by Federal police.²³⁴

Generally, more than 573 firearms and 2,463 ammunitions were put under control of the regional security institution and with the collaborations of other stockholders such as the federal police. Thus, it is possible to understand from the above data that these firearms mobility implies that how much the region is found in difficult conditions as well as the regional internal security management is in problems and this in turn creates threat for the residents of all the region.

The results also support that there is lack of control of illegal firearms and ammunitions merchants. The informants from Gambella has responded that even though the government has made efforts to control illegal firearms and put such merchants to jail for some months but it didn't take serious measure that could be taken as a lesson to others rather simply they were released

²³² Gambella Town City Administrations Security and Administration Affairs Annual Report, 2014, Gambella

²³³ GPNRG Performance Report of 2016, Presented at the 5th Election 3rd Regular session of GPNRS Council, 2016, Gambella.

²³⁴ EBC, Police News, Sunday 30, Dec, 2017

4.10.8 Itang Special *Wereda* as Source of Insecurity in the Region

Itang especial *wereda* is one among others hieratical administrations of the GPNRS and found 52 Km away from the capital. The especial *wereda* is self - administrative district. The *wereda* bounded in the south and south east by the Agnuwaha nationality zone ,in the south by the Nuer zone .in the north west by South Sudan and in the north by the OPNRS. Furthermore, the southern part of the *wereda* (district) is also bounded by the *Alwero* River.²³⁵ According to data released by CSA in 2007, the total population of the region is projected to 307,096.²³⁶ Of this the total population of the region, the population of the especial *wereda* is estimated about 35,686.²³⁷ Furthermore, the special *wereda* comprised 23*kebelles*.

Legally, the history of Itang begins when Emperor Menelik II of Ethiopia lent a 200 meter land from four side of Baro River as a center of trade to Great Britain and Sudan and the place will stay under the Sudan government system until England leaves Sudan and also they agreed that there would not be any political and war affairs.²³⁸ However, with no tangible reason the two governments (the British and Sudan), they left Itang and establishes their transit center in Gambella. When the Emperor asked them, they replied that Itang is not comfortable and move to Gambella by ourselves.²³⁹

Furthermore, during the time the Emperor and the Dergue regime, the *wereda* was ruled under Oromia *Illibabur*-province and by SPLM/A under closed supervision of the central government /Dergue.²⁴⁰ Furthermore, the *wereda* was served as military base for SPLM/A during the Dergue regime because of its strategic and suitable place for their counter attack against the government of Sudan.²⁴¹ However, after the regime of Dergue bring to an end in May 1991, including the regional state and the *wereda* became free from the dominance of Dergue/SPLM/A. Following

²³⁵ Supra note GPNRS Magazine,152

²³⁶ CSA,2007,p18

²³⁷ Ibid,p29

²³⁸ Mekurya Mekasha (2008) *Kebetemengist Dosie*, Yebilat W/Mariam Mezekir, Addis Ababa ,p69

²³⁹ Ibid

²⁴⁰ Supra note Marc Seiferet and UNCF,203

²⁴¹ Supra note Dereje Feyissa,202

this, today the *wereda* is mainly served as especial *wereda* and seat of the two dominate ethnic groups (interims of their population and political power) and the minority Opuo.

Despite the fact, the political administration system of the *wereda* is ruled interchangeably by the two dominate ethnic groups (Nuer and Agnuwaha) at different times and lives together as well intertwined through inter-marriage, socially bonded but the insecurity problems are not settled and the issue of the *wereda* becoming contested. And to settle the insecurity and dispute of the *wereda*, including high officials of the region, educated and community elders, many peace conferences was held at regional and *wereda* level especially in 2016 and in 2017 to end the defined and deep rooted problems of the special *wereda* but it is still continued by accusing one another.

