SAMARA UNIVERSITY

Collage of Social Science and Humanities

Department of Civics and Ethical Studies

Inter-ethnic Conflict between Afar-Amhara border area around Chifra Woreda, since 2017

Proposed by :-

1. Muktar Toyib (M.A in peace and Conflict studies)-Principal
   Mobile No.0974511924
   muktartoyib@gmail.com
2. Estifanos Balew (M.A in Human Rights Studies)
   Mobile No.0920247869
   estifanosbalew@gmail.com

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**Declaration**

We the underdesign, declared that to the best of our knowledge this research is our original work and that work quoted in this research are duly acknowledged

Declared by Muktar Toyib
Signature----------------------
Date---------------------------

Declared by Estifanos Balew
Signature----------------------
Date---------------------------
Acronomy

FGD  Focus Group Discussion
SNNP  South Nation Nationalities and People
EPRDF  Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front
MoF  Minster of Federation
Kilil  Region
Jaarsomaa  The processes of reconciliation in Oromo ethnic group
Ma,ada  The processes of reconciliation in Afar ethnic group
Shimgilinga  The processes of reconciliation in Amhara ethnic group
Shimagille  a person who plays reconciliation processes
Woreda  District
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# Table of Contents

CHAPTER ONE.......................................................................................................................... 1

1. Background of the study........................................................................................................ 1
2. Statement of the problem ..................................................................................................... 2
3. Objective of the study........................................................................................................... 3
   3.1. General Objective of the Study...................................................................................... 3
   3.2. Specific Objective of the Study.................................................................................... 4
4. Research questions .............................................................................................................. 4
5. Significant of the study........................................................................................................ 4
6. Scope of the study .............................................................................................................. 5
7. Methodology of the study................................................................................................... 5
   7.1. Description of the Study Areas .................................................................................... 5
   7.2. Research Methods ........................................................................................................ 6
   7.3. Research Design .......................................................................................................... 6
   7.4. Source of Data.............................................................................................................. 7
   7.5. Data collection Tools .................................................................................................. 7
   7.6. Data Collection procedures .......................................................................................... 7
   7.7. Sampling Technique ..................................................................................................... 9
   7.8. Data Analysis Methods ............................................................................................... 9
   7.9. Trustworthiness ........................................................................................................... 9
8. Ethical Consideration .......................................................................................................... 10

CHAPTER TWO ......................................................................................................................... 12

2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE ................................................................................. 12
   2.1. Definition of Conflict ................................................................................................. 12
   2.2. Types of conflict ........................................................................................................ 13
   2.3. Theories of Conflict ................................................................................................... 14
      2.3.1. Structural Theory of conflict .............................................................................. 14
ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the dynamics of inter-ethnic conflict between Afar and Amhara communities in the border areas of Chifra Woreda. Methodologically, the researcher employed qualitative research approach with case study research design. The researcher relied on both primary and secondary sources of data. The tools used to collect data were semi structured and in-depth interview, FGD, personal observation and document analysis. Purposive sampling, a type of non-probability sampling was also used to select the participants for in-depth and as well as FGD. The analysis of qualitative data was made using thematic data analysis. The findings of this study reveal that, the pastoralists of Afar and agro-pastoralist of Amhara have had a long history of relationship marked by friendly coexistence and occasional conflict. In the earlier times, Afar-Amhara conflict was caused by competition over scarce resource and undemarcated territory to the resource. Nevertheless, after 1991 conflicts have intensified and changed due to a range of factors including environmental degradation and changes in the federal structure of Ethiopia. The actors involved in the conflict were pastoralist and Ago-pastoralist in general and the political elite who play a role by aggravating and encouraging the people. Indeed, the study revealed and analyses that the consequences and impacts of Afar-Amhara conflict like human and livestock loss, destruction of infrastructure, degradation of natural resource and internal displacement is immense. To manage the conflict and build peace in the study area formal and indigenous mechanisms of conflict management and peace building were undertaken. However, the attempts failed to address the root causes of the conflict and build lasting peace. Thus, as the finding of this study indicated, in the study area even in the state of emergency there are minor inter-personal conflicts that can escalate in to inter-ethnic and group conflict. The current study shows that the area needs immediate attention from all concerned bodies and should implement different mechanisms and strategies to settle the conflicts.

