



Addis Ababa University
College of Law and Governance
Center for Federalism and Governance Studies

**IGR and Interregional Conflict Management in the Ethiopian
Federation: The case of Oromia and SNNP Regional Governments**

BY:

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July, 2018

ADDIS ABABA

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Federation: The Case of Oromia and SNNP Regional Governments**

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**A Thesis Submitted to the College of Law and Governance Studies
of Addis Ababa University in Partial Fulfillment of the
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July, 2018

Addis Ababa

Declaration

I, **Mustefa Aman**, hereby declare that the thesis entitled “**IGR and Interregional Conflict Management in the Ethiopian Federation: The case of Oromia and SNNP Regional Governments.**” submitted by me for the award in Master of Arts in Federalism and Governance Studies at Addis Ababa University. This Thesis is my original work and it has not been presented for the award of any degree in other university or institution, and all sources of materials used for this thesis have been dully acknowledged.

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Mustefa Aman, June, 2018

List of Acronyms

Abbreviations	Full Name
APC	Annual premiers' Conference
CTT	Conflict Transformation Theory
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FMC	First Ministers' Conference
HoF	House of Federation
HPR	House of Peoples Representatives
HIGR	Horizontal Inter Governmental Relations
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IGA	Intergovernmental Agreement
LGs	Local Governments
MCF	Ministerial council's forum
MoFA	Ministry of Federal Affairs
MoFPDA	Ministry of Federal and Pastoral Development Affairs
NCOP	National Council of Provinces
ONRS	Oromia National Regional State
OPDO	Oromo People Democratic Organization
PCC	President's Coordinating Council
PCU	Bilateral Program Coordinating Unit
RMAFC	Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
SEPDEM	South Ethiopian People Democratic Movement
TPLF	Tigrinya Peoples Liberation Front
SNNPRS	South Nation Nationality and peoples Regional State
TCM	Traditional Conflict Management
TCR	Traditional Conflict Resolution

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Abstract

This Thesis focuses on horizontal IGR between Oromia and SNNPR with a particular reference to the role of IGR in managing conflicts between West Arsi Zone (Oromia) and Sidama Zone (SNNPRS) based on the empirical evidences from the case Woredas on both Sidama of SNNPRS and West Arsi Zone of Oromia. It specifically examines the effectiveness of the institutions and mechanisms of IGRs for managing conflicts between these two administrations; and thereby evaluate whether the extant IGRs mitigate the conflicts. In order to achieve these objectives, the study employed in-depth interview, key informant interview, Focus Group Discussion and document review for obtaining primary data sources; and it has also utilized different secondary sources including books, Articles journal, published and unpublished sources. The study found out that, despite the previous studies view that the competition over natural resources as a principal cause of conflict between Sidama and West Arsi, the conflict was initially started for social recognition (killing as a signal for braveness and social prestige). At present, there are several underlining causes of the conflict ranging from historical, cultural, economic, and political to identity issues prior to the adoption of the federalism and after the formation of the federation. To this end, both traditional conflict resolution (TCR) and IGRs have been utilized to manage the conflict between Sidama of SNNPR and West Arsi of Oromia. Nonetheless, the IGR solution, which was predominantly informal in its form, to manage this conflict has been ineffective than the TCR. But the TCR alone, given the context of federal arrangement in the study area, couldn't effectively resolve the conflict and the dynamics of issues at the interface between Sidama and West Arsi. It is, therefore, a contention of this thesis that a good combination of both the TCR and more formalized horizontal IGR could efficiently resolve the conflict between the Sidama of SNNPR and West Arsi of Oromia.

Key Words: IGR, HIGR, Conflict Management, Interregional relations, Traditional Conflict Resolution

CHAPTER ONE

1 Introduction

Intergovernmental Relations are vital for federations to be effective and compliant for common purpose. ¹A broader understanding of Federal system calls for the study of the compartment on which the state to state relationship is based. In the context wherein multilevel governments persist; studying the way how horizontal IGRs function are essential. IGR is the mechanism by which different levels and branches of government interact with one another in the process of meeting the needs and interests of the public and the achievement of common goals through facilitating cooperative policy making and effective coordination between and across vertical and horizontal governmental arrangement.² IGR is significant in that it installs the culture of negotiation, checking the centralization of government power, and enhancing the bargaining power of the regional states and local governments. Some researchers like (Trench, T. 2006 and Agranoff, R 2012)³ pointed that a virtue of IGR is that it is to be found in all federal systems, at the same time context sensitive and unique in some respects. Hence the institutions and processes that countries have developed to manage the intergovernmental relationship vary widely in several dimensions. They vary from country to country, and within countries between different time periods and between different policy areas.

In the context of Ethiopia, the Federal Constitution requires both tiers of government (federal and region) to preserve and maintain constitutional order throughout the federation (FDRE Constitution, Art-51(1)).⁴ Moreover; on issues where the two levels interface as in Art 51 (2,3) ,52 (2) functional interface on issues of formulation of overall socio economic policy of the country, on setting national standards and basic policies and on law enactment of land ,natural resource. Despite these major concurrent constitutional responsibilities of the federal and regional states, the

¹ Dessalegn Tigabu (2014) Horizontal Intergovernmental Relations between Ethiopian Federating Units: The case of Amhara and Benshangul Gumuz Regions .Unpublished MA Thesis.AAU.

² John Phillimore (2013) Understanding Intergovernmental Relations: Key Features and Trends. Research and Evaluation Curtin University. Australian Journal of Public Administration, vol. 72, no. 3, pp. 228–238

³ Robert Agranoff (2012): Federal Evolution in Spain. International Political Science Review. Vol.17, No. 4, New Trends in Federalism. Les nouvelles formes du fédéralisme (Oct, 1996.), pp.385-401. Sage Publications, Ltd. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1601276>.

⁴ The 1995 Constitution of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

Constitution contains no explicit reference to intergovernmental cooperation and it does not expressly state the obligations of any one level of government with regard to the IGR schemes in the federation. Hence, there has been a statutory and institutional gap in IGRs⁵ Moreover; (Nuggusie Affesha, 2015 p. 8) there is lack of an independent institution in charge of consolidating IGR and this in turn has led to gaps in the regularity, continuity and effectiveness of the interactions among constituent members of the federations.⁶

In Ethiopia, the HOF, which is the upper house of the country's parliament, is the highest body to manage and resolve conflicts in the country (Weyesa 2011:67). Under article 62(6) of the FDRE constitution, the house of Federation is authorized "to find solutions to disputes or misunderstandings that may erupt between states." The house facilitates necessary conditions to resolve disputes that may arise between the regional states given the concerned parties are willing to solve their dispute through mutual agreement. However, when the parties fail to reach an agreement, the house has the power to decide on the matters to settle the dispute (FDRE, 1995; Art. 48 (1), and (2)). The other important institution in Ethiopia which involves in conflict management activities is the Ministry of Federal and Pastoral Development Affairs (MoFPDAs). The minister is empowered by proclamation No 471/2005 to work on the administrative and political aspects of interstate conflicts. The minister also involves in conflicts, which arise from border dispute and ethnic conflict.

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

In practice, however, various Formal and informal intergovernmental forums were experienced in the Ethiopian federation. Concerning the formal IGR Forums the HOF which invokes a constitutional basis to organize IGR, MoFPDA invokes certain legislation as its legal basis to organize IGR, Yet, the implementation and coordination of shared policies and programs

⁵ Assefa, F. (2007), *Federalism and the Accommodation of Diversity in Ethiopia: A Comparative Study*, Revised Edition. Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing Enterprise.

⁶ Nigussie Afesha (2015). *The Federal-state Intergovernmental Relationship in Ethiopia: Institutional Framework and Its Implication on State Autonomy*. MIZAN LAW REVIEW, Vol. 9, No2.

facilitated to a large degree by party channels, and this remained the most pervasive scheme used by the federal government to influence state governments as well as to guarantee uniformity of policies in Ethiopia.⁷ Solomon (2008, p72) reported that; the informal IGR Forums meetings were taking place between the federal ministerial offices and regional bureaus, between director generals and technical experts; between regional governments and local governments with their respective offices or sectors, interaction largely characterized by ad hoc, spontaneous, irregular and often without clear constitutional base.⁸ These forums principally aimed at paving the way for cooperation and integration between the levels of government.

In a country like Ethiopia, traditional conflict management mechanisms could also help to resolve conflicts, reduce tensions and rebuild social relations. Badaso, k. (2013pp123) illustrated lists of institutions. “These institutions include Gadaa system, Qalu institutions that lead their traditional religion of Oromo; The Luwa system of Sidama can play a significant role in conflict management and resolution.”⁹ Moreover; these traditional informal institutions also plays a huge role on IGR functions in managing interregional conflicts.

The ethnic groups in Ethiopia have institutionalized different practices to manage conflicts and then to create friendship relations among themselves and with their neighboring ethnic communities. Different members played a great role in managing conflicts among the “Indigenous” communities.¹⁰ In this perspective, Taddese (2000), Assefa (2005) and Dejene (2007) discuss how traditional conflict resolution mechanisms such as “Jaarsummaa” (assembly of elders), “*Gumaa*” literary (blood money) and “*Michu*” (creating friendship) have helped to manage and resolve the Oromos.¹¹ There are three traditional and cultural administrative

⁷ Supra note 3

⁸ Solomon Nigussie, (2008). Fiscal federalism in the Ethiopian ethnic based federal system (Netherlands: wolf legal publisher,) at 67

⁹ Badhaso, Kiniso. (2013). The Role of Local Government in Conflict Management Experience from Wondo-Genet Woreda Southern Ethiopia (1991-2010). Unpublished MA Thesis. Addis Ababa University

¹⁰ Gololcha Balli (2015). Ethnic Conflict and Its Management in Pastoralist Communities: The Case of Guji and Borana Zones of Oromia National Regional State, 1970-2014. Unpublished MA thesis. Submitted to the Graduate School of Psychology of Addis Ababa University

¹¹ Ethiopia: The Challenge of Democracy from Below Edited by Bahru Zewde and Siegfried Pausewang. Øyvind Aadland. Sera: Traditionalism or Living Democratic Values? A Case Study of the Sidama in Southern Ethiopia.at37

structures which reflects the basic social principles in the Sidama social structure which are based on patrilineage, genealogical purity and seniority. A series of patrilineal segmentary sub tribes and subdivisions of the sub-tribes are stratified into different hierarchical levels, clans, and finally intersected by a system of age-grade (Luwa) sets.

This Thesis focuses on Horizontal IGR between Oromia and SNNPR with a particular reference to the role of IGR in managing conflicts between West Arsi Zone (Oromia) and Sidama Zone (SNNPRS). In doing so, it centers on IGR issues including border conflicts, crime prevention, natural resource management and other cross-border (spill-over) matters. Based on the empirical evidences from the case Woredas on both Sidama of SNNPRS and West Arsi Zone of Oromia; This study examines the effectiveness of the IGR institutions and mechanisms of managing conflicts between these two administrations, and thereby evaluate whether the extant IGRs mitigate the conflicts.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Studies on comparative federalism show that the increasing significance of IGR as the institutional and practical device to fit to contextual realities of the federal systems. It is contended that the Ethiopian IGR field is not developed especially when looked from horizontal IGR perspective.¹² The intergovernmental relation among lower levels of government is similarly very weak. Federalism subsumes the IGR mechanism and its existence is inevitable no matter how in different forms. The federal and state governments do not operate in isolation but they rather interact frequently and this interaction forms the basis for the study of intergovernmental relations. Illustrating its necessity and pivotal need of IGR Akume (2014, p171) asserts¹³

IGRs are the grease that lubricates the complex wheel of interactions that transpire daily between the divergent groups and their institutions in a federal state.

¹² Assefa Fiseha (2009), The System of Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) in Ethiopia: In Search of Institutions and Guidelines, Journal of Ethiopian Law, Vol.23 No.1, at 108. 8Solomon

¹³ Akume, Albert (2014), The Effect of Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) on Nigerian Federalism: An Examination Intergovernmental Management (IGM) 1999-200. Canadian Social Science Vol. 10, No. 3, 2014, pp. 171-180 on page 171. Published online 18 April 2014.

The institutions and processes for intergovernmental collaboration serve two important functions: conflict resolution and a means of adapting to changing circumstances.¹⁴ The capacity of IGR to resolve emerging conflicts and disagreements in a harmonious manner such that it will impact positively on the competence of the various constitutionally limited governments is placed on the anvil of the IGR and its management.

In all federal systems disagreements are likely to arise, whether of fundamental issues of jurisdiction, or on more detailed matters of the administration of IGA, fiscal arrangements and the like. Comparative studies on role of IGR in conflict resolutions shows that in some countries, such as the U.S., Canada, Australia, Germany, India and South Africa, the courts are the final arbiter or umpire of the intergovernmental relationship and judicial decisions have greatly affected the actual distribution of power. Yet in most federations, appeals to the courts are relatively uncommon. In South Africa indeed, Chapter Three on co-operative government specifically enjoins governments to avoid “legal proceedings against each other,” using the courts only as a last resort. Instead most countries rely on the informal processes of IGRs to work out differences. In other cases, the absence of authoritative dispute settlement procedures means that resolution is primarily a political matter, and disagreements may be protracted. This is particularly the case in India, where most disputes end up in the Supreme Court and lead to protracted deliberations.

In the case of Ethiopia, the Federal Constitution offers little guidance for managing federal-state relations. Except the vertical federal and state IGRs, the Horizontal IGR and its capacity to manage conflicts is little researched. Broadly, the extant studies on IGRs in Ethiopian federation by; ¹⁵Assefa, F. (2009), Hagos, S. (2009), Getachew M. (2011), Nigussie A. (2015), asserts IGR in Ethiopia have been characterized by lack of formal institutional and policy frameworks.

¹⁴ Ronald Watts (1996), comparing federal systems in the 1990s, Kingston Ontario: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen’s University, at, p.22

¹⁵ Assefa Fisseha (2009) entitled The System of Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) in Ethiopia: In Search of Institutions and Guidelines, Journal of Ethiopian Law, Vol.23 No.1, at 108, Hagos Sibatu (2009), Vertical Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) in the Ethiopian Federal System, LL. M Thesis, Ethiopian Civil Service University, Addis Ababa. Nigussie, Affesha (2015) On his article entitled The Federal-state Intergovernmental Relationship in Ethiopia: Institutional Framework and its Implication on State Autonomy; ; Getachew Mengste (2011), Intergovernmental Fiscal Transfer in Ethiopia, (Master Thesis Unpublished) Addis Ababa University School of Law

Rather, the practice of IGRs in Ethiopia relies on the executive institutions, the ministry of federal and Pastoral area Development Affairs (MoFPADA), and party channel,¹⁶

Though the Federal Constitution of the Ethiopian Federation divides legislative, executive, judicial and financial powers between the federal and regional state governments in the form of exclusive, shared and residual powers, it is impossible to clearly delineate and separate these powers- making IGRs a necessity than an institutional choice for dealing with common matters without neglecting the self rule aspect of federalism.¹⁷

A Study by Dr. Brehanu, B. (2012), Daniel G.(2015)¹⁸ has been carried out on the conflict between Oromo and Sidama. Accordingly, a study by Dr. Brehanu Borji (2012) entitled as “Assessing causes and effects of ethnic conflict in Wondogenet Woreda between the Sidama and Guji-Oromo people”, the study has found out that the causes of conflict in the study area are competition over resources located on the border. Moreover; anti-peace elements who wanted to achieve their hidden agenda are fueling the conflict from behind. He recommended, the concerned body has to pay attention and use traditional and national intervention mechanisms to bring peace and stability in the area. He further recommends while lack of education among the mass, poverty and high population growth aggravate the ethnic conflict. Daniel Gebriel (2015) research on his part investigates the social, economic and political causes for the conflict between Hadiya and Halaba ethnic groups in Misrak Badawacho Woreda of Hadiya Zone in South Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State. He finds out that the root causes of this conflict are Halaba ethnic group who are living together with Hadiya in study area request demarcation to separate from Hadiya of Misrak Badawacho Woreda. Their main interest is to include into Halaba Special Woreda for exercises self-administration. Whereas Hadiya group

¹⁶ Assefa Fisseha ; The system of Intergovernmental Relations in Ethiopia: In search of Institutions and guidelines article published on JEL in 2009

¹⁷ ibid

¹⁸Daniel Gebriel (2015), Inter-Ethnic Conflict Nationalities and Peoples Regional State: The Case of Hadiya and Halaba Ethnic Groups Badawacho Woreda MA thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree college of Law and governance in Federal Studies.AAU

strongly opposed against incorporating with Halaba special woreda and to maintain their traditional territory integrity and claiming as their possession.

The other one was the competition between the two groups on arable land for personal cultivation. These studies mainly examined how the mechanism of referendum failed to resolve the conflict between Oromia and Sidama. Cognizant of the existing researches on referendum issue in these regions, This Thesis is about the role of IGR in the management of conflict between Sidama and Oromia. It focuses on the practices of the IGRs to manage conflict and examines the practices of effectiveness of the institutions and channels of IGR in mitigating interregional conflicts at the case selected.

There are several factors in the selected research area which necessitates the inter-jurisdictional IGRs between adjacent woredas of Sidama and West Arsi Zones. These factors that demand IGR includes Lack of clear demarcation, cross border crime, resource based conflict; competition for resources (natural endowments; land, grass and water and fiscal transfer, i.e., subsidies and grants), power (at the local, sub-national, and national levels), identity politics manipulated by elite, which local elites tend to contribute to the escalation of some kind of conflicts complaints of good governance and service delivery and spillover effect such as employment opportunity, inter jurisdictional justice and fiscal issues have been the source of dispute between these administrations.

Notably, management of conflict is one of important functions of IGRs. So, the range of the IGR issues comprises the border demarcation conflicts resolutions, inter-jurisdictional coordination in crime prevention, resource utilization management and employment opportunities. Focusing on practices and experiences of regional governments taking empirical data from case study regions and zones; This Thesis identifies the underlying causes of conflicts between West Arsi Zone of Oromia and Sidama Zones of SNNPRS, and analyzes the IGR solution to this Interregional conflicts.

1.2 Objectives of the Research

1.2.1 General objective

The overall objective of this research is to examine whether IGR mitigates the interregional conflicts between SNNPR and Oromia, thereby evaluate the case of Sidama and West Arsi Zones.

1.2.2 Specific objectives

The specific objectives of this study are:

- To identify the underlying causes of conflict between Sidama and West Arsi Zones
- To examine the role of traditional conflict management institution between Sidama and West Arsi Zone
- To examine the institutions and practices of IGRs in the management of the interregional conflict.
- To analyze whether the IGR solution is effective for addressing the conflict between West Arsi Zone of Oromia and Sidama Zones of SNNPRS
- To forward the alternative IGR reforms in order to mitigate the interregional conflicts between SNNPR and Oromia, and beyond.

1.3 Research Questions

The basic research questions of this thesis include:

- 1) What are the underlying causes of the conflict between the Sidama Zone and West Arsi Zone?
- 2) How do traditional conflict resolution mechanisms work between the Sidama and the Oromo of West Arsi?
- 3) Does the IGR mitigate the conflict between the Sidama Zone and West Arsi Zone? To what extent the IGR institutions and practices resolve the interregional conflicts?
- 4) What major IGR reforms are needed to address the interregional issues between Sidama and West Arsi Zones?

1.4 Method of the Research

1.4.1 Approach of the Research

Because of the nature of the statement of the problem, the researcher used a qualitative research approach. That is, the focus of this study is on participant's "perceptions, opinion and experiences. Thus, this approach would help the participants to be able to recount their experiences and knowledge in their own voices without limits. In so doing, the data emerge from the field is descriptive. That is, data had been reported in words (primarily the participants words rather than in numbers). Accordingly, in this study a combination of different qualitative data collection instruments is in use both from primary and secondary data sources. Hence, primary data was collected through in depth interviews, key-informant interviews, focus group discussions and secondary data through documentary reviews. As to the approach of IGR study Broadly Two approaches among others exists in studying IGR. These includes Systemic Approach and the Policy Based Approach; Systemic Approach which provides why IGR is organized in some way; overall pattern and form of interaction¹⁹ is selected in this research . Systemic factors can be composed of a variety of constitutional, economic and political variables that define the environment in which IGAs are constructed (Parker 2014).

Description of the Study Area

The study is conducted among the agrarian communities at West Arsi Zone of ONRS and Sidama Zone of SNNPRs respectively, both situated at the southern part of the country having bordered boundary districts with one another.

West Arsi zone is located 250 km while Sidama Zone 265 km from capital Addis Ababa respectively. These zones which are very near border inhabited districts of Kokosa, Wondo, Shalla, Shashamanne, Bishanguracha & Siraro Woreda of West Arsi Zone with that of boarder districts of Arbegona, Awasa, Boricha, Badawacho ,Hawasa zuria, Alaba Sp woreda and Eguna Fango of Sidama Zone of SSNP. So, the proposed thesis has been taken selecting Two (2) districts taking the selected case study which is held on shalla and siraro woredas of West Arsi zone and the four (4) adjacent bordered woredas of Boricha, Badawacho, Hawasa zuria, and Alaba Sp woreda of Sidama Zone. They are selected because of the fact that

¹⁹ Nicole Bolleyer and Tanja A. Börzel (2010). Non-Hierarchical Policy Coordination in Multilevel Systems. *European Political Science Review*, 2, pp 157-185 doi:10.1017/S175577391000007X 100174022198

they facing frequent challenges which had been prone to conflict and still symptoms of conflict is sensed.

. Location and Physical Features of the Oromia & SNNP Regional States

The Oromia National Regional State lies in the central part of the country with larger protrusions towards the south and west directions. It has an area of 363,136 km² (Oromia Regional State Annual Report/ORSAR/, 2014). The region has 20 administrative zones and 365 Regular woreda governments. The population of the region was 40 million, of which the economically active population (15-64) accounted for 50 percent and the total average household size was estimated at 4.8 people (CSA, 2007). The total estimated arable land was 30.7% of the region and average land holding per farmer household was about 4.3 ha (OPEDB, 2000).

West Arsi is one of the administrative zones of Oromia located 250 KM from capital Addis. It comprises 13 regular woredas and 3 municipal towns. Out of these woreda 50% of the regular woredas are located at boarder of Sidama zone of the SNNP Regional State. Out of this boarder woredas of the zone two (2) districts that are selected purposively as sample area of the study are Siraro and Shalla.

The SNNPR is located in the Southern and south-western part of Ethiopia. It is bordered with Kenya in South, the South Sudan in Southwest, and Gambella region in Northwest and surrounded by Oromia region in Northwest, North and East directions. According to SNNPRS BoFED, Astronomically, the Region is roughly lies between 40 43' – 80 58' North, latitude and 340 88'- 39 0 14" East, longitude. The SNNPRS consists of 14 constitutional zones and 8 special woredas and 134 regular woreda government and 24 City administrations (CSA 2007 Census Report). It is a home for about 56 ethnic groups. The Regional State capital is Hawassa.²⁰

The Nationality-based zonal governments are constitutional self-government entities as opposed to those of regular /functional/ zonal administration of Oromia which does not have Council and Judiciary bodies. Executives are appointed by and answerable to respective State Councils. They are established to serve as administrative links between the State bureaus and Wereda

²⁰ SNNPRS Bureau of Finance and Economic Development (2017), Department of Population Development.

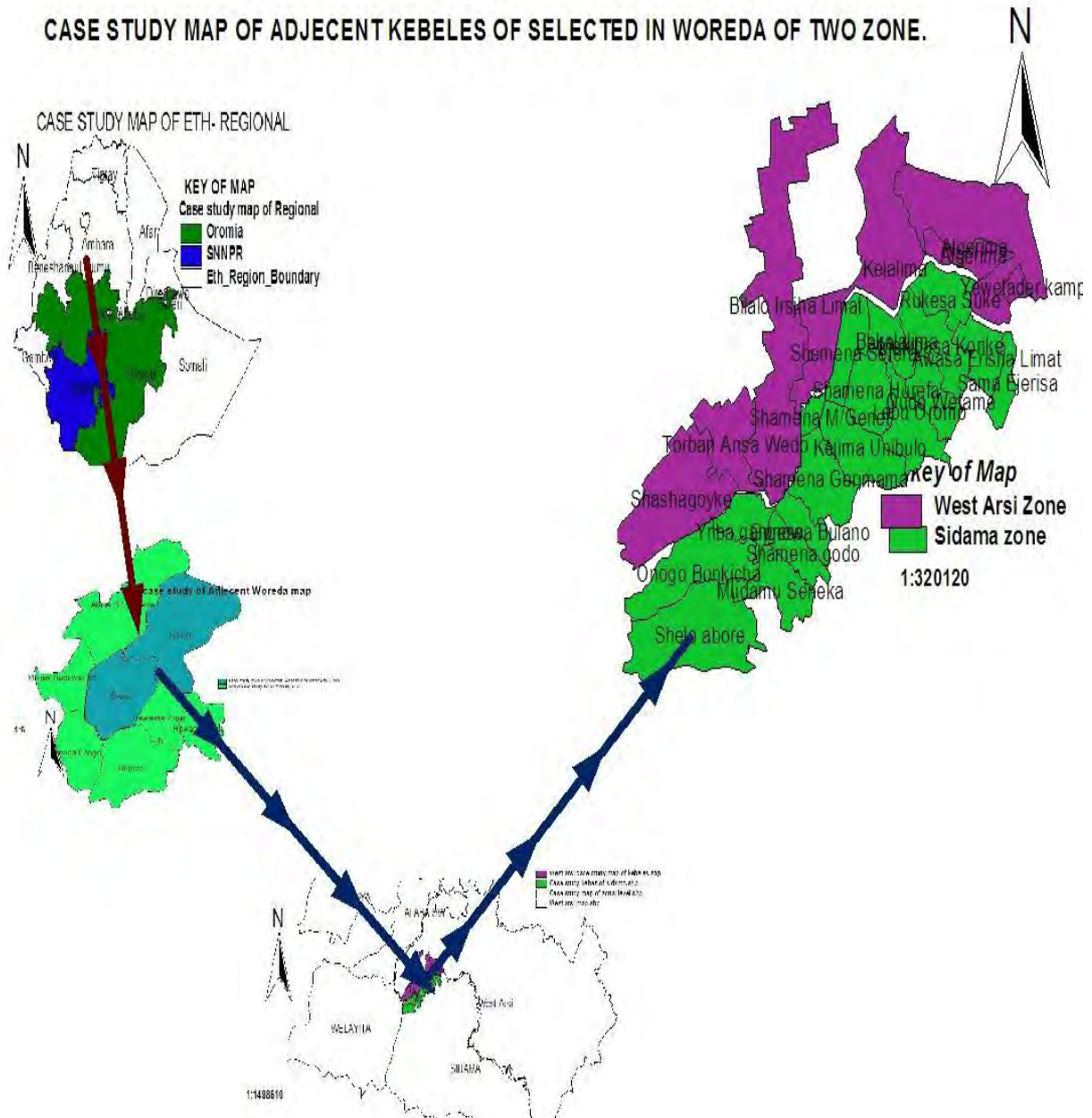
Governments.²¹ The nationality zones are established on ethnic basis to guarantee the rights of minorities to self-government and they have elected Councils, Executive and Judiciary bodies. They have representation at the State level. Among these zones the study area entirely lies within the Sidama Zone, Halaba liyu woreda in the SNNPRs. Out of the woredas of Sidama Zone four Woredas are laid at adjacent boarder with above selected two woredas of west Arsi zone of Oromia. The woreda selected as sample are Boricha, Badawacho, Hawasa zuria, and Alaba Sp woreda.

Sidama Nationality Zones is one of the most fertile and most densely populated areas in Ethiopia. In addition to a reliable agricultural base, Sidama land also provides valuable resources to the economy. The most important contribution of Sidama is cash crops, mainly coffee but also khat, but Sidama also supplies meat, pepper and fish to the Capital. Sidama-land is located in the south central parts of Ethiopia, to the east and north east of Lake Abaya and to the east and southeast of Lake Hawassa. The most characteristic feature of Sidama landscape is the mosaic of clusters of homesteads.

