



**INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY STUDIES
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**

**The role of state actors in conflict management and transformation:
The case of Legetafo Legedadi town in Oromia Regional State**

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**A Thesis Submitted to the Institute for Peace and Security Studies of Addis
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Master of Arts (MA) in Peace and Security Studies**

June 2019

Addis Ababa

Declaration

I, Wondwossen Taye, hereby declare that the thesis entitled “The role of state actors in conflict management and transformation: The case of Legetafo Legedadi town in Oromia Regional State” is submitted by me for the award of a Master of Arts degree in Peace and Security Studies to the Institute for Peace and Security Studies of Addis Ababa University. This thesis is my original work and it has not been presented for the award of any degree in another university or institution, and all sources and materials used for this thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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Approval Sheet

The Undersigned certify that they have read and hereby recommended to Addis Ababa University to accept the thesis submitted by WondwossenTayeAbebe entitled “The role state actors in conflict management and transformation: The case of Legedadi Legetafo town in Oromia Regional State” in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Master of Arts (MA) in Peace and Security Studies.

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the role played by various state actors in the management and transformation of conflicts that arise at local level in the Legetafo Legedadi town of Oromia Regional State. The researcher has adopted a qualitative research method in which data was collected through in-depth interviews of key informants that work on conflict management. Focus group discussions were organized with various stakeholders in order to grasp the views of local government employees, residents, elders and religious leaders regarding local conflict management. The research examines the sources and types of conflicts in the study area as well as the nature of the intervention undertaken by local state institutions in response to potential or actual conflicts. It identifies the state actors who have a prominent role in conflict management and resolution. The research also explores the role of urbanization in the emergence and exasperation of local conflicts. The study looks into the sources and causes of conflict as well as the various types of conflict that occur in the area and the different actors that are involved in local conflicts. The thesis further explores what mechanisms are put in place by the local state actors for the prevention and management of conflicts as well as in conflict resolution. The thesis also discusses some innovative approaches taken by state actors in the area of conflict management and transformation. The findings of the thesis inform that the conflicts in the study area involve land related disputes such as lack of compensation and rehabilitation programs to displaced farmers, ethnic conflict, conflicts with internally displaced persons, employment disputes between companies and their employees due to disputes over wage and benefits. The findings also indicate that local state actors mainly focus on prevention of conflicts and on managing conflicts before they escalate into violence. The local Administration and Security Bureau is the lead government unit that works on the prevention and management of conflict. This office has branches in every Kebele administration. This Security organ has further supported the creation of a religious leaders' forum. The forum meets regularly and works on resolving local conflicts that arise within religious organizations. The research also found that there is no concrete evidence to indicate the presence of any conflict transformation activity in the study area as the main focus of state actors is on preventing and managing local conflict.

Key words: Conflict management, Conflict transformation, State actors, Legetafo Legedadi

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Chapter One: Introduction

The driving forces of urban expansion and sprawl take different forms including population growth either by natural increase or migration. Urban sprawl refers to the physical pattern of low density expansion of large urban areas under market conditions into surrounding agricultural areas (Kenate 2014). As urbanization reduces farm land, it causes the deterioration of the livelihood of farmers by degrading their income source. Urbanization further results in land dispossession which aggravates the impact on the farmers since they will end up losing the only source of livelihood as they are mostly unable to shift to a different occupation due to the lack of alternative skills (Efa 2016).

In Ethiopia, where land is central to politics, conflicts are highly complicated as the politics of land and resources and ethnicity are deeply interwoven. This is true for most of the Horn of Africa. It is a region that has experienced protracted conflict and instability as some argue that the region is highly complicated as politics and ethnicity are deeply interwoven. Since independence, one-third of the countries of Africa have experienced large-scale political violence or war. Africa has seen over seventy coups in the last quarter of the 20th Century as well as suffering the greatest number of armed conflicts in the world (Dagne 2013). Ruinous wars and armed uprisings have been exhausting the financial resources and human potential of the continent and hindering development as well as inflicting extreme suffering on the people. The inability of African governments to ensure security and stability undermines citizens' trust in political institutions and leads to the militarization of societies (Toure 1998).

The protracted ethnic conflicts in Africa are related to opposition by marginalized ethnic groups against the domination of another ethnic group and to demands for the opening up of the democratic space to ensure broader and more diverse participation and accountability in governance at the national and sub-national levels (Jinadu 2004). Long running civil wars in Africa tend to perpetuate a culture of violence and fear, which radicalizes militia groups and condones human rights violations. The new generations who grow up in an intractable conflict believe that it is normal to live in such a society thereby forming the bedrock of intense social violence (Jeong 2008).

This research examines the nature and types of conflict that arise in the Legetafo Legedadi town and attempts to identify the causes of conflict. It looks into how urbanization plays a role in causing conflict and investigates the types of conflict that occur in the study area. The study also considers the role of land ownership and ethnicity in the emergence of conflict. It examines various issues like displacement of farmers for development programs, employment disputes, IDPs, ethnic conflict and illegal land holding in the context of conflict. It looks into the various state actors that are involved in conflict management and transformation and what their roles are in this regard. The research also focuses on identifying the various actors in the local conflicts and how the state actors interact with these participants of conflict. It further looks into the measures taken by state actors in preventing conflict from escalating into violence.

State institutions should be a primary machinery of conflict prevention and resolution. The state governs through its politicians, judges and bureaucrats, civil and military. The bureaucrats play an important role as they participate in shaping the instruments of governance- laws, policies and programs- and because they are the principal interpreters of laws and policies, applying them to particular circumstances. However, agents of the state are often viewed as agents of the ethnic community that controls the state apparatus (Esman 1999). As ethnicity is viewed as a primary factor for political mobilization in many African countries, most political actors attempt to use ethnicity to gain access to power and resources.

In many African countries, the government is the main employer as well as a major player in the local economy. As such, the government or state actors have an important role in the day-to-day lives of the civilian population through the provision of basic social services like housing, health care, education as well as food. State actors exert considerable power and influence in regulating and managing social issues including conflicts that arise in the community. State sponsored institutions further play a crucial role in augmenting and enabling various social mechanisms and institutions in carrying out conflict management and resolution functions e.g. religious groups and elders forums.

It would therefore be important to examine the way in which these state actors are organized and what specific roles they have in terms of managing and transforming conflicts that occur at the local level. It would also be useful to identify the structures and mechanisms that are utilized by those actors in dealing with conflicts. It is also beneficial to investigate how state actors coordinate and interact with the various traditional social institutions and structures in the community in their efforts to manage and resolve conflicts that arise in the local context.

1. Statement of the Problem

This research addressed multiple conflicts with multiple actors situated in the Legatafo Legedadi area. There are frequent reports of skirmishes between farmers, re-settled IDPs, youth, factory workers and others currently in the area. Other actors involved in the conflict construction workers, local officials, political parties and security actors. Concerned actors adopt various mechanisms and undertake measures in order to address such conflicts. These measures involve traditional and modern approaches of conflict management. Formal approaches include measures that are adopted by various administrative structures to address conflicts while traditional approaches include measures undertaken by informal systems such as the Gadda system.

As Addis Ababa continues to expand horizontally into surrounding areas this results in the displacement of farmers whose lands are appropriated by various actors to be used for developing urban housing or for industrial activities. Various conflicts would occur in the process of urbanization. As large number of people move into those areas and towns adjacent to the capital city in search of affordable land and houses, it results in the ‘displacement’ of people from their farmlands and properties. This would in turn cause friction and conflict between the new residents and those ‘displaced’ as well as with local and national administrative bodies, as the latter attempt to regulate and control these developments.

The popular protests and violent conflicts in the Oromia Regional State since 2014 were instigated by people who opposed the introduction of the integrated master plan of Addis Ababa and its surrounding Oromia Special Zone. As the protesters believed that the master plan would

lead to massive expropriation of rural land and the displacement of Oromo farmers from their homes and lands in order to create space for the expansion of the capital city. The various participants or actors in the protest movement further cited the widespread political repression, economic marginalization, massive youth unemployment and poverty as factors that fueled the popular protests in the Oromia region. Hence, the introduction of the integrated master plan served as a trigger for the protests while the above mentioned factors can be considered as underlying causes that lead to the conflict.

The Oromia regional state reportedly established the Special Zone Surrounding Addis Ababa in 2009 in an effort to check the uncontrolled expansion of the capital city. The zonal administration comprises several towns and districts including Legetafo, Burayu and Sebeta towns. Some officials of this special zone had expressed opposition to the integrated master plan in 2014 as they considered it detrimental to the interest of their administrative zone. Oromo opposition party leaders and political actors in the diaspora also played a role in opposing the integrated master plan as a land grab that is aimed at dispossessing Oromo farmers from their land for the purpose of facilitating urban expansion (Interview KI-15). The protests later expanded into popular demands for democratic space, political freedoms, respect of human rights, and for the release of Oromo political prisoners as well as better representation of Oromos in the federal government structures (Ibid).

The protesters and activists spoke against the displacement of thousands of Oromo farmers from the rural Kebeles of the capital for various development projects that were implemented in the last 27 years. They claimed that this has in turn resulted in the suffering and impoverishment of those displaced farmers as they were removed from their homes with little compensation and rehabilitation program. Most importantly, this experience has created grievances among the farmers and the larger Oromo community (Ibid).

2. Research Questions

- Who are the state actors that are involved in conflict management and transformation in the Legetafo Legedadi town?

- What are the sources, root causes and nature of conflict and insecurity in the study area?

- How have the actions of the state actors in the course of conflict transformation affected the conflict? i.e. what is the role of state actors in managing and transforming conflicts in the area?

3. Research Objectives

- 3.1. To examine the sources, root causes and types of conflict.
- 3.2. To identify the state actors involved in conflict management.
- 3.3. To explore the particular roles the state actors played in managing conflicts in the Legetafo Legedadi town.

4. Research Methodology

The research adopted a qualitative research method. Primary and secondary data was collected and analyzed. Interviews with key informants, focus group discussions and personal observation as well as document analysis was used for the study. Relevant documents were collected from various government offices in the study area which were taken into consideration for this study.

4.1 Data Collection

Local government officials and relevant experts working in various local government organs were interviewed to collect the data for this study. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with key informants in order to allow informants to provide their opinions and inputs without limiting them to responding for specific questions only. Four focus group discussions (FGD) were conducted with various stakeholders including with employees of the local administration, local residents and elders of the study area as well as with religious leaders. For instance, Kebele and municipal administration employees and local elders who are involved in conflict resolution initiatives were targeted for FGDs conducted for this research.

Efforts were made to ensure the inclusion of women both in selected key informant interviews and in Focus Group Discussions. This is made in order to make the research broader and to incorporate the views and perspectives of women. The FGDs were aimed at getting a clear understanding of how various actors and stakeholders perceive conflict as well as conflict management and transformation at the local level. All interviews and FGDs were conducted in Amharic and later translated to English by the research author for presentation and analysis.