Key words: Afar-Amhara Conflict, Inter-ethnic Conflict and Ethnic based Federalism
CHAPTER ONE

1. Background of the Study

Ethiopia is a multi-ethnic multi-cultural and age old country. Since 1991 the country has adopted federal system of government and administrative structure that reassemble the country out from nine ethno linguistically divided regional states and two chartered cities. Now a day, Ethiopia has several social, economic and political problems that negatively affect the life of individuals, group relations and the peace and stability of the country at large. Among the others Afar-Amhara conflicts among border communities have become noticeable which in fact needs scholastic investigation and plausible solutions. Although the problem of inter-ethnic conflict has been proven to manifest in several areas between different groups including Amhara and Tigray, Afar and Issa, and Somali and Oromo communities in respective border areas, this paper address the conflict among Afar and Amhara communities in the border town of Chifra and the surrounding areas.

In contemporary Ethiopia, ethnicity and ethnic based group arrangements for political reason, are recognized both as legitimate agenda in public discourse and as the basic frame work for a new federal system (Azarya,2003). Constituent units in Ethiopian federation are identified by their dominant ethnic group (Amhara, Oromo, Tigray, Afar and Somali), and considered as autonomous parts with their own administration to the extent to determine on separation from the Ethiopian polity (ibid).

Afar National Regional State is one of the nine regional states of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. Domestically, the region shares border lands with the Somali region to the east, the Oromia region to the south, the Amhara region to the west and southwest), and the Tigray region to the northwest (Hundie, 2010). Although for most of its part the relations of Afar with other ethnic groups have cordial natures, the Afar particularly in border areas proved to engage in conflicts with neighboring ethnic communities such as the Issa Somali, Kereyu Oromo, Amhara and Tigrayans (Greenidge and Demessie, n.d). Different researchers and authors have been engaged in scholastic study of the conflicts between Afar and other ethnic groups in several areas of neighborhood. Accordingly, these conflicts have various origins and vary from place to place or from one group to the other groups to which Afar’s have disputed including competition over water sources, pastures, cultivable land, political competition over administrative boundaries and the Horn’s geo political influences.(Ibd)
The Afar and Amhara like many other neighboring ethnic groups have hosted interethnic conflicts in some border areas such as in Bati, Raya, Yaya and Chifra areas of neighborhoods of the two. And conflictual narratives take part, though for most its part the nature of their relationships is peaceful and friendly. In very recent times, conflicts between Afar-Sodomma communities of Amhara region in the border town of Chifra and surrounding areas have been witnessed and exemplify the inter-ethnic nature of the conflicts between the two communities. Thus, this study aims to develop an effective understanding of inter-ethnic border conflicts between Afar and Soddoma people of Amhara region in the border town of Chifra and surrounding areas.

2. Statement of the problem

Proponents of ethno-linguistic federalism, which actually lead by government officials and their closed personnel viewed and believe the former as the long-standing demands for managing the problems originating from diversity in Ethiopia. In contrast to them, a lot of academicians and members of political parties and activist argue that Ethnic based federalism has divisive impacts which according to them may create interethnic tensions and conflicts and the disintegration of the Ethiopian Polity at large. Regardless of the above contrasting positions, the current political reality in Ethiopia assured the fact that while the political aim of rearranging the polity based on Ethnic lines claimed to be to manage ethnic divert peacefully and democratically, problems of interethnic conflicts have become at the top of problems the country has faced today and national agendas. In other words, the infant (only two decades of old) federalism in Ethiopia has experiencing conflictual and disruptive developments against its purpose.

The border town of Chifra and its surrounding areas between Afar and Amhara regional state is currently the hot spot of enter ethnic conflicts between two communities. The conflict as in its present form has erupted a year before and has continued to reoccurred several times. And it resulted in loss of life from both, destruction of material, abandonment of local markets by both across the areas and termination of transportation services from one to another area. As Chifra is part of Ethiopia, it is difficult to separate any local developments from national trends, partly the need to rely on national frameworks to understand their local implications, and partly to find out
the potential role of local conflictual activities and discourse to gain public attentions and expand to join national development.

There is a lack of detailed research regarding the complex issues evolving around it. However, this research is specifically focusing on the Afar-Amhara Conflict around chifra area since 2017. It explores the roles of indigenous conflict resolution from different perspectives which were not fully addressed by the prior researches. And why the researcher tries to conduct the studies in 2017 of Afar-Amhara conflict around chifra area. Because of too see the dynamics of conflict between Afar and Amhara. Although the Ethiopian government has been trying to resolve these conflicts using different mechanisms, the problem still exists between the two regions.