²¹ Ghebrehiwet Tesfai B.(2015): The Practice of Fiscal Federalism in Ethiopia: A Critical Assessment 1991-2012 an Institutional Approach. (PhD Thesis) at 53

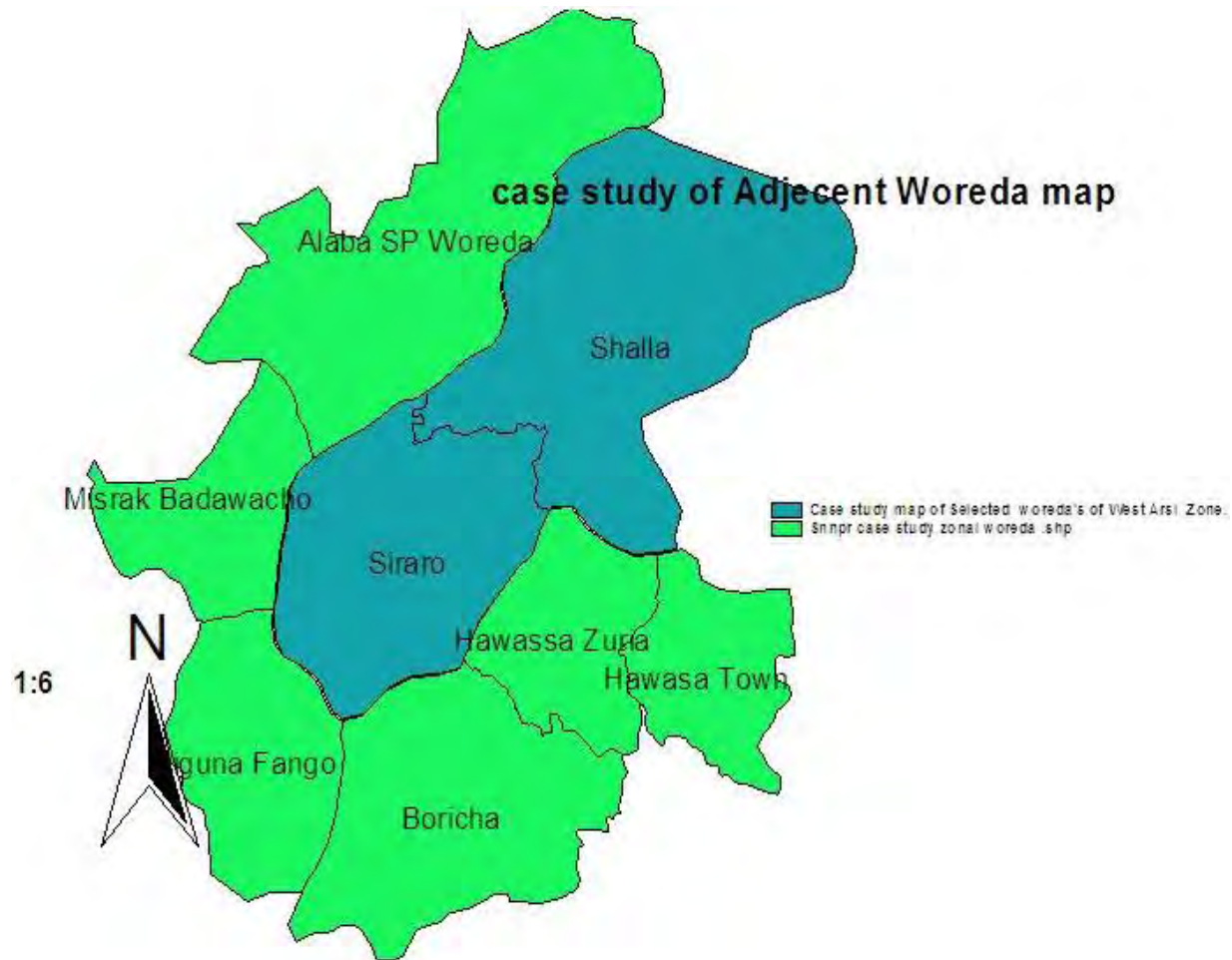
Map of the study area

(Map 1): Map Showing Woreda, Zonal and Regional Demarcations of Oromia and SNNPRs.



Source: West Arsi Zone Land Administration and Management office. January 10, 2018

Map 2: Demarcations of Border Woredas' of West Arsi and Sidama Nationality Zones.



Source: Sidama Nationality zone Land Administration and Management Office, January, 2018

Sample and sampling techniques

From the total of 15 and 14 districts in West Arsi zone and Sidama Zone respectively, seven districts of West Arsi share boundary with Sidama Zone of SNNPRS. Out of fourteen districts, the six districts which were facing conflicts of different factors; of border demarcation, resource based dispute (land, grazing and water) and identity (ethnicity, religion and clan) based tensions. The researcher purposively selects six districts where there have been symptoms of conflict are seen taking three from each adjacent districts. Qualitative research method is employed with non probability sampling technique. Purposive sampling with snowball method is employed to obtain a chain of information. Village chiefs, Gada leaders of Oromo and their equivalent traditional

local Luwa leaders of Sidama and local peace committees were selected as key informants and respective government organization officials at different level of government (regions, zones and districts) were engaged as sample informants.

1.4.2 Data Collection methods and Instruments

Primary Data Collection Instruments

The necessary instruments to gather the primary data were collected using multiple data tools such as organized and framed questions of interview guides, an interview for government officials, semi- structured guideline questions for Focused Group Discussions for officials at regional, zonal and woreda levels; elders and respective societal groups, sounds recorded in manuscript memo and written on notebooks were used. Moreover, to develop the better instruments the researcher consulted scholars in the area for validity. The major instruments used are:-

In-depth Interview (IDI)

In the context of this study, an in-depth interviews were used as formal conversations that allow the researcher to extract rich and detailed information from interviewee(s). In so doing, the researcher prepared a semi structured interview questions in order to raise key points in relation to the identifications of the causes of conflict, conflict management styles employed and IGR's role in the regulation of the same. The main purpose of the in-depth interview was to obtain relevant data and information from thirty (30) interviewees comprising four (4) from academicians' six (6) from practitioners in offices at regional councils of Oromia and HOF in SNNP, four (4) from the executives at woreda, zonal and regional levels from both sides and six (6) local/ traditional elders from both Sidama and West Arsi zones.

Key-Informant Interview (KII)

This method is quite important whereby the well informed members of the community being studied provided the researcher with rich and detailed information on the subject of inquiry. Key informants were those persons who have unique knowledge about the issue under study, and have access to other information of interest to the researcher (Kaufman 2005). The researcher undertook a series of structured and semi structured interviews. For instance; the viable interviews were held with elders of the communities, Abba Gadaa; Luwa ; religious leaders, government officials, peace committees, and conflict resoluter committees as well as scholars

who have knowledge of the study areas. Furthermore, for the purpose of collecting this information, interview guides were designed and employed to track the interview session. Twelve (12) executives and elders from both Sidama and West Arsi zones were participated as informants in key informant interview.

Focused Group Discussions (FGD)

Focus Group Discussions were also employed to generate qualitative data to supplement data obtained through in-depth and key-informant interviews. Furthermore, it were used to generate additional data concerning the existing issue under study. The main purpose of the FGD was to obtain relevant data and information from thirty (30) interviewees. Therefore; Three (3) FGD groups from informal IGR teams and virtual teams of conflict resolute at regional, zonal, and woreda level, and local elders each include 5-8 participants were participated.

Secondary Data Collection Tools

Documentary Review

Additionally, Secondary sources of information were employed to supplement the primary data. The secondary data collection tool utilized mainly reviews of relevant literatures including scholarly articles; journals, both published & unpublished materials; government reports, conference papers and websites especially those that deal on the IGR system. Moreover; Country experiences on inter-regional conflict management were also sought. More specifically; the researcher analyzed local government secondary documents including plans, reports and bulletins. The document analysis involved relevant documents such as reports and memos relevant to the causes of inter-jurisdictional conflicts and the conflict management process. This was designed to investigate the root causes and how the conflicts are mitigated by IGR machineries, and by doing so assessments of achievements and drawbacks were made.

1.4.3 Data Analysis

Data analysis employed in this study pursued the thematic approach. The thematic Issues of IGR between West Arsi and Sidama Zone are structured chronologically as issues related to identifying underlining causes of conflicts including issues of historic and social diversity; Issues of demarcation and boarder conflict /land and boundary/; Jurisdictional coordination /crime prevention/; Dispute resolution; Peace and security issues; Local identity politics and policy

coordination's; identifications of IGR in conflict mitigations and by doing so on the role of existing IGR in conflict resolution. Thus, the qualitative data that were generated from both primary and secondary sources through the in-depth interviews, key-informant interviews, focus group discussions and document analysis were analyzed through careful interpretation of meanings and contents; and through organizing, and summarizing in accordance with the thematic issues under investigation. Firstly, all the data were recorded using audio tape recorder then the data was transcribed using open coding system and descriptive method were applied finally data that was obtained from triangulated data sources both from primary and secondary sources was cross checked before being interpreted then categorized in themes and discussed in relation to existing literature and research findings for data validation.

1.5 Significance of the study

The findings of the study will have the following theoretical, practical and policy significances. Firstly, it has an importance in clarifying the critical challenges of the Ethiopian HIGR system in promoting local democracy and mitigating interregional conflicts through cooperative governance. Secondly, by identifying major legal and institutional drawbacks for IGRs capacity in interregional conflict management, it will have an importance for improving and recommending reform needed on the IGR process in handling of inter-regional conflicts. Thirdly, the findings of the study together with comparative experiences of countries can also be used by the executives and policy makers at both regional and national levels. Lastly, even the findings of the study can also be used as bases for anyone academician who wants to conduct further research studies on the topic under investigation.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The Thesis deals with analyzing IGR system in interregional conflict management in selected regional states of Ethiopian federation with particular emphasis on the role of IGR in mitigating interregional conflict by taking Sidama Zone of SNNPRS and West Arsi Zone of Oromia. This Thesis is delimited to examining the horizontal IGR (inter-state and intra-state) on selected zones of the two regional State; In content, it deals only on the experience and practice of the existing IGR and TCR system and identifying the crucial factors that challenge the promotion of better IGR system in conflict management and considering the reform needed to that end.

1.7 Limitation of the study

The researcher faced some limitations in undertaking this study. First, it was difficult to make a comprehensive and balanced data of the study areas as there is bias of the researcher as the researcher is from one of ethnic group and there is also language barrier as it influences comprehensive analysis of concepts. Thirdly; because of distances of some case sites repeated visit is impossible leading to an influence in conducting interviews with many officials and other concerned parties of the two regional states and this causes limitation in data balancing of Ethiopia. Lastly, the search for organized data and information was difficult due to lack of clear institutions dealing with inter-segmental relations.

1.8 Organization of the Thesis

This thesis is organized in five chapters. Chapter one is the introductions to the study. Chapter two discusses the Literature review which consists of conceptual and empirical literatures. Moreover; as sub heading it also presents the Comparative study on the experiences of IGR and Interregional conflict management in some selected federations. The third chapter discusses the experiences of Ethiopian IGR and its role in interregional conflict management. Chapter four discussed issues and practices of IGR and Interregional conflict management in ONRS and SNNPRs and it also discussed taking practical and empirical experiences and data on Issues of IGR between West Arsi and Sidama Zone: The last chapter finalizes the thesis by providing the key findings, conclusion, and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

2 IGR AND INTERREGIONAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

2.1 Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

2.1.1 Conceptual Overview of Inter Governmental Relations (IGR)

A. IGR Defined

Intergovernmental relations are of growing concern among governments and political scientists²² as they are ubiquitous and pervasive in all federal systems. This emanates from the inevitable facts of interdependence among levels of governments; complexities of the contemporary policy agenda; and the impossibility of drawing clear and separate lines of responsibility among tiers of government.²³ Furthermore, IGRs are not about neatly defining and defending areas of competency but rather about co-operation between organs of the state in different spheres of government.

IGR is an important body of activities or interactions occurring between governmental units of all types and levels within a political system.²⁴ The mutual interdependence of governments makes IGR unavoidable, and therefore the objective should be to achieve this while avoiding the disadvantages of its excesses. Even though the supreme written constitution divided legislative, executive, judicial and financial powers between the tiers of governments in the form of exclusive, shared or residual powers, it is impossible to delineate clearly, because different powers need to share something in common as a federation in promoting unity without neglecting the self-rule aspect of federalism.²⁵ Federations can deal with interdependence through formal, constitutional mechanisms, or ad hoc and informal arrangements.

²² Pattison Mark (1980). 'Intergovernmental Relations and The Limitations of Central Control: Reconstructing The Politics of Comprehensive Education', *Oxford Review of Education*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 63-89, p. 64.

²³ George Anderson (2008). *Federalism: An Introduction*, Oxford University Press. Pp.59.

²⁴ *ibid*

²⁵ Ronald Watts (1996), comparing federal systems in the 1990s, Kingston Ontario: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University, at 6

IGR can be both formal and informal. The informal aspect of IGR results from the exchange of information either by letter, telephone or other similar means.²⁶ On the other hand, formal IGR is established by the Constitution, subsequent laws or by intergovernmental convention. IGR has to be viewed as the arrangements put in place for cooperation amongst levels of government to meet the needs and interests of the people whom they serve. It is a series of legal, political and administrative relationship established among units of government and which possess varying degrees of authority and jurisdiction autonomy.

Finally, IGR connotes interactions that take place among the different levels of government within a state. Usually, the concept is associated with states having a Federal administration system where the relationships between the Federal, Central or national Government and the major sub-national unit (province, region or state) are formally spelt out in the constitution and any re-arrangement must be through a constitutional amendment involving all the levels of government. Nwatu, J. R. and Ocafor , C. (2008, p 174) demonstrates A full analysis of inter-governmental Relations within a Federal administration system must cover the following: Federal-State, Federal -State-Local, Federal-Local, Inter-State, State-Local and Inter-Local Relations.²⁷

B. Federalism and IGR linkage.

The point of fact in many countries is the international shift from stateism to federalism underlies the increased focus on linkages, networks and matrices with some polities facing centralizing, some facing decentralizing, all within increasing internationalizing and regionalizing overtones (Agranoff, 1990; Elazar, 1993; Ostrom, 1985)²⁸

A virtue of IGR is that it is to be found in all federal systems, ubiquitous but context sensitive and appears to be unique to federalism.²⁹ There is no any federal country without the need of

²⁶ Ibid., p. 29

²⁷ Nwatu, J. Ralph, T. Okafor, and D. Ifeoma, C. (2008). Comparative Local Government Administration Enugu: Academic Publishing Company, at 174

²⁸ Robert, Agranoff (1996). Federal Evolution in Spain. *International Political Science Review (1996), Vol. 17, No. 4*, pp 385-401

²⁹ *ibid*

interdependence. Interdependence rather, is inevitable and significant in all federations. Thus; federalism has to constitute institutions and processes to facilitate IGR for those areas where governmental responsibilities are shared or inevitably overlap. The variants, models and evolutions of federalism are basically the functions of IGR. IGR Measures the dynamics of the Federalism.

Concerning the necessity of the IGR table Assefa, F. (2009, p 106) illustrated whether the federal arrangement is a dual, cooperative or executive, it is not possible for each level of government to function in isolation from the other. It is the necessity of both self and shared rule in the federation and for the harmonized preservation of both, that the issue of intergovernmental relations came to the table.³⁰

Horizontal IGR is the neglected dimension in the literatures on comparative federalism and multilevel governance. Interstate relations, the horizontal relations between lower level governments, have received astonishingly little attention so far. Studies on centralization and decentralization in multilevel systems quite naturally concentrate on the vertical dimension of federal–state interaction.³¹

C. Conflict management: Efforts by concerned bodies and direct conflict victims to establish social cohesiveness via reducing and controlling community problems before conflict indicators shown up or immediately after the conflict. Previous research works proves; in the study area there are two sets of institutions involved in conflict management. The first is the traditional institutions, led by elders. These institutions are effective in managing conflict within their own ethnic groups, and they also sometimes play a role in resolving conflict outside their ethnic group.

The second is the set of decentralized government bodies that are organized on the basis of administrative structures and boundaries. In each woreda there is a peace and security committee, which is mandated to prevent and control conflict in its area. However, its conflict

³⁰ Assefa, F. (2009) “The System of Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) in Ethiopia: In Search of Institutions and Guidelines”, 23Journal of Ethiopian Law, 96-131 P.106

³¹ Nicole, Bolleyer. (2010). Intergovernmental Cooperation: Rational Choices in Federal Systems and Beyond. Oxford University Press. pp2

management intervention is often reactive, taking place when tensions have already erupted into violent conflict. This second set of institutions is also hampered by the limited experience and knowledge of staff on conflict resolution, and sometimes by biased attitudes among staff because of ethnic affiliations with the conflicting parties. Moreover, because they are often based far from the areas where the conflicts take place, accurate information about the conflict reaches their offices late.

2.1.2 Typologies, Principles, purposes, approaches & Model of IGR

Principles of Inter-Governmental Relations

Principles of IGRs emanate partly from the federal political principle itself and partly from the federal political practice.³² Theoretically there are some basic principles of IGR. These are the principles of Trust and mutual respect, the principle of consensual decision making, the principle of negotiation, in good faith, federal comity and adherence to the agreed procedure. The IGR designed need to meet the following four criteria: these includes democratic accountability and transparency, effective governance in the development of policies, the preservation of diversity through genuine autonomy for the constituent units, and ensuring continued cohesion and stability of the political system.

Purpose of IGR

In a globalizing and interdependent world, IGRs are increasingly important to politics, policy and administration. IGR cooperation and coordination between different orders of government is significant for number of reasons; some of these are listed below:

The aim to organize IGR is to facilitate cooperation and coordination while also reconciling the federal need for balancing equity and diversity. A desire to address common concerns facing multiple governments; a need to deal with externalities that fall outside their constitutional or geographical jurisdictions; a means of financing functions that a single government would not be able to undertake by itself; a need to coordinate between different constitutional jurisdictions due to overlapping or

³² Assefa Fiseha (2009) The System of Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) in Ethiopia: In Search of Institutions and Guidelines, Journal of Ethiopian Law, Vol.23 No.1, at 114.

incomplete powers; and a movement to harmonize policy across boundaries in order to limit potentially detrimental effects of competition (**Parker 2014**).

Inter-governmental relations necessitated not to eliminate intergovernmental competition or conflict but “*manage*” *competition and conflict* through processes that encourage cooperation. Ensure that mechanisms and processes for IGC do not undermine the democratic accountability of each government to its own electorate. It also enables to attain the rational objectives in the lower levels of government. Interaction also helps to accommodate policy capacity and fiscal resources among levels of governments in executing their functions³³

Furthermore IGR has the objective to ensure the maintenance of balance between too much cooperation that may lead to centralization and hence reduce democratic accountability of each level of governments to its electorate and on the other hand to reduce to much competition that may finally lead to conflicts.³⁴ Smooth IGR also gives opportunity to collaborate and exchange experience, skilled man power, security issues. It also necessitated with in idealizing objectives of IGRs some may take as a means of eliminating competition and conflict. But it is possible only to manage or reduce competition and conflicts between governments or parties by encouraging cooperation.³⁵ IGRs are also important in installing the culture of negotiation between the federal government and the states, changing the trend of centralization and thereby enhancing the bargaining power of states by doing o it enhance regional autonomy.

Furthermore; as R. Watts concludes, institutions and processes of IGR have two important functions: “conflict avoidance and resolution, and a means to adapt to changing circumstances without having to restore to formal constitutional amendment.”³⁶ Overlaps and interdependencies are unavoidable in all federations since levels of governments cannot function in incontestable compartments.

³³ Ronald Watts (1996), note 4 at, p.22 Ronald Watts (1996), comparing federal systems in the 1990s, Kingston Ontario: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen’s University, at, p.22

³⁴ Ibid note 4 at p25.

³⁵ Ronald Watts (1996), note 4 at 26, John Kincaid and Rupak Chettopadhyay pp.16-17

³⁶ R. Watts (2008) Comparing federal systems, 3rd ed.,(Montreal McGill-Queen’s Uni. Press), at p.11

Approaches to IGR

Broadly two approaches among others exist in studying IGR; Systemic Approach which provides why IGR is organized in some way; overall pattern and form of interaction³⁷. Systemic factors can be composed of a variety of constitutional, economic and political variables that define the environment in which intergovernmental agreements can be constructed [Parker 2014]. The other is the Policy Based Approach in which IGR as a factor accounting for policy formulation, coordination and implementation across a range of separate jurisdictions. So this research proposed to make the investigation considering the systematic approach of Intergovernmental /IGR relations.

2.2 Theories /Models of Intergovernmental Relations /IGR/

Models of inter-governmental relations have been derived by scholars to guide us in understanding IGRs in any political system beyond constitutional delineation of powers. There are several models portraying the relationships amid different levels of governments. But, Wright identifies three general types. These are coordinate or separated authority, inclusive authority and overlapping authority models. Other scholars differ in giving terminology.

According to David C. Nice and Patricia Frederickson, the three models are; Competitive, interdependent and functional models.³⁸ The coordinate authority model depicted the clear separation between national and state/local relationships and the distinct boundaries separating the levels of government.³⁹ Contrary to this model, the writer of this thesis argues, emanating from unavailability of responsibilities mainly in a federal system, the practical reality of this model seems dubious. The inclusive authority model, by contrast, presented a system in which intergovernmental relations were based on essentially a hierarchical set of relationships and emphasized the predominant role of the national level. But it is the overlapping authority

³⁷ Nicole Bolleyer and Tanja A. Börzel (2010). Non-Hierarchical Policy Coordination in Multilevel Systems. *European Political Science Review*, 2, pp 157-185 doi:10.1017/S175577391000007X 100174022198

³⁸ David C. Nice and Patricia Frederickson (1995), *The Politics of Intergovernmental Relations*, second edition, (USA, Washington DC, Chicago, Nelson-Hall Publishers) at 4

³⁹ Dasallany, Tigabu (2014) *Horizontal intergovernmental relations between Ethiopian federating units: the case of Amhara and Benshangul Gumuz regions*, (MA Theses), Addis Ababa University at 31

model—the third model that Wright presented was essentially a new way of depicting intergovernmental relationships.

The Venn diagram that Wright used to describe intergovernmental relationships in this model presented IGR as a set of overlaps between national, state, and local units simultaneously. It also presented the relationships as ones in which autonomy and discretion in a single jurisdiction are constrained and, hence, the power and influence available to any one level is significantly limited (Wright 1988: 49). Wright emphasized the role of bargaining between actors in that model.

2.3 Determinant factors Affecting IGR

Intergovernmental relations are mainly the results of sub constitutional and often informal arrangement. Still some countries provide provisions in their constitution aiming to deal IGR in systematic and institutional base. Whatever the case may be, there are a number of factors that contribute in shaping or creating unique pattern of intergovernmental relations.

A. The design of the federal system

The next set of factors shaping the intergovernmental relationship has to do with how the federal arrangements themselves are designed. As the federal systems built on the principles of concurrency and shared responsibility. In shared systems like Ethiopia, intergovernmental relations are integral to the original design, and are thus built into it from the beginning.

B. Systems of Governments

IGR greatly vary based on the nature and origin of the federal system. In parliamentary system where the regime of executive federalism is more common, the system of IGR in Ethiopia is dominated by executive authorities than in presidential federations, and hence is known as “executive federalism”.

C. Constitutional and Institutional Factors

Whether the stresses within a federation can be accommodated and resolved depends not only upon the strength and configuration of the internal divisions within the society in question but also upon the institutional structure of the federation. The way these institutions have channeled the activities of the electorate, political parties, organized interest groups, bureaucracies, and informal elites has contributed to the moderation or accentuation of political conflict. The

function of federations is not to eliminate internal differences but rather to preserve regional identities within a united framework. Their function, therefore, is not to eliminate conflict but to manage it in such a way that regional differences are accommodated. But how well this is done has in practice depended not just on the adoption of a federal form of government but often upon the particular form of the institutions adopted within the federation.⁴⁰ The number and relative size of the units in federations, the degree of asymmetry among them, determines the nature of IGRs and processes. Different legal systems presuppose a certain degree of formality or informality in the structure of government, and this will sharply affect the character of IGR.

D. Demographic and Geographical Factors

The size of the country, the size of the population and the distribution of the population on the territory may all affect the structures and processes of IGR. Ethiopia as one of multinational federation has a museum of people having multiple diversities. However; some state of the federation like ONRS has homogeneous intra-state relation; even though it has an inter-regional relation almost with eight of the regions except Tigry region making it so twisted the HIGR institutions and process while SNNPRS have heterogeneous intra-regional relations which has diverse interest and inter –regional relations is so simple as it has direct geographic border relation with only two regions. Concerning the demography both regions ONRS and SNNPRS have numerous population ranking the first and third among the constituent member of the federations respectively. The population is so dense in SNNPRS than ONRS which has a push and pull factors in resource use, population migration and mobility affecting the IGR process.

E. Social and Cultural Factors

Regional divergences of political outlook and interests are typical of all federations; that is usually why they adopted “federation” as a solution in the first place. But a number of factors may sharpen such differences. Among the sharpest divisive forces have been language, religion, social structure, cultural tradition and race. Other factors that have contributed to the sharpness of internal cleavages have been variations in the degree of economic development, and regional disparities in wealth accentuating regional resentment, especially when these have further

⁴⁰Ronald. L. Watts (2008) Comparing Federal Systems (3rd Edn.) Published for the School Of Policy Studies, Queen’s University By McGill-Queen’s University Press.

reinforced linguistic, cultural and social differences among regions. On the other hand, in some instances moderating factors that have emphasized the importance of maintaining unity have been the need for security from external threats⁴¹

E. Societal character

The racial, religious, linguistic and cultural composition of a given country often sets the terms of the federal bargain, ruling in or out certain institutional forms and practices. Multilingual and multicultural societies stand in contrast to the socially more homogeneous federations. The effect of institutional arrangements depends greatly on the nature of the society in which they are embedded. In societies that are relatively homogeneous, and in which national identities are predominant (as in Germany, the United States, Australia, and, in some respects South Africa), primary political influence is likely to lie with the central government. In such societies IGRs are likely to be relatively free of conflict and public controversy. In the first group of countries, IGR, even if complex, is mainly about administrative co-ordination, a problem in public administration. Ethiopia as one of multinational federation has a museum of people having multiple diversities. However; some state of the federation has homogeneous intra-state relation while other has heterogeneous intra and interregional relations.

2.4 Conflict

Conflict, a Latin word by origin, means to clash or engagement in a fight: a confrontation between one or more parties aspiring towards incompatible or competitive means or ends.⁴² Moreover; (Coser, 1956) Defines; Conflict – is a struggle in which the aim is to gain objectives & simultaneously to neutralize, injure or eliminate rivals.

Groups and individuals can confront when there are already developed negative attitudes and wrong emotional feelings to each other. Attitude includes the parties' perceptions and misrepresentations of each other and of themselves. Attitudes are often influenced by emotions such as fear, anger, bitterness and hatred and it includes emotive (feeling), cognitive (belief) and

⁴¹ Ibid

⁴² Miller, Christopher (2005). A glossary of Terms and Concepts in Peace and Conflict (2nd edtn), in Yidneckachew Ayele (2012), University for Peace.

co native (will) elements. Behavior is the third component. It can include cooperation and coercion, gestures signifying conciliation or hostility.⁴³

Teshome, M. (2003, p12) asserted in his study of conflict and peace building asserts that conflict is a natural phenomenon and occurs as a result of incompatible goals of human beings.⁴⁴ He further explained that conflicts can be driven by the unfulfilled needs and fears of the society expressed in different situations and forms: the sense of justice, autonomy, identity, basic needs, rights of the individual, rights of property and land. Moreover, Mohammed in his part stated that feature of the conflict, through a long process of cultural development; human beings are able to score remarkable achievements in their life. However, people are still unable to avoid conflicts of violent character, which are destructive in their nature.⁴⁵

2.4.1. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Conflict is defined as evident symbol of person energy; indication of person urgency; the outcome of reasonable struggling for the same rights, goals, and resources.⁴⁶ The traditional cultures see conflict as communal concern; the group has ownership of the conflict and context and resolution processes are culturally prescribed. (Ibid) ⁴⁷

Causes of conflict

Literatures indicate the existence of multiple causes of conflicts in Ethiopian federations. One can understand that, inter and intra regional conflicts have various dimension in different regions of Ethiopia. Habtamu points, there have been conflicts in the borders Oromia and Somali, SNNPR and Oromia, Afar and Isaa, Garre and Borana, Oromia and Gumuz, Guji and Gedeo,

⁴³ Ibid above

⁴⁴ Teshome Mekonnen (2003). Conflict Of Frontiers Between The Oromia and Somali: The Case Study Of Moyale Woreda, In First National Conference On Federalism, Conflict And Peace Building, Ministry Of Federal Affairs and German Technical Cooperation, United Printers, Addis Ababa

⁴⁵ Mohammed Tadesse (2001) The Fundamental Causes of Armed Conflict in Human History. Reinterpretation of Available Sources: Addis Ababa, Liaison OSSREA Ethiopia.

⁴⁶ Augsburg, David W. 1992. Conflict Mediation across Cultures: Pathways and Patterns. London: Westminster John Knox Press Louisville.

⁴⁷ Ibid

Agnwa and Nuer, Sidama and Guji, and Kereyu and Afar in the past couple of decades.⁴⁸ Particularly as state in SNNPRS, Inter-ethnic disputes in southern parts of Ethiopia are commonly over natural resources such as grazing and agricultural lands. Yohannes described inter-ethnic conflicts for resource competition such as between Dizi and Sure, Arbore and other groups, Kore and Guji, Mursi and Bodi, Mursi and Hammer, sidama and Arsi, Guji and Sidama, kore and Burji, Konso and Derashe, Guji and Gedeo, Konso and Ale ethnic conflicts.⁴⁹ Moreover; Inter-regional state conflicts have also emerged following the introduction of ethnic federalism, though Ethiopia's diverse ethnic groups were accustomed to peacefully enjoying their common natural resources in neighboring areas where they have lived together for many centuries. There were, however, lower level inter-ethnic conflicts over land, markets, etc. These conflicts had been being resolved through traditional conflict resolution mechanisms.

2.5 Conflict Management and Its Approaches

Conflict management refers to the limitation or containment of a conflict that has already broken out in the form of searching for a solution that would reduce the intensity of violence and prevent its escalation.⁵⁰ In defining the purpose why it necessitates; Conflict Management is concerned with the ways and means of controlling and harmonizing conflictual relationships with the objective being the creation of space for the long-term resolution of the underlying causes of conflict⁵¹.