4.2 Sampling

Purposive sampling technique was used to identify individuals who actively work on conflict management and transformation in the study area for interview. For instance, officials of the local Administration and Security Bureau, Police Division, Justice Bureau and Court officials as well as religious leaders and elders were interviewed for this research.

4.3 Data Collection Instruments

Participants were interviewed by using a list of questions with the goal of collecting information that is most relevant to the study. The questions were prepared in a way that enables the respondents to share additional information that they consider to be relevant to the study.

4.4 Data Analysis

The research data was collated and organized following which it was cross-checked for accuracy through triangulation. The data was thematically categorized and analyzed.

4.5 Scope of the Study

The research focuses on the conflict management and transformation process in Legetafo Legedadi town. It focuses mainly on the role of state actors in managing and transforming

conflict in this specific town. The research is therefore limited in scope as it does not intend to cover the wider region or any other towns outside the study area.

4.6 Limitation of the Study

The researcher has encountered some officials who were not willing to authorize the provision certain types of information or the interviewing of employees who work in their respective offices. Such instances have prevented the collection of some data for the purpose of this study.

4.7 Ethical Considerations

All participants who were involved in this research were informed about the objectives of this study and asked for their consent prior to any interview. Furthermore, tape recordings of interviews were done only with the consent of the interviewee. In all cases, the names of the research participants has been withheld in order to protect their right to privacy.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Theories of Conflict

Scholars define conflict as a condition of disharmony in an interaction process and usually occurs as a result of clash of interest between the parties involved. Clash of interest could occur due to pursuing incompatible goals (Fisher 2004).

In considering theories of conflict the 'Basic Need Theory' informs that deep rooted conflicts are caused by unmet or frustrated basic human needs which include the need to have identity, spiritual need and distributive justice (Jeong 2000). Humans have basic survival needs which they try to fulfill at any cost. These needs can be expressed in terms of identity, security, recognition, development, and psychological and physical demands. These basic needs lead to conflict due to frustrations that emanate when people are prevented from fulfilling them (Cunningham 2001).

Frustration Aggression Theory explains that human beings are goal-oriented and rational. Frustration occurs when humans are blocked from realizing their goal, resulting in aggression and conflict (Jeong 2000).

Relative Deprivation Theory argues that conflict occurs when expectations are raised along with the absence of progress towards a better life. The failure of political systems to consistently meet people's social and material expectations can translate into negative mood that instigate political action. Violence is an instrumental means of expressing chronic feelings of anger that are spawned by perceptions of the differentials between reality and expectations (Jeong 2008).

Meanwhile, Realistic Group Theory explains that conflicts arise when there is real or perceived incompatible goals leading to inter-group competition that leads to misperception and hostilities (Yagcioglu 1996).

Enemy State Theory states that basic human needs divide people into out-groups (enemies) and in-groups (allies). The process of socialization connects self and group identities. Ethnic identity is particularly strong as it gives a sense of belonging, security and meaning. An attack on an ethnic group is felt both at individual and group levels. The sense of group identity and victimization serves as a justification to perpetuate violence (Cunningham 2001).

2.2 Nature, Sources and Root Causes of Conflict

Conflict represents the persistent and pervasive nature of inter-group and international competition among disparate interests and values that underlies power dynamics. Conflict is most popularly described as ‘a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources’ (Jeong 2008). Protracted social conflict is a conflict between identity groups of which one feels that its basic needs for political participation, economic wealth sharing, security and equality are not respected. The insurgent party strives to gain access to state-related power (Boehike 2009).

Conflicts are inherent in human relations, for two essential reasons. First individuals and groups have different values, needs and interests. Second, as most resources are available only in limited quantities, access to the must be organized. As these two factors inherently generate conflicts, it would be important to avoid the deterioration of normal conflictual situations into crisis or violent conflict. It is not a matter of preventing conflicts, which are inherent in human relations, but of managing them so that they do not degenerate into political violence or major humanitarian disasters (Schneider 1998).

In considering the root causes of conflict, most conflicts involve value differences and power disparities, whereas misperception and miscommunication play an important role in the evolution of adversarial relationships. Substantive issues of conflict can relate to wealth, power and prestige and reasons for the struggle can be based on feelings of deprivation, injustice, inequity, and frustration beyond incompatible roles and positions (Jeong 2008). Markakis argues that one of the major causes of ethnic conflict in the Horn of Africa is competition over resources

or the motive to secure access to resources, the struggle for power is the most important cause of ethnic conflicts when government policies and institutions, which distribute resources, are based on ethnicity (Markakis 1994).

In addition to political power, government policies which result in economic disparities and uneven development can be identified as root causes of ethnic conflict. Economic insecurity can lead to ethnic conflict where political power holders discriminate against some ethnic groups in resources distribution (Harris and Reilly 1998). In an ethnic or racial conflict, hierarchical relations have been established by a denial of access to decision making and the rejection of power sharing political institutions. The deprivation of cultural autonomy and economic opportunities may instigate an uprising. Inequitable access to economic and social opportunities is often associated with a lack of political participation (Jeong 2008).

Cultural domination coupled with political suppression is considered as another source of conflict. Allen (1994) states that the development of ethnic conflict could not be examined narrowly from the economic or materialistic perspective alone. It is important to consider that differences in traditions, values, and the possible fear of suppression can lead to ethnic strife. Other scholars contend that culture related conflict is the result of the quest for 'cultural/group autonomy' by minority groups who are suspicious of cultural assimilation or suppression by the dominant group may impose its traditions, values and beliefs on others (Ibid).

Various scholars divide the causes of conflict into structural, proximate and immediate causes. Structural causes are factors which create the material condition for a conflict in a dynamic process giving rise to long standing and unresolved conflicts (Maiese 2003). Structural causes could remain latent and lead to violent conflicts unless the state addresses them through economic, political and social policies. Proximate causes are factors that contribute to a climate conducive to violent conflict or escalation of conflict sometimes symptomatic of a deeper problem while immediate causes are triggering acts or events that lead to violent conflict (Ibid).

Fragile political and judicial institutions, in combination with ambiguities in rules, lead to unregulated competition and struggle. In this situation, conflicts outside judicial and bargaining

processes emerge, along with declining central authorities. The requirements for new rules arrive from modifications in technology and economic systems that create uncertainties (Jeong 2008). Inter-group relations are constrained by a super-imposed political structure in addition to their own internal dynamics. Thus the analysis of social conflict needs to focus on how group processes are linked to structural conditions such as oppressive social relations and exploitative economic systems. Conflict dynamics can also be related to the nature of evolving power relations of one party over another as well as psychological impediment (Ibid).

In the context of this study, the nature of conflict and sources of conflict can possibly be linked to a combination of factors including horizontal inequalities, political repression, and lack of access to resources and the unfair distribution of resources, lack of employment and adequate sources of livelihood, economic deprivation and demand for the exercise of political, economic and cultural freedoms. In considering the urbanization aspect, it would be important to investigate the role of urban expansion in creating or exasperating conflicts and how the ethno-linguistic federal system plays a role in the emergence of conflicts in the study area. This perspective would allow one to examine the role of ethnicity in the emergence and perpetuation of conflict.

2.3 Urbanization and Conflict

Urbanization refers to a growth in the proportion of a population living in urban areas and the further physical expansion of already existing urban centers. The level of urbanization in Africa is low (37.1%) when compared with developed regions like Europe (72.7%) and North America (79.1%) (Leulseged et al, 2011). Urbanization in the developing world is progressing much faster than in developed countries. In Ethiopia, the rate of urbanization is increasing at a rate of 4.4 % and by 2050 42.1% of the total population is expected to live in urban centers. Of the more than 900 urban centers in Ethiopia, the capital Addis Ababa is home to 23% of the total urban population (Ibid).

As farmers are forced to relinquish their land rights and their livelihoods due to urbanization, they are exposed to various insecurities related to food, shelter, lack of adequate income and

source of livelihood or employment and other insecurities. As the global population is concentrated into complex environments, rapid urbanization increases the threat of conflict and insecurity. Many fast-growing cities create conditions of significant disparities in standards of living, which set up a natural environment for conflict over resources. As urban slums become a haven for criminal elements, gangs, and arms trade, they also create insecurity for much of the population (Patel & Burkle 2012)

Rapid urbanization accompanied by the expansion of cities and metropolitan regions and the sprawling growth of megacities the world over is bringing a significant transformation of the planet. The unplanned expansion of cities in developing countries causes various problems such as resource depletion, decrease of valuable agricultural lands and ecological degradation (Kenate 2014).

Due to the lack of capacity of the state to provide formal dwellings for the urban poor, people resort to building their own houses on open spaces leading to the proliferation of squatter settlements and illegal occupancy of land in fringe areas of cities (Ibid). The spread of such squatter settlements on agricultural land would lead to conflict between the new residents and those who used to occupy the agricultural land as well as with local administration as the latter strive to prevent or control such illegal activities.

2.4 Status of Addis Ababa in Ethiopia's Federal System

Addis Ababa was founded in 1886 by Empress Taytu Betul, the wife of Emperor Menilik II and has been serving as the seat of the Ethiopian government since its establishment. The city is currently home to 5 million inhabitants (unofficial estimates). It is also a city which is fiercely contested by various political actors in Ethiopia and a delicate matter in the three-decade old Ethiopian federation (The Reporter English, 30 Mar 2019). Various Oromo politicians claim ownership of the city citing historical incidents while others oppose these claims arguing that the city is constitutionally established as an independent jurisdiction with its own administrative powers.

Addis Ababa is one of the rapidly urbanizing cities in Africa. Studies indicate that the total land area of the city increased from 28,905 hectares in 2000 to 54,000 hectares in 2010 (Kebena, 2013). The geographic features of the city is mostly a highland topography with elevations of above 2,000 meters which results in temperate climate. A study conducted in 2011 has shown that built-up areas in the city have increased by 120.93 km² in 24 years. This expansion was realized by the conversion of croplands, forest lands and grasslands into built-up areas through a process of horizontal expansion. As the City's expansion results in the displacement of households living in those peripheral areas the inhabitants would be obliged to resort to various adaptive and coping livelihood strategies like participating in non-agricultural livelihood strategies such as industry and service sectors (Leulseged et al 2011).

The FDRE Constitution adopted in 1995 stipulates that Addis Ababa shall be the capital city of the federal state (Art. 49 (1)). It further states that the residents of the city shall have a full measure of self-government while the city's administration shall be accountable to the federal government. The residents shall be represented in the House of Peoples' Representatives. Article 49 (5) states that "the special interest of the State of Oromia in Addis Ababa shall be respected, regarding the provision of social services, the utilization of natural resources and other similar matters, as well as joint administrative matters arising from the location of the city within Oromia. Particulars shall be determined by law".

The law that is supposed to determine the special interest of Oromia in Addis Ababa has not yet been promulgated and the issue continues to be a source of contention. The City continues to serve as the seat of both the federal government and the Regional State of Oromia. The City further serves as the diplomatic hub of Africa as it hosts the African Union, the Economic Commission for Africa and other diplomatic missions and representatives of international organizations. Addis Ababa is also the only primate city in Ethiopia that is a home for the large chunk of the country's economy as well as home for various ethnic communities of Ethiopia (Ibid).