An important justification of this problem is found in the absence of any empirical research and diminutive institutional practices to deal the problem of interethnic conflicts in Chifra and surrounding areas. In this regard most researchers conducted in relation to Afar only stress on Afar-Somali/Issa to which most of them related to pastoral conflicts, paying fewer attentions to conflicts between Afar and other ethnic communities which are not pastoralist. Moreover, the researchers believe that the problem of interethnic conflict between two communities in Chifra area needs to be solved based on objective assessment of facts and rigorous analysis of data on the ground. Considering the multidimensional negative impacts of conflict, this study aims to investigate and assess the Afar and Amhara (Soddoma) conflict pursuing the following research objectives and related research questions.

3. Objective of the study

3.1. General Objective of the Study
The overall objective of this study is to analyze inter-ethnic conflicts between Afar and Amhara people around Chifra Woreda.
3.2. Specific Objective of the Study

Beside the above general objective of the study attempts to address the following specific objectives:

- To explore the root causes of conflict between Afar and Amhara in Chifra Woreda.
- To identify the major actors that involved in the Afar-Amhara conflict.
- To discuss the dynamics (the factors of escalation or de-escalation) of the conflict.
- To explore the Consequence of Afar-Amhara conflict.
- To examine the peace settlement efforts of various government (national and local).

4. Research questions

Based on the above general and specific objectives the study attempts to address the following research questions.

1. What are the root causes of Afar-Amhara conflict in Chifra area?
2. Who are the major actors involved in Afar and Amhara conflict?
3. How can the dynamics of the conflict be explained in terms of socio-cultural, political and economic aspect?
4. What are the Consequences of Afar-Amhara conflicts?
5. What conflict settlement efforts take by government?

5. Significant of the study

This study would have the following importance.

- It would create attentiveness in the mind of regional leader, decision makers and politician regarding the current problems and possible solutions and it create awareness among pastoralist to minimize border conflicts in Afar region.
- It would also contribute to a better understanding of the role of political and economic policy adopted at different times in determining the interaction between the two groups.
- The finding of the study would help federal government as well as regional stakeholders to know the present situation of Afar-Amhara/Soddoma conflict in Chifra Woreda.
- Finally, it shall encourage and initiates other researchers in related fields to carry out and it has been also serving as a stepping stone for other studies.
6. **Scope of the study**

The geographic scope of the study focuses on Afar region state namely Chifra Woreda areas which lie on the border between the Afar and Amhara regions of Federal Republic of Ethiopia. In terms of the issue the research were cover is an in depth looking to the root causes and consequence and actors of the conflict by collecting data from various concerned bodies from both sides of the conflicting parties.

7. **Methodology of the study**

The aim of this section is to explore which methodology would serve as a basis for this research. In order for the reader to be able to know how the researcher would come to his conclusion, it is essential to understand the research methodology. Explaining the research methods and methodology is also a question of trust worthiness.

7.1. **Description of the Study Areas**

Afar is one of the nine regional states of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. Geographically, the region is situated between 8°40´ to 14°27´ N and 39°51´ to 41°23´ E. The woreda of Chifra is found in Zone 1, the most populous zone of the ANRS. The seat of the woreda administration and the capital of the woreda is ChifraTown (Greenidge and Demessie, n.d). In common with most towns in the Afar National Regional State, the majority of Chifra’s inhabitants are not Afar, but rather Muslim Amhara. These urban dwellers mainly come from the neighboring woreda of the Amhara Regional State, namely Habru, Werebabo and Bati(ibid). Moreover, Chifra is also home to a smaller number of Tigrayans. Mostly, relations between the Afar and the other groups are cordial and friendly where several intermarriages exist between the Afar and the Amhara inhabitants of the town (ibid). However, since last year several conflicts have occurred between the two communities that lost a lot of material and human loss.
7.2. **Research Methods**

Qualitative research method helps to explore, and understand the meanings the participants ascribe to their experiences (Creswell, 2009). One important characteristic of qualitative research that makes it appropriate for this study is the fact that it seeks to understand the dimensions of the issue from the perspectives of the participants. A qualitative research method was utilized for the purposes of this study because research is purely exploratory in nature and focuses on attempting to understand the Afar-Amhara conflict in Chifra Woreda. Qualitative approach helps to study the attitude and perception of the community towards conflict between the conflicting communities and its consequences in the study area. It required the investigator to engage with the person and the events which offers particular value in the process of generating new concepts or theories. It seeks to provide full and accurate description of phenomena in all their complexity. In addition to this it focuses more on testing of existing theories of generalizations related to conflict in the study area and explores Conflict between Afar and Amhara around in Chifra Woreda and to assess the role of indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms.