Conflict management is different from conflict resolution. Conflict management as a concept and practice has long been recognized as an important strategy in dealing with conflict throughout human history. People have been exploring ways of managing conflicts, ranging back to Sun Tzu in the east and philosophers in the Greek city states in the west though they seldom used the term

⁴⁸ Habtamu Wondimu, (2013). Federalism and Conflicts' Management in Ethiopia. Social Psychological Analysis of the Opportunities and Challenges: IPSS, AAU, pp 13.

⁴⁹ Yohannes Gebere Michael, (2005). Addressing pastoralist conflict in Ethiopia: The case of Kuraz and Hame sub-districts of South Omo Zone; Safe world; Kenya. pp. 17

⁵⁰ Woodhouse, T. and Miall, L. (2004) Conflict Transformation: A Multi –Dimensional Track. In berg of research center for constructive conflict management. Unpublished MA Thesis. Pp 29-30.

⁵¹ Imobighe, T.A. (2003). The OAU (AU) and OAS in Regional Conflict Management: A Comparative Assessment Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd pp7

explicitly.⁵² Conflict management involves tactics that are enforced when violent conflict is deemed as likely.

In Africa, the persistence, exacerbation and intensity of ethnic tension and conflict is mainly caused by ethnicization of state institutions, and ethnic clientelism where different groups fight to place their own representatives in key political and economic positions (Jinadu, 2007).⁵³

Consensus-based structures of political and economic governance could address the factors for diversity-based conflicts. Well-functioning and autonomous democratic institutions are required to facilitate checks and balances and accountability across different organs including the executive bodies and also provide inclusive and contextual decisions that would serve as a venue for diversity management and reduce contradiction and conflict. Institutionalization of the politics of accommodation and democratic bargaining would reduce ethnic antagonism and promote trust, dialogue, tolerance and recognition of differences, moderation and cooperation as critical engines of coexistence (Jinadu, 2007).⁵⁴

Conflict resolution implies the way of termination or elimination of conflict either formally or informally or using both methods. Heinz Antonio and Oliver state some classes and the process of the resolution followed; a large number of studies on negotiation, bargaining, mediation, and arbitration fall into the conflict resolution category.⁵⁵

2.6 Institutions in conflict management

2.6.1 Formal institutions

The Role of the Formal Conflict Resolution Mechanisms One of the modern mechanisms of conflict management is formal arrangement. The formal mechanisms are conflict resolution mechanisms formally and legally carried out in the government institutions. It was a process of

⁵² Weyesa, M (2011). The 2006 Conflict Between Guji and Borana Oromo and Its Management, unpublished MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University.

⁵³ Jinadu, L.A. (2007). "Explaining and Managing Ethnic Conflict in Africa: Towards A Cultural Theory of Democracy", Claude Ake Memorial Papers No. 1, Department of Peace and Conflict Research Uppsala University,

⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵ Heinz, A, Antonio, M. and Olive,r S. (2006:16) The research project on conflict settlement through Europeanization, Department of Social Sciences Institute For Political Science. Lotharstr: Duisburg, Essen.

conflict resolution run in the courts to enforce their laws and orders. When the human right is violated during a conflict the causes are seen in the regular court.

In Ethiopia, there are several established Modern institutions for conflict resolving mechanisms. The HOF is the most important and relevant constitutional organ for conflict management and the Ministry of Federal Affairs in collaboration with the House of Federation plays an important role in maintaining peace and order in the Regional States.⁵⁶ In addition to these Alemayehu, F.(2009, p94) pointed out the other responsible institutions organized for conflict resolving in Ethiopia: a Joint House Speakers Forum, Forum of House of Federation and each Regional State, Education Professionals Forum, Prosecutors' Joint Forum, Adjoining Regional States Joint Forum, Public deliberations and Peace Committees, States and local governments.⁵⁷ Likewise, in case of the Regions there are also those responsible institutions to the conflict preventions and resolutions in modern ways.

2.6.2. Informal Mechanism of Conflict Management

The informal ones are mechanisms that range from the traditional mechanisms with lots of variations to the broader areas of preventive diplomacy, mediation, cooperation and other related activities. Because of the limitations of the judicial system in providing comprehensive solutions to disputes, alternative methods of dispute resolution have developed in varying forms. Alternative dispute resolution methods may be less adversarial, less formal and more flexible process. Some of the forms of alternative informal dispute resolution mechanisms include arbitration, negotiation and mediation.⁵⁸

2.6.3. Traditional institutions

Indigenous institutions of conflict management play a significant role in the daily lives of many Ethiopians. The 1995 Ethiopian Constitution recognizes the independent validity of Customary

⁵⁶ Definition Of Powers and Duties Of The Executive Organs Of The Federal Democratic Republic Of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 691/2010 Federal Negarit Gazeta, 17th Year No. 1 ADDIS ABABA 27th October, 2010; The Ministry Of Federal Affairs The Powers and Duties Art.14(B, C And H).

⁵⁷ Alemayehu Fentaw, (2009). Conflict Management In The Ethiopian Multi-National Federation MA Thesis, Stadtschlaining, Austria: EPU.

⁵⁸ Agarwal, Vinod (2001). Alternative Dispute Resolution Methods. Paper written following a Unitary Sub-Regional Workshop on Arbitration and Dispute Resolution (pp.3-4); Geneva: United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR)

law and functioning indigenous mechanisms of conflict management ; Art: 34 (5) and 78(5) of the FDRE constitution and also the SNNPRS 2001 constitution stipulates and acknowledged in the same way on Art.34(5), Art. 73 and (119 (1). Traditional (indigenous) reconciliation is necessary for the restoration of social agreement of community in general and of social relations and connections.⁵⁹

Traditionally local elders and clan leaders have a managing power over their community and play pivotal role in conflict resolution by maintaining peace and security. Traditional Conflict resolution methods are preventive and deterrent measures of conflicts within the community. The indigenous conflict management mechanisms make groups respect solutions given by elders and discharge their respective duties accordingly without the need for other coercive measures. These different indigenous conflict management mechanisms practiced by different ethnic groups which could play a significant role in resolving and preventing conflict.⁶⁰

TCM ultimately restored good relations between the two conflicting groups. The local elders brought into a consensus about the facts and truth has been disclosed. In the traditional method of resolving conflict because the mediator elders devoted themselves to reconciling the conflicted societies without any benefit. Therefore; it is incorruptible and cost efficient unlike the litigation.

2.7. Role of IGR in Conflict Management

In a globalizing and interdependent world, IGRs are increasingly important to politics, policy and administration. Understanding the various dimensions, institutions, processes and challenges of IGR and further study of it highlight some possibilities for reform and more effective outcomes for citizens and governments alike. Values of coordination in achieving the national

⁵⁹ Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia , Proclamation No. 1/1995, federal Negarit Gazeta, 1st year No.1, Addis Ababa 21st Aug., 1995. Adopted on the 8th of Dec., 1994 and Came into force on 21 st August, 1995. Addis Ababa.

⁶⁰ Alemayehu Fentaw, (2009). Conflict Management in the Ethiopian Multi-national Federation MA Thesis, Stadtschlaining, Austria: EPU

goals and avoid overlaps of functions and authorities on the one hand and to maintain the values of self-administration and encourage policy innovation of states.⁶¹

IGR has the objective to ensure the maintenance of balance between too much cooperation that may lead to centralization and hence reduce democratic accountability of each level of governments to its electorate and on the other hand to reduce too much competition that may finally lead to conflicts⁶² Smooth IGR also gives opportunity to collaborate and exchange experience, skilled man power, security issues. It also necessitated with in idealizing objectives of IGRs some may take as a means of eliminating competition and conflict. But it is possible only to manage or reduce competition and conflicts between governments or parties by encouraging cooperation.⁶³ Unless they are managed, conflicts and tensions may be exacerbated by other factors, such as poverty, socioeconomic disparities, uneven regional development and deep cultural differences particularly in developing countries. Intergovernmental negotiations, legislative actions and even constitutional amendments could be possible measures to resolve or manage conflicts.

It should be noted that virtually all federations combine elements of cooperation and competition.⁶⁴ Thus, for instance, while the culture of cooperation has been important in Switzerland, there is considerable tax competition among the cantons. Federations generally are characterized simultaneously by elements of cooperation, collaboration, coordination, collusion, competition and conflict coexisting and changing over time. The extent to which elements of cooperation or of competition prevail among governments within different federations has varied, however.

⁶¹ Watts, Ronald. (1996). comparing federal systems in the 1990s, Kingston Ontario: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University, at 22

⁶² Ibid

⁶³ Watts, Ronald. (1996). comparing federal systems in the 1990s, Kingston Ontario: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University, at pp16-17

⁶⁴ Ronald L. Watts (2008) Comparing Federal Systems 3rd ed. published for the School of Policy Studies, Queen's University by McGill-Queen's University Press. At 123 on Chapter 7 Intergovernmental Relations

2.8. Interface of IGR, federalism and conflict management

Explaining the interface of IGR and federalism Tsegaye, (2010) concludes that ... “the interface that exist between Federalism, conflict and IGR as Conflict and federalism have an interlocked relation as conflict of a specific type might necessitate a federal mode of governance while federalism might also generate its own type of conflicts in the wake of its adoption.” The nature of conflict in a polity may color the kind of federalism adopted. The nature of federalism in its turn might trigger types of conflicts that are peculiar to the kind of federalism adopted. The nature of the federal arrangement might also determine the kind of conflict management strategy we seek to adopt.⁶⁵ The indigenous mechanism is widely used in many parts of the country. Sisay, also describes the existence of vital cultural values under communities in different parts of the county. Ethiopia has a strong cultural heritage and various indigenous communities based social institutions or self-support systems that play a greater role in conflict resolutions: communities’ well-being, stability and security.

2.9. Horizontal IGR as Tool of Conflict Regulation in Some Selected Federation

In this section, comparative experiences in some selected federations on the role of horizontal IGR in conflict resolution are discussed taking Canada, Nigeria and South Africa. The selections of these three federations are because of the mixed stories of good lessons and weaknesses they provide for Ethiopia. In this light, the main aim of this subsection is to review and to evaluate the place of IGR in multinational federations with an eye on the capacity of the same for managing conflicts.

2.9.1. Canada

2.9.1.1. History and Development of Canadian Federalism: An Overview

Canada is one of the mature federations with an old parliamentary democratic governance system. The country has a land mass of more than 9 million km², spanning six time zones. The population of Canada is estimated to be 36,898,116 as of 2018.⁶⁶ Most of the population of

⁶⁵ Tsegaye Regassa, (2010). Learning to Live with Conflicts: Federalism as a Tool of Conflict Management in Ethiopia -- An Overview. Mizan Law Review Vol. 4 No.1, March

⁶⁶ WWW.worldometer (2018) Canada Population live retrieved on March 30,2018

Canada lives in urban areas (82.3%) that stretch along a narrow band just north of the US border. Canada is the product of the 1867 union of three British colonies in ‘British North America’: Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario (which were united in one colony and were called Canada East and Canada West). Six other provinces have joined Canada: Manitoba (1870); British Columbia (1871); Prince Edward Island (1873); Saskatchewan and Alberta (1905); and Newfoundland (1949). In addition, there are three northern territories: Yukon; the Northwest Territories; and Nunavut, which was carved out of the Northwest Territories in 1999.⁶⁷ It is divided into ten provinces, Ottawa being the national capital.

Canadian federalism has been affected by the country’s linguistic and regional diversities. Reflecting the historical presence of two language communities (Anglophones and Franco phones), English is the mother tongue of more than 60% of Canadians while 24% of Canadians predominantly inhabiting Quebec province has French as their mother tongues. Besides, since Canada’s settlement and growth have depended heavily on immigration and Canada has had the world’s highest rate of legal immigration, approximately 14% of Canadians have other mother tongues.⁶⁸ Moreover; Religiously, Canada is predominantly a Christian state (mainly Protestants and Catholics) but with immigration, Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism and Buddhism become part of its religious composition

The Canadian Constitution provides a rough division of powers across the two levels of government: federal and provincial. Municipal government was born out of provincial/territorial legislation. Constitutionally speaking; largely distinct federal and provincial powers only few concurrent powers. In Canada dual model of federal and provincial powers are listed separately. But the constitution does not ignore the need of IGRs. Intergovernmental agreements are the primary instruments of relations between governments. These agreements can be global or general, sector-based, or ad hoc.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Marianne, Bonnard (2015), Intergovernmental Relations in Federal Systems. Comparative Structures and dynamics. In Johhan, P. & John, k. (edits.), Intergovernmental relations in Canada: competing visions and diverse dynamics. The Forum of Federation. Oxford University Press. P.135

⁶⁸ David, Cameron (2002) Intergovernmental Relations in Canada: The Emergence of Collaborative Federalism. University of Toronto. © Publius: The Journal of Federalism vol. 32 no.2

⁶⁹ Benoit Pelletier , Supra note 2, at p.22

"Executive federalism" or "federal provincial diplomacy" has long been considered the defining characteristic of Canadian IGRs, with its combination of federalism and Westminster-style cabinet government. There comes a shift to collaborative federalism mostly provincial governments and their supporters view the governance of Canada as a partnership between two equal, autonomous, and interdependent orders of government that jointly decide national policy.⁷⁰

IGRs in Canada focus on the relations among federal and provincial and territorial executives - First Ministers, Ministers, and senior officials. These relationships provide forums for the exchange of information, for bargaining, negotiation, and consensus-building. The neglected one however, is between federal-municipal linkages also caused by the constitutional structure of Canada, for the division of jurisdictions leads analysts to focus on the other intergovernmental relationships.⁷¹

Leslie, F (2004, p43) concluded the fact that Canadian IGRs remain highly fluid and ad hoc. The process has no constitutional or legislative base, little backup by bureaucrats linked to the success of the process rather than to individual governments, no formal decision-rules, and no capacity for authoritative decision-making. This means that the scope or extent of IGRs remains heavily dependent on whether the first ministers, especially the prime minister, find it advantageous or not. The system in this sense is fragile.⁷²

2.9.1.2 The HIGR Institutions in Canada

The stage for the strengthening of "collaborative federalism;" the process by which national goals are achieved, not by the federal government acting alone or by the federal government shaping provincial behavior through the exercise of its spending power, but by some or all of the

⁷⁰ David, C. & Richard, S. (2002). Intergovernmental Relations in Canada: The Emergence of collaborative Federalism. at 49 Publius spring. *The Journal of Federalism*. University of Toronto

⁷¹ Robert, Young (2003). Conference on Municipal-Federal-Provincial Relations: New Structures/New Connections Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University. May 9-10

⁷² F. Leslie, Seidle, "Executive Federalism and Public Involvement: Integrating Citizen's Voices,"(paper presented to the Conference on The Changing Nature of Democracy and Federalism in Canada, Winnipeg, 14 April 2000).

11 governments and the territories acting collectively. This collaborative federalism in Canada can take two forms.⁷³

The first is collaboration among federal, provincial, and territorial governments (FPT) seeking a balance in roles and responsibilities. FPT is based on the premise that all these governments possess strong fiscal and jurisdictional tools and that as a result of this interdependence, effective policy depends on coordination among them. The second is collaboration among provincial and territorial governments (PT), with Ottawa on the sidelines. This is based on the view that under the constitution, health, welfare, and education are provincial jurisdictions. "National" policies and standards in these areas, therefore, are matters for provinces to decide together; the central government does not have to do it.

2.9.1.3 The basic IGR institutions in Canadian federation include:-

The collaborative model has had an important impact on the institutions of IGRs. Firstly; perhaps the most obvious is in the role and position of the Annual Premiers Conference. Initiated at the instigation of Quebec in the 1960s as little more than a summer retreat for premiers and their families, the APC has evolved into a significant intergovernmental institution. Secondly; long overshadowed by the federal-provincial FMC, it has become more prominent as the frequency and significance of the FMCs have declined. Held every August under a rotating chairmanship, this association of provinces has become a full-fledged intergovernmental institution, professionally supported by provincial civil servants.

Thirdly; MCF is another institutional forum that is assuming much greater importance is the ministerial council, sometimes federal-provincial, sometimes purely provincial. Such councils have existed for many years. Recently, however, their numbers have increased; they have become more institutionalized, and have played a more formal role in carrying out mandates assigned by first ministers.. Councils now exist for ministries concerned with social-policy renewal, forestry, transportation, education, and the environment. Other groupings of ministers go by names such as forums, committees, and meetings of "Ministers Responsible." Some meet

⁷³ Robert Young (2003), Conference on Municipal-Federal-Provincial Relations: New Structures/New Connections Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University. May 9-10

regularly, others on an ad hoc basis.⁷⁴The Provincial/Territorial Council on Social Policy Renewal has been particularly active. They developed position papers and fashioned strategies for the consideration of the premiers and in preparation for federal provincial discussion. The council was instrumental in developing SUFA, and it will play an important role in helping to make it work⁷⁵. Concerning the legality and political status of IGAs many of the most important federal -provincial arrangements are not in fact formal contracts, The IGAs are not legally binding or enforceable.

Fourthly; *Officials' Meetings* below the political level are innumerable meetings, formal and informal, among deputy ministers and/or other senior officials. These may be bi-lateral or multi-lateral.. Held almost entirely out of the public view, they are indispensable to the proper functioning of the federation.⁷⁶ Fifthly; the CoF; is the other institution that encourages cooperation among provinces and territories. The council of federation facilitates the adoption of common, coherent, and concerted positions among provinces and territories.⁷⁷ Council of federation promotes relations based on the respect of the constitution and on acceptance of diversity within the federations.⁷⁸ The founding agreement on its preamble states that the recognition of the existence of differences between the provinces and territories implies that governments may have different priorities and choices in the policies.

Lastly; an important factor affecting the character of IGRs within a federation is the character of the political party regime. Concerning the party system as William R. asserts “The structure of the system of the political parties is what encourages or discourages the maintenance of the

⁷⁴ Marc, A, and Marianne, B. (2014). *Intergovernmental Relations in Canada Competing Visions and Diverse Dynamics*. Edit by Johane, p, and cheriyil, S. (2015,edits). *In Intergovernmental Relations in Federal Systems. Comparative Structures and Dynamics*. Oxford University Press.

⁷⁵ *ibid*

⁷⁶ Thomas, Hueglin. and Alan, Fena.(2006). *Comparative Federalism: A Systematic Inquiry* (Toronto): Broad view press, pp. 125-1227 at 124.

⁷⁷ Benoit Pelletier, *Intergovernmental Relations in Canada: A Horizontal Perspective*, at 15, Alberto, L. Leire, B. and Escajedo S. E. (eds). *The Ways of Federalism in Western Countries and the Horizons of Territorial Autonomy in Spain Volume II*.

federal bargaining.”⁷⁹ In federations where different parties predominate within different levels, as has often been the case in Canada, the formal intergovernmental processes and institutions have been the major channels for negotiating cooperative arrangements.

The above institutions help in solving the multi-dimensional conflicts affecting in Canadian federations. Mekison identified common sources of conflict in Canadian federations in the Canadian federal system.⁸⁰ Out of these areas the ones affecting the horizontal inter-provincial problems are and where comparative lesson as to whether the HIGRs play effective role or not in conflict management/regulation includes;

Disputes over constitutional jurisdiction; Disputes arising from horizontal fiscal imbalance; Disputes over regional development policies and the question of which provinces benefit most from federal spending; Disputes arising from cultural, linguistic or religious differences; Conflicting ideologies between political parties; and the lack of intergovernmental consultation and the resulting unilateral action by either order of government.

2.9.1.4 Horizontal Interprovincial Relations in Canada

Canada, like most federations has not formally anchored its intergovernmental structures and processes in its Constitution, rather its intergovernmental mechanisms have tended to evolve in response to changing political dynamics. But, still like formal institutions, they are recurrent, fairly solemn, and well structured; they are taken seriously and rest on well-established traditions and practices. Benoit, P (2010, p15) asserts these relations are numerous, and touch on a long list of topics at times in provincial jurisdictions, at times in federal jurisdictions, and at times in shared jurisdictions.⁸¹ Canada is seriously deficient in its institutions of intra-state federalism.

The federal government therefore initiated multilateral negotiations with the provincial governments designed to reduce internal barriers to the mobility of goods, capital, people, and

⁷⁹ William, H. R. (1964). *Federalism, Origin, Operation, and Significance*. Boston: Little Brown & Co. P51

⁸⁰ Peter, Meekison. (2010). *Intergovernmental Relations in Federal Countries: A Series of Essays on the Practice of Federal Governance* Edited by J. Forum of federations. An International Network on Federalism

⁸¹ Benoit, Pelletier, *Inter-governmental Relations in Canada: A Horizontal Perspective*, Alberto, L. Basaguren, L. Escajedo, Epifanio S. (edits). *The Ways of Federalism in Western Countries and the Horizons of Territorial Autonomy in Spain* Vol. 2 pp15

services in Canada. First ministers signed the AIT in 1994, and it was implemented in July 1995. Although its structure and content mirror the approach of international agreements such as the NAFTA, it is a nonbinding political arrangement; it contains, for example, a formal dispute settlement mechanism, but its rulings do not have legal effect. A new Internal Trade Secretariat was established, but it has no significant authority and citizens do not have direct access to it. Many restrictive practices were grandfathered.

As older federations, Canadian constitution has not constitutional or statutory foundations and IGRs activities carried out simply by the preference or whim of political actors. Moreover; the Canadian system has no any guiding principles that can facilitate cooperation among tiers of government. Most of the national policies, strategies and programs are achieved by quasi diplomatic character of IGRs that requires the full willingness of state governments and territories of Canada.⁸² David, C. (2002, p 50) lists four factors that have shaped the present Canadian experience of IGRs. First, the construction and consolidation of the Canada welfare state, second, the rise of liberal nationalism in Quebec, third, the ‘province building’ enterprises of several Canadian provinces, and fourth, the recent aspiration for self-determination of Canada’s aboriginal peoples.⁸³ Since intra-state structure of IGR is weak, Canadian system has been called inter-state federalism.

Sometimes inter-unit efforts at cooperation have been extended even more broadly to encompass all the states or provinces within a federation to deal cooperatively with issues of wider scope without resort to the centralizing impact of relying on federal government action. In 2003 the premiers in Canada established a new formal inter-provincial Council of the Federation comprising the 13 premiers of the ten provinces and three territories not only to foster interprovincial cooperation but to enable a common stand in negotiations with the federal government.

Executives’ plays an important role in IGR which entails multilateral relations between federal and provincial executives or bilateral relations between the federal executive and one province.

⁸² David, Cameron and Richard, Simeon, ‘Intergovernmental Relations in Canada: the emergence of collaborative federalism,’ *The Journal of Federalism, Volume 32 No.2, 2002* at 50. *ibid*

⁸³ *ibid*

As compared to executives the federal and provincial parliaments per se do not play major role as one judiciary bodies. A number of sectoral forums civil service IGR exists between the Federal –Provincial vertical and inter-provincial horizontal relation. It is rare for the federal or provincial civil servants to be politicized.

2.9.2. Nigeria

2.9.2.1 History and Development of Nigerian Federalism: An Overview

The Nigerian federation as it now exists is relatively new. In 1999 a new constitution established a federation consisting of 36 states and a federal capital territory, encompassing an estimated 195,027,043 million people⁸⁴ and therefore the most populous country in Africa. It spans an area of 910,770 square kilometers. The 1999 constitution retained the provisions of the 1979 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, with some amendments. The constitution made specific provisions relative to the constituent units of the federation and the representation of these units in the central government.⁸⁵ Section 2(2), of the constitution states that, “Nigeria is a federation now consisting of 36 states and a Federal Capital Territory.” The country is rich in mineral resources particularly oil.

Nigeria is a multi-ethnic country and by the time of independence in 1960, Nigeria has three regions;⁸⁶ the various ethnic groups were in constant competition for control of the central government and politics of aggressive ethno-regionalism and persistent minority insecurity within their own regions. This led to demands for more regional units, and in 1963 in response to this, the Western Region was split, creating the Mid-Western Region. This marked the beginning of a process which has increased the number of constituent units in the country from three to 36.

⁸⁴ WWW.worldometer retrieved on March 30, 2018 based on latest UN estimates.

⁸⁵ Federal Republic of Nigeria, Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999, Lagos, Nigeria: Federal Government Press, 1999

⁸⁶ Ronald L. Watts (2008) Comparing Federal Systems 3rd ed. published for the School of Policy Studies, Queen’s University by McGill-Queen’s University Press.

As Nigeria used the framework of Federalism to manage its conflicts, it has found that IGR is a necessary mechanism to promote cooperation, manage conflicts, respond to changing circumstance and deliver services more efficiently. In Nigeria, Intergovernmental Relations is basically a mechanism for managing conflict and delivering services.

2.9.2.2 IGR mechanisms in Nigerian federations

Mechanisms and process of IGR in Nigeria are still relatively underdeveloped because Nigeria lacks formal IGR structures and institutions. This was essentially attributed to the current dominant position of the federal government in the federation and the resultant dependency of the states. Constitutionally speaking, the division of powers includes an extensive list of 68 exclusive powers, items on which the federal government can legislate, This list includes for example: the accounts of the federal government and of the offices, courts and authorities thereof; aviation, including airports; bankruptcy and insolvency; banks, banking, bills of exchange; defense; and nuclear energy. Moreover; 12 major concurrent powers,(where both house of assembly at national and state level can act) such as the allocation of revenue, antiquities and monuments, archives, collection of taxes, electoral laws and electoral powers and Finally; assigns the residual authority to the states. Although the “federal character” of Nigeria is entrenched in the constitution, the legacy of the long periods of military rule is displayed in the high degree of centralization that remains.⁸⁷

Some of the tension, which arise in the Nigerian Federal, emanate from the overlap of functions among tiers of government. They are derivable from the kind of pulls, the tension arising from attempt at delicately striking a balance between centripetal and centrifugal forces. These become very evident in the relations between Federal and State governments, State and Local Governments and even in the relations among state governments.⁸⁸

Like most federations, Nigeria’s constitution sets out procedures for the resolution of constitutional disputes. Sections 230(1) and 237(1) provide the constitutional basis for a Supreme Court and a Court of Appeal. The Supreme Court, to the exclusion of any other court,

⁸⁷ Festus C. Nze NIGERIA (Federal Republic of Nigeria) Published by Forum of federation. www.forumfed.Org.

⁸⁸ Elaigwu, J. Isawa (2007) Fiscal Federalism in Nigeria; Facing the Challenges of the Future. Jos: Aha Publishing House, at.129

has original jurisdiction in any dispute between the federation and a state, or between states. The Supreme Court has jurisdiction, to the exclusion of any other court, to hear and determine appeals from the Court of Appeal.

The “*federal character*” of the country is entrenched in the 1999 constitution. Thus, Section 14(3) states that the composition of the government of the federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity.

Concerning regional fiscal imbalance in top most on the agenda of the government led by President Olusegun Obasanjo is how to contain the demands of the oil-rich Niger delta. The nine states in the Niger delta (Abia, Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo, Imo, Ogun, and Rivers) contest the federal government’s ownership and control of the oil mineral resources in their communities and they are unhappy with the revenue sharing formula.

But the history and current circumstances of Nigerian federalism are quite different from those of countries such as Canada. The 36-state structure was created by the military regime partly as a deliberate effort to weaken regional power, and there is no history or tradition of state control of natural resources in Nigeria. People in support of the federal government’s initiative in creating the Niger Delta Development Commission argue that if states were granted greater authority over resource control, the multinationals could pursue a “divide and-conquer” strategy in pursuit of their own objectives. As well, these same people argue such a policy could lead to interstate rivalry and increased conflict between the federal and state governments.⁸⁹

2.9.2.3 Institutions of IGRs in Federal System of Nigeria

In Nigeria, IGR is relatively formalized. But most of the lists in the constitution uses for vertical relations between the federal government and constituent units. Looking at the constitutional institutionalization, these are constitutionally provided institutions of IGR and they include;

⁸⁹ Chika B. OnwuekwE (2001) Oil Wealth, Federalism and Democracy in Nigerian Federations. Vol. 2, No. 1, November 2001.

There are constitutionally provided institutions of IGR the first is the council of States which is essentially one of the advisory executive bodies contained in the constitutions of 1979, 1989 and 1999. Its functions include advising the President with regard to the conduct of national census, prerogatives of mercy, award of national honor, the Independent Electoral Commission, the National Judicial Commission, the National Population Commission and on public order. The membership of this body also reflects its intergovernmental nature.

The other is the Federal Character Commission is another constitutionally guaranteed executive IGR's agency. The functions of this agency include working out equitable formula for the distribution of all cadres of posts in the Federal and State public services, promoting, monitoring and enforcing compliance of proportional sharing of public offices and taking measures to enforce such compliance. Given various complaints about injustices/unfairness in the distribution of public services positions among components units of the Federation, the importance of this commission cannot be over emphasized. This agency is expected to carry out the constitutional provisions in Section 14 (3-4) of 1979, 15(3-4) of 1989 and 14(3-4) of 1999 constitutions which states that the composition of the government of the Federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such manner as to reflect the Federal Character and the need to promote national unity.⁹⁰

RMAFC is the other IGR institution. The Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission are responsible for monitoring accruals to and disbursement of revenue from the Federation account. Periodically reviewing the revenue allocation formula and principles in operation to ensure conformity with changing reality advising federal and state government on fiscal efficiency and methods by which their revenue can be increased and determining the remuneration of the President and Vice President.⁹¹ Allocations are based on the advice of a National Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission (NRMAFC) employing such criteria as population, equality of states, internal revenue generation and land mass.

⁹⁰ The 1999 Constitution of Nigeria

⁹¹ Ronald L.Watts. Comparing Federal Systems 3rd (edn.). Published for the School of Policy Studies. Queen's University by McGill-Queen's University Press Montreal & Kingston.