The status of Addis Ababa as defined by the Constitution can be taken as the main source of controversy as it fails to grant the city the status of a federal state along with all its requisite

powers and structures,. Instead, the constitution opts to designate the city as an administrative entity that is accountable to the federal government albeit also ensuring the rights of its residents to have self-government and representation at the federal level. Furthermore, the federal authorities' failure to conclude the issue of "special interest" in a legal and final way has contributed to the reemergence of the current contestation and controversy over the city.

2.5 Conflict Management

Conflict management refers to the containment of conflict that has already broken out in the form of searching for a solution that can reduce the level of violence and prevent its escalation. It pertains to the ways and means to controlling and harmonizing conflict based relationship and to enable the resolution of the root causes of the conflict (Imobighe 2003). The goal of conflict management is to eliminate the propensity of conflict to violence by encouraging positive behavioral change among parties involved in conflict (Fisher 2004).

As mismanaged conflicts could result in violence and the destruction of communities, such destruction could be reduced and controlled through conflict management strategies. Hence conflict management is a cost effective intervention for countries with limited resources (Jeong 2000). According to Shale (2004), a conflict caused over resources, identity, and borders or against aggression between two or more ethnic groups is referred to as an ethnic conflict (Shale 2004). One of the most prevalent types of violent conflict is ethnic conflict.

In areas where ethnic conflicts arise, Gurr mentions five methods of managing such conflicts as 'international good practices'. These are recognizing and promoting group political, economic and cultural rights; recognizing the right of regional minorities to sub-state autonomy; building democratic institutions; and pursuing power sharing as preferred means for protecting group rights; promoting mutual accommodations through negotiation; and using coercive intervention during times of gross human rights violations (Gurr 2005).

Zartman argues that conflict management can take place through strategies that include reconciliation, adjudication and augmentation. The conflicting parties would be required to

commit to reconciliation and to accept the decision of a third party. Conflict management could also be undertaken through institutions that propose policy and strategy to manage conflicts. These institutions should demonstrate that the parties can put their trust in their neutrality and capacity (Zartman 1996). The institutionalization of conflict management will further ensure its sustainability as conflict management needs to be undertaken on a continuous basis.

2.6 Conflict Transformation

Conflict transformation refers to the transformation of attitudes, behaviors and contradictions to positive relationship. It is an outcome, process and structure oriented long term peace building aimed to overcome direct and structural violence (Lederach 1996). It is a transformational approach to conflict resolution aimed at analyzing and considering the underlying root causes and patterns of relations that drive the conflicts in order to bring change (Yuksel 2006).

While ‘conflict management’ is mostly focused on regulating and containing conflicts but not necessarily on ending it, ‘conflict resolution’ aims at resolving the issue or incompatibility that divides the parties. ‘Conflict transformation’ goes further in aiming for a change in the fundamental relationships, social structures and contextual conditions that gave rise to the conflict. However all the three terms draw on a common set of concepts in conflict theory and conflict analysis (Miall 2007). Conflict transformation theory is distinguished from the other two theories by its focus on the need for systemic change in order to alter the social structures, conflicting parties, and institutions within which conflicts are embedded (Ibid).

Conflict transformation is aimed at the restoration of order and harmony of the conflicting parties with orientation towards the future (Boege 2006). In pursuing conflict transformation outcomes, the first element is a process oriented approach in which mutually negative attitudes and values between parties are addressed thereby facilitating communication and cooperation between parties. The second element is a change oriented approach that stresses the political imperatives to recognize and empower victims (Reimann 2005).

Conflict transformation takes as its central tenet that conflict is not necessarily violent or negative, but rather inherent in all societies and must be seen as a potential vector for change towards something positive, or pacifist (New Routes 2009). Johan Galtung's Transcend model is an important contribution for the theoretical development of conflict transformation. The transcend model is a triangular depiction of three constituents, namely attitude, behavior and contradiction represented by A, B and C respectively (Galtung 2007).

Conflict transformation places its emphasis on the root causes of conflicts which necessitates a thorough analysis of both root causes and proximate causes of conflict. Analysis of underlying structures of conflicts and of the agendas and motivations of the different actors involved in the conflict is essential. The three main dimensions of conflict transformation are: the perceptions and attitudes of people, the context in which people live and the behavior of people. The linkages between attitudes, behavior and context imply that conflict transformation needs to address these three dimensions simultaneously (Dijk 2009).

Although conflicts tend to have negative connotations, not every conflict is harmful if it ultimately produces a creative element for changing societies, while achieving the goals and aspirations of individuals and groups. If the outcome brings about positive changes, in the form of apologies, compensation for past abuses and future prevention of victimization, that can be considered as constructive. Non-violent conflict that is aimed at the transformation of oppressive relations is inherently good and serves as a vehicle of liberation, in contrast to the consequences of accepting the superficial harmony of the status quo (Jeong 2008). Conflict transformation generally comprises various tasks such as focusing on the developmental process of a conflict rather than on its end point; recognition of the way through which conflict transforms relationships, communications and perceptions; the desire to transform the destructive nature of conflicts to constructive imperatives; and the involvement of wide range of actors including conflicting parties, local communities and third parties (Botes 2003).

2.7 Causes of Conflict in Ethiopia

The introduction of ethno-linguistic federalism in Ethiopia has brought increased focus on ethnicity in determining and shaping political discourse in the country. In ethnically diverse countries like Ethiopia one way of resolving ethnic conflicts is designing an ethnic form of federalism with democracy as a normative and institutional framework, granting self-determination for ethnic groups to form their own system of governance and to come together to constitute the federal government (Turton 2006). Horowitz categorizes federalism as one of the structural techniques in conflict regulation. Along with electoral reform, federalism is the device to change the institutional format in which conflicts occur, altering the structure of incentives for political actors without making any promises about ethnic outcomes (Horowitz 1997).

Federalism is conceived as having the potential for transforming conflicts. In the Ethiopian context, federalism is presumed to redirect conflicts to constructive primes so as to rebuild the nation. The constitutional basis of federalism in Ethiopia accentuates the prevention, management, settlement and transformation of conflicts. The framework sheds lights on the legal and political resources available to handle incompatibility of interests of different actors through the development of various laws, strategies and plans as emanating from the constitution (Tsegaye 2010).

The creation of inter-regional boundaries between the federated states of Ethiopia has consequently become a cause for conflict between various ethnic communities over land, resources and other issues. Political actors have often used ethnicity to push their own agenda thereby exploiting ethnic differences to spread and foment ethnic rivalries and discord among communities that have lived together for a long period (Temesgen 2016). The introduction of ethnic-based federalism has arguably reduced the tension that existed between the center and regional ethnic groups while shifting the tension towards the peripheries and regions resulting in the increased occurrence of conflict between various ethnicities within and across regional states (Ibid).

It is far from certain that the recognition of ethnic diversity as a basis for collective pacts that would facilitate conflict management, has indeed achieved its objectives in Ethiopia. As each group in the power-sharing arrangement has become more sensitive to its relative share of power

and frequently articulates ethnically based grievances that have destabilizing effects on national politics. It seems that the federal system based on ethnic diversity has created a revolution of rising expectations that has further heightened ethnic tensions (Azarya 2003). Such tension is further aggravated by political elites of various ethnic groups as they attempt to garner political capital by manipulating ethnic grievances.

Intra-regional conflicts over resources, local economic justice, political empowerment, self-governance, autonomy and participation have become frequent in various regions (Yidnekachew 2012). Following the introduction of ethnic federalism the Ethiopian government has embarked upon decentralization activities from 1991 to 2001 in two phases to strengthen the capacities of local governments and empower regional governments. The second round of decentralization focused on strengthening and empowering local governments at Woreda level (Tegegne and Dickovick 2010).

This program has introduced significant changes in the administrative capacities of Woredas enabling them to establish more offices including offices for security affairs that are tasked with dealing with conflicts at local level. Accordingly, regional and local governments are empowered to deal with conflicts that occur in their jurisdiction (Ibid). Other government units like local police and militias work in collaboration with the local security office in dealing with local conflict.

In the Ethiopian context, conflicts can have various causes and features. The economic features of conflicts relate to resource distribution and utility and levels of economic development and rest upon unfair resource distribution and claims of ownership, structural rivalry for resource control and ensuing results of economic development endeavors that shift the balance of power (ANRS 2009). The social features of conflict in Ethiopia could relate to cultural and religious interactions, unemployment status, ethnic and language differences, the nature of nexus between cultural practices and administrative structures and the nature of social livelihood (Ibid). Issues that pertain to resources, power and authority are categorized as objective causes of conflict while subjective causes of conflict relate to perceptions and attitudinal variables like frustration, distrust and enemy images (Cunningham 2001).

2.8 Conflict management and transformation in Ethiopia

As Ethiopia is the home of more than 80 ethnic groups with diverse language, religious and cultural identities, conflicts are inevitable as they occur due to the existence of incompatible goals. Various studies indicate that government officials and stakeholders perceive conflict as a taboo and equate it with violence. This perception leads decisions makers to conclude that conflicts can be resolved and managed by mere indoctrination of the people about the destructiveness of violence rather than resolving the conflict. In addition, government official resort to the option of handling conflicts by force (Trsit 2004).

As conflict management process in Ethiopia is generally not conducted in a systematic way it is costly, time consuming and unsustainable. Following violent conflicts, government officials tend to focus on identifying the perpetrators of violence instead of discussing and identifying the root causes of the conflict. Another point in relation to conflict management process in Ethiopia is that conflict has not usually been properly recognized and addressed until it becomes a violent conflict. Government officials tend to ignore the demands of different groups and respond to conflict only when the issue is manifested in violence and death (Ibid).

State and local governments have a major responsibility in managing conflicts through the use of joint and collaborative inter-governmental mechanisms. There are several forums and councils by which regional states and the federal government meet to resolve mutual problems. These include a joint House Speakers Forum (for speakers of Federal and regional councils), Five Eastern Adjoining Regional States Joint Forum, Oromia and Somali Regional States Joint Cooperation Forum and other similar forums (MoFA 2008).

The government at the federal level has adopted referendum and peace and democracy conferences to manage and resolve regional conflicts. Resettlement on irrigated pastures is adopted as a solution to conflicts in some areas. The local government structures at Woreda level

employ a number of strategies and mechanisms to prevent, contain and manage local conflicts. These mechanisms include local peace committees that engage in managing and resolving conflicts at Woreda level; peace and democracy conferences aimed at managing conflicts and bringing resolution to violent conflicts; and working with local actors through indigenous conflict resolution and management mechanisms such as Shimgilina (arbitration) and the Gadda system. Local or municipal structures like security bureaus, police and local administrative units also undertake conflict management and resolution activities.

a. The House of Federation

The House of Federation is the upper house of the parliamentary system in Ethiopia and is represented as the main body for managing and resolving conflicts at the federal level. The House of Federation was created to maintain and develop the cooperation, partnership and consensual relationships of the various ethnic communities on the basis of equality and respect for diversity as stated in the constitution. Article 62 (2) of the FDRE Constitution authorizes the House of Federation to find solutions to disputes or misunderstandings that may arise between states. The House of Federation has the power to intervene and take measures to bring about temporary solution in situations where the parties are unwilling to resolve disputes and dialogue between the parties fails (FDRE Constitution 1995).