Among the defined cases of the *wereda* that raised as sources of internal insecurity in the peace conference by the participants, (a) Pulcode *kebele* have to fled the area and take to Nuer zone, Makuay *wereda* (b) the settler in Ler *kebele* are not originally (Ethiopian) Nuer, therefor, they have to back to their camps because they are refugees (c) illegal firearms of individual have to be disarm (d) the administrators of Itang especial *wereda* are not capable enough to administer the *wereda* (weak leadership) and therefore, the *wereda* has to dissect in to two (Nuer and Agnuwaha) (e) competition for political power and resource and (f) unequitable distributions of infrastructures and development are among the cases.²⁴² Accordingly, to indicate how much the issues are serious and deep rooted the internal insecurity problems of the *wereda*, the participates of the peace conference said that;

*Yih zaf mesmat bichil nuro yisema neber sile selam ena chigrochachin bizu gize
teweyayitenal gin theb yimil mefitihe yelem*

Meaning that if this tree has ear to listen; it can but it cannot and we discussed so many times on our peace and security as well as problems but nothing is changed in to practice and why still no solution as well as no one officials can see things seriously. The implication of this idea is that; why the regional government and *wereda* administrators/officials are kept silent in giving lasting solution to their public while many people are dying and expelled from their home in the *wereda* and this seems that officials at all levels fear each other's.

²⁴²Report on Peace Conference Itang Special Wereda, GRS Council, 2016,Gambella, p1

According to one of the participants in the peace conference said that; due to the dissatisfaction of political system and seeking for political power, almost there are around 300 hundreds peoples who went to the bush, “I was one of them but today I returned to my home “and however, “nothing we do”.²⁴³ Recently, due to different reason, they remain 120 and they have return to their home.²⁴⁴

As the result of this, due to the above mentioned and other related factors of the *wereda*, in 2001, 2002 and 2016 insecurity were among the notable examples and resulted on bloody shed among the two ethnic groups. To end this, based on the request of the regional government, the federal government interferes in the region and made effort to sustain the problems through negotiation and arbitration mechanism with the community of the region as well as compensation for those who were victim. However, the stability of the region did not continue. Generally, the Nuer-Agnuwaha leaders/ officials did almost nothing to resolve Agnuwaha -Nuer tensions and the insecurity in the region in general.

According the regional security and Administrative Affairs bureau report, the sources of every insecurity and instability of the region is Itang especial *wereda* and it expand to other *wereda* of the region. For instance, in the 2016 incident, the initial place for the insecurity of the region was Itang especial *wereda* at *Puldengkebelles*, one woman from the Agnuwaha ethnic was killed by the Nuer ethnic. According to the report, revenge as a means, during this incident 4 people were killed from both side and later on, this insecurity problem escalated to other parts of the region including the capital and also resulted for the death of hundreds innocent people from both side .

Beside, in 2016, at Tiang *kebelles* of Itang especial *wereda* around 12 people were killed and others settlers of *fourkebelles* (Agnuwaha) of the *wereda* are expelled from their home.²⁴⁵ Accordingly, the report indicated that 37 officials who are suspected in the problems were sent to prison including the security and administrative office head of the *wereda*.²⁴⁶ The same event was happening in Adong *kebelles* of the especial *wereda* Itang two teachers of Agnuwaha ethnic were killed. Furthermore, in the same year, highlanders was also killed by the refugees at *Kule* camp

²⁴³ Ibid,p17

²⁴⁴ Ibid

²⁴⁵ Interview in Peace conference, Jan 26,2017, Itang

²⁴⁶ Ibid,p23

4.10.9. Gambella Town Administration and its security Management

Like Godere *wereda* and Itang especial *wereda*, Gambella Town Administration (hereafter, GTA) is also one of the study area of the research. GTA is one of the hieratical administration systems of Gambella regional state. GTA is located in south western part of Ethiopia, in Gambella Regional State, Gambella *zone* at a distance of 777 km from Addis Ababa. Its astronomical location is 8°15' north latitude and 34° 55' east longitudes.²⁴⁷ According CSA Population Projection of 2013, the total population of the town is projected about 62,093.²⁴⁸

The 2003 revised constitution of Gambella article 46 (1) explain that the regional council shall have the power to determine other administration units in the region at different levels when it is necessary. Accordingly, GTA was established in 2005 as per the Proclamation No 47/2005 of the regional state.²⁴⁹

However, this proclamation was suspended by the Proclamation No 73/2008 in order to establish additional *wereda* in the region and also to decide on their power and responsibilities as well as their organizational structure specifically. According to the above Proclamation section 8 art 52 and 57 (3) the administration has the power and responsibility to establish its own administrative police at town level including recruiting, placement and other administrative affairs is under the command of the administrative system.