All these executive IGR institutions are constitutional. The long period of military rule “froze” the activities of some of these agencies but they are again operational. Ironically, many of these agencies were created by various military administration but they are now operating fully to carry out their mandates.

In addition to all those mentioned above executive IGR institutions which are constitutional there are Ad hoc or Informal bodies and agencies in federal Nigeria; They are useful in bringing together Federal, State and Local officials in a particular policy area. They also help to make IGRs smooth and encourage cooperation among component units of the Federation. The various National Councils in Education, Agriculture, Health, Industry, Information, Tourism and Finance are usually meetings among Ministers at Federal and State levels to bring State and Federal political executives together to harmonized policies in the interest of the Federation.

All the above institutions of IGR are important in managing conflict and responding to changing circumstances in the Nigerian Federation. Moreover; the ad hoc or informal bodies and agencies includes firstly; Local Governments Meeting ; Presently, the local governments are assigned roles and functions partakers in the IGRs which makes hitherto prevail existed between only the central and state or regional government alone. At the end of the reform of the local government and the consequent executive allocation of the officials in the Council level. Annual conferences of chairmen of Local Government in Nigeria started off. Also, the bi-annual conference of Commissioners for Local Governments and creation of an executive office of special Assistant to the Governor on Local Government matters etc. all as avenue or for IGRs between the local government levels and other levels or among local governments started off.

The second is Joint planning Board which Due to the relationship between the three tiers of government, state governments are vested with the powers to “enact through the state House of Assembly a law providing for the structure, composition, revenue. Expenditure and other financial matters, staff meeting and other relevant matters for the local governments in the states” subject to the provisions of the constitution. The state governments established a Joint Planning Board through a law enacted by the State Assembly.⁹²

⁹² Okoli F.C. and Onah Fab.O; (2002). Public Administration in Nigeria: Nature, Principles and Application. Enugu: John Jacobs Classic Publishers limited pp. 218

The third is Justice and security in the Nigerian Constitution (the Nigerian police) a matter of jurisdiction In Nigeria the federal government has virtually exclusive responsibility for the police, unlike such federations as Canada and the United States where there are federal, provincial/state and municipal police systems. This police system has engendered arguments about the structure of Nigerian federalism and its relation to domestic security. Under Section 215(3) of the 1999 Constitution, law enforcement falls on the Nigerian Police, its affairs being the responsibility of the federal government. A squadron of the force is stationed in each of the 36 states under the command of a Commissioner of Police. The Commissioner of Police is subject to the authority of the Inspector-General of Police. The Inspector-General has command over all of the police squadrons in Nigeria and the maintenance and security of public order and safety.⁹³

Nigeria uses a tripartite system of criminal law and justice: the Criminal Code, based on English Common Law and legal practice; the Penal Code based on Muslim law and justice; and Customary Law, based on the customs and traditions of the people of the south. Religious tensions that rise in support for the Sharia Law system has aggravated tensions between Muslims and non-Muslims in Nigeria. Muslim vigilante groups have been roaming the streets of Sharia states (nine out of the 36 states) seeking out any transgression of Sharia regulations. On May 1 this year, Muslim leaders introduced Sharia law in a southern state for the first time. In defiance of the authorities in Oyo State, the Supreme Council of Sharia inaugurated a panel to rule on civil matters in the region. Civil rights groups have complained that Sharia laws are archaic and unjust.

The Sharia saga has raised essential constitutional and political questions of IGRs in Nigeria's federation and of how far diversity in law can be carried in the federation. Perhaps it has become politically imperative for Nigerian political leaders to establish better channels of communication among the orders of government.

⁹³ Kofi Akosah-Sarpong (2002) Law, Order and “vigilantes” in Nigeria Can a single federal authority provide security throughout a vast and diverse federation? volume 2, number 4, June/July 2002

2.9.3. South Africa

2.9.3.1 History and Development of IGR and Federalism

South Africa is located at the very southern tip of the African continent and dominates the southern African region. Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique are its immediate neighbors', whilst South Africa entirely surrounds Swaziland and Lesotho. The country occupies 1,213,090 km², and is inhabited by approximately 57, 283,219 people⁹⁴. As of the 2017s, the population was approximately 79.2% black Africans , 8.9% white, 8.9% colored 2.5% Indian and 0.2% declared another race. Federalism has had a marred and highly contested reception in South Africa and this continues to be so, given its historically deeply divided polity. The national territory is demarcated in to nine provinces and 278 municipalities; there are eleven official languages corresponding to the major cultural groups, with Zisi Zulu the most spoken language.⁹⁵

South African IGR is determined by the constitution of the republic of South Africa Art 40 of 1996. The constitution establishes a federal entity of nine constituent units, namely the provinces of KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng, Free State, Western Cape, Eastern Cape, North, North West and Mpumalanga (s. 103). Unlike most federations in deeply divided societies, the provincial boundaries are not designed to coincide with racial or tribal boundaries in recognition of the political need to escape similar past practices. ⁹⁶The constitution recognizes three “spheres” of government in Chapter 3 of the constitution rejected the use of the term “level of government”.

The formal recognition of local government as a distinct constitutional sphere in South Africa contrasts with the practice in many federations where local governments fall under the jurisdiction of the constituent units.⁹⁷ The local sphere entitlement to get assistance and the duty

⁹⁴ WWW.worldometres.info South African Population (live) retrieved on march 30,2018 based on united Nations latest estimate

⁹⁵ Derek Powell, (2015) Intergovernmental Relations in Federal Systems. Comparative Structures and Dynamics. in Johhan, Poirer,& John, kinkaid (edits); Constructing a developmental state: The corporatization of Intergovernmental relations 305-350 at 307

⁹⁶ Article 40(1) of the constitution of South Africa states that, In the Republic, government is constituted as national, provincial and local spheres of government which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated

⁹⁷ FM Lucky Mathebula , Intergovernmental Relations Reform in A Newly Emerging South African Policy, (PhD Dissertation),University of Pretoria, South Africa, 2004, p.105, Available at

of the national government to supervise; and interrelated with common duty to work for the greater good of the country. The 1996 constitution is designed to promote a model of cooperative federalism rather than competitive federalism. The Constitution declares that government is comprised of national, provincial and local spheres of government and that these spheres are “distinctive, interdependent and interrelated”. South Africa has established the basic principles of IGRs early during its constitutional designs. In addition to constitutional provisions; in 2005, the IGRs Framework Act (IGR Act) was passed to make sure that the principles in Chapter Three of the Constitution on “cooperative government” are implemented. The Act seeks to set up mechanisms to coordinate the work of all spheres of government.

The purpose of a system of IGRs is to promote cooperative decision making; to ensure the execution of policies through the effective flow of communication; to coordinate priorities and budgets a cross different sectors and the prevention of disputes and conflicts between spheres of government.

2.9.3.2 Institutions of Horizontal IGR in South Africa

A unique feature of IGR in South African constitution is that it expressly provides the institutional framework for IGR between all three orders, with the detail of institutional arrangements provided in national legislations.⁹⁸ Four features of the constitutional framework have a direct bearing but varying degree of influence on conduct of IGR. These are Principle of cooperative governance; NCOP, mandatory IGR legislation; and the constitutional court.

The following categories of co-ordination of IGR structures can be distinguished in Republic of South Africa: **Firstly**; Co-ordination in the national sphere: The NCOP which is part of the national legislative authority, representing provincial interests. **Secondly**; Co-ordination between the national government and provincial governments and within provincial governments: A number of informal MINMECs (consisting of the relevant minister and provincial MECs) have been established. The MINMECs deal by and large with the functional areas within the concurrent national and provincial domain. **Thirdly**; Co-ordination within the local government

<http://upetd.up.ac.za/thesis/available/etd-09192007-114115/unrestricted/07back.pdf>, last visited on September, 26,2017

⁹⁸ The Nigerian Constitution (1999) Chapter Three

sphere, and between the local government sphere and the two other spheres of government: **Fourthly;** The SALGA recognized in terms of section 163 of the Constitution (with reference to the Organized Local Government Act 52 of 1997 (s 2(a)) as the national body representing municipalities, consists of provincial local government associations, municipalities which are members of provincial local government associations.

Fifthly; PCC was emerged in 1999 comprising of the President, the minister of provincial and local government, and provincial premiers. Organized local government attended on invitation. The PCC is a consultative body that deals with cross-sectorial issues and presents an opportunity for provinces to impact on national policy and to ensure the coordinated and integrated implementation of national policies and programs at provincial level. Some of the common IGR institutions in South Africa are discussed below. **Lastly;** Clusters of Ministries a Meetings of horizontal groupings of ministries at national and provincial levels to integrate policy between departments in the same sphere, for example the following clusters have been established at the national level: infrastructure development; economic sectors and employment; human development; social protection and community development; governance and administration; international cooperation, trade and security; and justice, crime prevention and security. Since 1996 informal IGR forums have been formed along sectorial lines, consisting of national ministers and their provincial counterparts in so-called MinMECs which have both Vertical and horizontal elements of IGR.

2.9.3.3 Provincial IGR forums and District Intergovernmental forums

As Derek, P. (2015, p 326) concluded Intergovernmental forums have also proliferated in the provinces. In the majority of provinces an all-inclusive IGR forum has been established that links the province executive with organized local government. The nine PCF facilitates IGR Between each province and its local governments. Most PCFs meet frequently more than twice a year and generally their agenda deal with national and their own provincial concern. However,

some forums exist in name only or function poorly.⁹⁹ The latter problem has been attributed to the fact that there are too many forums, resulting in the lack of substantive agendas for each.¹⁰⁰

There are a number of effective provincial forums, of which the North West Intergovernmental Forum is a good example. Despite the hierarchical nature of the executive IGR ; some provinces have developed their own institutional innovation as for instance , including local mayors' in a forum or as in case of western cape PCF, rotating their chairs between the provinces and its local governments.¹⁰¹ The District Intergovernmental Forums (DIGF) is chaired by the executive mayor of the district. The IGR Act defines its key role as coordinating district wide integrated development planning and clarifying functional arrangements between the districts and local tiers;¹⁰²

2.9.3.4 Horizontal Interprovincial Relations for management of Conflict in South Africa

The constitution recognized three “spheres” of government giving formal constitutional recognition to the central, provincial and local governments, and it was designed to promote cooperative federalism rather than competitive federalism.¹⁰³ A notable feature of the 1996 constitution of South Africa is chapter three (Articles 40-41) which is entitled “co-operative government.” This explicitly enumerates the intergovernmental cooperation is to be underlying philosophy for the conduct of government and the relations between the three spheres of government: national, provincial and local. Furthermore to encourage intergovernmental co-operation the constitution empowers the constitutional court, if it is not satisfied that every reasonable effort to settle a dispute by intergovernmental negotiation has been taken, to refer a dispute back to the government involved¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Derek Powell, (2015) Intergovernmental Relations in Federal Systems. Comparative Structures and Dynamics. In Johhan, Poirer, & John kinkaid edits; *Constructing A Developmental State: The Corporatization of Intergovernmental Relations* 305-350 at 326

¹⁰⁰ Ibid

¹⁰¹ Supera note 34

¹⁰² Stephenes and Wikstrome (2004). American Intergovernmental Relation. pp 64-65

¹⁰³ Watts, Ronald (1996), Comparing Federal Systems in the 1990s, Kingston Ontario: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University at 49

¹⁰⁴ South African constitution Article 41[4]

IGR in South Africa commonly used to refer to relations between central, regional, and local governments that facilitate the attainment of common goals through cooperation. Used in this sense, mechanisms for IGRs may be seen as employing consensual tools for the mutual benefit of the constituent units of the state.¹⁰⁵

The South African constitution has clear guidelines relating to the resolution of constitutional disputes (Chapter 8). In addition to the principle of cooperative government, all spheres of government need to exhaust “every reasonable effort to resolve any disputes through intergovernmental negotiation” (s. 41(3)) and employ every method before approaching the courts to resolve the matter. Nevertheless, the Constitutional Court has final say about issues involving central, provincial and local government (s. 167). The Constitutional Court is the highest court regarding constitutional matters. Different types of Intergovernmental agreements (IGA) are applied in the conduct of IGR in South Africa. These include Delivery agreements, implementation protocol, Memorandum of understanding (MoU) and agency service delivery agreements.

2.9.3.5 Horizontal IGRs capacity to resolve dispute between sub-national governments in South Africa

The IGR Act of 2005 of South Africa Provides for intergovernmental dispute–settlement procedures and requires the executive authorities of the three orders to use these to resolve disputes before they can go to court. The IGR Act also provides Interprovincial and inter-municipal forums but their use is not common.¹⁰⁶ These provisions give effect to the principles in the constitution that the orders should avoid disputes and seek to resolve their differences through political discussion not court action. It is referred as avoidance and management of intergovernmental disputes.

¹⁰⁵ Opeskin, D. (1998). The reform of intergovernmental fiscal relations in developing and emerging market economies, Washington, DC: World Bank.

¹⁰⁶ IGR Act of 13 2005 section 22 and 25

2.10. Conclusion: Lessons from Comparative cases

Here under summary about the horizontal IGR role in conflict management from the comparative experiences of the three federations is compared and presented so as to furnish with lessons to be learned.

These three Countries applied different types of mechanisms and strategies to manage their interdependence and to enhance their IGRs. Some deals with this interdependence through formal, even constitutional mechanisms, as in Republic of South Africa while others use ad-hoc and informal arrangements as in Nigeria and Canada. This proves there is no “one size fits all” it all depends on contextual realities.

Concerning constitutional status of IGR mechanisms in South Africa there is a culture of cooperation that makes IGR a constitutional principle. In other federations, as in Canada IGRs are not part of the constitutional principles or grand legislations while their practical usage is visible. While constitutional based forums are more rigid where informal ones have the advantage of flexibility, the Countries that entrench IGR constitutionally are less likely to be manipulated by powerful partners; the latter may be open to be taken less seriously and are vulnerable to exploitation.¹⁰⁷The above concern proves formalization doesn't guaranty the practicability of the IGR mechanism; so, the will and commitment of the state politicians' and institutions have pivotal importance.

Concerning the balance of power among governments' comparative lessons indicated the IGR relationship among governments has dual forms either a partnership among equals; or a hierarchy of superior and inferior governments. Clearly either relationship requires IGRs, but hierarchy and equality are likely to lead to very different dynamics. In Canada, the predominant impression is one of relative equality between the two orders of government. The provinces, armed with extensive powers, bureaucratic and fiscal resources, and political clout show little deference to federal leadership. Indeed, they are zealous in defending provincial turf against real or perceived federal intrusions. Practically seen this opposes the Ethiopian IGR where majorly party channel is working dominantly through party centralization where the center has more

¹⁰⁷ Rekha S. (2010). Intergovernmental Interactions in the Indian Federal System, PSA, University of Delhi, India, PP.2

influence. However; currently experiences are leading to different dimensions where party ethics is being questioned and regional parties get significant power.

In Canada, Provinces acting on their own have a well developed network of intergovernmental mechanisms without the center. These “Provincial (Territorial)” mechanisms provide an opportunity to develop common strategies vis-à-vis the federal government on contentious issues, to forge compromises and provinces with varying resources and interests, and to share information in managing common problems contrary to these; despite some sections of its constitution that suggest a relationship of equality. As opposed to this; South Africa is a much more top down federalist system than the other cases here. The centre has wide powers both to trump provincial legislation, and to intervene in provincial administration. It has almost total control of public revenues. It appears that many intergovernmental meetings involve the centre enlisting the provinces in central government priorities.

Considering IGR role in resolving conflict different lessons could be learned from these three countries. In South Africa the role of IGR in Conflict resolution is explicitly envisaged constitutionally as provided for in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Art 108 of 1996. The brief identification of the three spheres of government (National, Provincial, and Local sphere) is followed by a discussion of, firstly, the constitutional provisions pertaining to co-operative government (the basis of IGR in South Africa), and, secondly, of the most important statutory (formal) IGR structures and non-statutory (informal) structures that have been established. Information on the actual operation of the IGR structures and a discussion of the conflict resolution mechanisms of avoidance and management of intergovernmental disputes that have been created in order to resolve conflicts within the legislative arm of government discussed above is a good lesson for a federal country like Ethiopia.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Nic, Olivier.(2010). Intergovernmental Relations in Federal Countries. Intergovernmental Relations in South Africa: conflict resolution within the executive and legislative branches of government. published by forum of federations pp 71-90

CHAPTER THREE

3. IGRs in the Ethiopian Federation

3.1. Introduction

Prior to 1991, the notion of IGR and cooperation is minimal as well as the establishment of administrative units as a key actors for IGRs was insignificant rather established unconstitutionally for the purpose of administrative significance for the ruling class/elite. Putting people into groups and categories is highly prevalent in the whole world (perhaps a normal cognitive process), including Ethiopia. However; ethnicity twisted with other factors has been politicized for long. Pre 1995 Domination by some elite groups, oppression of the minorities, and lack of equality and democracy had existed in Ethiopia for decades. Prejudice, stereotyping, marginalization, exclusion and discrimination have prevailed implicitly or explicitly.¹⁰⁹ The Ethiopian Constitution has tried to deal with these historical and the then prevailing situations. Nationalities struggles were reactions against oppression and inequality. The ethno nationalist movements included Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Front (EPLF), Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), Afar Liberation Front (ALF), Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) and the Tigrean Peoples' Liberation Front (TPLF).

The promulgation of 1995 constitution laid down for the foundation of two tier of government; formally and ambiguous formation of third tier of government for both ethnic based government Article 39(3)) and regular local government. Article 50(4) which are part of components for IGRs both horizontally and vertically.

The constitution and other subsidiary laws of Ethiopia are silent concerning IGRs especially when viewed on its horizontal standpoint. IGR is less treated subject in the federal arrangement of Ethiopia. Slightly addressed matters as regards of intergovernmental relations at least constitutionally, though strongly related to vertical IGR, are issues of fiscal intergovernmental relations and conflict resolution mechanisms (FDRE constitution art 94). That is why writers on Ethiopian federalism considered IGR as the least developed and the least understood dimension

¹⁰⁹ Habtamu Wondimu, (Prof). (2013) Federalism and Conflicts' Management in Ethiopia: Social Psychological Analysis of the Opportunities .and Challenges (Discussion Paper Prepared for HOF) February, 2013 IPSS/AA. pp 1-20

of federalism partly due to youngest nature of federal system and partly due to the existence of highly centralized political culture (Assefa, 2011). Still we can add the less attention given during constitutional making as to how the respective levels of governments can cooperate, coordinate and integrate in the discharge of their functions as another contributing factor it's a lesser level of development. Interrelation is inevitable in federations, thus in the absence of such laws governing the issue, there are agreements between states within the federation especially among neighboring states, to perform their constitutionally granted rights and responsibilities

3.2. IGR in Ethiopian Federations

In Ethiopia like in other federations with parliamentary systems the institutions and processes for IGRS have been more or less similar where the predominant role of governmental executives in IGR are visible, the institutions and processes for IGRs usually develop pragmatically rather than by constitutional requirement (Assefa, 2009:111). They involve indirect communications between the concerned functionaries of federal and regional governments.

Vertically seen the various ministries of the federal government have direct and close contact with their corresponding bureaus in regional governments. This close link and interdependence is imperative to carry out their respective responsibilities effectively and in a coordinated manner. It also enhances the capacity of the regional governmental institutions, which compared to the federal government institutions; suffer from lack of adequate human and material resources.

Ad hoc mechanisms of IGRs among different levels of government are conducted in Ethiopia. These include conferences, advisory ad hoc bodies, exchange of personal and technical experts, or personal exchange of information between authorities of the levels of governments¹¹⁰. These interactions reveal the inevitability of IGRs between the federal and regional governments so as to ensure smooth and efficient application of powers and responsibilities.

Out of many importance of IGR in federal countries, preserving the autonomy of regional states from undue infringement of the federal government could be mentioned as one and main. In federations, the federal constitution may stipulate the power and responsibility of both levels of

¹¹⁰ Solomon Nigussie, (2002). Intergovernmental Relations and Fiscal Issues In Federations: The Situation In Ethiopia And The Implications To The Horn, Third Conference On Constitutionalism And Human Security In The Horn Of Africa By Inter African Group, 2002, Addis Ababa.pp104

government. However; such area of competence cannot be a clear-cut and free from vagueness. There are areas of competence known by inference and interpretation, which needs basic consensus and understanding between the organs having stake.

3.3. Constitutional Basis for IGR

In Ethiopia, as one category of shared powers, concurrent powers refer to powers attributed to both entities. However; one of the entities, often the states, is allowed to exercise this power until the federal government steps in to legislate on such powers. The states continue to regulate in some fields until the former occupies the field and the part of the concurrent power which has not yet been occupied by the federal government, may still remain with the states. Another area of great significance falling under the framework legislation appears to be Article 51(2) and sub (3) versus 52(2) c.

The Constitution empowers the federal government to ‘formulate and implement the country’s policies, strategies and plans in respect of overall economic, social and development matters...; ...establish and implement national standards and basic policy criteria for public health, education, science and technology...¹¹¹. The same Constitution also empowers the states, among other things ‘to formulate and execute economic, social and development policies, strategies and plans for the state.¹¹² Thus there is obviously a lot of overlap between the powers of the federal government and the states concerning these issues.¹¹³

Concerning the residual power whatever is not expressly given to the federal government alone (exclusive) or concurrently with states remains with the states. In principle by virtue of Article 52, civil law is a matter reserved to the states. However, as a matter of exception the federal government may enact civil laws when the HoF states that it is necessary to enact such laws to establish and sustain one economic community. However; By virtue of Article 55(6) the House of Peoples’ Representatives (HoPR) is empowered to enact civil laws, which the House of Federation (HoF) deems ‘necessary to establish and sustain one economic community.

¹¹¹ The Ethiopian EFDRE constitution Art 51(2)sub 3

¹¹² Art 52c

¹¹³ Assefa Fiseha, (2009). The System of Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) in Ethiopia: In Search of Institutions and Guidelines.

The FDRE constitution is aimed at building one common political and economic community founded on the rule of law and capable of guaranteeing sustainable peace, democracy and socioeconomic development.¹¹⁴ Although the federal government and the regional states are vested with different powers distinctly delineated under the constitution, they are interdependent in a wide range of matters.¹¹⁵ There exists a deliberate and some unintentional overlaps in the division of powers. One and the main overlap exist in framing economic social and developmental policies.

The federal government is authorized to formulate and implement the overall policies and strategies of the country while the jurisdiction of the regional states is limited to specific policies and strategies.¹¹⁶ However, the constitution did not clearly stipulate the extent of power of the federal government and the areas of power that should left to the regional states. Even though, each order of government is in principle, assigned executive authority over the same matters for which it has legislative authority, federal laws are in practice largely executed through the regional states.¹¹⁷

The constitution also mentions about state relations. One of the better devices to calm intergroup or intrastate conflicts is through Federalism (Horowitz, 1997), as it accommodates differences in multi-ethnic states. It is often argued that as self-governance, and participation level increases, the demand for secession decreases. The Ethiopian Constitution has explicitly indicated that the NNPs of Ethiopia are sovereign, equal, and have vast rights and freedoms. Perhaps, direct quotations of Article 8 and 39 and 46 would suffice as illustrations.

Article 8 states that (1) “All sovereign power resides in the Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples of Ethiopia.(2) This Constitution is an expression of their sovereignty. (3) Their sovereignty shall be expressed through their representatives elected in accordance with the Constitution and through their direct democratic participation.” Article 39 states that, (1) “Every Nation,

¹¹⁴ The preamble of the 1995 FDRE Constitution.

¹¹⁵ Hashim Tewfik, (2010). Transition to Federalism: The Ethiopian Experience, Forum of Federations, P.16.

¹¹⁶ Art., 51 and 52 of the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Proclamation No. 1/1995, 1st Year No.1, Addis Ababa, 21st August 1995.

¹¹⁷ Hashim,T Supra Note 3, PP. 16-17

Nationality, and People in Ethiopia has an unconditional right to self determination, including the right to secession.

(3) Every Nation, Nationality, and People in Ethiopia has the right to a full measure of self government which includes the right to establish institutions of government in the territory that it inhabits and the equitable representation in state and Federal governments... (4) A Nation, Nationality or People for the purpose of this Constitution, is a group of people who have or share a large measure of a common culture or similar customs, mutual intelligibility of language, belief in a common or related identities, a common psychological makeup, and who inhabit an identifiable, predominantly contiguous territory.”

The constitution has also tried to highlight under Article 50(8) about the co-existence of the two levels of governments by placing the federal comity principle. But this should not be taken as a guiding rule for the existence of cooperative forums in achieving the national goals and programs. There has to be at least some formal systems that shape the cooperation phases. Otherwise, it will be unfairly manipulated by one of the parties (usually by the center and in case of Horizontal IGR by more advanced Regional state) in setting an agenda or coercing the partakers.

Generally one can conclude; Even though the supreme written constitution divided legislative, executive, judicial and financial powers between the tiers of governments in the form of exclusive, shared or residual powers, it is impossible to delineate clearly, As Ronald Watts (1996) states because different powers needs to share something in common as a federation in promoting unity without neglecting the self-rule aspect of federalism. Therefore, in all the foregoing matters, the interdependence of the federal -state and the regional and inter-states necessitates their cooperation hence effective form of IGR is crucial for the smooth and efficient application of their responsibilities.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

3.4. Institutional Mechanism of IGR in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia, the institutions and processes for IGRs have been more or less similar to federations with parliamentary systems where the predominant role of governmental executives in IGRs are visible, the institutions and processes for IGRs usually develop pragmatically rather than by constitutional requirement. The formal approach of IGRs presupposes the establishment of one or more institutions in charge of regulating the matter.¹¹⁹ The establishment of these institutions requires defining their mandates and decision making competences.¹²⁰ Intergovernmental deliberations primarily involve exchanging information and ideas; and they provide a forum for discussion.¹²¹ On the one hand, intergovernmental institutions are mandated to process bargaining, negotiation, and persuasion between levels of government, while both levels of government remain responsible to their own legislatures and electorates for the actions they take.¹²²

IGRs are one of the pillars for most federal states and unitary governments to facilitate their socio-economic and political as well as cultural developments. A deep reading through the constitution of Ethiopia proves the absence of formal IGRs and cooperation among federal government and regional states vertically, between regional states and within local governments horizontally. The absence of formal vertical and horizontal relationships does not mean that no relation at all. Relations through sector- based, party channels and through institutions are held informally.

Regarding institutional framework of IGR in Ethiopia,¹²³ the HOF invokes a constitutional basis to organize IGR. At the same time the Ministry of Federal Affairs invokes certain legislation as its legal basis to organize IGR. The third category of interaction which has been practiced uses

¹¹⁹ Assefa Fiseha, (2009). 'The System of Intergovernmental Relationship (IGR) in Ethiopia: in search of institution and Guidelines', *Journal of Ethiopia law*, vol. 23 No.1 PP 96-131 pp.111

¹²⁰ Simeon, Richard. (2000). 'Conclusion' in the Meekison J peter, ed., on "Intergovernmental relations in Federal countries: A series of Essays on the practice of Federal Governance" p.9

¹²¹ Ibid

¹²² Ibid,

¹²³ Nigussie Afesha, (2015). The Federal-state Intergovernmental Relationship in Ethiopia: Institutional Framework and its Implication on State Autonomy. *Mizan Law Review*, Vol. 9, No.2 PP368

intergovernmental agreement as a legal basis for organizing IGR. This is usually described as sector by sector interaction which is backed by the signing of MOU. This document serves as a legal base to make their interaction formal. Moreover; the party channels are considered as the major means's and mechanisms through which IGRs are functioned in Ethiopia.

3.4.1. The House of Federation (HOF)

The House of Federation (upper house) is the guardian and interpreter of the Ethiopian Constitution. It is the chamber in which ethnic groups are represented. As per the Constitution, each of the nine regional states has its own constitution, flag, executive government, legislative, judiciary, and police. Each chooses its own working language and each ethnic group has the right to use the mother tongue to educate its children. Obviously these are some of the major rights that almost all the secessionist movements have been demanding before 1995.

The House of Federation has the following five main mandates /powers and functions/ relating to conflict in the wider sense: First; Interpretation of the Ethiopian Constitution (Art.62/1). Second; Decisions on the issues relating to NNP to self-determination, including the right to secession (Art 62/3). Third; Resolutions of conflicts and misunderstandings arising among different levels of government (Art 62/6) (Striving to find solutions to disputes or misunderstandings between regions). Fourth; ensuring or restoring the constitutional order in case of violation. (Art 62/9); which states, is ordering Federal intervention in any violation of the constitution and in conflict situations. Fifth; holding referendum when there are border disputes between regions/states;

In addition to the HOF, the Ministry of Federal Affairs and Pastoral development (MoFPDA) is established mainly to look after the affairs of inter and intra-regional conflicts and intergovernmental relations (i.e, ethnic groups, federal affairs, and ethnic relationships/conflicts, etc.). The following are some of the main powers and duties of the Ministry of Federal Affairs.¹²⁴ (FDRE, 2010); currently named as the Ministry of Federal and Pastoral Development Affairs (MoFPDA) (It is to be noted that the first eight duties are common for all the ministries):

¹²⁴ FDRE, (2010). A proclamation to provide for the Definition of Powers and Duties of the Executive Organs of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. AA: Berhanena Selam.