The House of Federation (HOF) has the power to investigate and order federal intervention in the regional states in situations where it has reason to believe that the constitutional order has been endangered and that peaceful means to avoid the danger has been left out (Proclamation No. 359/2003).

b. House of Peoples' Representatives

The House of Peoples' Representatives (HPR) has the power to extend effective protection against human rights violations by dispatching a team or inquiry commission to investigate the reported violations. The HPR presents a report to a joint session of HPR and HOF with justification on the necessity of the intervention of the federal government. The joint session can

direct the concerned regional administration to control the human rights violations and to bring the perpetrators to justice (Ibid). In this manner the federal government is required to carry out its constitutional obligation of protecting the human rights of its citizens.

c. Ministry of Federal Affairs/ Ministry of Peace

The Ministry of Federal Affairs has been replaced by the newly established Ministry of Peace in 2018 (ENA 2018). The new Ministry of Peace has the mandate to oversee the various security and intelligence institutions of the federal government as well as coordinate and monitor conflict prevention and management that is undertaken by various governmental and non-governmental agencies. Nevertheless the Ministry was not functional in its current status during the period covered by this research, instead the ministry of federal affairs was taken into consideration.

The Ministry of Federal Affairs is the other important institution in relation to conflict management and transformation at the federal level. The Ministry is mandated to work on conflict management activities especially in so-called “emerging regions” involving in the management of border disputes and ethnic conflicts (Proclamation No. 471/2005). The Ministry intervenes to facilitate in the resolution of conflicts in situations where the regions fail to resolve the conflict and request the Ministry to intervene or when such request comes from the Prime Minister’s Office (Ibid).

The Ministry of Federal Affairs facilitates the resolution of ethnic conflicts by organizing ‘peace and democracy conferences’ bringing together conflicting and interest groups. Such conferences include those organized to resolve conflicts between Oromos and Somalis; the Afars and Somalis and among different Gambella factions (Tesfa 2009). The Ministry also deploys traditional institutions of conflict resolution by bringing elders, community and religious leaders of conflicting groups together to find a resolution. In some conflicts over land, the Ministry further executes land demarcation based on the consent of conflicting parties (Ibid).

The Ministry has participated in conflict management in regional states by organizing peace conferences with the conflicting parties, providing capacity development support, and training in

conflict management mechanisms to the underdeveloped states (Proclamation No. 359/2003). In situations where the constitutional order of a regional state is threatened, the Ministry has the power to give recommendations to the Prime Minister as to whether to temporarily assign federal government personnel in the region to ensure the regular functioning of administrative activities where the executive organ of the region is impaired due to measures taken against officials (Ibid).

In 2004, the federal government in cooperation with the two regional governments organized a referendum in an attempt to find a lasting resolution to the territorial dispute between Oromia and Somali regions (Tesfa 2009). While most Kebeles in dispute were assigned to the Oromia region as a result of the referendum, the conflict continued to fester exploding into an armed conflict in 2017 causing the death of many civilians and the displacement of more than 1 million civilians (Relief web 2018).

Similarly, in 2017, the House of Federation authorized the organization of a referendum in eight Kebeles in Gondar in order to determine whether the Kebeles are to be part of the Qemant self-administrative zone within the Amhara Regional State. According the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia (NEBE) organized the referendum which resulted in seven Kebeles opting to remain in the existing administrative zone while one Kebele decided to join the Qemant self-administrative zone (Walta Info. Center 2017).

d. Other Regional Institutions

There are other institutions at the regional state level that are involved in conflict management and transformation. These structures include justice and security bureau, Neighboring Regions Affair and Conflict Resolution Bureau, Regional Police Commission and Regional Militia Offices.

There are also various efforts undertaken at regional state and local government levels to establish inter-governmental committees that aim to manage conflicts between various ethnic groups and border related conflicts. Such joint committees have been able to manage conflicts

depending on the political will of the parties or states involved in the conflict as it was the case between the Amhara and Benshangul Gumuz regional states following conflicts in 1993 and 1994. Hence ad-hoc structures like joint-committees can make positive contributions in conflict prevention and resolution among neighboring regional states. However, the success of such mechanisms depends on the political will and commitment of the respective regional or local governments.

The role of regional and local governments in managing conflict is negatively affected by their failure to develop a legal and institutional framework, the prevalence of parochial views and localized interests. The lack of administrative capacity of regional states, particularly of the peripheral ones has huge implications. The problem is manifested by the differences in terms of skilled administrative and technical personnel across regional states (Keller 2007). The mismanagement of financial and human resources therefore contributes to the lack of capacity of local governments in the area of conflict management.

Conflict transformation is viewed as a sustainable multidimensional task of bottom-up and holistic peace building approach aimed at achieving positive peace (Lederach 1996). In diverse societies like Ethiopia, inter-ethnic conflict transformation assumes that there are different sections of society along ethnic or religious lines sharing the same resources and live in a specified area which need to undertake a transformative process for better integration and communication to realize sustainable peace and security (Amare 2012).

In situations where such conflicts arise, the peoples and the region use various transformative mechanisms to settle the conflict and restore peace and security in the area. The informal transformative mechanisms include indigenous actions employed by the peoples to address deep-rooted causes of the conflict and sustain peace and development. The formal transformative mechanisms comprise those actions taken by governmental institutions at different levels ranging from federal, regional and local levels involving professional actors. In most cases informal transformative mechanisms undertaken by the people themselves play a more significant role in transforming the conflict as the people have a better understanding of the situation as compared to formal transformative mechanisms and actors (Ibid).

In the Ethiopian context, the resort to conflict transformation was initially directed from the federal level of administration. The Ministry of Federal Affairs envisaged the integration of conflict transformation as the last way of dealing with conflicts following conflict resolution. The Ministry also advocates rehabilitation, developmental coordination, issue transformation and context transformation as intervention tools as part of the process of conflict transformation (MoFA 2009)

Chapter Three: Data Presentation and Analysis

Part I. Data Presentation

3.1 Description of Legetafo Legedadi Town

The Legetafo Legedadi town is located 21 km north-east of Addis Ababa in the Oromia Regional State. The town was established in July 2006 as a municipality by the Oromia Regional State, as it was previously administered as a rural Kebele within Berek Woreda which is part of the North Shewa Zone of Oromia Regional State.

The town covers a total area of 2,431 hectares. The population of the town is 40,864 in 2018 (Legetafo Legedadi Administration Magazine 2018). Prior to the creation of the town the population was only 1,400. The town is organized in four Kebele administrative units.

In Legetafo town there are many nations and nationalities living together. According to the number of their residents Oromo, Amhara, Tigray, Weleyita and others live together. Afan Oromo is spoken by a large number of the population of a town along with the other languages (Legetafo Town Profile 2018).

3.2 Development Activities

According to the town's Administration following the establishment of the town in 2006 until 2016 some 76 investors have set up various investment projects in the town bringing the total number of investors to 106 which showed a growth of 226% (Legetafo Legedadi Administration Magazine 2018).

These projects have brought a gross capital amounting to 2.5 billion birr creating job opportunities for 8,521 individuals. In total 9,606 individuals have gained job opportunities through private investment projects. This includes local residents and people who have come from other areas in search of employment (Legetafo Legedadi Administration Magazine 2018).

The town administration's reports indicate that the town's residents have been organized to create job opportunities through the formation of 2,118 enterprises. Accordingly, between 2013 and 2015 jobs have been created for 6,367 males and 3,201 female residents (Legetafo Admin. Magazine 2018).

Some 2,726 enterprises have increased their capital to more than 61 million birr and have created jobs for 8,124 males and 3,830 females from 2013 to 2017. These entities are engaged in manufacturing, construction, agriculture, trade and service sectors. A total 12,142 youth have been employed in these enterprises (Ibid).

The town has provided 686 hectares of land for six real estate firms who have developed 1,131 residential houses while 2,093 additional buildings are under development. In addition some 114 housing associations are developing residential houses for government employees (Legetafo Administration Magazine 2018).

The town has supported some 5,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) that were displaced due to the conflict in the Somali region by constructing 1,000 houses with the estimated cost of 23 million birr (Ibid).

3.3 Structure of the Legetafo Legedadi Town Administration (Table 1)

Town Council*					
Mayor's Office>>>>	Food Security & Job Creation Office>>>>	>Legetafo Small and Medium Center >Dembel SM Center >Legedadi SM Center >Yeka Dale SM Center			
Municipality Legetafo 01 Kebele Legedadi 02 Kebele Yeka Dale 03Kebele Dembel 04 Kebele	Investment Office	Revenues Office	Technical and Vocational Training Office >TVT Center > TVT College	Public Service and HR Dev't Office	
Women &Children's Affairs Office	Government Communications Office	Youth and Sports Office	Labor and Social Affairs Office	Environment, Forest and Climate Change Office	
Land Development and Management Office	Trade and Market Development Office	Finance and Economic Cooperation Office	Urban Agriculture and Fisheries Dev't Office	Culture and Tourism Office	
Education Office	Health Office				

*Source: Legetafo Legedadi Town Administration Magazine, 2018

3.4 Sources of Conflict

The common sources of conflict in the study area are disputes over land borders and disputes among individuals. There is some fear of ethnic conflict due to problems in other parts of the country. But so far there is no such conflict (Interview, KI-1).

There are conflicts within religious organizations. The local administration resolves such disputes by calling the two conflicting parties to discuss and resolve the problem (Ibid).

3.5 Root Causes of Conflict

The practice of displacing farmers from their land with little compensation and no training and the construction of a waste disposal facility without proper consultation of the local farmers has created grievances amongst local residents. The facility has been forced to close due to the opposition of the locals. When asked about the reason why the local community opposed the Sendafa facility the respondents informed that the local residents were told that an airport was going to be built in the area (Interview, KI-1, FGD-4). The construction of the landfill facility in the neighboring Sendafa Woreda has been cited by one security official as a source of local grievance. The Addis Ababa City Administration is conducting consultations with the town's administration and local residents and appears that it is planning to abandon the project and use it for a different purpose.

According to a report issued by the Human Rights Council, an NGO in Ethiopia, in 2012, the residents of Legetafo town face a number of human rights violations related to the practice of illegal land sale. The report indicates that residents have been displaced from their homes and properties and those who lodge complaints have been imprisoned. HRC further reported that more than 20,000 plots of land were illegally sold in the town. Following this report, the mayor of the town was removed from his post along with his deputy (The Reporter Amharic Nov. 2012)

Regarding possible sources of insecurity at the local level, one government official said that “with urbanization comes an increase in criminality like theft and robbery. The local Woreda court imposes rigorous punishment of 4-12 years imprisonment on the culprits to deter crimes. Criminals come from Addis Ababa and also use vehicles and weapons” (Interview, KI-1).