Even though, the administrative town has the power to recruit and placement of security man (police), this activity are done regularly by the regional police commission. This makes more complex on the power and the responsibility of the town and not to play its necessary role in the other hand. However, the town has one main police station at the center and four others sub-police station at *kebele* levels of the town as impermanent stations and these four *kebelles* (namely, *Adissefer*, *Baromado*, *Newland*, and (*Gondersefer*)).

²⁴⁷ Supra note GTAC,149

²⁴⁸ Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Central Statistical Agency Population Projection of Ethiopia for All Regions At Wereda Level from 2014 – 2017,2013,Addis Ababa,p32

²⁴⁹ Gambella PNRS Proclamation No 73/2000,Proclamation for Establishing ,Structuring and Determine Power and Responsibilities of Towns in GPNRS,2000,Gambella

These *kebelles* has also their own sub security department and social courts run by the local militias and those who have law background respectively. This is aimed at to serve closely and create effective internal security management and to protect the public from vulnerability of risk and also to make the town conducive for living and the region in general but it couldn't. Moreover, this all institutional structure did not bring all necessary change in the internal security management of the town.

Initially, for the outbreak of the December 2003 insecurity of the region and latter that prolonged to the rest parts of the region, the town was serve as central part of the source. This event were the low point in going ethnic based clash which have seen victims amongst all groups and a serious weakening in security generally. According to discussants and other documents indicates that, besides the December 2003 incident, the October 30, 2005 incident was also one of the worst among other event of insecurity in the region and the town in particular.

During this insecurity problems of the town, including the regional police commissioner (Didumo Omonde) and around 16 (sixteen) others civilian were killed and police officer who refused to give up their gun were victims., 63 prisoner were released from Gambella town police station (prison), a lot firearm looted and also attempted takeover on Gambella *zuria* prison which is found at the town, where they were unsuccessful in releasing thousands the by gunman.²⁵⁰ Furthermore, according to the interviewees, the 2014 incident was another event in the town at 03 *kebelle*, locally the place known as *Mekane-Eyesus* sefer which resulted for the death closed to seven people were killed by the gunman. And this result shows that the internal security management of the town is poor and remains ineffective.

Even though it seems there is relative change at regional levels after the so called “*TilkTehadiso*”/Deep Evaluation/ that conducted for two rounds during the summer season since May 2016 –Sep 2016 at Hawassa.²⁵¹ But the respondents in the FGD and personal observation of the researcher, the problems are settle continuing including midday especially at 04 (*AddisSefer*) and 03 (*GonderSefer*) *kebeles* of the town (Gambella) as well as 01*kebelle* locally known as *Mekabir sefer*.

²⁵⁰ Armed Group Attacks Gambella Town Police Station, For Immediate Release: November 4, 2005,p1,available at <http://www.anuakjustice.org/>.

²⁵¹ Interview 3,Jan,2017,Gambella

In general, including the high rate of unemployed in the town and immigrants from nearby refugees' camps (such as Jewi), illegal mobility of firearms, leadership problem, poor intelligence system, good governance, small size security forces and the ineffectiveness of CP as well as lack of closed supervision are some of the factors which contributed for the poor internal security management of the town.

4.10.10. Lack of effective Security management and its Result in Region

Since early 2003 security problems have increased in the region with different inter-ethnic groups and continued until recently. As the region is found in border area, the peoples in Gambella have easy access to illegal firearms. This is considered to be one of the major reasons that can trigger the security problem and has aggravated at different times and places in the region including using the traditional arms such as spears and firearms.

It is also believed that in the absence of effective and institutionalized security governance system to control insecurity within the state, it is impossible to think that there is stability and peaceful coexistence of people in one particular place as well as to minimize and to make free from the vulnerable people from threats and risks without having and establishing effective well-structured institutions of security as well as effective leadership in the particular area.