All MoFPDA's departments have mandates to accomplish. Some of the mandates are Conflict resolution, equitable development, Provide assistance to regional states, particularly to those deserving special support; IGR and the religion affairs are organized to achieve the ultimate goal of strengthening the IGR between the federal and states. They serve as a focal point in creating good Federal-Regional relationship. However; the institutional setup (its constitutionality and its organization to run the issue of IGR nationwide).

Unless the structures of MoFPDA is reorganized in such a way that it can facilitate the nationwide IGR through winning the acceptance and active involvement of the states it is difficult for it to carry out the whole IGR activities with the current structure of the ministry. Due to many factors, however, this institution has not successfully discharged its huge tasks as it is given in the proclamation No. 691/2010. Still as regards to horizontal communication this apparatus continues ineffective. In relation to the MoFPDA as an institution to facilitate IGR, it is uncertain that whenever a political party with a different program and ideological orientation takes control of one or more of the state/s or the center for that matter, the necessity for common forum of cooperation becomes visible.¹²⁵

The current constitution of the FDRE starts with the statement, “We, the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia: strongly committed in full and free exercise of our right to self-determination, to building a political community founded on the rule of law and capable of ensuring a lasting peace, guaranteeing a democratic order, and advancing our economic and social development; ... full respect of individual and people's fundamental freedoms and rights to live together on the bases of equality and without any sexual, religious, and cultural discrimination.”¹²⁶ Language and cultural pluralism, regional autonomy, separation of state and religion, transparency and accountability of government, human and democratic rights, the structure of the federal and regional states, and division of powers are clearly stated.

The effort is to “transform the empire state into a democratic state of ethnic pluralism, in order to ensure that no ethnic community would find it necessary or desirable to secede”. Cultural, linguistic and political autonomy are granted at regional, zonal and woreda levels. The

¹²⁵ MoFPDA, proclamation No. 691/2010.

¹²⁶ FDRE (1995). The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. AA: Berhanena Selam

constitution established (N.N.P) federalism giving full (N.N.P) autonomy and equality while maintaining the unity of the country¹²⁷. N.N.P based nine territories were formed – Afar, Oromo, Amhara, Tigray, Somali, Benishangul-Gumuz, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples (SNNP) Region, Gambella, and Harari. Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa are Federal city states. The SNNPR has several N.N.P groups (about 50), grouped in to zones, woredas, and special woredas.

In practice, however, various informal intergovernmental forums were established in the Ethiopian federation after the enactment of the Constitution. These forums are principally aimed at paving the way for cooperation and integration between the levels of government. Although meetings were taking place between the federal ministerial offices and regional bureaus, between director generals and technical experts; between regional governments and local governments with their respective offices or sectors, they were largely ad hoc, spontaneous, irregular and often without clear constitutional base.

3.4.2. Ministry of Federal and Pastoral Development Affairs (MOFPDA)

MoFPDA is the other federal body which has engaged in organizing IGR. It has established a section in charge of formalizing IGR. It has also organized IGR forums. The ministry is working toward the establishment of IGR sections within each federal ministry and its respective counterpart at regional bureaus.¹²⁸ This is part of the pursuits of institutionalizing sector by sector intergovernmental interactions. The Ministry's power of organizing IGR forums stems from its mandate and duties embodied in Proclamation No. 691/2010. Pursuant to this legislation, the Ministry of Federal Affairs has the powers and duties to cooperate with concerned federal and regional state organs in maintaining public order.

3.4.3. Sector by Sector Relationship

In Ethiopia, virtually all ministries have their own family of intergovernmental mechanisms, and they have developed their own practice of cooperation and collaboration between the federal and regional governments. The structures, processes, and practices have been developed between

¹²⁷ Alem Habtu, (2003). Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia: Background, Present Conditions and Future Prospects. Paper Submitted to Second EAF Symposium on Contemporary Development Issues in Ethiopia. AA

¹²⁸ See article 14(1) (a), Proclamation 691/2010.

different federal Ministries and their regional counterpart bureau in which all levels of government have a role. Thus, the Ministries of health, agriculture, education, trade and industry as well as regional sector bureaus have developed mechanisms and patterns to conduct IGRs that cover a wide range of functions. Although many of the concepts and functions are common across ministries, their roles and structures vary for a variety of reasons.

3.4.4. Political Parties

IGRs can be facilitated through different channels, structure and processes (Watts, 1996:24); Party system and party channel among other things, are among the various mechanisms. For such a situation to exist there must be one effectively organized and highly disciplined party that controls all levels of government. Political parties serve as one of the basic channel of intergovernmental relations in Ethiopia. The dominant arrangement which has been employed by the federal government to ensure federal influence on states and guarantee uniform application of policies is the political party channel. It can be argued that a disciplined party that dominates both levels of government is an asset for a divided country like Ethiopia. However, many writers consider this as an obstacle to a genuine federal structure.¹²⁹ In practice, the hegemonic control of the party throughout Ethiopia is a problem.

The structure of political parties, and their internal practices, policies and pattern of interaction can affect the workings of federations (Simon, 2004:99). These factors can have a profound impact upon the functioning of federations. For instance, centralized parties tend to centralize political power and decision-making and may create trends against the division of power in federations (Lucy R, 1985:56). By the same token, if splintered parties rule the regional states or if region-based parties are very strong, it poses a challenge in the management of a federation (Anderson, 2010:51)

Looking to its impact on IGR the structure of the system of political parties is what encourages or discourages the maintenance of the federal bargaining (Riker, 1964:56). The implication of this argument is that different forms of intergovernmental interactions may be desirable depending on the political structure of the country.

¹²⁹ Paulos Chanie, (2007). *What One Hand Giveth, the Other Hand Taketh Away: Ethiopia's Post-1991 Decentralization reform under neo-patrimonialism*, Netherlands, Shaker publishing, p. 283

The centralized party system also made little contribution towards enabling the regional states to manage conflict in their own way.¹³⁰ This is because the party follows centralized policy-making and implementation processes, giving little opportunity for alternative ideas to emerge from below. Therefore, this has contributed to the development of relatively dependent regional states with regard to all strategic planning (Fiseha, 2006:158). In fact, it can be argued, the main problem for regional state dependency is the centralized structure of the ruling party (Fiseha, 2006:138).

3.5. Horizontal IGR in Ethiopia

Horizontal and vertical Intergovernmental Relation is crucial in facilitating development; in preventing, managing and resolving conflicts; and used as a foundation to people-to people communication and cooperation. IGR in Ethiopia has to be considered from the perspective of both the formal and informal relationship mechanisms that are now in practice. Intergovernmental relationship now in practice is a process almost fully dependent on either of the semiformal or informal tools of cooperation without any convenient, transparent and predetermined arrangements.

IGRs are the best mechanism to help both the federal and sub national governments to coordinate and harmonize their developmental policies and strategies, which is highly demanded by a developmental state ideology. Unless the federal and sub national governments reach to consensus and took a common agenda towards development with its many forms, their efforts will be fragmented and puts the efficiency of a developmental state in question. It is difficult to build a nationwide project without the support and participation of the sub national governments. This can be achieved through mutual understanding and agreement between the federal and sub national governments than through coercion, hence IGR will help them.¹³¹

¹³⁰ ibid

¹³¹ Bekalu Mulu, (2015). The Move Towards Developmental State In FDRE: The Role Of Intergovernmental Relation (IGR) For Its Implementation Preserving The Autonomy Of Regional States Unpublished M.A Thesis Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

3.5.1. The experience of Horizontal IGR in Ethiopian federation

HIGR is a cooperation that subsists between states in their undertaking to accomplish constitutionally allocated responsibilities. Interregional relation is cooperation between two or more regions in the federation where as intra-regional relations occur between same levels of administrative authorities within the regional states, since regional states themselves are a multi-level governance compartments. This horizontal cooperation is important for several reasons. It can be used for addressing conflicts (related to either borders or to resource sharing) between states, for sharing of experiences and for bringing stable development among regional states. The federal constitution remained silent in case of regional interactions in Ethiopia. States opt their own way to establish ‘formal’ or informal institutions through which they can exercise their common agendas.

Federal practices of Ethiopia indicate that the constituent units of federation are engaged in horizontal cooperation between themselves, despite the absence of constitutional clauses to that effect. Practices do tell us the necessities to cooperation between states horizontally are many. This horizontal cooperation is important for several reasons. It can be used for addressing conflicts (related to either borders or to resource sharing) between states, for sharing of experiences and for bringing stable development among regional states.¹³² However; in federations in general compared to vertical cooperation, the horizontal one has given less painstaking, though it is equally important for federations to function properly.

Trying to understand IGR in Ethiopia the reading of FRDE constitution did not provide a full picture, nor Regional State Constitutions deal on issues of IGRs in a comprehensive approach. It is necessary to go beyond the formal rules, regulations, and see institutions and practices of IGR based on empirical evidences to understand their substance. As Assefa, F. (2009 p 114) depicted in his article, Horizontal IGR, among other things, grant opportunities for securing consensus or help develop common understanding among actors representing the governments before facing

¹³² Solomon Nigussie, (2008). Fiscal Federalism in the Ethiopian Ethnic based Federal System. Netherlands: Wolf Legal Publisher, pp 102-103

the federal government on specific policy issue and used as an avenue for sharing and learning experiences or for dealing with specific issues among all or some of the constituent units.¹³³

There are some examples of HIGRs in Ethiopia. These includes Eastern Ethiopian five regions IGRs, Oromia and Somali regional states collaboration forum, Afar and Tigray regional states collaboration, Afar and Amhara , Amhara and Benshangul Gumuz, and SNNP and Gambella regional States forums are practical horizontal relationships with in federal Ethiopia aimed at several responsibilities to mention some: conflict resolution, securing good governance, and balancing economic disparities. Some other informal communications are also developed across regional states.

Some empirical data which are results of the agreements of the two regional state governments (Amhara and Benshangul Gumuz), on issues of security, agricultural development, civil service, health, education, trade and transport related, has been carefully discussed as part of previous study by other researchers. Its effectiveness in controlling the objectives in which the cooperation is designed to serve, and the way it facilitate the cooperation has also been evaluated, on this research additional hints on these horizontal cooperation with particular emphasis to ONRS and SNNP region specimens are provided.

3.5.2. Ad hoc mechanisms of IGRs in Ethiopian federations

Practices prove the existence of vertical and horizontal ad hoc mechanisms of IGRs in Ethiopian federations. These include conferences, advisory ad hoc bodies, exchange of personal and technical experts, or personal exchange of information between authorities of the levels of governments.¹³⁴ These interactions reveal the inevitability of IGRs between the federal and regional governments and among regions so as to ensure smooth and efficient application of powers and responsibilities. Yet there is the need to look into the institutional framework that has

¹³³ Assefa Fiseha, (2009). ‘The system of Intergovernmental relationship (IGR) in Ethiopia: in search of institution and Guidelines’, *Journal of Ethiopia law*, vol. 23 No.1 PP 96-131 pp.114

¹³⁴ Solomon Negussie, (2008). Fiscal Federalism in the Ethiopian Ethnic-based Federal System, Revised Edition, Wolf Legal Publishers, Oisterwijk, pp 4

been practiced in Ethiopia along with its implications on managing interregional conflicts and its efficiency in granting the regional states autonomy.

Five Neighboring regions of eastern Ethiopia namely, Somali, Harari, Dire Dawa, Afar and Oromia made agreement of cooperation and in 2006 they established a congress aimed at to coordinate the development and good administration issues between these neighboring regions.¹³⁵ As cogently defined by Daniel Elazar;(2008:43) “Federalism is a system that seeks to ensure self rule and shared rule.” Thus, the system is inherently intended for balancing the power of the union (federal) and the federating units (regions, states and provinces). However; the very idea of self and shared rule that federalism seeks to bring about engender jurisdictional and other conflicts.

3.6. Horizontal IGR as tool of Conflict Management

Conflict management is an intervention towards preventing the escalation and negative effects, especially violent one, of ongoing conflicts (University for Peace, 2005). It is the reduction, and containment by reorientation of the issue, reconstitution of the divisions among the conflicting parties. It is the elimination of the propensity of conflict to violence by encouraging positive behavioral changes among the parties involved.¹³⁶ As claimed by Horowitz, (2000:124) One of the better devices to calm intergroup of intrastate conflicts, is through Federalism¹³⁷, as it accommodates differences in multi-ethnic states. It is often argued that as self-governance, and participation level increases, the demand for secession decreases.

There are several forums and councils by which the Federal and Regional Governments meet and discuss mutual problems, including conflicts. These include Joint House Speakers Forum, Forum of Dialogue between the HoF and each Regional State, Adjoining Regional States Joint Forum, Peace Committees at Regions,Zones, Woreda and Kebele levels. All of these, including some “Elders Arbitration Committees” and “Peace and Democracy Conferences” try to promote

¹³⁵ Article 2 of the Charter.

¹³⁶ Dereje Seyoum, (2010). The Role of Local Governments in Conflict Management: The Case of Mieso Woreda. In IPSS/AAU. Anthology of Peace and Security Research. AA.pp79

¹³⁷ Horowitz, D. L. (2000). Ethnic Groups in Conflict. Berkeley: University of California.

harmonious inter cultural relationships among diverse (often conflicting) groups, solving problems in non-violent ways, and abiding by the rule of law.

3.6.1. Horizontal IGR as tool of Conflict Management: Regional Experiences

ONRS and SNNP Regional states made horizontal cooperation to resolve conflicts around bordering woredas of East Shewa Zone of Oromia and Gurage, Siltie and Alaba special Woreda of SNNP region; West Arsi zone of Oromia and Hadya, Sidama and Alaba of SNNPR; Borena zone of Oromia and Amaro special woreda of SNNP; Burji of Oromia and Konso of SNNP. These two Regional states developed memorandum of understanding (MoU) mainly to manage conflicts and to avoid violence between the bordering areas, to bring economic development.

Another example of horizontal cooperation is the agreement between Oromia and Somali regions. Border areas between Oromia and Somali stretches to Borena, Guji, Bale, East Hararge and West Hararge Zones of Oromia region and Liban, Afdheer, Fik, Jigjiga and Shinile zones of Somali regional state. Conflicts over postural land, water and other resources have been common phenomenon between different clans from both Regions.

To encourage relations, culture, values, and ways of life of the neighboring people, to hearten common exploitation of resources and to strengthening people to people communications they started cooperation and a joint development program was established. This bilateral development called Bilateral Program Coordinating Unit (PCU) was an initiative established by the Oromia and Somali regions to address conflicts along the border areas of the two regions mostly caused by over pasture land, water points and other resource related sources.

At all time modern mechanisms alone cannot be considered to be enough for the management of conflicts. Tirist, (2005) argues the significance of the Traditional conflict resolution mechanism, when compared to the modern mechanisms it is less complex, more time saving and gives a chance to parties in conflict to participate in solving their own problems and handling their own affairs.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ Tirist, Girshaw, (2005). Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanisms in Ethiopia. In 1st National Conference on Federalism Conflict and Peace Building. Organized by MOFA and GTZ, Addis Ababa

The research that is conducted by Vaughan similarly argues that many conflicts in Ethiopia, essentially focused on local resource competition over scarce land resources, existed before, but it seems, the new constitutional order, particularly disputed boundaries between regional states, has offered new dynamism, by offering new legitimacy to pre-existing conflict and competition, whilst infusing both with an ethnic dimension.¹³⁹

Tarekegn, (2008 : 87) explains that the traditional conflict management mechanisms could help us to resolve conflicts, reduce tensions and rebuild social relations. He asserted this is so because to Bohannan (1976), then entertained traditional values, opinions, customs or activities to reconcile the conflicting parties. Consequently the peaceful and full re-integration of the disputants in the community would be ensured.

The well-known traditional institution of conflict management and resolution among the Oromo nation is the Gada system.¹⁴⁰ Weyesa (2011) suggests that Gada which is found at the center of Oromo culture; is a democratic institution of governance and conflict resolution. It is recognized as a root feature of Oromo culture, and there by a very strong share symbols of the Oromo Bassi (1996). Asmeron (2000:31) defines “Gadaa as a system of class (Luba) that succeed each other every eight year in assuming military, political, judicial, legislative, and ritual responsibilities.”

The Arsi people in the study area are using the Alloo Arsi customary dispute resolution mechanism which was originally part of Gadaa system. It involves elder’s council where proceedings and decisions are based on pure confession (*Dhugaa*) and fact- finding process through evidence (*ragaa*). The study conducted by Abdurahman kabeto, (1991) ascertains the councils of elders consisting of notables, elders and clan chiefs are elected from the clan to take part in conflict resolutions. In Allo Arsi inter-clan, inter-ethnic conflicts are resolved. It has like any other CDR system it has a reconciliatory effect that is directed towards future cooperation that overrides the disputes resolution mechanism in the formal state setting.

¹³⁹ Vaughan, S. (2005:10). The nature and causes of violent conflict in Dewe and Gewane Woredas of Afar region and Hamare and Kuraz woredas of south Omo zone SNNPR: a study commissioned by Farm Africa EEP.

¹⁴⁰ Weyesa, M. (2011). The Conflict between Guji and Borana Oromo and its Management, Unpublished MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University.

In Sidama there are four types of the CDR the hamlet or neighborhood (olla or allauw) dealing simple matters from lineage, village and sub-clan (Bosello) and clan by songo council and the legal sanction of Songo is termed seeraa and fines could be imposed on guilty (hammer 1972). At a higher level the ritual leader Godan was involved with the Songo council. Wrongdoers ask forgiveness, or pay fines or blood prices in homicide cases. Among the Sidama voluntary associations mahber also plays a role in setting disputes, these committees took on customary term songo, and sought to mediate between individual and collective interest (hammer 1980).

Concerning dispute resolution approach on the side of Wolayta; ¹⁴¹ Disputes that involve inter-clan notably over land, grazing and livestock theft 12 elders are selected from each side. Local level disputes are resolved between neighbors and relatives by “*Chimata*” elders. Dispute involving homicide is dealt with by the chucha-checha institutions. Oath is taken place by mechanism referred chako in confessions.

Concerning the potential of informal social networks and its effectiveness in conflict prevention Weismann asserts ¹⁴² “Although informal networks are no panacea for conflict prevention and peace, they offer more customized methods of conflict prevention and reduce the risk of conflicting parties being drawn in to conflict.” Social networks of people linked by friendship or kinship play a vital role as a form of informal cooperation and institution. Potential conflicts are more likely to be prevented and ongoing conflicts easier to manage, if opponents have some form of understanding of each other.

3.6.2. Institutional Mechanisms for the Management and Resolution of Conflict in Federal System

Comparative experiences confirm there are four major institutional mechanisms for the management and resolution of conflict in federal system. Firstly, formal (predominantly judicial) dispute resolution system which majority of federations give the final arbitration regarding

¹⁴¹ Public Service College of Oromia. Continuing and Distance Education Coordination. Module on Customary Law. January, 2016. Ziway. Pp 114

¹⁴² Weissmann, M., (2005), 'Informal Networks As A Conflict Preventive Mechanism', Chapter 5 In Conflict Prevention and Conflict Management In Northeast Asia, Ed. N. Swanström, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute and Silk Road Studies Program, Washington, DC and Nacka, Sweden, Pp. 103-119 This study, published by the Central Asia-Caucasus Institute and Silk Road Studies Program, looks at whether informal networks can have an impact on conflict preventive mechanisms, or function as such a mechanism by themselves. It also examines their potential as part of a Northeast Asian way of conflict prevention.

jurisdictional and constitutional either to supreme or constitutional courts. The second is the informal (predominantly political) dispute resolution mechanism. Federal and regional politicians use informal channels of communications (Like intergovernmental conferences). The third is referenda which take controversial issues that led to jurisdictional and constitutional disputes directly to the electorate are used by some federations as instrument of conflict resolutions. The fourth is second chamber (HoF) as institution that protects the regional, state or provincial interest could help prevent the emergence of jurisdictional conflicts. The Ethiopian experience place the VIGR and HIGR in these categories mentioned above based on the contextual realities. However experiences prove the utilizations of predominantly party channel (political) executive IGR.

3.7. Conclusions

The Ethiopian constitution offers little guidance on managing IGRs nor do state constitutions. All states stand on equal legal footing, enjoying the same legal relationships with the national government regardless of location and size. States have the jury symmetry. However, de facto asymmetries exist among states such that such relative influence within the federal structure varies.¹⁴³ Hence, there is no a well-organized institution to work as good IGRs to coordinate shared policy program. FDRE constitution gives equal powers and functions to all regional states. The relations between Regional States in Ethiopia are mostly party channel and sector by sector basis.

Even though Ethiopian laws nowhere give definition for HIGRs, it can be reflected and practiced in inter-regional relations or intra-regional relations¹⁴⁴. Practically Ethiopian HIGRs tend to be less important and developed. The federal constitution remained silent in case of regional interactions in Ethiopia. States opt their own way to establish ‘formal’ or informal institutions through which they can exercise their common agendas. Practices do tell us the necessities to cooperation between states horizontally are many. In federations in general compared to vertical cooperation, the horizontal one has given less painstaking, though it is equally important for federations to function properly.

¹⁴³ The Ethiopian constitution (Article 47/4) declares that all units of the federation shall have equal rights and powers. Despite such a declaration, however, the federal government has more powers with respect to some regional states than others.

¹⁴⁴ Interregional relation is a cooperation between two or more regions in the federation where as intra-regional relations occur between same levels of administrative authorities within the regional states, since regional states themselves are a multi-level governance compartments

CHAPTER FOUR

4. HIGRs and Interregional Conflict Management: The case of ONRS and SNNPRs.

4.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the presentation and analysis of data obtained from the field through qualitative research tools including key informant interview, In-depth interview and FGDs. The chapter basically examines the institutions and practices of HIGRs in the management of the interregional conflict between Sidama Zone of SNNPRS and West Arsi Zone of the Oromia region; thereby, it analyzes whether the IGR solution is effective to mitigate the interregional conflicts at this case study site.

In doing so, the chapter contains four sections. The first section sets the context and the historical relationship and the geographical context and interrelation between the Oromo and the Sidama people. The second section discusses the IGR issues among these zones; the nature and actors of conflict; and the underlining causes of the major common and newly emerging conflict. The third section dwells on examining the institutions and practices of HIGRs in the management of the interregional conflict and the effectiveness of the inter-regional, inter-zonal and inter-woreda level experiences and practices of IGR for tackling the inter-jurisdictional conflicts. The fourth and the last section examines the impacts of the conflicts and the conflict resolution mechanisms being employed at the case site, and concludes on the role of IGR in mitigating the interregional conflict and the deficiency of it for handling conflicts.

4.2. Setting the Regional Contexts

4.2.1. SNNPRS and ONRS Governments Context

A. Historical Perspective

The traditional Sidama community is said to have emerged in the sixteenth century about 20 generations ago. Until Emperor Menelik II incorporated Sidama into the Ethiopian Empire, Sidama existed as a tribal unit with several kingdoms. Sidama is defined as an ethnic group or tribe, which has the most inclusive level of social organization.¹⁴⁵ The Sidama inhabit a distinct

¹⁴⁵ Hotesso, B. (1983). Sidama People and Culture (in Amharic). Addis Ababa: Bole Printing Press

area as a homogenous ethnic group, in today's official Sidama Nationality Zone. They speak their own Cushitic Sidama language and are identified by their cultural homogeneity and unifying social organization. patrilineage, genealogical purity and seniority are the three traditional and cultural administrative structures which reflect the basic social principles in the Sidama social structure.¹⁴⁶ A series of patrilineal segmentary sub-tribes and subdivisions of the sub-tribes are stratified into different hierarchical levels, clans, and finally intersected by a system of age-grade (luwa) sets.¹⁴⁷

The Oromo, among other East African peoples, had also developed a generational age-grade form of government termed as the Gadaa system, which defined male activities in eight-year segments. The pastoral nature of Oromo life dictated a loose, egalitarian society led by officials elected by the Gada system for government. In the sixteenth century, the Oromo probably were divided into exogamous moieties, the Borena and the Baretuma. They identified themselves as members of moieties, Gadaa classes, clans, and lineages. The elders (the Jarsa biyya) dealt with day-to-day moral and legal issues, ceremonies, and religious life. The spiritual leader (Qallu), Oromo leaders who represented the forces of nature, had a powerful, if vague, authority over religious and political matters great and small. They validated the leadership of the Gadaa council from a list supplied by a committee of the ruling Gadaa cohort.

The Qallu grade, the sixth and perhaps most important level of the Gadaa cycle, ideally extended from the forty-seventh to the fifty-fifth year of male life. By then, men theoretically had been exposed to the major aspects of Oromo life, especially marriage and military service. Success in the latter led to the former, so that every eight years, when a new warrior (luba) class was inaugurated, there was a cycle of violence often outside of Oromo-inhabited lands.¹⁴⁸ The Sidamas' are one of the ancient human groups to live in their present environment with inevitable internal and external population movements affecting their settlement (Seyoum, 2006).

¹⁴⁶ Hamer, J. (1970) 'Sidamo Generational Class Cycles: A Political Gerontocracy', *Africa* 40 (1), 50-70.

¹⁴⁷ Øyvind Aadland (2002); *Sera: Traditionalism or Living Democratic Values? Case Study among the Sidama in Southern Ethiopia*, Nordiska Afrika institute and Forum for Social Studies, pp37

¹⁴⁸ Marcus, Harold, (1994). *A History of Ethiopia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, c1994. <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft109nb00g/>

Together with their Cushitic families, one of which is Oromo; they form a part of a great Cushitic civilizations that produced a significant achievements particularly in the horn of Africa.¹⁴⁹

ONRS shares more than 2000km boundary with SNNPRS. According to ONRS regional data, there are 20 Zones; 285 Aanaas and more than 7000 Gandaas constituting the regional administrative structure; from these nine (9) Zones, forty one (41) Aanaas and two hundred thirty nine (239) Gandaas share jurisdictional borders (boundaries) with SNNPRS. The SNNPRS, data¹⁵⁰ on the other hand, indicates from 14 Nationality Zones, 134 Nationality Woredas and 4 Liyu woredas that exist under its administrative structures eleven (11) zones and three (3) liyu Woredas share jurisdictional borders (boundaries) with ONRS.

On the ONRS side, the existence of such long boundary share with SNNPR and other regions indicate the difficulty of conducting IGR. On the side of SNNPRS, even if the region has the least inter-regional boundary share only with two regions, the nature of intra and inter -zonal and woreda relation needs a number of IGRs. Hence the ONRS give more concern to interregional IGR as opposed to the SNNPRS concern for intra regional IGR.

SNNPRS as one of ethnic museum or the diversified region; when we compare the ethnic conflicts that took place in different regions, their occurrence is numerous in SNNPRS, the main reason being that the region consists of many ethnicities having many interests. The number of ethnic groups in the region is high incorporating as many as 56 different ethnicities. Accordingly, different ethnic conflicts took place such as: between Kore and Guji-Oromo, Gedeo and Guji-Oromo, Sidama and Wolayita, Bodi and Konso and Sidama and Guji Oromo (Wondo Genet) Balesto and Bodi and many others.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Hassen, M. (1990). *The Oromo of Ethiopia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

¹⁵⁰ Bureau of Finance and Economic collaboration of SNNPR. GTP Plan of 1015/16-2019/20. Data taken from regional office.

¹⁵¹ Brehanu Borji Ayalew, (Dr.). Assessing Causes and Effects of Ethnic Conflict In Wondogenet Woreda between The Sidama and Guji-Oromo People. *International Journal of Research in Commerce, Economics and Management*. Volume No. 2 (2012), ISSUE NO.5 (MAY) ISSN 2231-4245

The conflicts between these regions of Arsi of Oromia and Sidama of SNNPRs groups happened to occur because of resources such as water and grazing land and currently for other resources located on the borders when the border Woredas and Kebeles of these regions were separated through the decisions of referendum. Such conflicts are reported to result in deaths of human being and looting of different resources. Regional governments of ONRS and SNNPRS made effort jointly to enhance and sustain their overall economic developments and democratic culture of their regions so as to discharge their duty and to achieve the national interest. The people who live at the adjacent border areas between these two regions do have strong economic, social and cultural ties and bonds.¹⁵²

According to the elders in the study area, there was strong relationship between the Oromo and Sidama ethnic groups one used to wish good fortune for the other.¹⁵³ Even when they slaughter animals, they wish good things for each other. In the past, when Sidama slaughtered animals, they used to bless Guji-Oromo saying “*EliGujera*” meaning “Oh God! Bring good things to Guji people”. Guji-Oromo also used to say the same to Sidama people living in the area. If this was the case, why they are hostiles to each other now? Some of the informants¹⁵⁴ indicated that rent seekers who are running after their personal benefits are using the people as shield to hit targets listed in their agenda by provoking and aggravating minor issues as if big mistakes have been committed by the other ethnic group and that their group is losing if they do not attack the other group.

Despite the fact that the strong attachment and societal bonds at the adjacent border areas, results of zonal field research data through in depth-interview and FGD showed that disputes and/or conflicts usually arise on issues of grazing lands, demarcation of boundary, competition over natural resources, land deal and transactions, historic rages and negative stereotypes,

¹⁵² Interview with Mr. Wogderess Beza , Expert Of Conflict Prevention And Resolution Process Team. At Oromia Regional State Peace And Security Office. Addis Ababa ,Feb 16, 2018

¹⁵³ Interview held with Kabato Edamo. Abba Gadaa local elder Shalla March, 4/2018 lives in kella kallima and Imam Bonsi Local elder (previous conflict resolution team) Aje, shalla, March 6, 2018

¹⁵⁴ Interview With FGD , Officials Experts and Committees Of Siraro and Shalla Woredas Of West Arsi Zone, and Boricha and Badiwacho Woredas Of Sidama Zone , Conducted Separately , Interview Held On April 3/2018 March 2/2018 Respectively

property robbing at border and lack of good governance.¹⁵⁵ These issues added “fuel to the fire” with questions of good governance which has been leading to destructions of physical resource and the lost dignified human life. Delay in solving the issues has created a negative effect on societal cohesion, government interaction, for socio-cultural, economic and political factors.