7.3. **Research Design**

The research design of this qualitative study is Case Study. Every case study research requires at least one case to be studied. Merriam (1998) defines a case as “a thing, a single entity, or a unit around which there are boundaries”. Based on this definition, the Afar-Amhara conflicts in Chifra Woreda were studied. Case study research is also good for contemporary events when the relevant behavior cannot be manipulated. Typically, case study research uses a variety of evidences from different sources, such as interviews, FGDs, observation and document reviews which are the main data sources of this study. Then again, it is a necessity to consider the characteristics of both pastoralist groups. In this case, socio cultural and politico-economic characteristics of both societies were studied.
7.4. **Source of Data**

Source of data was both primary and secondary. The primary information was collected using focus group discussion, document analysis and interview from concerned individual. While secondary information is collected from different books, journals, newspaper, internet and other sources prepared for a different purpose. The researcher in this study intentionally used this type of study so that it helped to gather relevant information to the stated problems and achieve the stated objectives.

7.5. **Data collection Tools**

Basically the tool that was used for the study was interview. It was presented to the elders, clan leaders, religious leaders, woreda and kebele administration official’s. The interview was prepared on the cause of conflict and actors of the conflict between two communities and consequence of conflict in aforementioned woreda to strengthen the finding of the study, two individual’s member focus group respondents were selected from Afar and Amhara ethnic group.

7.6. **Data Collection procedures**

In this study, the necessary primary data was collected by in-depth interviews, Key informant interviews, observation and FGD whereas the secondary data were collected through Document Reviews.

**In-depth Interviews**

The researcher used the in-depth interview technique with the informants. In-depth interviews are most favorable for collecting data on individuals, perspectives, and experiences, particularly Afar-Amhara conflict issues were explored (Mertens, 2005). Semi-structured interview technique was employed for the reason which allows focusing on main issues of peace committee workers and Former Administrators, Police Officials from both regions sought to possible address all interviews would be conduct in Afar and Amhara language because it is this language which is commonly spoken in the area. Interviews were conduct face-to-face and took place in settings that were quiet and private so that there was no noise that might affect the quality of the tape recording.
Key Informant Interviews

Key informant interviews were hold with selected individuals who are likely to provide needed information, insight and idea regarding to the study. Accordingly, the key informant interviews was give for peace committee work on conflict resolution and prevention program (Border Affair Officer one key informant from each) that are providing an intervention program on conflict prevention and resolution. The key informant interviews took from 1-2 hrs.

Focus Group Discussion

Focus group is “a way of collecting qualitative data, which – essentially involves engaging a small number of people in an informal facilitated group discussion (or discussions), focused around a particular topic or set of issues” (Wilkinson, 2004). It provides valuable insights on how group participants’ view an issue with which they are confronted (Bryman, 2008). In this study, the focus group discussion was conduct with clan elder, religious elder because they have experiences on conflict resolution. Even though there is no consensus among researchers on the perfect size of a focus group; the recommendation includes 6-8 people (Krueger & Casey, 2000). On the basis of this scholarly suggestion, one FGD which contained 6 Clan elder was held for about an hour, at Chifra Woreda. In the FGD, the researchers were the main facilitator of the discussion.

Document Reviews

Document review is also the most important data collection method. Different published and unpublished documents, journals, the international, regional and national documents on conflict prevention and resolution from Amhara and Afar regional border Affair office were utilized.

Personal Observation

According to Yin (2012) observation is one of the most common methods of gathering qualitative data. Making direct observation in a field setting can focus on human action, physical environment or real-world events. Moreover, Observation can be an invaluable way of collecting data because what you see with your own eyes and perceive with your own senses is not filtered by what others might have reported to you or what the author of some document might have seen (ibid). For the purpose of this study, observation has been undertaken on the general set-up and the environment.
7.7. **Sampling Technique**

First, the researcher were select the peace committee who are working on conflict prevention and resolution and intervention programs in the study area purposefully, as secondly the researcher were used purposive sampling to select clan elder and border Affair official of the region. The reason to employ purposive sampling is to select respondents/participants who have an experience with the conflict resolution. The study area is also selected purposively because the researcher was observed the problem there.