This is also true where there are effective institutions of security but the levels of insecurity might differ from place to place this is because of the approaches of the security institutions and inconsistency of security threats. But due to the high intensity of security problems in the region (Gambella), both the regional state and the peoples faced social, political and economic problems. Though the causes may vary, but the above mentioned data indicated that due to the ineffective security institutions of the region all most all part in the region, the peoples are highly affected by the internal insecurity problems especially those whose lives are at risk area of security or in the most periphery and as the result of this mostly children and women were became the victims of the incident.

Accordingly, all the respondents said that during the internal insecurity problems there was hundreds of peoples were lost their life, houses were burnt, cattle raided and hundreds peoples were displaced in many parts of the region and families also separated as well as many were forced to migrate to the border or neighboring state (Sudan- *puchalla*). And due to this the social

relation of the peoples has also become challenging. In addition, the respondents reflected that the region has also faced political and economic instability (the huge investment delayed and the commerce was weakened and also hampered the economy of the region) during the internal insecurity problems.

Generally, due to the instability and insecurity of internal security of the region, the local residents of the region were in trouble situation. It is, therefore, possible to say that the regional government and its security institutions have failed to perform their constitutional responsibilities in order to protect its citizens from vulnerability and risks of insecurity.

4.10.11. Institutional Opportunities

Though the region faced multi-dimensional security problems, the existence of military in the region such as the ENDF, regular police, special force, federal police and local militias at least it has its own effect by providing guarantee to the region. This is mainly helps in minimizing that raised insecurity problems by create an opportunities to the regional police of the region and to the especial force in the management of security and sharing their individuals and institutional experience.

Security institutions at all levels in the region would better work by integrating all the necessary structures in the security in the region. These all institutions have mandate to guarantees in maintenance of law and order to the public and to protect constitutional violence and disorders. Otherwise, violence and disorder may have the chance to intensify and entrench the internal security problems elsewhere in the region.

CHAPTER FIVE

5 Concluding Remark

5.1 Conclusion

Based on the finding indicated above, land and land management is the basic and deep rooted triggering factors of the insecurity in the region especially at Godere *wereda* of Majang *zone*. This is because land is not registered and was not legalized as land holding to the owners of the land (owner certification). Moreover, weak leadership and untimely turnover of officials play its role for internal insecurity in the *wereda* in particular and in the region in general.

In addition, all most all except at a city level, one basic problems in the region was identified that public participation in different issues like security management, socio-economic and development activity are not implemented properly and this brings problems of ineffective implementation of plans, strategies and evaluation as well as in setting priorities to the societies. Therefore, to minimize and also to avoid the existing insecurity problems of the region, community participation should be came in to practice effectively in the region in general. Though there are some efforts jointly to improve the internal security management system with the federal government, due to its complexities, the regional security management still remains ineffective.

As the region is found at the most periphery and shared large borders with South Sudan, the region is now serving as main station and transit of firearms and ammunitions as well as it seem like newly open job opportunities for businessman's and serving as transit/ bridge of firearms and ammunitions to other parts of the country and this may bring its own negative impact on the internal stability and its internal security management particularly in the region and the country in general. This is partly due to weak administration and poor managerial capacity of the regional officials and persistent interference of the region in the activities. Therefore, to manage this, the law have to in to practice to punish those who are engaged themselves in business of firearms and ammunitions and should be given a lesson for others

Moreover, the region Gambella is now becoming the most hostile and conflictual area in Ethiopia. Though the cases are different from place to place, it needs social reconciliation to

bring lasting solution amongst the society other than political reconciliation among the political elites unless there is no ratification to not be raise the case again. Therefore, it is timely bomb. In Addition, the influxes of South Sudan refuges and their increasing numbers from time to time in the region (see also chapter four) as the result of the civil war and famine also intensified the internal security management of the region and the region may be dominated by the refugees migrants unless it is stopped and opted for other political solutions.