According to data from the in depth interview at SNNPRs level, the predominant practice for resolving conflict was as a “fire fighting strategy”. On the side of ONRs, informants confirmed; even though the regions do have different approaches to solve conflicts; these efforts are mainly on monitoring and administration of conflict rather than prevention.¹⁵⁶ According to the finding of the study, document review at Oromia regional state showed there is a lack of coordination and cooperation between the two regional governments to address the on-going conflict timely and efficiently.¹⁵⁷

Hence, it is only possible to solve these disputes and conflicts sustainably and to utilize the strong societal, cultural and economic relation as opportunity to enhance the economic development and the building of democratic culture only when the underlining causes of conflicts, the actors and future traits of conflict and the identification of opportunities and proper solutions are made by joint government and popular participation of both societies that resides at adjacent borders of the regional governments. Some of the politicians and experts interviewed at regional level claim the need to Institutionalizing conflict management so as to bring about a paradigm shift from the prevailing “fire fighting” approach of conflict resolution to one of conflict transformation and prevention.

4.2.2. The context of the Study Sites: West Arsi and Sidama Zones

4.2.2.1. Creation of Sub- National Governments

The creations of sub regional units including zones and woredas have differences in Oromia and SNNPRs. Oromia as relatively a homogeneous State; Zones in Oromia are created by regional

¹⁵⁵ ibid

¹⁵⁶ Interview with Mr Wogderess Beza , Expert Of Conflict Prevention And Resolution Process Team At Oromia Regional State Peace And Security Office Addis Ababa ,Feb 16, 2018.

¹⁵⁷ ONRS and SNNPRs Regional common plan entitled በደቡብ ብ/ብ/ ሕ/ ክልል መንግሥት እና በኦሮሚያ ብሔራዊ ክልላዊ መንግሥት ተዋሳኝ ዞኖችና ወረዳዎች የሚሰተዋለውን የወሰን ማካለልና የፀጥታ ጉዳዮችን በጋራ ለመፍታት የተዘጋጀ ዕቅድ-ግንቦት 2009 ዓ.ም ሻሸመኔ

government as administrative unit, the creation of LGs (Weredas and Kebeles) took into account administrative convenience, population size, and settlement pattern. In the heterogeneous states of SNNP, Zonal and Special Wereda Governments are mainly established along ethnic lines regardless of their economic viability.

In the SNNP, Zonal Governments (ZGs) and Special Wereda Governments (SWGs) are formed by breaking up heterogeneous Zone/Wereda administrations.¹⁵⁸ When a single ethnic group is found very tiny, two or more ethnic groups were brought together to form a ZG or SWG, often based on cultural and language similarities. Each ethnic group is fairly represented in the Council of ZG or SWG or WA. It is worth noting here the distinction between the Nationality-based Zonal Governments and the functional Zonal Administrations. The former are constitutional self-government entities. They are established on ethnic basis to guarantee the rights of minorities to self-government. They have elected Councils, Executive and Judiciary bodies while the others are established to serve as administrative links between the State bureaus and Wereda governments.

4.2.2.2. Power of Sub National Governments

The power and functional responsibility and status variation between these regions are detrimentally affecting the IGR process and decisions. In-depth informants at West Arsi zone Mr Moti (2018) confirms;¹⁵⁹ that the variation of status affects inter-zonal and woreda relation; especially nationality zones consider their status as regional government and disregard the IGR deal. This is manifested from the continued struggle of the Sidama people for regional self-determination; and the SNNPRs Special woreda government at border also considers their status as Zones and undermines IGR discussions with Regular woredas of oromia.

4.2.2.3. Structure of Interregional Border

Concerning the Zonal contexts West Arsi zone is one among the twenty (20) administrative Zones of the ONRS. It comprises thirteen (13) Aanaas and three (3) Magaalaa (City

¹⁵⁸ Ghebrehiwet Tesfai Baraki (2015) The Practice of Fiscal Federalism in Ethiopia: A Critical assessment 1991-2012. An Institutional Approach. Doctoral Thesis Presented to the Faculty of Economics and Social Science. University of Fribourg (Switzerland). Fribourg, Switzerland, April 14,

¹⁵⁹ In-depth interview held with Mr Moti Yadete West Arsi Zone; zonal Core Process Team Head Of Conflict Prevention and Resolutions Conflict protection interviewed on Feb. 10/2018

administrations). On one side, nine (9) Aanaas, one (1) Magaalaa (town), namely Bishan Guracha and sixty five (65) Gandaas of the west Arsi Zone share boundary with Sidama Zone of SNNPRS. On the other side, eight (8) woredas, sixty nine (69) kebeles and twenty four (24) kebeles under the Halaba Special Woreda and woreda of halaba s and the Hawasa City administration along with its 3 kebeles share boundary/border with West Arsi Zonal Administration of Oromia. Namely, the following woredas under Sidama Zone :Wondogenet, Hawasa Zurya, Boricha, Melga, Gorche, Bansa, Arbegona, and Chafe as well as Addis, and Haiq sub cities of Hawassa and Halaba special liyu woreda share boundary with West Arsi zone of Oromia.

Likewise; the following woredas Wondo, Kofele, Kokosa, Nansabo, Shalla, Arsi Nagelle, Siraro, Shashamane and the Bishan Guracha urban administration under West Arsi zone share boundary with the woredas under Sidama Zone. Because of the heterogeneous ethnic character the intra zonal and woreda IGR is too complex in south. However; the intra-zonal and woreda relation is homogeneous and the border inter-woreda relation meant complex IGR relation in Oromia.

4.2.2.4. Nature and Context of Inter Ethnic Relations

The other more important factor in these zonal context is the Nature of interethnic relations , As both are from Cushitic origins they share Cultural factors, such as marriage and child rearing practices, blood relations (consanguine) and affinal relations; the famous Luwa and Gadaa institution; economic resources and modes of production; traditional self-help institutions; ancient/traditional and modern religions in Sidama; famous religious institutions and worship sites; traditional political authorities; traditional justice and conflict resolution institutions and organs; death, mourning and funeral ceremony; gender issues and traditional women's institutions; calendar in Sidama and celebration of its new year anniversary "*Fichee Chambellala*" and that of "*Irrecha*" of Oromo ; modes of food production/preparation and dining; dressing and handling beauty; music and art; cultural sporting activities; cultural values and indigenous knowledge. Cross border mobility, because of land scarcity the Sidama people move to border lands of Arsi; they also Share of market places in villages at borders.

Secondary documents of both regional reports including annual reports and common plan memos indicate that to avert these and other related issues concerned bodies from boundary kebeles,

woredas ,zones and regional parties jointly made an effort by preparing common plans, creating IGR forums and tables and identified the strength and weakness and future directions.

4.2.3. Traditional System of Governance

The Sidama and Oromo people share several values in common. For example, the luwa structure has many commonalities with the Gadaa democratic governance system of the Oromo, and plays a fundamental role in initiation rites and in maintaining authority roles. The Luwa structure as studied by Hamer (1976), In Luwa identity has repeatedly been expressed as a basic traditional Sidama value. The age grade has a 12-year cycle, and each of the five Luwa generations has its name: *Binancha, Wawasa, Hirbora, Derara and Fulasa*. Each age group selects their Gadanna, leader, who will represent their generation throughout the period of 12 years. An elder is expected to live according to the *halale*, the truth concept. Traditionally, this is a moral standard reflecting the truth. This cultural ethos are well preserved until today¹⁶⁰.informants confirm the existence different distinct social organizations such as Songo, Ejjeetto and Ayyaanto, Hayyoolee, Masaalaano and Himanaano .

The Sidama people comprise a number of sub-tribes, *Gosa*, which are ruled independently by their own king, actually a supreme judge, the *Woma*. The *woma* of the different sub-tribes within the Sidama make up the *woma-songo*, the assembly of sub-tribal kings or judges. In a way, it is the highest traditional authority. There are differentiated lower Songo, assemblies, which have different areas of authority and responsibility.¹⁶¹

The Oromo, among other East African peoples, like its Cushitic counter Sidama had developed a generational age-grade form of government,¹⁶² The Gadaa system, which defined male activities in eight-year segments. This includes the Dabballee, Gaammee, Dargaggoo, kuusaa Raaba Dorii,

¹⁶⁰ Seyoum Y Hamesso, (2006). A Sidama Nation: An Introduction. In Seyoum Y Hamesso and Mohammed Hassen (2006): Arrested Development in Ethiopia : Essays on Underdevelopment, Democracy and Self – Determination. The Red Sea Press. At pp 42and 63

¹⁶¹ Ethiopia: The Challenge of Democracy From Below. Bahru Zewde and Siegfried Pausewang (Edit).. Øyvind Aadland ; *Sera: Traditionalism Or Living Democratic Values? Case Study Among The Sidama In Southern Ethiopia* , Nordiska Afrika Institutet and Forum For Social Studies, 2002 ISBN 91-7106-501-6.

¹⁶² Marcus, Harold G. (1994). A History of Ethiopia. Berkeley: University Of California Press,. [Http://Ark.Cdlib.Org/Ark:/13030/Ft109nb00g/](http://Ark.Cdlib.Org/Ark:/13030/Ft109nb00g/)

Gadaa, Yuuba, Gadaamojii the eleventh and complete retirement. The pastoral nature of Oromo life dictated a loose, egalitarian society led by officials elected by the Gadaa responsible for government. They identified themselves as members of moieties, Gadaa classes, clans, and lineages. The elders, the Jarsa biyya, dealt with day-to-day moral and legal issues, ceremonies, and religious life. The Qallu, Oromo leaders who represented the forces of nature, had a powerful, if vague, authority over religious and political matters great and small. They validated the leadership of the Gadaa council from a list supplied by a committee of the ruling Gadaa cohort. The Qallu grade, the sixth and perhaps most important level of the Gadaa cycle, ideally extended from the forty-seventh to the fifty-fifth year of male life.

The Concept of seeraa; Both Sidama and Oromo share this concept of Seeraa; In the Sidama community, a web of relations and interrelations has traditionally been ruled by the seeraa. *Seeraa* is a set of local cultural norms or codes regulating the communal social structure and interaction. Traditionally, *seeraa* is almost an ethic and moral code. It may be seen as an unwritten law, but it constitutes at the same time the morality and the conscience of the individual and the community. *Seeraa* also provide social security to the members. This concept applies the same to Oromo.

4.2.4. Historic and Socio-cultural Relations

4.2.4.1. Issues of historic and social relations

In old days inter and intra-ethnic conflict between Arsi and Sidama were incidental clashes initiated by individuals from the both groups used to kill each other as a sign of braveness. Both groups believed a man in order to be a man and; he must kill and get a genitalia as evidence of being victorious over the enemy. Killing was not only person but also big game animals like: Lion, Elephant, Buffalo, Lions and Tiger. Apart from the ritual requirement, among both groups killing of male person and /or big game animals qualified the killer to the especial honor that lasts long right from initial report of the killing until his death, even after (Dejene, 2011).

Killing was a source of respect and big reputation. Oral tradition confirms, at arrival a killer receive a warm welcome, women decorate him with their beads and dump his hair with butter.

He sings and crows of his deed through a war song called Gerarsa.¹⁶³ However; paradoxically, the causes and conflicts between two are magnified and highly intensified in terms of destructions and death, they never kill Abba Qaluu (spiritual leader), Abbaa Gadaa (traditional political leader), and children and women during conflict and evening during fighting as well. It is taboo and unlawful to kill the above mentioned groups.¹⁶⁴ FGD informants from Boricha woreda on the side of Sidama confessed that the other cause is revenge which was due to, killings of their men or cattle which were robbed by either Arsi or Sidama. Quarreling and Killing in conflict for grazing land on common land is also another issue for bones of contentions among these societies for long.¹⁶⁵

Concerning the relations of these societies previous historical incidents key informants on both zonal and woreda level of SNNPRs confirms that¹⁶⁶ in the Hailasillase and Derg regime because of the political, economical, social and historical contestations and enmity sense homicide had been happening; especially due to lack of water in this areas they used to use “*Habas River*” in Shalla, Siraro and Halaba areas the peace and reconciliation processes by government failed four times.¹⁶⁷ Even through the current EPRDF government made a three time’s effort to reconcile the conflict had been unsuccessful. But it was in fourth trial that it succeeded in 2005 and the peace and reconciliation process that the government gives excuses to this historic long time homicide and brings the two groups together in forgiveness and in peace. Together with these because of the referendum held on 2005; currently, due to continuous integrative effort made by government formal institutions and societal traditional institutions in conflict management these bordering societies are living in harmony and peacefully.

¹⁶³ Interview held with Kabato Edamo Abba Gadaa local elder Shalla March, 4/2018 lives in kella kallima and Imam Bonsi Local elder (previous conflict resolution team) Aje shalla March 6, 2018

¹⁶⁴ *ibid*

¹⁶⁵ *ibid*

¹⁶⁶ Interview with Mis. Debitu Darimo. Religion and religions tolerance case team process head in Sidama Zone Administration office. Feb 15, 2018 Hawasa. Kom.Tashome Kete and Mr Moti Yadete Sidama zone and West Arsi Zone; zonal Core Process Team Head of Conflict Prevention and Resolutions Conflict protection interviewed on Feb16,2018, and Feb. 10/2018 respectively.

¹⁶⁷ Interview held with Kabato Edamo Abba Gadaa local elder Shalla March, 4/2018 lives in kella kallima and Imam Bonsi Local elder (previous conflict resolution team) Aje, shalla March 6, 2018.

This long history is reversed in 2005 E.C (2013) with the demarcation of border lands the Gada systems of Arsi and Luwa of Sidama respectively passed decisions to make these ethnic groups killing each other unlawful. The people from both sides reach at consensus not to kill one another, not to robe properties. Key informant in Shalla woreda¹⁶⁸ confirmed that through; the ceremony of “*somba*” they slaughtered a goat and bring reconciliations of conflicting groups. For sustainable peace the Abba Gadaas proclaim the sanction to be made for groups that become guilty. In-depth interviewees also proves that After 2005 only two incidence happen in homicide , theft and cattle riding is minimized, peace and security is improved ; conflicts and disputes being dealt and solved at grassroots before it boosts.¹⁶⁹

The Cushitic families of NNPs are found mostly in Afar, Oromia, Somali, and SNNP. The list of Cushitic family includes Afar, Oromo, Somali, Konso, Sidama, Alaba, Mashole, Kebena, Hadiya, Arbore, Kusme, Dasench, Dobase, Burji, Mosye, Darashe, Tambaro, Donga, Kambata, Gedeo, Gidicho, Irob, AgewAwi and Agew Himra. This group comprises of 24 ethno-linguistic groups. This showed clearly most of the ethnic groups in SNNP that has border with Oromia has from the same Cushitic origins. This lineage relation for long has been politicized and pictured the groups relations in enmity.

This century long social construction is reconstructed again and as a societal relation improves people move beyond territorial border boundary in search of their real history and identity. The following incidence proves this fact. Interview and secondary data taken from Shalla woreda Government communication office (February, 7 2018 proves the following (As translated from Oromic version).

An oromo Ethnic group with about 4000 people of Arsi which has been assimilated for centuries in sidama ethnic calling themselves sidama clan and living in Hawasa city through deep historical study known itself to be “Hanbentu” ethnic group to the clan of Aroji and sons of “Nacha” geneologically from Arsi ethnic group in shalla

¹⁶⁸ Supra 141

¹⁶⁹Interview held with Kabato Edamo. Abba Gadaa local elder Shalla, March, 4/2018 lives in kella kallima and Imam Bonsi Local elder (previous conflict resolution team) Aje shalla March 6, 2018.

woreda. Previously their forefathers moved to hawasa with their cattles and resides there unretrned for hundred years. Just before a year they Reunited to their ethnic group following their lineage. This is how historic and cultural relations being reconstructed improving more the IGR relations ¹⁷⁰.

The finding proves that the issues of historical and cultural factors including similar genealogy, ethimology and one historic political experience in the study area are enabling factors for the horizontal IGR. Basically Century long social construction of enmity of Sidama and Oromo by center-periphery narration is reconstructed again and as a societal relation improves people move beyond territorial border boundary in search of their real history and identity.

4.2.4.2. Cultural relations and interconnectedness

Sidama and Arsi Oromo have strong cultural relations and connections. As one Cushitic genealogy they share similar customary conflict resolution institutions. In Sidama there are four basic typologies of the CDR which exactly collocates with Arsi oromo the hamlet or neighbourhood (olla or allaw) dealing simple matters from at lineage, “Ardaa” in Arsi Oromo village and sub-clan (bosello) “Balbala” in Arsi oromo and clan by songo council; “Gosa” in arsi oromo and the legal sanction of songo is termed “*Mandoyyu*” “Seera Ambaa” in Arsi Oromo and fines could be imposed on guilty (Hammer 1972). At a higher level the ritual leader Godan was involved with the *songo council*. In Arsii Oromo after cases passes the Luba it goes to “Abbaa Gadaa” in Gadaa Oromo in Gumii gayyo assembly. Wrongdoers ask forgiveness, or pay fines or blood prices in homicide cases.¹⁷¹ He further confirmed saying “*Hiddi odaa kanaa hidda odaa gamaatii.*” as also confirmed by (hammer 1980).

¹⁷⁰ According to documents from Shalla Woreda Government Communication Office. As taken from field interview by Mr. Tibeso Abako (2018) Process owner of conflict prevention and of resolution of Administrative and security office of Aje woreda. Interviewed on Feb 7,2018

An Oromo ethnic genealogical origin of Arsi; Who have been for long assimilated with culture and language to Sidama ethnic and forgot its original identity and called itself as if it is Sidama. Based on the deep investigation made on its identity and historic origin they found themselves to be one of an Arsi lineage *Hanbentu* tribe and *Arojii* clan. the Aroji clan had been existed for centuries in Sidama area researches proved that these Oromo genealogies previously been settled in West Arsi zone In Allanche kebele of Shashamanne Woreda and its forefathers had been migrated with their cattle to a place where they existed now and survived this long years there. Based on searching made by elders these peoples Most of them are now settled in Hawassa. Data’s confirmed that Arsi liniage *Hanbentu* tribe and *Arojii* clan and childrens of Nachaa reproduced there offspring’s and by now it is estimated they are as many as 4000 individuals. .

¹⁷¹ Interview conducted with Kabato Edamo. Abba Gadaa local elder in Shalla. March, 4/2018 lives in kella kallima

Emperor Menelik II (1889-1913), spurred on by a fierce ambition of empire-building, embarked on a campaign of expanding his rule from the central highland regions to the South, West and East of the country and established the current map of Ethiopia, a country housing more than eighty different ethnic groups.¹⁷² The Emp. Menilik II conquest of Sidama land in 1893 had impacted the Sidama world in many ways; it brought about the colonial system of tenant-settler relationship. It also resulted in the promotion of authoritarian ethos and the consequent demotion of the local systems of governance inculcated in *halaale* principle. It imposed a hegemonic system of rule by undermining the *luwa* system which was based on consultative decision-making. The values inherent in *halaale* or the principle of truth and the *luwa* systems have contemporary validity among Sidama despite the assimilations policies of subsequent Ethiopian governments (Hameso, 2004).

Common socio-demographic characteristics' and shared experiences seem to promote relationships of trust which have a positive impact on the effectiveness of IGR. Before a century; the Sidama people and their relations with neighboring communities is emphasized that the Sidama lived peacefully with their neighbors with shared identity, history and cultures¹⁷³. Despite the predominantly harmonious relations among the neighbors, there were also some incidences of war and violence for grazing land and territorial implications. Regarding the relations informants proves "informal contacts at all levels play a role in the work of officials and politicians almost every day." Conversely the relation between public servants at interregional and inter zonal level is so weak.

Marriage

Marriage has been a social institution that has contributed to Arsi and Sidama harmonious relations until recent times. In-depth interview informants claim that they have used bilateral intermarriage relations between the two groups. Now there is rare condition for both group to

¹⁷² Bahru Zewde,(1991). A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1974. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 1991), p. 60

¹⁷³ Ibid supra at 154 pp 61

marry from each other but no traditional laws that prohibit inter marriage. However; both informants in each zones suggested previously as it could be one of the issues that enhances strong social bondage between them. With the introduction of modern religion in the study area especially Protestantism religion factor has detrimentally affected the socio-cultural relation between Sidama and Oromo. Especially previous inter marriage is now being challenged.

Religion

The major religions of the country, Christianity and Islam, have coexisted peacefully throughout Ethiopia's history, despite the existence of very infrequent conflicts at times. The FDRE Constitution has also established a secular state where all faiths enjoy equal recognition and entitlements. In spite of the longstanding harmonious relationship between the two major religions, some conflicts have been observed between Muslims and Christians as in the case of the study areas previously generally, religious differences have not been a significant source of conflicts and threats to the peace and security in the study area.¹⁷⁴

4.3. The structure of Interregional HIGR between ONRS and SNNPR

4.3.1. Issues of IGR between West Arsi and Sidama Zone

The major issues of conflict which necessitates the IGR relation between the two zones is land which is not demarcated that are found at the adjacent borders between West Arsi and Sidama zones. Although the land related conflict has been subsiding, there are still land related conflicts between Alaba Liyu woreda on the SNNPR side and Shalla woreda of West Arsi, Oromia. One of my key informant in shalla woreda Mr. Tibesso, (2018) confirmed that¹⁷⁵ the mountains and forest resources between these administrations the border demarcation have not been fully completed and this land is one of the major conflict causes for both societies at border. My interviewees of FGD From both Sidama and west Arsi Zone¹⁷⁶ at Shalla and Badiwacho confirm the same by stating; unfinished border demarcations are according to interviewees are a time

¹⁷⁴ Interview with Mr. Haji Kabeto West Arsi zone religion and religions tolerance case team head West Arsi Zone peace and security office. Held on Feb 8,2018. Shashamanne.

¹⁷⁵ Interview With Ato Tibesso Akako , Core Process Team Head Of Conflict Prevention And Resolutions Directorate At Office Of Peace And Security Of Shalla Woreda, Aje , West Arsi , Feb. 10/2018.

¹⁷⁶ Interview with FGD, Officials experts and committees of West Arsi Zone, Shashamanne and Sidama Zone, Awasa, interview held on Feb. 10/2018 march 2/2018 respectively.

bomb and major issues of future conflict. Robbing and stealing of herds of cattle and oxen, collecting one another's crop products, plowings one another's farm land are major issues seen in these areas. So; the major cause of this conflict is absence of well-defined borders between the two Regional States involved in the conflict.

The regional and zonal informants in in-depth interview as well as secondary documents at SNNPRs regional offices ascertain the existence of interregional common plan lists the major issue of horizontal IGR between the two regions. The major issues of horizontal IGR among ONRS and SNNPRS identified in general and Sidama and West Arsi zone as neighboring regional zones in particular includes¹⁷⁷; Public interfaces in utilizing Basic infrastructures such as Highways and roads, hospitals (referral), industry zones, university and natural recreational sites where both societies use in common. Border land commonly administrated by both communities specially lakes and mountains; Competition over natural resources/ water pools, grazing lands and fishery lakes and forests; inter-state and zonal Trade relations and customs. Peace and security issues as a result of boarder and resource conflicts and Spillover effects such as contraband trade existences of black market, jurisdictional crime, unemployment.

A further reason is that those regional states like Oromia that have a pull factor for more new settlements do not have clear guidelines on how to utilize the abundant natural resources within their respective States. That's why settlements on the holdings of the indigenous community by new migrants always tend to breed new conflicts. The problem can be attributed to the State and local government authorities' lack of awareness of and commitment to rights of citizenship. It has also to do with their inability to draw up legal frameworks and guideline for the utilization of natural resources.

4.3.2 Actors in conflict resolutions

In an interview made with FGD participants at regional and zone levels on identifying the actors involved in conflict resolution officials confirm¹⁷⁸ Regarding Major conflicts between these

¹⁷⁷ Interview with FGD, officials experts and committees of Sidama Nationality Zone, Sidama zone, Hawasa, interview held on March 6/2018 respectively.

¹⁷⁸FGD Participants Interview Held at Oromia Region and Sidama and West Arsi Zone Held On Separate Fgdscheduled; With Officials Of Oromia Region , 6 Participants (3 Officials , 3 Leaders), Shashamanne, Feb 22 , 2018. FGD With Officials Of West Arsi Zone , 6 Participants (4officials , 3 Leaders), Shashamanne, Feb 22 , 2018

border adjacent woredas of these zones are resolved by major actor including informal virtual teams including peace committees, religious forum committees these are Government institutions at both levels and by customary conflict resolution means, a team of joint committees of Gada and Luwa leaders elected popularly from both zones and woredas by societies, joint local elders of both zones named *as peace committees* and *religious leaders*. The Songos (hierarchical levels of elder's council) in Sidama and The *Gadaa* (Jaarsummaa) of Oromo including Allo Arsi are effective in conflict resolution in the study sites.

The major strategy applied by these dispute resolute teams is sequences of procedures and events; ¹⁷⁹Firstly joint elders from both zones together with officials from government institutions as mediators create a table for discussion. These mediators create meetings for discussions and bring disputant parties together and facilitate negotiations. The *Abba Gadaa* and Luwa local elders from both parties make reconciliation. On occasions of reconciliation the *Abba Gadaa* of both zones bring an oxen to be slaughtered by the party that committed crime as compensation for their penalty. Then the elders join the parties reconciled and entertain sustainable peace among them.

Key informant in Sidama also witnessed the existence of customary Dispute resolution mechanism in Sidama. ¹⁸⁰The Sidama world knows no capital punishment; murder is punishable by *guma* or blood compensation. Neither do the elders and their council possess direct physical forces of coercion at their disposal. This fits to the ascertains of Jan Brøgger (1986:109, 111) without the use of physical force and violence, the moral order had worked well for centuries in preserving the institutions and the moral code itself.

To reconstruct societal relations and to transform conflicts A special method employed by these elders and dispute resolute teams to make sustainable peace is on both sides of Sidama and Arsi applies different activities such as inter-marriage, social connection in times of joy and grieve, deployment with cattle making intrusion to other ethnic groups (*Loonin walitti godaanu*). On the

¹⁷⁹ Interview with Mohamed Usman Process Team of Peace & Security Concern. In Shalla Woreda Of West Arsi. Aje Feb 14,2018

¹⁸⁰ Anonymous elder at Badiwacho woreda Interview on March2/2018 Sidama zone. Hawasa.

other hand as a sort of penalty; sanctions applies simple to complex actions from penalizing with compensation, reducing the social statuses, to the extent of social exclusions, (*diinomsuu*).¹⁸¹

Concerning the role played by these actors on Jurisdictional coordination (crime prevention) informants of FGD of adjacent woreda¹⁸² argued that as a joint committee of local elders representing both woredas of shalla of Arsi and Dorebafana of Sidama formed seven members each and jointly fourteen member committees. They have monthly meeting and solve disputes created at border of both zones. As part of crime prevention they make an in-depth investigation with concerned people and bring sustainable peace. On border land of adjacent woredas in Habas river and Tiquir wuha river where people dispute for employment opportunity and resource use as a solution they form a micro enterprises and associations on fishery, sand extraction and tourism investment from members of both woredas and bring the contestation to defuse. They also have a report to zonal team timely.

Concerning the role of Women in different conflict resolution institutions as it is argued by Amani (1999:62),¹⁸³ in his study of Traditional Mechanisms of Peace Making of the Jagga Tribe in Tanzania, women have a paramount role in bringing peace among the Jagga. In order to avoid bloodshed, women bravely wonder between the conflicting parties that are preparing to fight each other. Similarly, (Mamo, 2008:45) , among the Oromo as sorted out by¹⁸⁴ and among the Sidama as argued by (Frendergast, 1997:43), women play an overriding role in conflict management.

¹⁸¹ Ibid

¹⁸² FGD discussions held on siraro and shalla woredas of West Arsi and Badiwacho and Boricha woredas of Sidama zones held in mixing the adjacent border residents on FGD with Residents of kebeles of Boricha and Siraro woreda, 7 participants (2 religious leaders , 2 elders , 2 peace committees), lokke, March 3, 2018. And FGD with Residents of siraro and badiwacho , 6 participants (officials 2 experts, 2 peace comites and 1 politician), Badiwacho, April 9, 2018

¹⁸³ Amani, A.1999. African principles of Conflict Resolution: A Case Study of Chagga Ethnic Group in Tanzania. A paper presented at all-Africa conference on African principles of conflict resolution and reconciliation, 8-12 Nov. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

¹⁸⁴Mamo, Hebo,(2008). The Role of Elders in Conflict Resolution: The Case of Arsi Oromo with Special Reference to Dodola District and its Environments| In Tarekegn, A. and Hanna, T.k (eds). *Making Peace in Ethiopia: Five Cases of Traditional Mechanisms of Conflict Resolution*. pp. 48-77. Addis Ababa: PCD.