3.6 Types of Conflict

a. Employment Disputes

Dispute between employees and employers over payment issues also occurs in the town. These issues arise in cases of employments by local industries and construction companies. Country

Club Developers (CCD) Real Estate employees bring their grievances over payment and work related issues to the local authorities and threaten to strike if their demands are not addressed. At times some employees have been arrested and the Kebele Security Office (KSO) and Police intervene and try to advise the employees and discuss their issues with their employer. The KSO acts to prevent any conflict when it receives information about plans of a strike and other activities among employees (Interview, KI-2). The employees also complain that the employer refuses to accept their letters that are written in Oromo language. The KSO has discussed this matter with the company and has addressed the issue (Ibid).

Some 1,375 local residents have been able to create employment through the support of the Enterprise Development and Industry Bureau by forming enterprises. They receive training, credit, land and market linkages. The individuals can elect to work alone or in groups of up to nine people (Interview, KI-9).

CCD Real Estate is a private company that employs 6,500 workers who demand for wage increases and the removal of a manager for being an ethnic Tigrayan. The Police facilitates dialogue between the parties and advise the workers to submit their complaints legally. Police also invite the Labor Affairs Office to explain the legal matter. The interaction helps Police to appreciate the intentions and demands of the workers. In cases where the workers damage property and hurt people by throwing stones, the Police has identified the instigators and culprits and brought them to justice. The workers mostly come from other parts of the country and not locals (Interview, KI-8).

Disputes occur between employers and employees due to lack of a mandatory minimum wage legislated by law, some employers pay 60 Birr while others offer 28 Birr a day. They employ workers as temporary workers while the law requires them to employ permanent employees. Employers also refuse to accept sick leave papers and cut the wages of employees. Employers also deny workers from forming trade unions. There are 46 industries in the town and only 9 trade unions. Only 2 or 3 companies have signed collective agreements with trade unions (Interview, KI-6).

Employers do not usually pay for overtime work performed by their employees and require their workers to work for more than 2 hours of overtime a day, which is permitted by law. This causes accidents on workers. The workers get dismissed when they sleep at their job. Employers do not provide the required safety gear to their workers. The Labor Office liaises with local industries to improve the working conditions for the employees. The office also works to ensure that employers fulfil their legal duties of providing the necessary conditions of protecting the workers and creating a safe work environment (Interview, KI-6).

b. Farmers

Some 6,347 individuals have been displaced from their land due to various development activities in the Legetafo Legedadi town since 2000. Some 1,228 households of farmers were displaced from their land. Of these 566 households were removed from their land after receiving some form of compensation following the establishment of the town in 2006. Another 305 households were displaced with no record of compensation received as it happened prior to the establishment of the town (Interview, KI-10).

Another 357 households have not been affected by the dispossession so far. They are still holding their farmlands. However, they could be displaced in future development activities and would be included in the rehabilitation program in the event of displacement. The town has established the Office for the Rehabilitation of Displaced Farmers in September 2018 to be in charge of this program (Ibid).

The Legetafo Legedadi Town Administration has launched a project for building a business center for displaced farmers. The town is trying to secure financing for the project which includes two G+7 buildings with 400 to 500 shops. The project will benefit the displaced families. Furthermore, ten hectares of land has been allocated for pottery work by displaced farmers. There are 200 farmers and their families that work in this area. They produce electric stoves. The town is working to support them by providing machineries for their work (Interview, KI-10).

The farmers who have been displaced from their land for real estate development also complain of the little compensation they were given and some have refused to vacate their land. The town administration has informed the farmers that their complaints will be addressed (Interview, KI-2, FGD-3). Some farmers bring complaints to the Kebele about losing their land and for getting little compensation. The Kebele administration sends such cases to the town administration. A farmer has threatened to take back his expropriated land that is used for building a school unless he receives compensation (FGD-1).

Some farmers complain about being dismissed from their jobs after being evicted from their lands. The Investment Law gives the farmers priority for employment opportunities in such industries. The Labor and Social Affairs Office is looking into this matter to address the complaints of the farmers (Interview, KI-6, FGD-4). The main coping strategies of most displaced farmers is casual daily labor as other more productive opportunities are unavailable. Uncontrolled urban sprawl results in the deterioration of the farmers' livelihood as they lose the land which was the main source of their income. The dispossession of their land and eviction of farmers from the land result in decreased income for farmers (Efa 2016).

c. IDPs from Somali Region

Some Internally Displaced People (IDPs) from the Somali Region who were settled in Dembel Kebele in 2018 sometimes create problems by breaking the windows of local residences. They also involve in local disputes and have been arrested by Police. The local administration (Mayor's Office and Kebele) have placed some of the IDPs in various companies and have organized some of them through small enterprises to create employment. The IDPs also demand to be returned to their original homes and suffer from frustration due to their displacement and as they are used to chewing Khat and conducting contraband trade (Interview, KI-2).

Somali Region IDPs encounter problems in their interaction with local residents as they have different cultural and behavioral traits as well as dialects. The use of certain words can cause disputes with locals due to misunderstanding (Interview, KI-7). Some 1,053 IDPs from the

Somali Region have been registered and have received training in August 2018. Their business plans has been completed and they are awaiting credit facility from the Oromia Credit and Saving Institution (Interview, KI-9).

Police gives advice to the IDPs through community policing centers established at local level. They advise the IDPs to request the town administration for assistance instead of stealing as they are sometimes arrested for theft of wood. The IDPs do not receive much help as they are considered as having been rehabilitated (Interview, KI-8). The local police tries to promote integration and harmony between IDPs and locals to improve interaction and peaceful cohabitation. This involves the youth and elders of the community. Police also works to create awareness instead of punishment. (Interview, KI-7).

The political instability and widespread insecurity that is being observed in various parts of Ethiopia has been manifested in the study area by the arrival of thousands of IDPs from the Somali Region. These IDPs were settled in the town by the Oromia State administration, as it has decided to solve the problem of this massive displacement of civilians from the eastern part of the country by resettling the IDPs in various towns and cities located in Oromia Region as well as Addis Ababa. However, these IDPs seem to be facing a number of social and economic problems in their new homes as they encounter conditions and cultures that are different from their own. It is therefore important for the local administration and other stake holders to work together to support the IDPs in helping them overcome the problems they are facing and enable them to integrate with the local community.

d. Religious Conflict

Conflicts occur within religious organizations relating to disputes over finance and lack of audit. In 2018 local Orthodox Church followers and leaders were involved in a conflict over the failure of the leadership to build a church in the town. The Administration and Security Office has advised the parties to meet with their church officials and discuss their grievances. The issue was later resolved by the involvement of elders who were selected by the two sides. The followers

also allege that the church's leaders misuse the funds of their church. A Church leader was later removed from his position (Interview, KI-3).

The above dispute occurred between the leaders and followers of Aba Kiros Church in the town. The dispute also pertained to the complaints by some followers about the election of church leaders without the support of the followers (Interview, KI-7). The Orthodox Church's national council is also accused of appointing persons that it favors. The Police was involved in facilitating dialogue between the two parties with the goal of resolving the dispute peacefully and prevent escalation. No violence has occurred so far (Ibid).

In 2017, a local Orthodox Church was demolished by the local authorities for lacking proper permits as it was built on a property that was bought from local residents. The issue was brought to the mayor's office and to the regional government president for consideration. The authorities resolved the issue peacefully by granting land to the church. No injury was caused and compensation was not paid as it was an illegal construction (Interview, KI-3).

e. Ethnic Conflict

Scholars argue that political power is a vital factor for generating ethnic conflict. According to Markakis, the struggle for power is the most important cause of ethnic conflicts in the Horn of Africa, when government policies and institutions, which distribute resources are based on ethnicity (Markakis 1994). Discriminatory government policies play a significant role in aggravating ethnic conflicts. Exclusion from political power and rights as power holders favor their own ethnic group and discriminate others could lead to ethnic conflict, whenever there is conducive condition for it. Another scholar stresses that "ethnic nepotism, measured by ethnic division, is a common causal factor behind ethnic conflict (Vanhanen 1999 cited in Dagne 2013).

Political instability brings threats of insecurity. The Police takes preventive measures by using various inputs to identify instigators of violence and takes preventive action. In September 2018, during the Burayu Massacre, the Legetafo Police received intelligence about an OLF agent from Neqemte who was inciting local youth to attack the Dorze ethnic community in Gewasa and

Wochi localities of the town. The individual was reportedly telling the local youth that the ethnic Dorzes have taken Oromo land and abuse the Oromo people. The Police arrested the person who was allegedly inciting ethnic violence along with three of his accomplices and held them for 28 days. This enabled the Police to prevent the outbreak of ethnic violence in the town (Interview KI-7).

There were attempts to incite ethnic violence against ethnic Gurages in September 2018 following the violence in Burayu town, in the Special Zone surrounding Addis Ababa in Oromia Region, where scores of civilians were killed in a flare up of ethnic based violence. Local authorities were able to prevent violence by intervening and holding calming those involved in such acts. No conflict has occurred so far that is related to ethnicity. Many ethnic groups live in the town peacefully (Interview, KI-4).

The current ethnic discord and mistrust that is visible among various ethnicities in Ethiopia is attributable to the highly ethnicized political discourse of the last three decades as well as the ethnic-federalism political system which focused on the differences of various ethnic groups instead of nurturing and promoting the common traits, values and culture that is shared by all nationalities and citizens. Furthermore, there were attempts by political actors to create suspicion and mistrust among various ethnic groups by presenting one group as an oppressor while presenting other ethnic groups as victims of such historical oppression and cultural marginalization.

The above cited attempts to instigate ethnic conflict is attributed to certain political actors that are aiming at controlling political power by mobilizing popular support from their own ethnic community. These actors strive to garner political capital by inciting ethnic clashes and exaggerating alleged historical and ethnic grievances, whether they are real or imagined. These ethnic entrepreneurs find the presence of a large unemployed youth population as a good opportunity to realize their political aspirations. The lack of tangible employment opportunities also creates frustration among the youth thereby making them a malleable target for politicians who strive to mobilize the youth through ethnic manipulation.

In the implementation of government programs, officials often favor members of their own community or discriminate against others. This may be the outcome of official policy or informal practice, but the consequences are clearly recognized by both beneficiaries and victims. In most cases the biased application of administrative resources is consistent with the intentions and expectations of the governing regime and is so understood by the public, especially members of ethnic communities that are targeted by these practices (Esman 1999).

3.7 State Actors in Conflict Management

Most violent conflicts in the current era are not inter-state but intra-state disputes. Most of them involve mobilized ethnic communities. The state is a critical factor in most ethnic disputes. The contemporary state enforces the rules that determine the relative status of and interrelationships among ethnic communities within its boundaries (Esman 1999).