7.8. **Data Analysis Methods**

As Cress well (2003) contend that data collection and data analysis must be a simultaneous process in qualitative research. Data analysis is an ongoing process taking place throughout the data collection process. The data collected from participants were organized based on the objective of the study and analyze through thematic analysis. Qualitative data analysis primarily entails classifying things, persons and events, and the properties which characterize them. Creswell (2003) further argued that qualitative data analysis is an ongoing process involving continual reflection about the data, asking questions and writing memos throughout the study. The researcher was made detailed description of the setting or individuals, followed by analysis of the data for themes or issues.

7.9. **Trustworthiness**

Qualitative researchers often focus on trustworthiness. By establishing trustworthiness, a researcher aims to persuade readers that “the research findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Establishing the trustworthiness of findings from qualitative research requires addressing four factors that are somehow interconnected. Credibility refers to whether the findings are based on and supported by the data collected. To address credibility, this study employed triangulation of data which were collected via interviews, FGD and key informant interviews and direct quotation of participant’s idea was used. Transferability refers to the applicability of the research finding to another context. It is up to the reader, rather than the researcher, to determine whether the findings are transferable or applicable to another setting (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Thus, to address issues of transferability, this study provided thick descriptions of the phenomenon under study including background
information. Dependability refers to the stability or consistency of the findings over time. The researcher was made detailed descriptions about the data collection and analysis procedures to address issues of dependability. Conformability refers to objectivity or the extent to which the findings are shaped by the data and not researcher bias or interest.

8. Ethical Consideration

Considering ethical and practical consideration as well as having special permission from vulnerable population are must and vital for planning to research (Atieno, 2009:15). For the sake of the participant’s privacy, ethical issues are needed to be taking in to account the researcher would strictly follow ethical issues like having collaborative letter in order to make the communication legal. And the researcher’s were asked the consent of the authority in Chifra Woreda to ensure their voluntariness. No individual were subjected as data source forcefully and their identity was respected. The researchers were clearly explained the significant of the study to participants and Confidentiality was protected and guaranteed.

9. Organization of the study

The investigator organized paper in five chapters. The first chapter is contain introduction part of the research such as background of the study and problem statement, objective of the study, significant of the study, scope of the study, Methodology of the study description of the study area, and limitation of the research. Research design, data collection methods, sampling technique, data analysis, organization of the research and the second chapter would contain the related literature review and theoretical perspectives. The third chapter would contain the, Historical background of conflict between Afar and Amhara and The fourth chapter Data presentation and discussion. Finally, Chapter five contains conclusions and Recommendation of the research findings.

10. Limitation of the study

The challenge of the study was that most of the literature and documents on this theme were written in Afar and Amharic languages. Therefore there was the problem of interpreting the materials written in these languages, although the researcher used the help of others who can efficiently translate these languages. The other challenge was the problem of having access to the
archives of the Security and border Affairs Bureaus of the Amharic and Afar Regional States of Ethiopia.

11. Field Work Experience

The Fieldwork took one month from February to March 1/2017. Before the researcher went to the field area for data collection, all necessary preparation was made. The interview and FGD guides were prepared in English language. Then, it was translated in to Amharic and Afaric. Then after and other colleagues of the study commented and corrected the guiding questions. At the beginning, the researcher went to Afar and Amhara region security office (Chifra town) and collected all necessary data from regional and woreda official with the help of a field assistant. Most of the regional government officials were positive in writing letters to the Chifra administrations and giving data about the issue. However, they were busy through meeting. This made the researcher a little bit late in collecting data in the Zone government offices. Then the researcher traveled to Chifra and sample kebele. The required data were gathered with the help of field assistance. The second fieldwork place was Harbu worada. During data collection the researcher speaks only Amharic languages. Therefore, having a field assistant was very vital especially in Harbu district. The field assistants were selected based on their willingness, ability to speak the local language and communication skill. There were two reasons why the researcher used field assistants. Firstly, the field assistants helped the researcher in guiding the place and suggesting the potential in-depth interviewees to the researcher. Secondly, the field assistants translated Amharic language. In general, the field assistants who assisted the researcher in facilitating face-to-face interviews as well as FGD were eight in number. In-depth interview with officials was usually conducted in the office of the interviewee that usually took from one hour to two hour and half. The other informants’ interview was conducted in the office of kebles, their homes, mosque and tea or coffee house. The FGD also was conducted two places. The Amhara FGD conducted in the Harbu security district and Afar FGD also held at Chifra town by using market days and Kebele offices. Other FGD were held on the office of peace and Security bueruo in Samara center.
CHAPTER TWO