Women’s play their role through “Atete” ceremony. They have different issues of conflict mitigations. Firstly; Issues in condemning quarreling and the punishment of husband to newly borne mother the so “*Dubartii qanafaa*”; secondly; an insult of taboo relatives of men and women the so called “*Wayyu*”¹⁸⁵ socially taboo and forbidden to attack. Lastly; One is when there is war between groups and extremely deadly. In conflict between inter-and intra group fight the women’s mitigate through the *attete* ceremony caring their “*sinqee*” and folk song in groups saying

Biyya Dallo madabiin gaaddisa qabdi,

Ilmaan Ambee siif haa gaaddisessu rabbi.

“Ambe jilba aloo umaa ambaa tan sirna kaaya arsiin ittin wallii galto; amba hangafa murtii jilba arsii araarsuu ka gosti hundi abbaa murti araarii umee haqaa isin gidduutii haa butu jechu gaddisa waaqaa kadhachun murti haqaa logiin ala ta’een araara busuun, waraanichas ni dhaabdi akka arraaraman goti.”

Conversely, as conflict researchers like (Emebet, 2005). In spite of their part in conflict management process both formal peace negotiation and traditional institutions marginalized women from direct involvement in the reconciliation process. The Arsi states ‘Dubartiin jilba hin guttu’ to deny the participation of women with men. However; paradoxically; the “*Siqqe and Attete*’ institution gives women explicit right and opportunity to have their role In order to avoid bloodshed, between the conflicting parties women bravely wondrous and secures peace.

4.3.2. Limitations in Conflict Resolutions by the Actors

Despite these all efforts and achievements made by different actors; Concerning Limitations in conflict resolutions and assessing the role, status and capacity of IGR (inter-woreda, inter-zonal and inter-regional) to mitigate conflicts and in evaluating the gaps and challenges of the IGR tool to regulate conflict in the study area all FGD data collected from different levels confirms

¹⁸⁵ Interview with Aman Ahmad (2018) in Shalla woreda Culture and Tourism office. Expert in culture on April 26, 2018 informed me Women’s play their role through “Atete” ceremony in resolving conflict. They have different issues of conflict mitigations one is an insult of taboo relatives of men and women the so called “Woyyu” the song through folklore saying Sangaan gabbataan karra dhaabbataa,
Gurbaan salphataan nati dhaadata;
Gurbaa salphadhu saree hanqadhu. Insulting women is forbidden and condemning this as taboo actions.

Major bottleneck are Firstly, logistic limitation specially, communication equipments like cell phone and radio ; shortage of budget, limitation in budget allocation; constraints of facilities and equipment which are crucial for coordinating the function. Secondly, Man power limitations specially on formal institutions which function on conflict prevention and resolutions despite the regional bordered with almost from 9 regional states and two cities almost all regions except Tigray regions are found geographically with inter jurisdictional boarder of the federating regional states more than 90% is found at adjacent boarder which have different IGR issues that needs strong horizontal IGR institution and function.

Surprisingly at zone level also both West Arsi and Sidama zones are found at inter jurisdictional boarder almost more than 60% of the woredas are located at adjacent woredas of other zones which imply a very practical need for having effective and functional intergovernmental relations. Thirdly, the other key point they addressed is the fact that conflict has not usually been properly recognized and addressed until it becomes violence. Less attention and under estimation cause of conflict by officials at different levels of administration increased the violence. There is no attempt to control conflict at eruption because they dislike not to be disappointed by any conflicting groups.

Literatures' also indicates Inter-ethnic conflicts have occurred in some of the states in the country. These conflicts are triggered mostly by water or water use, grazing land, and border issues. The standard practice followed by the House of Federation in resolving border conflicts between member States of the federation has been to hold a referendum, albeit some remain unsettled even today. Referenda were held in different parts of the country to provide solutions to conflicts over land claims among ethnic groups residing in neighboring states. The referenda were instrumental in resolving only some of the conflicts.

In line with this argument Key zonal informant of west Arsi zone as well as observation made by the researcher on secondary documentary data¹⁸⁶ and zonal reports proves Major issues which

¹⁸⁶ SPM plan of 2008-2012 (KGT II) of West Arsi Zone security and administration office, ONRS and SNNPRs Regional common plan entitled በደቡብ ብ/ብ/ ሕ/ ክልል መንግሥት እና በአሮሚያ ብሔራዊ ክልላዊ መንግሥት ተዋሳኝ ዞኖችና ወረዳዎች የሚስተዋለውን የወሰን ማካለልና የፀጥታ ጉዳዮችን በጋራ ለመፍታት የተዘጋጀ ዕቅድ-ግንቦት 2009 ዓ.ም ሻሸመኔ

are left unresolved in some of the study areas by previous Referendums , public discussion, and local elders resolution and still demand strong and sustainable IGR functions are the following:- Firstly; On referendum held between the two regions of SNNPRS and ONRs Wondo and Wondo Gannet of west Arsi and Sidama zone respectively. It is decided in referendum held on 2010 /2003 and decided among 13 kebele 9 of them for wondo and 4 kebeles to Wondogannat. However; concerning resource transfers major infrastructures and government institutions that are decided by federations to oromia are still not transferred and administrated by the holders. These issues are according to informants one of the serious potentials of conflict unless solved by strong IGR. These resources still in contestations are: Intaye secondary school, Intaye health center, Wondo college in Gutto kebele, Meat processing factory called ELFORA in Busa kebele. Moreover; Common land in Gike kinne Gike Afoye Kebele land decided but boundary left undecided. Other issue that needs resolutions includes complaint over investment land given illegally the so called ‘‘Blen loj’’

Taking the above all cases; Informants of Regional officials and professionals covered by this study in in-depth interviewees the majority of them agreed that the inter jurisdictional and intra-regional governmental relations that exist in the region requires bilateral and multilateral IGR relations which necessitates a multitude of IGR institutions ,process and mechanism in order to have harmonies policy coordination, strong regional autonomy, enhanced decision negotiations and sustainable conflict resolutions and peace building. The above all needs would be impractical with very little institution and man power that exists now practically on ground.

4.4. Role of IGR in interregional conflict management between ONRS and SNNPRs

Regional state constitutions give the power to ratify agreements concluded with the neighboring national regional states to regional council.¹⁸⁷ In view of the fact that IGRs are the responses that have been developed to facilitate cooperative policy making among multiple governments within a federal system, these two regional states had begun cooperation in 1997 though, according to the assessments of the practice of the two regional state governments, it became more effective

¹⁸⁷ Article 49 (3) of Oromia , and SNNPRs Regional States Constitutions. Revised Constitution Of 2001

in the recent years. Especially since 2005 after boundary demarcation issues being settled at least in part in border contestation areas.

4.4.1. Regional Experiences and Practices of HIGR between ONRS and SNNPRS

The Ethiopian constitution of 1995 state; that each ethnic group NNP has the right to form its own regional government. From the nine regional state governments and two cities which comprises the federation of Ethiopian federation Oromia Regional states is one. This region shared boundary with all eight regional states except Tigray. Out of 20 zones of the region, except Arsi Zone and Buno Bedelle zones the rest share boundary with other regions.¹⁸⁸The region also has a joint common plan of inter-regional and inters -zonal relation internally at intra regional level. This common plan is prepared by participation of all the zones along with the other regions' Zones that shares boundary with Oromia. In this light the regional state of Oromia has already considers the significance of interregional and inter-zonal relations in order to address common concerns.

The common plan known as¹⁸⁹ '*peace and development plan*' was initiated by teams of joint experts of neighboring regions. The common plan is done by the active participations of experts contributing their respective regional contexts. The plan would then be validated by regional political officials after they make detail discussion and dialogue on the common plan set by professionals. Then each region takes the approved common plan, and facilitates a discussion on the plan with zones, woredas and kebeles. Each level of administration makes discussion on how the joint plan, reports its implementations' and provides feedback in the process.

The major issues of horizontal IGR between ONRS and SNNPRS in general and Sidama and West Arsi zones in particular includes: Public services and infrastructural links such as roads, referral hospitals and University. Other IGR issues are natural recreational sites where both societies use in common; border land administrated by both communities; competition over

¹⁸⁸ In-depth Interview with Mr. Wegderes Beza. Oromia Regional State Peace and Security Office Higher Expert of Conflict Protection and Resolution. Interview Held On Feb 23, 2018 Addis Ababa. And FGD At ONRS With Officials And Experts. (Mr Wogderess, Gazu, Hussen)

¹⁸⁹ ibid

natural resources (water pools, grazing lands, fishery lakes and forests); Peace and conflict issues as a result of justice, land robbery and resource conflicts; Spillover effects such as contraband trade, jurisdictional crime, unemployment and corruptions.

The regional common plan states the Following major issue of horizontal IGR between the two regions:

People living at border of these two regional governments have strong economic, social and cultural ties. This lifelong societal relation and bondage is one of the best practices for the federal political system that the country is implementing. Despite having good societal relation among the people on adjacent border areas sometimes conflicts raise due to grazing land, land trade, border demarcation, competition over scarce natural resource, traditional stereotypic attitudes and actions, and, poverty and backwardness, cattle reading and disagreement and conflicts that arise due to lack of good governance and related issues. Consequently; material damage and lost of enormous human life have been occurring.¹⁹⁰

According to FGD informants¹⁹¹ at Oromia region, at region level there has been annual and six month bilateral meeting between these neighboring regions where performances of each region is evaluated. A forum for peace conference and peace dialogue have been arranged by joint regional teams where all zones of both regions participate in sharing good practices and learning from their failure and reach on consensus on next plans. ¹⁹²One of my key informants, Mr.

¹⁹⁰ Interview with in depth informants Mr. Mamo Tega Core Process Team Head Of Conflict Prevention And Resolution Of SNNPRS Security And Administration Office Held On Feb 21,2018 and common plan entitled በደቡብ ብ/ብ/ ሕ/ ክልል መንግሥት እና በአሮሚያ ብሔራዊ ክልላዊ መንግሥት ተዋሳኝ ዞኖችና ወረዳዎች የሚሰጡት የወሰን ማከላለፍና የፀጥታ ጉዳዮችን በጋራ ለመፍታት የተዘጋጀ ዕቅድ-ግንቦት 2009 ዓ.ም ሻሽመኔ. Its content is presented as follows:

People living at border of these two regional governments have strong economic, social and cultural ties. This lifelong societal relation and bondage is one of the best practices for the federal political system that the country is implementing. Despite having good societal relation among the people on adjacent border areas sometimes conflicts raise due to grazing land, land trade, border demarcation, competition over scarce natural resource, traditional stereotypic attitudes and actions, and, poverty and backwardness, cattle reading and disagreement and conflicts that arise due to lack of good governance and related issues. Consequently; material damage and lost of enormous human life have been occurring.

¹⁹¹ Interview with FGD Members at Oromia Regional State Peace and Security Office. Held On Feb 16, 2018. Addis Ababa.

¹⁹² Interview with Mr. Husein Feyiso , Directorate Of Conflict Prevention And Resolution Process Team And Vice Head Of Bureau. Oromia Regional State Peace and Security Office. Addis Ababa, Feb 16, 2018.

Wogdars Beza, (2018, Feb 16) further confirmed¹⁹³ that the informal interaction and relation that exist among experts and leaders of neighboring regions of SNNPRs and ONRS is very promising. Discussions through phones, having common and joint stage monitoring and controlling performances, field works and by physical presence and through sharing experiences they informally communicate continually. Specially, in preventing the conflict they share the daily and weekly information of early warning indicators of each woreda and zone so as to intervene timely by concerned bodies. Further the informant¹⁹⁴ underscores that the main early warning indicators in the joint plan of the two regions emphasizes on: *“Conflict related to issues including; Border claims, management of natural resources such as land, competitions over scarce water sources in border of Shalla, Siraro, Halaba Sp woreda and Boricha woredas resulting in homicide, Personal conflict; and ethicizing these cases by elites and political entrepreneurs as conflict between ethnic groups of Sidama and Arsi.”*

According to FGD informants at Oromia region¹⁹⁵ currently a lot of efforts are made to build strong public forum viz ‘Hizb Lahizb Tisirs.’ Regional key actors present this effort as a sort of HIGR between Oromia and Amhara; and between Oromia and Benishanguel- Gumz regions. One of the participants of this in- depth interview notes that the recent public forums between ONRS and BGNRS can be considered as a good beginning for an effort towards developing HIGRs: He explains:

As of January 2018, ONRS and BGNRS have entered into bilateral relations on joint issues of development, peace and security, The MoU has been signed by the respective regional presidents; and the regional states allotted 80 million ETB- 60% from ONRS and 40% by BGNR- for funding the joint activities including expansion of infrastructure, construction of roads, hospitals, electric power and water provisions at adjacent areas between the two regions and for

¹⁹³ Interview with Mr. Wogderess Beza , Expert of Conflict Prevention And Resolution Process Team. Oromia Regional State Peace and Security Office. Addis Ababa, Feb 16, 2018.

¹⁹⁴ Interview with Mr. Wogderess Beza , Expert of Conflict Prevention And Resolution Process Team. Oromia Regional State Peace and Security Office. Addis Ababa, Feb 16, 2018.

¹⁹⁵ Interview held with FGD Informants At ONRS Office Of Peace And Security Office Held On Feb 14,2018

enhancing people to people relation based on popular participation and consensus.

The Oromia region also has previous experiences of Horizontal IGR by Ethiopian Somali and Oromia regions as established by PCU can be considered as development-oriented conflict resolutions with the aim of creating sustainable peace.¹⁹⁶ The border areas between the two regions include the following one quarter of zones from the Oromia region: Borana, Guji, Bale, East Hararge, and West Hararge. From the Somali region the following zones of Somalia are included at border/ boundary with oromia Liban, Afdheer, Fik, Jijjiga, and Shinile. The PCU established at 2005-2006 by two regions to address the root causes of conflict among boarder areas it intervene by joint development programmes. Investing in shared resources which previously were scarce and cause of conflict innovative use of IGR cooperation along with traditional institutions helped pacify the border areas between the Oromia and Somali regions in Ethiopia. Two years before the agreement on border demarcation by regional presidents of Oromia and Somalia failed as a result mixed with other factors.

The interregional relation - Paradoxically, just after a decade by now above 700,000 Oromos have been displaced from this area.¹⁹⁷ Even the use of existing HIGR for handling this conflict by regions is so ineffective the device of HIGR has not been utilized for handling the conflict between Oromia and Somali. The VIGR is also ineffective in contributing to mediate and resolve these regional conflicts. Hence; we could understand how HIGR alone can't mitigate; the VIGR must also assist positively the regional relations.

This incidence shows multiple factors and actors do contribute for effective and sustainable intergovernmental relations. So; the continuity of people-to-people interaction among the society and the utilization of customary conflict resolution institutions concomitantly with Vertical and horizontal IGR institutions plays a pivotal role in averting the problem. So the case study site also need to take a lesson as to use holistic usage of both IGR and customary Conflict resolution mechanisms concomitantly with all actors based on contextual realities of border areas.

¹⁹⁶ PCU, Somalia and Oromia Regions' Bilateral Development Programme Coordination Unit (2010). Lemma Megersa & Temesgen Bayessa, (2008). The Management of Interregional Pastoral Conflicts in the Ethiopian Federation: The Experience of Oromia and Somali Regional State.

¹⁹⁷ Oromia Broadcasting Network (OBN) Broadcasted live on February 12/2018.

The Oromia Region has put in place the necessary legal framework for horizontal cooperation at regional and local level. For instance, proclamation No- 129/2007 provides that the Regional Administration and Security Bureau would be responsible for strengthening the relationship between the Oromia regions and its neighbors and that it would facilitate peace conferences and supervise implementations of peace agreements. In addition, the Oromia region has established sub regional offices to strengthen the horizontal cooperation with SNNPRs, Somali, and Benishanguel Gumuz regions. These all efforts prove the readiness of the region to strengthen the HIGR with neighboring regional states. .

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

Despite having a number of institutions still there exists functionality gaps as asserted by In-depth interviewee¹⁹⁸ of Oromia regional informants at different level still lack of efficiency in meeting the organizational mission is repeatedly reported. Other researchers also showed that these regional offices have failed to execute their responsibility by over simplifying cases of interregional conflicts. As a result, minor conflicts often turn in to unmanageable and deadly violence (Tirsit, 2004 cited in Bedeso: 2013). There are many factors for the failure of these offices to discharge their responsibilities effectively. Some of the observable factors that have affected the efficiency of the Bureau are lack of adequately trained and qualified manpower failure to remain non-partisan on the part of the officials, lack of commitment, the tendency to benefit from conflicts, manipulating identity politics and corruption associated with the occurrences of conflicts.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ ibid

¹⁹⁹ Interview held with FGD informants at ONRS office of peace and security office held on Feb 14,2018 and FGD informants at regional level and Interview held with Zonal key informant Interview Feb 19/2018

4.4.2. Zonal Experiences and Practices of IGR between West Arsi and Sidama Zones

The experiences and practices of inter-zonal relations of the West Arsi and Sidama zones of ONRS and SNNP regional governments respectively involve the utilization of common plan prepared with the participations of the stakeholders at interregional level. At zonal level, the two zones together with Halaba liyu woreda come together and jointly prepare their plan initiated by planning experts. The zonal leaders approve the common plan after detail discussion and debate on plan presented by experts. Finally, after negotiation and consensus is build on the planning orientation is given to the next level structure of woreda stakeholders.²⁰⁰

The zones do have both intra and inter zonal Horizontal IGR Relations some do have bilateral and others do have multilateral relations. ²⁰¹According to West Arsi zonal key informant interviewees (Moti, 2018, Feb 10) idea at inter jurisdictional level a team of committees of seven (7) members deal the bilateral interactions of the boundary zones. Moreover; at intra zonal relations a peace committee comprising of fifteen (15) Members selected popularly from different segments of the community deals the issues of inter-woreda conflict preventions and resolutions.

At zone level different committees has been established. This includes Peace committes of border adjacent regional boundaries, Peace commitees from border adjacent boundary kebeles. The following table illustrates number and members of border peace committees of ONRS and SSNPRs at regional, zonal and kebeles adjacent boundary levels.

²⁰⁰ Interview with FGD, officials experts and committees of West Arsi Zone, Shashamanne and Sidama zone , Hawasa , Interview held on Feb. 10/2018 and March 2/2018 respectively.

²⁰¹ Interview With Mr. Moti Yadete , Core Process Team Head Of Conflict Prevention and Resolutions Office of Peace and Security of West Arsi Zone, My Key Informant Shashamanne , West Arsi , Feb. 10/2018

Table1. Peace committees of border adjacent regional boundaries of SNNPRs and ONRS and Kebele level.

Number	Zone	Peace committees of border adjacent regional boundaries					Peace committees from border adjacent boundary kebeles				
		Number of kebeles	number of peace committee of ONRS and SSNPRs regional boundary	Number of members peace committee of ONRS and SSNPRs regional			Number of kebeles	Number of peace committee of kebeles of ONRS and SSNPR kebele boundary	Number of members peace committee of ONRS and SSNPRs regional		
				M	F	Total			M	F	Total
1	West Arsi and Sidama	12	82	82	2	84	12		90	6	96

Source: - Secondary document of Inter-Zonal Common plan Document taken from West Arsi Zone security and Administration office On Feb 12, 2018

Concerning the implementation of the common plan; West Arsi zonal FGD participants confirm that there is a quarterly meeting of peace forum committees' where all border woredas will participate on reporting their three month performances. This IGR table is arranged by joint zonal teams. The GIZ institution supports financially the peace committee teams of elders which weekly meet and discusses on peace issues at boarder woreda level. The joint zonal peace forum have participants from the two (2) zones sixty (65) kebeles and one (1) municipality of West Arsi Zone of Oromia having boundary with eight (8) woredas and sixty nine (69) kebeles and three (3) cities of Sidama Zone of SNNPRS that exist at adjacent boarder of these zones. However; before this meeting each zonal team goes went to woreda level to have monthly performance evaluations. They rotate and participate at woreda level performance evaluations, listen to reports and investigate further challenges left unresolved and deal on solutions.

The common actors that participate in these monthly meetings are peace committees of woreda and kebele, peace council, woreda council members, kebele level representative government offices. The cooperation and involvement of different local and NGO institutions is pivotal in IGR successes basically the regional IGR team writing proposal financed by GIZ, Pastoral

Development Center, catholic relief center collaboratively selecting 15 individuals from peace committees of each boundary woredas of both zones train to enhance the capacity building on peace and security issues, IGR relations, reconciling law and traditions and peace culture building.

The other achievement made by zonal IGR teams is building clubs and committees at different areas for instance “peace club” from primary to preparatory level; “peace forum” at university level; “peace committee” at local level of administrative structure; forum of religion and local elders are all those functional teams doing on horizontal IGR in managing Interregional conflicts.

4.4.3. Experiences and Practices of Inter-Woreda Relations

Concerning the Experiences and practices of woredas on their inter-woreda relations ²⁰² Empirical data from selected adjacent woredas on how IGR Works data from the in- depth interviewees in Shalla, Siaro of West Arsi zone and Boricha, Badiwacho and Halaba SP woreda²⁰³ asserts that the peace forum of IGR involving woredas, and the two zones. The peace conference held between the woredas at zone level; where the West Arsi zone and Sidama Zone; adjacent border woredas of both zones participated in the quarterly forum held in Hawasa city and shashemene turn by turn yearly.

The forum is initiated and organized by both zones. The forum is held irregularly however still it is functional. The main objective of the forum is keeping sustainable border peace and security on border adjacent woredas of the two zones and resolving critical disputes and conflicts of adjacent villages. Moreover; investigating critical bones of contentions including deforestation, contraband trading, cattle reading, land dispute between Sidama and Arsi people is also one of the concerns.

Community representatives have become more committed to bring peace and reconciliation both parties have practiced forgiveness and helped the rehabilitation of displaced communities in

²⁰² Interview with Ato Ahimad Jamal, Siraro Woreda Peace Committee From Siraro Woreda Education Office, Loke, Siraro. Jan 15 2018.

²⁰³ Interview With FGD , Officials Experts and Committees Of Siraro and Shalla Woredas Of West Arsi Zone, and Boricha and Badiwacho Woredas of Sidama Zone , Conducted Separately , Interview held on April 3/2018 March 2/2018 respectively.

times of severe conflicts. These boundary woredas also have joint forums at different levels to evaluate its success and failures. A virtual team was also established under woreda security office of adjacent woredas of the two zones. These members of the committees are elders who are representatives of the society of respective adjacent kebeles and well known elders of the woreda. Bilateral and multilateral committees are formed these includes:- Multilevel trilateral committee working place at Aje (Shalla), Siraro and Dore Bafana woredas of West Arsi and Sidama zones respectively. There also exists a bilateral committee working place at shamanna, Boricha and Dore Bafana of Sidama and Siraro and shalla woreda of West Arsi zones having office in Balela. Finally Siraro, Shalla and Halaba trilateral committee of West Arsi zone woredas and Halaba special woreda team office at Halaba.²⁰⁴

Concerning the experience of collaborations by different actors Cooperation of peace stakeholder to resolve the disputes and conflicts of internal and external adjacent border kebeles of the woreda in all four woredas of Siraro,Shalla of West Arsi zone and Boricha, Badiwacho of Sidama Zone and halaba liyu woredas of SNNPRS the role of different stakeholders is immense. Participants from different parties such as woreda level peace and administration office, justice sectors, NGOs and local peoples have signed bilateral and multilevel citizen charters(documents of agreement) by making peace agenda their core assignments and contribute their best.

The outcome of these inclusive participatory efforts produce a number of tangible fruits in awareness creation, structural capacity and performance efficiency. Moreover different joint committees have been created For example, according to information from informant from Sidama council²⁰⁵ the joint committee of peace and security is a model forum which is used as a common platform to tackle problems of peace and security, border peace, contraband trade, terrorism, human trafficking and so on. Such platforms are useful for experience sharing and capacity building. This forum has common plan, common resource mobilization mechanism,

²⁰⁴ Interview with FGD , officials experts and committees of siraro and shalla woredas of West Arsi Zone, and Boricha and Badiwacho woredas of Sidama zone , conducted separately , interview held on April 3/2018 march 2/2018 respectively

²⁰⁵ Ibid above

information sharing. Unfortunately, according to an informant from West Arsi Zone²⁰⁶, it is established and coordinated by the joint regional government. It is usually chaired by representatives from both regional governments.

4.5. Underlining Causes of Conflict in the Study Area

Concerning the underlining causes of conflict in the study area data collected from Key informants and FGD indicates that long past conflicts in the areas and also 1970- 1991 causes of ethnic conflicts among the Arsi, Sidama and Halaba were not exclusively resource based conflict rather it was due to many factors: sense of enmity, killing for honor, social status, political manipulation, illiteracy and weapons effect as well.

In-depth informants at Sidama and West Arsi zone argues²⁰⁷ currently existing causes of conflict on the study area includes competition over resources such as grazing land and water pools are among the explanatory factors in most of the cases of conflict among these contending groups. They farther explained that the current violent conflicts among these groups involves many parties and highly interwoven intricate factors of historical, cultural, economic, political, and identity issues pertinent to new federal model and former groups' historical relations. Moreover; still un-resolved Issues of demarcations on boarder lands of forests and mountains. Cattle riding and other crimes along the borders and revenge based on historic hatred.

The researcher here argues that many conflicts in the study area, essentially focused on local resource competition over scarce land resources, existed before, but it seems, the new constitutional order, particularly disputed border boundaries between these regional states, has offered new dynamism, by offering new legitimacy to pre-existing conflict and competition.

²⁰⁶ Interview with Mr. Ahimad Nure Argo and Mr. Haji Kabeto West Arsi zone Conflict protection and resolution process head in West Arsi Zone Peace and Security Office. Held on Feb 8, 2018 Shashamanne West Arsi Zone.

²⁰⁷ Kom Tashome Kete and Mr Moti Yadete Sidama zone and West Arsi Zone; zonal Core Process Team Head Of Conflict Prevention And Resolutions Conflict protection interviewed on Feb16,2018, and Feb. 10/2018 respectively

4.6. Determinant Factors that Shapes the Interregional IGR in the Study Area

i. Demographic Factors.

The size of the country, the size of the population and the distribution of the population on the territory affect the structures and processes of IGR. Ethiopia as one of multinational federation has a museum of people having multiple diversities. However; some states of the federation like ONRS have homogeneous population. Even though it has an inter-regional relation almost with eight of the regions except Tigry region making it so twisted the HIGR institutions and process while SNNPRS have heterogeneous intra-regional relations which has diverse interest and inter-regional relations is so simple as it has direct geographic border relation with only two regions. Concerning the demography both regions ONRS and SNNPRS have numerous population ranking the first and third among the constituent member of the federations respectively. The population is so dense in SNNPRS than ONRS which has a push and pull factors in resource use especially fertile land and water. Hence; as one of demographic factor population migration and mobility are affecting the IGR and conflict management process.

ii. Social diversity

Federal institutional arrangements depend greatly on the nature of the society in which they are embedded. In societies that are relatively homogeneous, IGRs are likely to be relatively free of conflict and public controversy. In this group of countries, IGR is mainly about administrative co-ordination, it also has a problem in public administration. Where regional and territorially based ethnic or linguistic divisions are deeply entrenched, as in Ethiopian federations; IGR is much more likely to become the arena in which competing visions of the country are played out, to embody a strong competition for power among competing orders of government, and to encompass a broader range of policy disputes.

iii. Economic Factors

Similarly, as the Ethiopian cases demonstrate stark discrepancies in wealth between richer and poorer states and province can also increase conflict, not only between state and national governments, but also horizontally among states themselves. These regional disparities have posed practical problems in the decentralization process, and also in IGR relations in particular within those regions labeled as “developed” (SNNPRS ,ONRS, ANRS TNRS,HNRs) and the

ones labeled as "emerging" (that is, Afar, Benishangul-Gumuz, Gambella and Somali). However, considering the case of SNNPRS and ONRs almost both are labeled as better developed and policy harmony the horizontal financial discrepancy is also nearer to one another and the IGR is perceived as mutual cooperative as opposed to those federation members of less developed regions which expect affirmative action and the IGR seems one giving support to other as in Amhara Vs Benishanguel, SNNPRs Vs Gambella.

iv. Political parties

Political parties can have a significant influence on IGR. If parties are very centralized and hold power at both national and sub-national level, the national leaders may overwhelm and dominate regional or state governments despite what the formal division of powers may say (Watts 2008: 119–20). The electoral and party systems constitute one of the institutional factors. A second major feature of the broader institutional framework affecting IGR is whether or not states or provinces are represented in the second chamber of parliament. With an integrated party system in which national parties are able to win support across all or most regions, and in which national and provincial/state parties are closely linked, with considerable mobility of leadership from one level to another, much of the accommodation between center and regions will take place in the course of party politics and in the national political arena.

The dominant arrangement which has been employed by the federal government to ensure federal influence on states and guarantee uniform application of policies is the political party channel. Considering party impact in Horizontal IGR the interaction between the central ruling party and regional member and affiliate parties is characterized by what Paulos calls “patron-client relation”. Regional parties are implementers of the policies adopted by the Ethiopian Peoples’ Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). The ruling party has its own representatives in regional states. By directly communicating with these representatives, the federal government can monitor the implementation of federal policies, programs and plans in regional states, and to render assistance in the capacity building pursuits of the latter. This has led some to conclude that there is currently a de facto one party state.²⁰⁸ However; the OPDO and SPDM parties as

²⁰⁸ Merera Gudina, (2007). ‘Party Politics And Election In Ethiopia: 1991-2005’ In Kassahun Berhanu and et al (eds.), *Electoral Politics, Decentralized Governance, and Constitutionalism in Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press

both are mother member parties of the EPRDF have perceived to be on equal footings as a result the party impact on HIGR is simply cooperative and mutual relationship.