The state establishes the symbols of the polity to which all citizens are expected to adhere; it determines which languages enjoy official standing and which are relegated to vernacular status. It sets the terms of access to the values that ethnic communities contest, such as political participation and office-holding, employment in government institutions and often in private enterprise, and access to scarce and valuable economic assets such as land, capital and credit. Through the rules it applies and values it allocates, the state undertakes to regulate or manage conflicts that emerge among ethnic communities and between them and the state (Esman 1999).

State institutions, democratic or not, are expected to set up organizing principles for conflict management, i.e. to establish predictable norms and rules according to which divergent interests would be articulated and promoted (Azarya 2003).

The particular outcome of such activities depends on the power relations within the society and on the actions of the state itself. Despite claims that it represents the society as a whole and that it transcends sectoral interests, the state has its own corporate interests to promote in this arena and

uses for this purpose the resources at its disposal. The state participates as an interested actor in the field, as well as establishing the rules according to which the struggle is conducted (Ibid).

The main state actors involved in conflict management include the Legetafo Legedadi Administration and Security Bureau, the Oromia Police, Kebele Administration and the Kebele Security Bureau. Other state actors are the Justice Bureau, Woreda Court and the Labor and Social Affairs Bureau.

A. Administration and Security Bureau

The Administration and Security Bureau (ASB) is directly accountable to the Regional Administration and Security Bureau and to the town's Mayor. ASB has two branches: Intelligence Gathering, Analysis and Forecasting branch and Religious Affairs branch. The first branch is led by a deputy head of office (Interview, KI-1).

The Religious Affairs branch works on facilitating collaboration among religious groups to ensure peace and security in the community. The local religious organizations' forum meets every month to discuss issues related to peace and conflict. The reason for establishing this branch is the recognition that religion could be a cause of conflict in other areas and to make sure these organizations facilitate and ensure peace (Interview, KI-1).

The branch works on resolving religious problems to prevent disturbance of peace. When Churches organize conferences, the Office works together to facilitate the peaceful organization of events by assisting them in securing venues and ensuring peace and security (Interview, KI-3).

The religious leaders' forum meets regularly to discuss issues related to their activities and their concerns such as cemetery and roads. The ASB has provided the forum with an office to hold their meetings. ASB staff participate in the forum's meetings and contribute ideas aimed at ensuring peace and collaboration among religious organizations. The religious organizations also want the ASB to participate in the forum as they recognize its role in working for peace and security (Interview, KI-3).

ASB focuses on preventing conflicts before they become violent through the use of intelligence and information. The political branch or leadership works to create awareness about the importance of peace amongst the local people (Interview, KI-1).

The ASB works in a traditional way and lacks modern technology. This practice can lead to the use of wrong inputs as it gathers information in a traditional manner. Employees are not interested to work in the intelligence field as they fear to work in this area. They tend to leave the job once they receive higher education (Ibid).

The Religious Affairs branch has two employees out of the authorized four. The Intelligence Gathering, Analysis and Forecasting branch has two employees out of the six slots authorized (Interview, KI-1). This indicates that the Bureau is operating below its capacity as it is understaffed and could improve its performance once it is able to be fully staffed and equipped with the necessary technological inputs.

B. Kebele Security Office

Each of the four Kebele security offices in the town is headed by one person in charge of security who recruits volunteers that gather intelligence within the community. The Administration and Security Bureau (ASB) provides training to these volunteers who also work in industries. They provide information directly to ASB when it is urgent while reporting regularly to the Kebele Security Office. Police also use their own surveillance to collect information and they share it with ASB (Interview, KI-1).

The Kebele Security Office has selected five local elders at zonal level that function as a committee (known as Kure or Jarsa Biyya) to work on dispute resolution. The elders are known by the community and meet to resolve disputes among local residents as well as between local youth (Qerro) and Police, in order to prevent violence. The committee has a secretary who prepares written reports that is submitted to Kebele Security Office (Interview, KI-2).

C. Kebele Administration

The Kebele administration is the lowest tier of the state structure which ensures the presence of the state apparatus in the community as well as service delivery. There are four Kebele's in Legetafo Legedadi town administration. Various types of conflicts are brought to Kebele administrations including land conflict, dispute over land borders, disputes over property/house sale and failure to pay or to hand over property after sale. Not many family disputes come to Kebele (Interview, KI-12).

The Kebele administration tries to resolve disputes peacefully by bringing the parties together and by involving local development group leaders and by investigating who owned the land in the past prior to the establishment of the town. The Kebele also involves elders at local level as the community has respect for elders. The Kebele works with religious organizations on security issues and to create awareness about the importance of vital statistics (Ibid).

The Kebele administration works on resolving disputes amicably. If it fails to resolve the issue the parties take the case to court. The Kebele is involved in the enforcement of court judgments by working with the Land Office and the Police (Interview, KI-11).

The town's administration has announced its plans to demolish houses that are built on green areas and buffer zones. Local people have come to the Kebele to complain about the plan as they fear about losing their houses (FGD-4). The administration has not informed the residents about the issue of compensation or replacement land in case of demolition (Interview, KI-13).

D. Police

The role of the Police is crime prevention, law and order, ensuring the security of citizens. It identifies threats and takes action to ensure peace. 85% of police work is preventing crime by designing strategy (Interview KI-7). Police makes efforts to resolve disputes between individuals

through reconciliation with the aim of preserving the peaceful social relations in the community (Ibid).

Former militias have been disbanded following the establishment of the town and some have become Regulation Enforcement agents. The agents control illegal trade and construction activities. They also provide information to police on illegal activities. There were 12 agents but some have left their jobs as they have better opportunities like brokerage (Interview, KI-8).

Lack of training and experience to take preventive action, and improper use of force by police when facing unexpected events are some of the challenges faced by the police. The Police division takes various measures to build the capacity and skills of its force (Ibid).

Local officials have cited the lack of sufficient number of police officers in various localities of the town as posing a problems in ensuring security and preventing crimes. They have further raised the need to strengthen the police presence or to reestablish and deploy local militias in order to ensure security at the local level (Interview, KI-11).

E. Justice Bureau

The Justice Bureau deals with criminal acts committed against the public and on private individuals. The Bureau encourages parties to resolve disputes peacefully in cases of petty offenses like minor disputes and insulting. In cases of assault, the Bureau cannot discontinue the suit even if the parties agree to resolve the matter through arbitration (Interview, KI-4).

The Office does not involve in the arbitration process but rather advises the parties to resolve their issues through arbitration. The parties select their own elders who will then arbitrate the disputes. Sometimes the disputants do not report the case to the police as they prefer to resolve the matter through arbitration (Interview, KI-5).

The Office encourages reconciliation in order to preserve the social relations in the community and to prevent vengeance from growing among the disputing parties. The Justice Bureau does

not have an arbitration unit and it encourages arbitration informally since it does not have formal authority to undertake arbitration (Ibid).

Most residents in the area do not work in the town as some are engaged in business activities. They do not want to be involved in traditional reconciliation as they want to quickly finish their issues. People in urban areas do not give much respect to traditional practices (Interview, KI-4).

Courts can accept the closure of cases once the prosecutor submits application to discontinue the suit after it is resolved by reconciliation. Courts can close civil cases that are resolved through reconciliation. In criminal cases the prosecutor can decide to continue the suit when the suspect has repeatedly committed offenses (Ibid).

Oromia State Proclamation No. 214/2018 grants power to the prosecutor to resort to arbitration and to guide the police in this direction. There is also a need to revise the laws in view of giving more focus to reconciliation. Plea bargain has been introduced in this new proclamation (Interview, KI-5).

The implementation of this new legislation can make a positive contribution in enabling prosecutors to resolve disputes amicably by resorting to reconciliation and arbitration thereby saving valuable time and resource. This will further improve the prosecutors' ability to focus on more important criminal justice issues.

F. Labor and Social Affairs Bureau

The Labor and Social Affairs Bureau resolves labor issues and disputes using Proclamation 377/96. Such disputes relate to lack of a minimum wage and lack of awareness by parties about their duties.

CCD Real Estate employs Indian and Turkish subcontractors who dismiss their workers at will. They do not pay wages on time. They also face language barrier. CCD threatens to dismiss workers if it does not acquire new land for development (Interview, KI-6).

The Bureau receives complaints from workers. It sends the workers to court if the issue is beyond its scope. Court lawyers, Workers Federation and Decision Board give assistance to workers in their court litigation (Interview, KI-6).

The Bureau has registered 3,500 youth residents that are unemployed and has provided IDs. The Office assists these youth by posting vacancies that are given by companies in the town. Industries opt to recruit educated workers by posting ads on newspapers or bring employees from Addis Ababa. When the Bureau is notified about such ads it asks the companies to withdraw the ad (Ibid).

Some 200 Somali Region IDPs have gotten employment in industries. 20 of them have left their jobs due to small wages. Some have returned to their homes in Hararge. Other IDPs have been organized in small enterprises to create jobs (Interview, KI-6).

A study by Nutter (2010) indicates that urbanization induced farmers to become laborers or manual workers employed for long hours and under poor conditions. They also face living conditions which is threatening and incompatible with their life style (Nutter 2010 cited in Efa 2016).

Some 34 male and 2 female heads of households who were dislocated from their lands for development were employed by CCD Real Estate (2 employed in a textile factory). Among the children of these farmers 63 males and 20 females have been employed by the real estate firm (Interview, KI-6)

As the majority of farmers lack the required level of education and skills to be employed in manufacturing industries they are mostly employed as guards and daily laborers which only enable them to earn little income thereby perpetuating the decrease in income and deterioration of their livelihood.

G. Woreda Court

The main goal of courts is to resolve conflicts between individuals as a neutral body. There are civil and criminal issues that are dealt with by the Woreda court.

Civil cases include disputes over inheritance. Parties dispute over the share of their inheritance. There are also property disputes, moveable and immovable property, land issues, non-performance of contract such as failure to deliver or non-payment after a sale of property (Interview, KI-10).

In land expropriation cases, in some instances the government takes land from farmers without paying commensurate amount of compensation in advance as required by law. In such cases farmers bring their case to court demanding the payment of compensation or the return of their land. In a recent case the court has issued a judgment for the return of the land to farmers that was taken by the government and given to a real estate company. The case is currently under appeal (Ibid).

In family cases, when spouses bring their cases to the court, the judges encourage the parties to resolve the dispute amicably before resorting to divorce. If the spouses fail to resolve the matter, the court orders them to select two elders from each side and a fifth elder as chairperson. The elders attempt to resolve the conflict and submit their written decision to the court. The court then gives the spouses a three-month cooling period. If the spouses fail to resolve their dispute a divorce judgment is rendered by the court and child custody issue is decided. The husband is normally required to provide financial support for children. Children under age five will be given to the custody of the mother. After this decision the court decides on property issue (Interview, KI-10).

Courts in the Oromia Region encourage the resolution of disputes through arbitration or reconciliation. Courts include this form of settlement in their annual work plans as such settlement of disputes promotes social peace and saves time and resources of the courts (Interview, KI-10). Arbitration has an important place in Oromo culture and values. Disputing

parties present their case honestly when they come before elders while they try to win at any cost when they come to courts (Interview, KI-10, FGD-4).