Murle is a potential and actual threat to the region –Gambella as well as it is actual threats for both. Therefore, the issue of Murle tribes is also another assignment and the main cause of insecurity at the regional level which needs the attentions of both the federal and regional governments that needs bilateral agreements on issues like peace and security and development with the state of South Sudan as well as the case of the GPLM No 2 and the immigrants Felatta too.

Further, the problem of political and social manipulation in the security institutions during to recruiting their security personnel/forces to strengthen the institutions, has generated lack of popular participation of the community, accountability and transparency of government officials and the law enforcement institutions. This is resulted from the weak leadership of the security institutions and indistinctly operational system of the institutions.

The problem to perform activities towards safeguarding the security citizens and their well-being, recruiting security forces, democratic governance, practice of accountability and transparency are widely observed. This produces dissatisfaction of the local people not provided inclusively and impartially. There are also incidences of violation of the rule of law on the security of a person and cases are adjudicated on the bases of self -interests, unreasonable and illogical constrains without the procedure of laws and evidences in the judiciary. However, it is practiced in all of the region including the *wereda* and zonal security institutions. Lack of trained manpower, turnover of officials, logistical and allocation budget are also not exceptions in the study region.

5.2. Possible Enhancement Measures

According to the research objectives and findings the researcher would like to suggest that the following points may help to solve the pragmatic problems and challenges of the internal security management; legal frame work and institutional set up in Gambella.

- It is better to include the people to participate in their own local affairs and hear their voices. In addition, creating conducive environment at all levels to the community in formulating the regional annual plans and checking its realistic implementation and communicate with the officials on relevant matters.
- The regional government and regional institutions of security recruit and promote security personnel has to be through merit based criteria where selecting security forces and also assigned should be based on their knowledge, skill, competence, qualifications and in popular participations of the public other than political spoils, favoritisms and nepotism.
- As the FDRE and revised Gambella Constitution declares the right to security of a person and liberty to each individual person, all levels of officials of government should play there role to be respect and their enforcement;
- In order to improve the professionals capacities of securities and to protect human rights, ensure peace and security of the peoples,it needs to allocate adequate resources and providing better trainings and seminars as well as short and long term training to the staffs of security institutions at all levels
- To reduce the threats and vulnerability of the people's, government officials should work hand in hand with all relevant stakeholders including farmers, women, religious leaders, merchants, youths and others. Justice institutions must also safeguard the rights of citizens and collaborate with the residents of the region;
- Establishing clear rules and regulations to secure the widely illegal land gripping and bad management; and the rule of law has to be regarded;
- The regional government and security institutions should committed and work hand to hand to avoid turnover of officials and also government should put the right man on the right place based on his /her qualifications to make more effective the institutions;

- Providing swift responses to every raised issues of security and for the continuities of information during the termination of network , the regional security have to facilitate to military communication radio for the security forces , create an emergency phone at regional level and infrastructure (road, network service ...)should be accessible and addressed properly;
- By considering their negative impact, the regional government should discussed about the issue of influx refugees with concerned body in order to stop and to reduce their numbers;
- Both the regional government and security institutions should play their significant role in controlling the illegal arms and established strong cheek-point in every corridor of the region; as well as in giving proper punishment for the illegal traders;
- The regional government at large should use the traditional institution of the local people and enhance their capacity through training and financial support to play their roles;
- Using different stages, the reconciliation system should be started at regional level amongst the community and this is hig time;
- It requires other researchers, NGOs, the GNRS, zone and *wereda* government to conduct a comprehensive research in the region(Gambella) in order to understand what realistic problems of the region does have and rectify defies to improve internal security management, sustainable development, democratic governance, justice and others.

Eventually the researcher hopes that if these all mentioned possible enhancing measures are taken the internal security management problems of the region may improve.