Uniformity of the application of policies is granted as there is explicit federal influence on states through the political party channel and party discipline. However, current dynamism in the practices of regional parties especially the OPDO are challenging the center to grant its regional autonomy and this leads to symptoms of IGR dynamism from cooperative to competitive nature.

v. Lack of Good Governance

There has been problem of public administration and there is lack of downward accountability among concerned bodies. Problem of officials' transparency and lack of accountability for the communities create dissatisfaction among the community, and even sometimes led to mistreatment of ethnic groups. This eventually led to ethnic grievances and conflict.²⁰⁹ Sisay has elaborated lack of the good governance become another factor for conflict. The government officials, especially those at local level are promoting the ruling party's political agenda and misuse their political power, rather than addressing their communities' needs and focusing on development agenda. Dissatisfactions that exist in the country as a result of absence of public accountability and non-observance of the rule of law by government officials result in grievances that eventually lead to conflict situations.²¹⁰

4.7. Approaches in Conflict Management

Conflict management is a key concern in establishing harmony among the ethnic groups who were involved into conflicts. It could help us to control and resolve conflicts, reduce tension, and rebuild social relation through full re-integration of the disputants among ethnic groups. To achieve the realistic and durable harmonization among the conflicting regional boundary groups, ethnic conflict managers could use a series of mechanisms and methods of conflict resolutions like indigenous (customary),informal and formal. The following section examined the attempts

²⁰⁹ Sisay Gebre Egzabe,r (2007).What role should civil society organization play to address ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia: the challenges and opportunities for peace & development in Ethiopia & Northeast Africa, on the fourth international conference on Ethiopian Development Studies (4thICEDS). Haworth College of Business. Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, USA.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

made by different bodies to manage and resolve ethnic conflicts among ONRS and SNNPRs taking empirical experiences of inter-regional, inter-zonal, and inter-woreda relations of Arsi Oromo and Sidama people in the study area. Indigenous/customary/, formal and informal IGR conflict management mechanisms were employed to minimize the disputes and conflicts among them.

4.7.1. Formal Institutions to Manage Interregional Conflicts

It is the prime responsibility of the government to manage and resolve conflicts. Unsurprisingly, where executive federalism has been the characteristic mode of IGRs, governments have each established their own internal specialized intra governmental organizations to coordinate their relations with other governments within the federation.²¹¹ To discharge this responsibility, government established institutions to manage conflict at national and local levels. In Ethiopia, the HOF, which is the upper house and the highest body to manage and to resolve interstate conflicts in the Federation (Weyesa 2011:67). Practically this institution plays mostly the vertical role.

Concerning the case study sites most of leaders contributed much in discharging their responsibility of managing ethnic conflicts, through informal IGR. Some Zonal leaders have initiated and established *peace committee* in their zones. Arsi, Sidama and Halaba Special woreda have established joint peace committees at zones, woreda and kebele level. Participants in peace conferences include participants from governments, religious leaders, and elders selected from all conflicting ethnic groups.

The selected and established peace committees were empowered by governments and were used to organize consecutive peace conferences for discussion among the conflicting ethnic groups (Oromo, Sidama, Kambata and Halaba) in their respective areas on the issues related to security and peace and on how to manage ethnic conflicts in the zones.²¹²

²¹¹ Watts R. (199) Comparing Federal Systems. (3rd Edition) Published for the School of Policy Studies, Queen's University

²¹² Interview with FGD Members At West Arsi Zone Peace And Security Office Held On Feb 5, 2018, Shashamane.

The other institutions which serve as informal IGR is the *Religious Forum* according to my in-depth interview informants²¹³ at zone level both zones formed forum of religion including seven (7) members which represent all the 7 religions they held timely meetings and the forum takes place monthly, this forum help as a linkage between the religious institutions and government. The result of the interviewee FGD²¹⁴ Informants confirms the same and it adds there is limitation on the functionality of the forum to achieve its mission some of the having no brief rule and working procedures, empowerment problem. Majorly these forums help a lot especially in conflict resolutions in the study area as they facilitate discussions and create public awareness so that religious and non religious issues are discussed in the forum.

4.7.2. Customary Conflict Resolution Mechanism

The study area is known for the practice of Gadaa System on Oromo side and Luwa on the Sidama Side. Until recently, Gada system was effective to settle, managing and resolving conflicts within and with other ethnic group.²¹⁵ According to key informant interviewed on the side of oromia region at woreda level. Arsi Oromo, Sidama and Halaba people mostly practice the rules and regulations made in the *Gada system* to manage their conflicts while the Halaba practice it a mix along with sharia. The duty of managing ethnic and societal conflict is the responsibility of and performed by *Jaarsota Biyyaa* (elders of the community) and Hayyu (intellectual). In *Gada system* elders have council and look after the whole system to maintain good social relations.

The criteria that determine to assure the status of Jaarsaa (elder) is his knowledge on how to manage conflicts, his truthfulness and elegancy to convince the disputants. On the other hand, Hayyuu is the one who could cover large area to manage ethnic conflicts because of his knowledge about the history of his ancestors history of others and customary law (*Seera Gadaa*).

²¹³ In-depth interview with Mr Haji Kabeto Process team leader on Religion and Religions tolerance case team head West Arsi Zone peace and security office. Interview held on Feb 8,2018. Shashamanne

²¹⁴ Interview with FGD Members At West Arsi Zone Peace And Security Office Held On Feb 5, 2018 Shashamanne

²¹⁵ Interview With Ato Tibesso Akako , Core Process Team Head Of Conflict Prevention And Resolutions Directorate At Office Of Peace And Security Of Shalla Woreda, Aje , West Arsi , Feb. 10/2018.

Though some intervention performed before and during the time of conflicts, major role played during post- conflict period in managing regional conflicts. According to the informants interviewed, in the study area ethnic conflict management by the method of elder's reconciliation "*Jaarsummaa*" was most active and sustainable during pre-1991 because the ritual ceremony to settle peace among groups performed only by community elders and "*Hayyuu*" without the interference of governments at all level. Currently, the government officials from zones and woredas enter as negotiator and facilitator of the discussions on both sides of disputant. In line with this, Mamo (2008) in his study of '*the Role of Arsi Elders in Conflict Resolution*' argues that in Arsi Oromo *dhugaa* (gaining truth), for the wronged, facilitates reconciliation than any material compensation in the process of conflict resolution. This again fits exactly the nature of *halale* of Sidama people in search of truth.

In Sidama there are four (4) types of the Customary dispute resolution (CDR) which exactly collocates with Arsi oromo the hamlet or neighborhood (Olla or alluaw) dealing simple matters from at lineage, "Ardaa" in Arsi Oromo village and sub-clan (bosello) "balbala" in Arsi oromo and clan by songo council ; "Gosa" in arsi oromo and the legal sanction of songo is termed "seera" "seera ambaa" in arsi oromo finally "Abbaa Gadaa" and fines could be imposed on guilty (hammer 1972). At a higher level the ritual leader Godan was involved with the *songo council*. Wrongdoers ask forgiveness, or pay fines or blood prices in homicide cases. Among the Sidama voluntary associations' *mahber* also plays a role in setting disputes, these committees took on customary term songo, and sought to mediate between individual and collective interest (Hammer 1980).

Notably, Interregional territorial disputes in Ethiopia are not merely questions of title over land that are claimed by two states and which need to be resolved on the basis of the weight of evidence. It is necessity and mandatory in Ethiopia for the states themselves to try to settle their differences and contestations. The Oromia and SNNPRS regions tried to solve the territorial disputes themselves without engaging the HOF, which is constitutionally empowered to find (re)solutions to border disputes. But in those cases where it became difficult to resolve the border problems, the cases were referred to the HOF. Moreover, the regions develop schemes of horizontal cooperation to mitigate violent conflicts among the Sidama and Oromo clans in the

contested border area. Joint teams, common plans and bilateral development programs greatly helped to defuse tensions and enhance people –to-people cooperation and communications.

4.7.3. Public Deliberations and Peace Committees

Public deliberations involving heads of regional states are held at various levels to prevent the occurrence of and/or provide lasting remedies to ethnic conflicts, at regional states, zonal, and other lower administrative levels. The conferences are organized by governmental and nongovernmental organizations. These conferences and discussions help reduce misconceptions among ethnic groups and contribute towards conflict management.

ONRS with ANRS, SNRS, ANRS, BGNRS and Some neighboring States have established Peace Committees at various levels of administrative hierarchies which meet regularly to monitor the peace and security of their localities and resolve any issues of ethnic conflicts that may arise. Afar National Regional State has established Peace Committees at neighboring Kebeles, Woredas and Zones with National Regional States of Tigray, Amhara and Oromia and also at the inter-state level. The Committees have been successful in maintaining the peaceful coexistence of the people in the border areas of the States. ONRS have a plan to have with SNNPRs in this year.

4.8. Conclusions

The first section of this chapter has presented the context and the historical relationship between the Oromo and the Sidama people. The finding confirms that these historic relations and geographic contiguity as well as cultural factors could be enabling factors for the horizontal IGR. A Century old social construction of enmity of Sidama and Oromo by center-periphery narration is reconstructed again but as a societal relation improved that the people to people relation goes beyond territorial boundaries. The second section discussed the IGR issues between the neighboring zones and the underlining causes of the major common and newly emerging conflict. The discussion proves the existence of a dynamic continuity and change in the type and magnitude of conflict. The old ones are related to the historic socio political incidents traditional stereotypic attitudes and the emerging ones related with resource claim and competition such as land, water natural resource, identity, unresolved border demarcation contestations.

The third sub section dwells on examining the institutions and practices of HIGRs in the management of the interregional conflict and the effectiveness of the inter-regional, inter-zonal and inter-woreda level experiences and practices of IGR for tackling the inter-jurisdictional conflicts has presented in detail. Experiences indicated both success and failed stories. The next sub part discussed the factors that determines and shapes IGR processes. Substantial factors in the case sites such as Demographic, social diversity, economic, regional discrepancy, and political party and governance issues have been affect IGR process in different Dynamism.

The last section examines the conflict resolution mechanisms being employed at the case site; it showed the existence of Formal Institutions to Manage Interregional Conflicts is less effective rather the Customary Conflict Resolution Mechanism and Public Deliberations and Peace Committees are doing effectively in giving resolutions to the conflict. So it sets the need for a good combination of HIGR and TCM loosens the conflict efficiently. Finally this chapter concludes on the role of IGR in mitigating the interregional conflict and the deficiency of it for handling conflicts. As well as the reforms needed.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Summary of Major Findings, Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1. Summary of the Major Findings

Based on the data collected by qualitative research tools including KII, IDI, FGD and document review along this the theoretical framework of the research; this study came up with the following main findings.

The study identified that the underlining cause of interregional conflict between the Sidama Zone of SNNPR and West Arsi Zone of Oromia mainly takes resource based. But it went beyond resource factors to an intertwined factors, ranging from historical, socio-cultural and political aspects.

It is found from the data collected from case site that there is gap in mechanism for integrated natural resource management. natural resources utilization and management gap creates the reoccurrence of future violent conflicts. In cases where this was a factor in the outbreak of the violent conflict regional government needs a mechanism to settle it before it aggravate.

For the case between the Sidama Zone of SNNPR and West Arsi Zone of Oromia, this study finds out, the party channel and the informal system of IGR under the Ethiopian federation has not effectively served as an efficient institution of interregional conflict resolution.

Traditional conflict resolution mechanisms between the Sidama Zone of SNNPR and West Arsi Zone of Oromia are proved to be more efficient than the extant HIGR between the two regional governments.

Ffinding illustrate the fact that the Formal HIGR between the Sidama Zone of SNNPR and West Arsi Zone of Oromia helped too little in resolving the tension/dispute/conflict at the case study empirical observation indeed compels that the informal HIGR has helped to some extent only in some of IGR issues.

Ccomparative lessons indicates that the HIGR in the case of South Africa and the role of LG in the cooperative governance, both constitutionally and empirically, provide a good lesson

for the role of LG in HIGR in resolving disputes or managing conflicts in federations like Ethiopia As opposed to this findings reveal the Local Governments in the study area have played very little role IGR process.

Structural setups as in HOF house of councils in SNNPRS is crucial So as to use the house as IGR forum to serve the diverse interests of all ethnic groups; create opportunity to each ethnic group to negotiate, bargain and communicate with others on matters that concern it without entering to conflict. This inclusiveness promotes trust and commitment in actors of IGR.

5.2. General Conclusions

From what I have discussed so far, it is possible to conclude the following:

Concerning the Causes of conflict:- Empirical studies reviewed indicates that although there has been intermittent ethnic conflicts among southern Ethiopia pastoralists and agrarians , frequency and intensity of conflicts have been increasing since enactment of ethnic based federalism in 1990s as stated by Asnake, (2011) ²¹⁶On the contrary according to informants long past conflicts in the areas and also 1970- 1991 causes of ethnic conflicts among the Arsi, Sidama and Halaba were not exclusively resource based conflict rather it was due to many factors: sense of enmity, killing for honor, social status, political manipulation, and weapons effect as well. Reported causes of ethnic conflict in Ethiopia as Bahru²¹⁷ stated have been over centralization, marginalization, deliberate elites exploitation and competitions for scarce resources as major causes.

Whereas; According to Dejene²¹⁸ competition over resources is among the explanatory factors in most of the cases of conflict among these contending groups. He farther explained that the current violent conflicts among the pastoralists and agrarians involves

²¹⁶ Asnake Menbere (2011). *Inter-Group Conflicts In the Awash Valley Of Ethiopia: The Case Of Afar and Karrayu Oromo: An Anthology Of Peace and Security Research (P.1-2)*. Addis Ababa: Institute For Peace and Security Studies, Addis Ababa University With Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

²¹⁷ Bahru Zewde (2008). *Society, State and History. Selected Essays*. Addis Ababa University Press: Addis Ababa. Barash

²¹⁸ Dejene Gemechu (2011). "Local Response to The Ethiopian Ethnic Based Federalism: Conflict and Conflict Management Among The Borana And Their Neighbors" PHD Dissertation Ort-Datum German.

many parties and highly interwoven intricate factors of historical, cultural, economic, political, and identity issues pertinent to new federal model and former groups' relations. Partially I agree with (Bahru 2008) because those causes were major common in the past (pre 1991) in the study area too; but now no longer in newly emerging causes of conflicts.

In the study area individuals from both group used to kill each other as a sign of braveness, sense of enmity, seeking for social recognition, divide and rule political manipulation and sometimes there was a cattle raiding or theft by individuals from each ethnic group. These things used to provoke conflicts between them. However; these conflicts did not go further and used to be settled within short period of time by the facilitation of elders and customary institutions from both ethnic groups. Overall it used to happen very seldom. Nonetheless, after the down fall of the Derg regime (1992) the frequency, the magnitude and the reason or cause of the conflict has changed. The frequency highly increased, the scale is very high i.e., it engages a lot of people and wider area, and the reasons have become more of claiming for border land, territory expansion, self-governance and political representation.

It is concluded from the finding that there is pivotal need for integrated natural resource management. natural resources utilization and management gap creates the reoccurrence of future violent conflicts in cases where this was a factor in the outbreak of the violent conflict.

The absence of formal, institutionalized, politically committed IGR both in vertical and horizontal aspect; results in institution which is dependent on the informal devices such as party channel. As argued elsewhere, an institutionalized, accountable, impartial and transparent IGR system is essential tool for ensuring the continuation of the federal framework enunciated by the constitution beyond the life span of the regime that authored it (in our case EPRDF). It is undeniably considered as a devise which can contribute towards the efforts of making the federal setup live and practical.

The more vital point to note is that IGRs are described for the overall efficient performance of the entire system, for the mechanisms of checks and balances and to avoid crisis of confidence in the process of governance. Again, there are numerous variations in the nature,

structure and/or patterns of IGR's from one country to another – a state of affairs which arises principally from the differences in culture, tradition, history, origin of the state, party system and system of state organization of the different societies. So; context sensitive system needs to be adopted and utilized accordingly.

Both vertical and Horizontal IGRs cooperation within the Ethiopian federation are crucial in preventing, managing and resolving conflicts. As in the case of Sidama and West Arsi zone; applying the IGR solutions along with traditional conflict resolution as customary institutions would bring efficient and effective outcome in conflict management.

Unlike the responsibilities and function of second chambers (Upper houses) of most federations, the role of HoF in Ethiopian federation is related to the right of NNPs; self determination, conflict resolution, designing of formula for fiscal redistribution and so on. Such structural formation is being used as a platform to serve the diverse interests of different ethnic groups and to help minorities to be heard and guaranteed their rights from being violated by the majority decision not only at federal level but also at state levels as in SNNPR. The regional second chamber is an opportunity as one institution to play the role of IGR as one institutional mechanism.

5.3. Recommendations and lessons learned

In a globalizing and interdependent world, IGR has increasingly important to politics, policy and administration. Investing in IGR is crucial for managing conflict.

Some scholars have had uncertainties on the continuity of traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution. Lewis (1984b) in his article, for example, *The Values and Procedures in Conflict Resolution among Shoa Oromo* questioned as to whether or not traditional institutions of conflict resolution would continue to be practiced. However, in contradiction to Lewis's conclusion, currently, indigenous customary institutions of conflict resolution such as Gadaa assembly, Sera Gadaa institutions of the Arsi oromo and Luwa institutions of Sidama society have survived and are functioning albeit in a modified forms. So, regional governments need to promote them highly.

Being genealogically from the same Cushitic roots both societies of Oromo and Sidama has historic ties among them. The Sidama people have their concept of sera, which gives them a feeling of identity, a strong moral commitment, and a culturally defined ability to debate conflicts and create consensus. The same is true for the “Gadaa” and “Jarsummaa” system of Oromo such factors could serve as a good asset for building IGR from below. As data reveal indigenous institutions still exist for handling conflicts arising either from minor issues like lack of honesty on things which have small value or to serious cases such as murder. Hence; regional governments need to reconsider and establish institutions along the socio-cultural values they commonly share.

Given the dynamism of conflict in the case study site, there is a need to apply both formal and customary approach. So we can avert old problems with new solution and new problems with old solution. I mean we can and will solve those old problems of interwoven intricate factors of conflicts by federal formula (efficient IGR) which is the new solution and; the new problem which is limitation of the federal design and operation by old method i.e. By traditional conflict resolutions (TRC) mechanism; Hence, to transform this problem new and old we have to use the “*chemistry of both old and new solutions*” which is realizing opportunities of TRC and IGR tools based on federal dynamism and context. By chemistry; I mean the coordination, interaction and synergy of these institutions at conflict prevention, conflict resolution and at conflict transformation level to bring new, efficient and sustainable solutions.

Identifying the main causes of the conflict and the issues involved in each constituent region of the federations is a necessary step toward conflict management. conditions have to be identified that would make the current peace agreements work. This includes identifying the specific problems faced by the parties involved; ascertaining the validity of the mechanisms through which the problems could be resolved; and planning for how to reach at agreements is important. In doing so; the knowledge that mediators have about the conflict is often as important as the actual meeting of parties at the IGR negotiation table. So; actors must get training in management of conflict.

The two regional states have agreements (MoU) and Common plan but they do not have clear guidelines and frameworks for horizontal IGR. Hence; the development of IGR framework at federation wide may help for all regions in general and these regions in particular to facilitate cooperation and for guiding and governing the horizontal IGR like in the case of Sidama and West Arsi zones. It is good to establish different ad hoc committees including joint peace committees and local conflict resolution committees. But for these committees rely on the existence of clear institutions, principles and guidelines of HIGR.

In the process of formalizing IGR or towards the move for strong institutionalization of IGR it is important to look in to comparative IGR experiences and practices such as the announcing explicit principles to guide behavior the ‘comity’ principle as in Germany and policy-making the ‘subsidiary’ principle as in the EU. These features provide more certainty for the functioning of IGR thereby reducing the federal governments coercive power. So inclusiveness of all tiers and levels of government as in South Africa helps most.

It suggested that there is need for integrated natural resource management. Natural resources utilization should be managed in order to help prevent the reoccurrence of future violent conflicts in cases where this was a factor in the outbreak of the violent conflict, and one of the simplest steps to take towards this end would be to build resource management mechanisms into the peace agreement. Resource scarcity creates multiple impacts on conflicts. In terms of responses, dual policies aimed at fair and equitable resource sharing plus managing resources in a manner that helps alleviate poverty may be the most effective for preventing the outbreak of violent conflict. In the case of preventing new violence in a previously-resolved conflict, peace agreements should address resource management issues by building mechanisms for this into the agreement.

Some of the strategies that should be adopted by these regional governments in attempting to address these conflicts are: expansion of water schemes in the affected regions to reduce competition for water resources; formation of inter-clan commissions composed of respectable elders and government representatives; expansion of social services and

infrastructure including education and health systems; introduction of alternative livelihoods; improvement of governance systems; and implementation of the independent Joint peace and Development institution on conflict resolution and management by both regions and establishment of the conflict early warning system.

At regional level there are an increasing number of informal IGR structures that have been established in the absence of clear enabling mechanisms and function without any legally binding rules. In addition, the necessary framework to enable the conclusion of standard agreements between the spheres of government and organs therein (e.g. between two regional governments or between a regional government and a local governments) should be established. Provision should also be made for the conclusion of transnational (cross-border) relations between constituent units (be they regional, zonal or local government in status) between Ethiopia and neighboring countries.

Concerning the effectiveness of IGR in conflict management and resolution the result of this study suggests the need for combining formal and informal IGR in order to develop efficient IGR device. Moreover; it appears to be highly desirable to be implemented based on contextual reality. Regional HIGR cooperation together with customary conflict resolution CCR mechanisms not only defuses tensions but also provides a sustainable people-to-people cooperation and communications and genuine social bond and grass-root democratizations. So; it is good if regional government gives concern.

The issue of IGR as a tool for conflict management particularly the HIGR is a forgotten field deserving attention. Hence, further research is needed along this line. Moreover; variance in the federalism and IGR and concomitantly the dynamic nature of conflicts necessitates careful and comprehensive investigation, Thus, I suggest an exhaustive investigation.

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Interview with Mr. Husen Fayiso Conflict prevention and resolution Directorate and Vice head of Oromia Regional State peace and security office made on Feb 23, 2018, Regional office Addis Ababa.

Interview with Mr.Wegderes Beza Oromia Regional State peace and security office higher Expert of conflict protection and resolution made on Feb 23, 2018 Regional office, Addis Ababa.

Interview with Mr.Gazu Geremew Planning and budget expert in Oromia Regional State Bureau of Peace and Administration made on Feb 23,2018 Regional office, Addis Ababa.

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Interview with Mr.Tessema Ashenafi mamo SNNPR Regional State Security and administration bureau. Peace building expert made on Feb,26,2018 Office Hawasa.

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Interview with Mr. Adis Handino Anjonya SNNPR Regional State Security and administration bureau. Peace building expert made on Feb,26,2018.

Interview with Mr Mamo Tega Conflict prevention and resolution Directorate and Vice head of SNNPR Regional State Security and administration bureau. made on Feb 27, 2018 Regional office Hawasa.

Interview with Mr.Tessema Ashenafi mamo SNNPR Regional State Security and administration bureau. Peace building expert made on Feb,26,2018 Hawasa.

Mr. Adis Handino Anjonya SNNPR Regional State Security and administration bureau. Peace building expert made on Feb,26,2018 Hawasa.

Interview with Mr Haji Kabeto West Arsi zone religion and religious tolerance case team head made on Feb 8,2018 West Arsi Zone Shashamanne.

Interview with Ahimad Nure Argo West Arsi zone peace and security office Conflict protection and resolution process head made on Feb 8,2018 Shashamanne.

Interview with Mr Moti Yadate West Arsi Zone peace and security office Conflict protection and resolution process head made on Feb 16,2018 Shashamanne.

Interview with Guttema Tibesso West Arsi Zone Administrative and security office Planning and budget expert in West Arsi zone of Peace and Administration made on Feb 12,2018 Shashamanne.

Interview with Kom. Tashome kete Sidama zone Conflict protection and resolution core process head of Sidama zone security and Administration made on Feb16,2018 zonal office Hawasa.

Interview with Wr. Debitu Darimo Religion and religious tolerance case team process head in Sidama zone Administration office of Sidama zone security and Administration office made on Feb 15,2018 zonal office Hawasa.

Interview with Mr. Samuel Wayesa Monitoring and evaluation Expert of Sidama zone security and Administration office made on Feb 15,20182018 zonal office Hawasa.

List of Focus Group Discussions/FGD/

Officials FGD

- FGD with officials of oromia region , 6 participants (3 officials , 3 leaders), Shashamanne, feb 22 , 2018.
- FGD with officials of West Arsi zone , 6 participants (4officials , 3 leaders), Shashamanne, feb 22 , 2018
- FGD with officials of Sidama zone , 6 participants (officials 2 experts, 2 peace committees and 2 leader), Hawasa , March 6, 2018.

Residents FGD

- FGD with Residents of West Arsi zone , 6 participants (3 farmers 3 Elders), Shashamanne, feb 22 , 2018.
- FGD with Residents of kebeles of Boricha and Siraro woreda, 7 participants (2 religious leaders , 2 elders , 2 peace committees), lokke, March 3, 2018.
- FGD with Residents of Sidama zone , 6 participants (officials 2 experts, 2 peace committees and 1 politician), Hawasa , March 9, 2018



**Addis Ababa University
College of Law and Governance Studies
Center for Federalism and Governance Studies**

Interview Guideline Questions

The Purpose of this semi-structured interview is to gather information on the major and specific underlining factors for the causes of conflict, the consequences of the conflict/dispute, and the managements of conflict between Sidama and West Arsi Zones; and thereby to find out whether the mechanisms and institutions of IGR are mitigating these conflicts. I kindly request you to provide accurate information with respect to the following questions and the answers you give is highly valuable, and the information gathered will be confidential and will solely be utilized for the purpose of this research. I am, therefore, grateful for your attention and for the time you devote.

Thank you in advance!

Appendix I

- 1. Interview Questions prepared for government officials, local Elders, and religious Leaders**
 2. How do you explain the relation between Sidama Zone and West Arsi? As neighboring zones in different regional states? What are the key areas of interaction between these Zones?
 3. Are there disputes/conflicts between them? If yes, what are the underlying causes of the conflict/dispute?
 4. What are the mechanisms and institutions of managing conflicts between the Sidama and West Arsi Zones? Who are the actors involved? What are the institutions involved in mitigating conflicts?
 5. To what extent is the mechanisms and institutions of IGR regulating conflicts between Sidama and Zones? How do the Woredas in these Zones coordinate their mutual concerns? How effective is the inter-zonal relationship? And effectiveness of the inter-regional relations for handling Sidama and West Arsi Zones?
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1. What do you think is the role of party channel in the intergovernmental relation between Sidama and west Arsi zones?
 2. What are the traditional conflict resolution mechanisms between Sidama and West Arsi Oromo Communities? Do these traditional conflict resolution mechanisms function yet? What issues of conflict have been resolved by these traditional institutions? Are they (in) effective?

3. What do you think are the alternate solutions for improving the relation between the Sidama and West Arsi Zones?
4. What major IGR reforms are needed to address the interregional issues between Sidama and West Arsi Zones?

II. In depth Interview Questions prepared for Officials and Experts in selected sectors at the Regional states and Zonal levels. .

1. What are the issues and areas of horizontal intergovernmental relations and agreements (if any) between Oromia and SNNPRs? And between the Sidama and West Arsi Zones? Are there common plans, MoU etc?
2. Who is/are the Actor/s that made the agreement on behalf of these regional governments and Zones?
3. What formal and informal instruments are there to undertake inter-woreda, inter-zonal and interregional relations at the study area(s)?
4. How do the neighboring woredas, the two Zones and the respective regional governments communicate with each other? Are these interactions predominantly formal or informal ones?
5. Are there forums involving woredas, the two zones and the respective regional governments? What are these forums for? Who initiates them? How regular are they? Are they functional now? What are their decision making processes? What objectives did they achieve (if any)?
6. How do you evaluate the role and capacity of IGR (inter-woreda, inter-zonal and inter-regional) to mitigate conflicts? What are the gaps and challenges of the IGR tool to regulate conflict in the study area?

III. Guideline Questions for FGD with local community elders (like Abba Gadaas), religious leaders and Conflict management Experts.

1. What are the historical relationship between the Oromos and Sidama in terms of marriage, religion, economy and politics?
2. What are the underlying causes of the conflict between the Sidama Zone and West Arsi Zone?
3. How do you explain the contentions between the Oromos and the Sidamas on the claim of natural resources including land at the adjacent woredas of the two zones?
4. How do you explain the practice of conflict management in your locality in relation to Oromo and Sidama? To what extent are these indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms effective?
5. What do you think are the factors that influence the intergovernmental relation between West Arsi and Zones?
6. Would you suggest any other method that could be more effective in managing the conflict in the context of Oromo-Sidama interact



Source :- A picture taken from Shalla Woreda Government Communication Office taken by researcher on Feb 12,2018

An oromo Ethnic group with about 4000 people of Arsi which has been assimilated for centuries in sidama ethnic calling themselves sidama clan and living in Hhawasa city through deep historical study known itself to be “Hanbentu” ethnic group to the clan of Aroji and sons of “nacha” geneologically from Arsi ethnic group. Reunited with its ethnic group of Arsi in shalla woreda