Most African communities use mediators with informal training through life experience and the mediators are insiders that are known to the disputants. They are not expected to be neutral and operate collectively within a council of elders in a public setting. The African mediation process is characterized by a wide range of relevancy, with full communication and public disclosure. Consensus between the parties is not what is sought, rather they want an outcome which satisfies the community, usually placing community interests before the personal interests of the disputing parties (Nader 2001).

3.8 Coordination Mechanisms

ASB holds regular (weekly) meetings with the Addis Ababa Police Commission focusing on preventing security problems, to prevent risks of insecurity and conflict. In addition, a Committee meeting including Oromia Zonal Security Head, Zonal Police, and Addis Ababa Police takes place twice a week depending on security issues. The committee discusses security related developments and aims to address potential risks of insecurity and conflict (Interview, KI-1).

Security Council: includes the Mayor, ASB Head and Municipal Police Head. The SC meets every month to discuss security issues, conflict and peace. To exchange information on security issues and concerns.

Regional Security Council: chaired by the regional president meets every month to deal with security related issues in the region (Ibid).

3.9 Religious Leaders Forum

The Religious Leaders Forum is an important platform that is aimed at ensuring that religious organizations play a positive role in the peace and security of the local community. The Forum

has seven members of different religious organizations: Catholic, Orthodox, Kale Hiwot, Islam, Mulu Wongel, Protestant, and Mekane Iyesus churches. It is chaired by the Orthodox Church representative (FGD-2).

The forum discusses issues when problems arise in religious organizations and works with the town's security office. It also discusses social issues. The Forum was established in 2017. However there is a lack of awareness about the Forum in the local community (FGD-2). As a result most local residents are not aware of the role of the forum and its activities in the area of conflict prevention and management. As a result, the religious forum does not receive requests for intervention from local residents in cases where disputes arise at local level (Ibid).

The Mayor's Office, Organizations Affairs Office and Police ask the Forum to involve in resolving problems that arise in the community. When ethnic and religious conflicts occur in other parts of the country the town's administration requests the Forum to promote peaceful coexistence and to educate the community so as to prevent similar conflict in the area (Ibid). The Forum has raised some funds and other humanitarian support to help IDPs that came from the Somali Region. The Forum also works as a member of the committee that deals with the rehabilitation of the IDPs (FGD-2).

3.10 The Role of Urbanization in Conflict

The process of urbanization and the expansion of towns can bring both opportunities and challenges for surrounding farming communities. The opportunities include: employment, access to urban services, and urban-rural linkages or trickledown development. Nutter (2010) argued that urbanization can bring positive social consequences as urban communities are less likely to practice female circumcision, honor killings or polygamy (Nutter 2010 cited in Efa 2016).

Some of the negative impacts of urban sprawl would be that it causes social segregation between the rich and poor. As poor communities lose their land resources to urbanization they encounter economic difficulties (Efa 2016).

Scarcity of resources cannot be a decisive factor for the rise of conflict as conflict occurs where some groups attempt to benefit themselves at the expense of others. This happens when power holders distribute resources among different ethnic groups unfairly. In Ethiopia, prolonged social conflicts have been the result of competition over the control of state machinery, which guarantees access to necessary resources (Dagne 2013).

As development increases along with urbanization there is an increase in conflict as the social contact and interaction also increases. People come to urban areas from different places. Urban residents also tend to bring their disputes to the Police or authorities instead of resorting to violence (Interview, KI-10, FGD-3). Farmers bring complaints about pollution of rivers by waste materials dumped by factories and real estate companies. The Agriculture Bureau takes action to ensure that such pollution is stopped by working with the concerned industries (Interview, KI-13). The Sendafa landfill which is located in a neighboring Woreda used to cause problems to locals due to the bad odor. Local residents complain that the landfill facility was built on a populated area without considering the impact on the local residents. It is currently closed due to local opposition (FGD-4).

The increase in urbanization plays an important role in consolidating state power. This consolidation of state power takes place through building the coercive apparatus of the state and the popular control of public coercion through the establishment of a democratic system. Hence urbanization provides governments an opportunity to establish a structure to easily control the populace and undertake a democratization process (Herbst 2009).

In this regard, Caswell asserts that urbanization creates unnecessary political competition between government and political organizations or parties as they strive to garner political support and popular acceptance. It can also increase corruption (Caswell 2001). Furthermore, Nutter (2010) argues that urbanization poses conflict between urban and rural areas as the government takes measures like farm product depreciation that are aimed at gaining political support and acceptance of city dwellers. These measures negatively affect rural communities and can result in social unrest and conflict (Efa 2016).

3.11 Land Grabbing

There are cases of land grabbing by real estate companies where the administration has written letters for the offenders to vacate the land so as to return it to the land bank (Interview, KI-13). The informant cited cases of land grabbing as instances where companies have been found possessing land without any legal right or proper documents authorizing such possession.

According to the local residents and state actors, the local community wants to live peacefully and there has not been a negative sentiment or conflict between various ethnic groups in Legetafo. The local farmers have lived together with residents from other communities and they do not agitate or claim the land for themselves based on ethnicity (FGD-3)

There are cases of illegal land sale by farmers as they receive more benefits from such sales instead of compensation that is given by the government. Many residents also live in houses that are built on properties which were bought from local farmers. Farmers also complain about demolition of houses that are built on land designated for green area and buffer zones in the master plan (FGD-3).

In February 2019, the Legetafo Legedadi Town Administration began demolishing more than 3,000 houses that it labelled as “illegally built.” The Administration further indicated that these houses are part of the 12,000 illegally built houses that it has marked for demolition. However, home owners who have lost their houses say they have been living in the area after having bought their properties mostly in 2008 and onward (Addis Standard, Feb. 2019).

The demolition of a large number of houses and the displacement of families from their homes has become a contentious issue as many observers argued that these measures were targeting non-Oromo residents of the town. Many residents who were displaced from their areas of residence due to the demolition of houses have sought shelter in various churches located in Addis Ababa (Ibid).

Although the town’s administration has denied such demolition based on targeting specific ethnic groups, the ethnically organized federal structure opens the door for the ethnicisation of

territory and the abuse of power in the name of safeguarding and promoting the interests of a specific ethnic community. Experience shows that local authorities in various parts of Ethiopia have been implicated in the targeted expulsion of civilians that do not belong to the dominant ethnic group of a specific region (Relief web 2018).

Part II. Analysis and Discussion

1. Causes of Conflict

The main causes of conflict in the Legetafo Legedadi town can be related to urbanization and the changes in the settlement patterns of the local area. With the advance of urbanization a large number of people have come to settle in the town in search of residential houses and employment opportunities that have developed following the introduction of various industries and construction activities in the town. These new residents have been attracted by the availability of affordable houses or land which they acquire to build houses. Many people also come to the town in search of jobs in the various investment projects that are found in Legetafo town (KI-1). As the Basic Need Theory of conflict articulates humans have basic needs such as identity, security, recognition, development, and psychological and physical demands and that conflict occurs when people face frustrations that emanate when they are prevented from fulfilling their basic needs (Cunningham 2001). The local conflicts that arise in the study area can be explained as conflicts that resulted from grievances caused by the failure to fulfill the basic needs of local farmers, employees, youth and other stakeholders.

Relative Deprivation Theory argues that conflict occurs when expectations are raised along with the absence of progress towards a better life (Jeong 2000). The popular protests in Oromia Region since 2014 can be explained partly as the expression of anger by the youth who faced economic hardships due to the lack of employment and continued displacement from their land as a result of various development programs and urbanization.

These social changes could inevitably create tensions between the new residents and those locals who have been forced to relinquish their farm lands in order to give way for the various urban developments that are being realized in the town. Many local farmers complain about losing their farms with insufficient compensation and sometimes without any compensation. It is therefore critical for the local and regional administrations to develop a strategy aimed at addressing any potential conflict that could arise in the community. The local authorities have the primary responsibility to prevent and manage conflicts and ensure that development programs are implemented in a manner that protects the livelihood and interests of the local residents and farmers. The establishment of an office that addresses the issues of displaced farmers by the Legetafo administration is a positive step in the right direction. As this can contribute to addressing the concerns and grievances of the displaced farmers in the area (KI-10).

The presence of a large number of internally displaced people from the Somali Regional State has further changed the social dynamics becoming a source of potential conflict. The local authorities have managed to handle the issue by mobilizing resources to construct houses for the 5,000 IDPs in the town. The authorities have also taken some measures to rehabilitate and also create employment opportunities to the IDPs in view of integrating them into the local community (KI-6).

Other sources of concern in the study area relate to conflicts that occur in religious organizations. These potential and actual conflicts are caused by disputes among members of certain religious groups or churches relating disagreements over the management of the churches. The local authorities have contributed to the peaceful resolution of such disputes by encouraging the disputing parties to engage in dialogue. Such intervention by the Security office and the police can be considered as a positive measure in managing conflicts and preventing their escalation. The establishment of a religious leaders' forum is an important innovative approach to deal with religious disputes. The forum would also make a contribution in promoting peace and security by working on conflict prevention and management (KI-1, KI-3, FGD 2).

The recent political developments in Ethiopia have heightened the potential for ethnic conflict in various parts of the country. Some attempts were also made by political actors to instigate ethnic

conflict between Oromos and other ethnic groups in Legetafo town (Interview KI-8). Although these attempts were averted by the preventive action of the local authorities, it is highly important for the local and regional authorities to remain alert to similar activities and to put in place an effective strategy to prevent any potential ethnic conflict.

The highly ethnicized political environment in Ethiopia seems to contribute to the recurrence of ethnic conflicts and the targeted expulsion of civilians from areas that are dominated by a different ethnic group as the dominant ethnic groups claim to have the exclusive ownership of the region. The flawed implementation of the ethno-linguistic federalism and the absence or deficit of rule of law and democracy play important roles in the perpetuation of these violations of the basic human rights of fellow citizens.

2. State Actors in Conflict Management

Mapping of the different state actors and the level of engagement in conflict (Table 2)

Local Administration Unit	Types of Conflict
Administration and Security Office Kebele Security Office	Religious, Ethnic, Labor, IDP
Police	Ethnic, IDP, Religious
Municipal and Kebele Administration	Land, Compensation, IDP
Justice Bureau, Court	Family, Land, Contract, Personal
Labor and Social Affairs	Employment
Displaced Farmers Rehabilitation	Displaced farmers and their families

While a plethora of local government units participate in conflict prevention and management, some of these branches of the local administration play a more direct and paramount role. These branches include the Administration and Security Bureau, the Police and Kebele administration. The nature of the functions of these units is such that they are required to deal with issues that

involve conflict prevention, management and resolution. Other offices like the Labor Office, Justice Bureau and the Court are also engaged in activities that concern conflict management and resolution as in cases of handling complaints brought by employees over unpaid wages or unlawful dismissal from employment. Similarly the local court is involved in the resolution of conflicts that arise over land which is expropriated from farmers without compensation or with insufficient compensation (KI-11).