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Table 2:**1. Lists of interviews**

No	Code	Date	Place of interview	Institution	Position
1	01	3Jan 2017	Gambella	Government institution	Official
2	02	4 Jan 2017	Gambella	Government institution	Official
3	03	5 Jan 2017	Gambella	Government institution	Official
4	04	9 Jan 2017	Gambella	Government institution	Official
5	05	12 Jan 2017	Gambella	Government institution	Official
6	06	16 Jan 2017	Itang	Government institution	Official
7	07	17 Jan 2017	Gambella	Government institution	Official
8	08	23 Jan 2017	Godere	Government institution	Official
9	09	25 Jan 2017	Godere	Government institution	Official
10	010	25 Jan 2017	Godere	Government institution	Official
11	011	3Feb 2017	Gambella	Government institution	Official
12	012	5 Feb 2009	Gambella	Government institution	Chief

Table 3;**2. FGD Discussants**

No	Groups	Date	List of discussant	Place
1	1	2, Jan 2017,	Aberash Ketema Aster Wendimu Philip Bang Peter Owar Nyakong Nial Ariyat Abala Amsalu Wendimu	Gambella
2	2	2, Jan 2017,	Melkamenesh Yosef Nial Bol Aberash Melkamu Mercy Ayimelo Promis Demisse Garwich Bagnak Mohammed Ali	Gambella
3	3	3, Mar, 2017,	Matias Abebe Alemayehu Fanata Petros Alema Fantanesh Husen Lemlem Abera Tsehaynesh Yimam Aster Kebede	Godere
4	4	16, Jan 2017	Andriw Ojulu Abush Yonas Omot Abala Tuach Galwak Deng Peter Abayinesh Kelemu Alamirew Aschenik	Itang Special Wereda (Itang)

ANNEXES I

AADIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

COLLEGES OF LAW AND GOVERNANCE STUDIES

CENTER FOR FEDERAL STUDIES

Interview Guide Lines to government officials

Dear respondents;

The purpose of this study is to assess the security management in Gambella Regional State: legal framework and institutional set up in Gambella and to recommend the possible solutions for the existent problems. The interview has been conducted for the Gambella regional state security office officials, *wereda* security officials, higher official at both levels and the questions raising during the interview are the following: Please note that the answers you give for all these questions will remain confidential and use for academic purpose only.

Your profile is necessary to appreciate the opinions of different strata of society. Would you please tell me your name and background, which you think is relevant to the interview?

A. Personal Information

1. Name-----
2. Sex _____
3. Age _____
4. Educational background_____
5. Occupation and Current Position-----
6. Length of service in the institution_____
7. Ethnic Identity-----

B The general situation about practice and challenges of security

1. What do you understand by security mean?
2. What are the sources of insecurity in the region?
3. What are the legal frameworks entrenched in the Constitution to maintain peace and security in the region?
4. Are there well organized institutions to address the issues of peace and security?
5. What are the key selection criteria and to requirement the police?
6. Do the community participate in different issues like in planning, priority setting and other issues at the regional level?
7. What kinds of challenges face to maintain peace and security in your institutions?
8. What are the achievement in sustain peace and security of the citizens and the region in general?
9. What measure did the office take when public officials and employees are not responsible or accountable for their action?
10. What must be done to improve the security management of the region in general?
11. Could you explain if you have any additional opinions please?

Thank you for your collaboration!

APPENDIX11

AADIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

COLLEGES OF LAW AND GOVERNANCE STUDIES

CENTER FOR FEDERAL STUDIES

Guide Line for Focus Group Discussion for the Community

Dear respondents;

The purpose of this study is to explore the security management in Gambella: legal framework and institutional set up in Gambella and to recommend possible solution for the problems. The FGD has been conducted for the Gambella regional State community, community elders and both government and private employees at regional state and *wereda*. The questions raising in interview are the following.

1. What does it mean by security?
2. Are there well organized institutions to address the issues of peace and security?
3. Do you believe that the regional government put in to practice to rectify the problem of security in line with the legal frameworks?
4. How do you see the performance/effectiveness of the region in maintaing peace and security of the community?
5. What are the major problems you observed within the security institutions in the region?
6. What are the major challenges which hinder to ensure security in the region?
7. What is your role in maintaing peace and security of the region?
8. Isthereanyimprovements of peace and security in the Gambella region?
9. What changes would you like to see in the way that regional government to promote security management?
10. Could you explain if you have any additional opinions please?

Thank you for your collaboration!