Meanwhile, the recently formed office for displaced farmers' rehabilitation is working on addressing the issue of compensation for farmers who were removed from their lands due to urbanization and industrial development projects. The office works on identifying and rehabilitating those farmers and their families who suffered from the negative impact of these development endeavors. In the process of undertaking these duties, the office would be able to carry out conflict management functions relating to the grievances of farmers who lost their lands with little or no compensation as well as without support in terms of creating alternative sources of livelihood and employment for the farmers and their families (KI-10).

3 Role of State Actors

The role of state actors in the process of conflict prevention, management and resolution can be categorized as having a focus on preserving local peace and security. State actors take various measures and engage in activities aimed at preventing local conflicts from spiraling out of control and escalating into violence (KI-1). For instance, Kebele authorities and police officials intervene in situations where local real estate workers strike to air their grievances over management issues against their employer (KI-2). State actors attempt to prevent the workers from engaging in violent acts like destruction of property. The local security actors further work to calm tensions and initiate dialogue between the conflicting parties in order to resolve the dispute and restore peaceful engagement (KI-7, KI-8).

Local security and police officials have also been successful in preventing the occurrence of violent ethnic conflict in Legetafo through their timely intervention. These state actors were able to prevent conflict by detaining those individuals who were inciting ethnic conflict. This was

made possible through effective communication among security actors and by taking prompt action to prevent the conflict before it occurred. This can be considered as a good example of conflict prevention and management which is a timely intervention that aims to handle disputes in a cost effective manner before they escalate into destructive violence (KI-8).

On the other hand the Administration and Security Bureau and the local police have engaged in promoting dialogue between disputing parties in a local orthodox church in an effort to resolve a conflict that arose between the leaders and followers of the church. The local authorities' timely intervention in this conflict has enabled the conflicting parties to resolve the dispute through dialogue. This intervention has further ensured the resolution of the conflict before it degenerated into violence. Such engagement by state actors would also make a positive contribution in promoting peaceful coexistence in the community. The establishment of a religious leaders' forum is another useful step that can potentially make a positive contribution in the area of conflict prevention and resolution (KI-1, FGD 2).

State actors like the Woreda Court, Justice Bureau and Police as well as Kebele administration make efforts to involve traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution like local elders and religious leaders in their interventions to prevent and manage conflicts at local level. Such efforts play a positive role in sustaining these traditional institutions and ensuring their relevance as well as continuity. This further plays a role in increasing the acceptance of the measures taken by state actors as the local community has significant respect for traditional elders and religious leaders (FGD 2 & 3).

Meanwhile, the measures taken by state actors in the area of protecting the interests of local farmers that have been affected by the various development projects has not been sufficient to ensure the well-being of those farmers' households. This has in turn resulted in the displacement of many farmers with little or no compensation thereby exposing the farmers to various social and economic difficulties. The local administration has recently begun to give more attention to the plight of the displaced farmers and has established an office to support these displaced farmers (KI-10).

As regards conflict transformation, there is no tangible movement towards realizing any program or process of conflict transformation since the state actors are principally focused on conflict prevention and management with the main goal of ensuring peace and security at the local level. As such there is no clear effort to identify root causes of conflict and transform social structures in view of addressing inequalities which underlie conflicts.

Chapter Four: Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusions

The nature and types of conflict in the study area and the corresponding structures and practices inform that the local state actors are mainly focused on managing the conflicts that arise in the community and preventing the escalation of conflicts into violence. The various state actors and structures that are put in place by the Legetafo Legedadi town administration and the regional state are primarily geared towards detecting potential sources of conflict and addressing the issues at an early stage in order to prevent their escalation. In this context, the local Administration and Security Bureau is the lead government unit that is tasked with coordinating security and conflict related activities. The Bureau works closely with the police and local administration to ensure peace and security by preventing potential conflicts from escalating into violence.

Similarly, the police work with various stakeholders to detect local conflicts and intervene to prevent them from growing into violent acts. The local Kebele administration, Labour Office, Justice Bureau and Woreda Court are all engaged in the handling of various types of conflicts that arise at the local level and work to resolve conflicts in a peaceful way in order to preserve the peaceful coexistence of local residents. In so doing, these state actors attempt to utilize and embrace traditional conflict management practices such as elders committees and religious leaders as they recognize that the community gives high regard for such traditional ways of resolving conflicts. For instance, the Legetafo Kebele authorities work with local elders in the community in dealing with land disputes that arise at the local level. This enables the Kebele authorities to come up with solutions that are acceptable by the conflicting parties.

As to the process of conflict transformation there is not much evidence showing that there is any concrete effort towards implementing conflict transformation in the study area. Conflict transformation involves changing the structures in a society aimed at addressing the inequalities that consequently lead to conflicts. It refers to the transformation of attitudes, behaviors and

contradictions to positive relationship as an outcome, process and structure oriented long term peace building aimed at truly overcoming direct and structural violence (Lederach 1996).

The mechanisms and structures that are put in place by the local administration and the regional state can be categorized as efforts that are aimed at preserving and maintaining peace and security. State structures like the Administration and Security Bureau and the police strive to ensure peace and security by carrying out preventive measures including law enforcement activities by mainly focusing on conflict prevention and avoiding conflict escalation. Coordination mechanisms like the Security Council (at municipal and regional level) also aim to identify potential conflicts in order to take preventive action to ensure peace and security. Innovative measures such as the establishment of a religious leaders' forum are included in this category. In this context, there is no concrete evidence in the study area which indicates that state actors are engaged in any tangible conflict transformation process.

5.2 Recommendations

The local administration could take certain measures and implement a number of programs aimed at strengthening mutual respect and peaceful coexistence of the various ethnic communities of the town. These measures include ensuring that state institutions are inclusive and representative of the residents and the various ethnic communities of the town instead of being exclusively controlled by the dominant ethnic group.

This will play a significant role in enhancing the legitimacy of the state institutions by building trust of the public on these organs. Such measures will further ensure that the residents of the town perceive the administration as a neutral body that works to deliver public services to all the residents fairly. Such measures could be considered as steps in transforming conflicts by addressing the root causes of conflicts.

The administration could further support the religious leaders' forum by engaging them in a more robust manner and by publicizing the forum to the local public. The town could also strengthen the forum by providing much needed financial and logistical support in order to enable the forum to make a meaningful contribution in local conflict management and resolution efforts.

It is also beneficial for the local authorities to devise a strategy to further institutionalize and strengthen the functioning and participation of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms like elders and religious leaders. This will enable the authorities to undertake conflict management and transformation activities in a more effective way since the integration of traditional mechanisms in the process will ensure that it has a higher chance of success due to the acceptance and legitimacy of traditional methods in the local community.

The local administration and the regional state are also expected to strengthen the capacity of the different government units that are directly involved in conflict management and transformation as it is the primary responsibility of the State to ensure the rule of law and guarantee the safety and security of its citizens. This can be realized through improving the budget and staffing of the offices as well as through capacity building trainings. The offices should also be equipped with modern technology in order to improve their performance in terms of output delivery and efficiency.

As enhancing the capacity of these institutions would contribute positively to enabling the administration to fulfil its role in the area of conflict management and transformation. Accordingly, the administration should focus on strengthening the structures such as the Administration and Security Bureau and the local police in order to enhance their capacity to proactively respond to conflicts and prevent their escalation into violence.

In addressing the grievances of local residents whose houses were demolished, the administration should take steps to ensure that the residents receive the necessary humanitarian support. The local administration should further put in place a transparent system of providing land for local residents to enable them to legally construct residential houses.

The administration should also set up a communication channel with the local residents to effectively address the concerns of the aggrieved residents and allay their fear of being targeted based on their ethnicity. It should further set up a mechanism that could address the complaints of residents whose houses may have been demolished wrongfully and provide them the necessary remedies.

The administration is also expected to take proper administrative and legal action on those officials who were accused of perpetrating wide spread and illegal sale of land in the town as they have contributed to the current problems of illegally built houses that is affecting the town.

It is further necessary to re-examine the role of current land policies and laws in creating or exasperating conflicts related to land. This would enable the government to adopt policies that can contribute to reducing conflicts and improve the livelihoods of farmers that are displaced from their homes and land as a result of continuing urbanization and development.

Such revision should be geared towards ensuring that displaced farmers are empowered in terms of having a say in local development programs and to include them as beneficiaries of development projects that are implemented in their localities. This will enable the local communities to embrace the development projects as they gain direct economic benefits.

The local administration could set up a mechanism to enable the participation of local residents in the decision making process by consulting the residents before undertaking similar measures. These efforts can improve the administration's image and help in reducing illegal activities. It will also contribute to improving the cooperation of local residents with the administration. It is important for the local administration to take measures that demonstrate that it views all ethnic groups in the town in an equal manner without discrimination as they are all citizens with equal rights.

The Regional State and federal authorities should work towards addressing the mistrust and suspicion among different ethnic groups as these issues are rooted in historical events. As some

politicians argue that Oromos have been historically oppressed by the Amhara ruling class, they further attempt to create mistrust between the two communities. It is therefore important for the state actors to build trust and understanding among the political actors and the communities in order to make sure that such negative perceptions are not spread into the wider population.

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List of Key Informants Interviewed in Legetafo Legedadi Town

1. Legetafo Legedadi Town Administration and Security Bureau Official (KI-1) 01/01/2019
2. Dembel Kebele Security Officer, Legetafo (KI-2) - Interview date 02/01/2019
3. ASB Security Assurance and Mutual Respect Officer (KI-3)- Interview date 03/01/2019
4. Legetafo Legedadi town Justice Bureau Official (KI-4)- date 09/01/2019
5. Legetafo Legedadi Justice Bureau Expert, Legetafo (KI-5)- Interview date 09/01/2019
6. Labor and Social Affairs Officer, Legetafo (KI-6)- Interview date 11/01/2019
7. Legetafo Police Inspector, Legetafo (KI-7)- Interview date 16/01/2019
8. Legetafo Police Official (KI-8)- Interview date 16/01/2019
9. Enterprise Development and Industry Bureau Official (KI-9)- Interview date 20/01/2019
10. Office for the Rehabilitation of Dislocated Farmers Official, Legetafo (KI-10)- Interview date 30/01/2019
11. Legetafo Woreda Court Official (KI-11)- Interview date 11/02/2019
12. Legetafo Kebele Administration Official (KI-12)- Interview date 13/02/2019
13. Legetafo Kebele Administration Officer (KI-13)- Interview date 13/02/2019
14. Agriculture, Animal Resources and Environment Bureau Official (KI-14)- Interview date 15/02/2019
15. Oromo activist in Addis Ababa (KI-15)- Interview date 20/4/2019

List of Focus Group Discussions

1. FGD with local government employees, Legetafo- date 30/01/ 2019
2. FGD with members of the Religious Leaders Forum, Legetafo- date 12/02/2019
3. FGD with local residents, Legetafo- date 29/01/2019
4. FGD with local elders, Legetafo- date 13/02/2019