2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Literature review of this study revolves around the following issues: conceptual understanding of conflict and inter-ethnic conflicts, cause of inter-ethnic conflict, dynamics of inter ethnic conflict, theories of conflict and other related variables which affect stability and sustainable development in inter-communal society. The purpose of reviewing scholarly studies is to show the link between the dynamics of conflict, and definition, causes and manifestations of inter-ethnic conflict.

2.1. Definition of Conflict

The understanding of a conflict is strongly influenced by the way one thinks about the nature of conflict. Definitions of conflict move backwards and forwards between conflict being perceived as a negative or as a positive process. Some present conflict as a natural phenomenon, others as an alien or abnormal happening in social life, and yet others consider it as a necessary condition for the development and growth of individuals and societies (Lukin, 2007).

The word ‘Conflict’ has many meanings in everyday life. In a broad sense the term ‘conflict’ includes disagreements, debates, disputes and active efforts to prevent someone from obtaining what he wants to secure (Azar, 1990). The term conflict can be simply defined as incompatibility in the aim, goals or interests of two or more individuals, groups or other units. Some thinkers define conflict as a state of mutual antagonism or hostility between two or more parties (Mitchell, 1981). There are also definitions based on the nature of the conflict parties, such as individuals, organizations or states. Defining conflict also depends on the concept one has of the nature of conflict as something that takes place in society and between people. For example, conflict is commonly understood as: a form of opposition between parties; an absence of agreement between parties; a way to solve social contradictions; a natural process in human social interaction (Miller, 2005).

However, the recent general trend has been to consider conflict as something normal, an everyday social phenomenon, and a simple and natural characteristic of human social systems. Society by its very nature, as human beings themselves, is not perfect, so disharmony and
contradictions are inevitable parts of social development. Generally, for this purpose conflict is generally considered as a tendency to perform two or more incompatible responses at the same time, resulting in emotional, mental and physical levels (ibid).

2.2. Types of conflict

The concept of conflict is applied in different contexts, ranging from intrapersonal conflict, a conflict people experience when deciding between doing what they want and what they should to violent confrontation, which can lead to an elimination of another person or groups of persons. The complex interactions among the society and the existence of human need could make up a conflict. According to Bereketeab (2013) Conflicts classified as violent and non-violent conflict. Violent conflict is the use of armed force by two parties, which at least one is the government of the state that results in at least 25 battle related deaths per year. Non-violent conflict is the policy of pursuing political goal through peaceful protests involving large number of people (ibid). The other broad classifications of conflict are inter-state and intra-state. Interstate conflict is a conflict between two or more states that use their respective national force in the conflict. In recent decades inter-state conflicts have been steadily decreasing while intra-state conflicts have increased (ibid).

Intra state conflict describes sustained political violence that takes place between armed groups. It is the most common form of conflict today and combatants in intra state conflict is not a recognized member of the international state system but is located within the internationally recognized territory of the state (Mengesteab, 2011). Intra-state conflicts very easily spill across international boundaries triggering conflict between states, resulting in inter-state conflicts. It may include civil war, communal and ethnic conflict. Civil war involves the state government and non-state actor conflict. Hence, civil war is simply a war over the state itself. Either a new regime replaces an old regime or a new regime or state is created by secession (Bereketeab, 2013). Ethnic conflict is conflict between two or more contending ethnic groups. The primary line of confrontation is ethnic markers. In ethnic conflict whatever the cause, ethnic groups confronted each other with special emphasis to their ethnic identity. Thus, in Ethnic conflict at least one conflict party are defined in ethnic terms, and in which the primary fault line of confrontation is one of ethnic distinctions (Wolf, 2006).
The other type of intra state conflict are fought among ethnic groups, clan and occupational groups like pastoralists and non-pastoralist due to access to scarce resources like land, water and livestock and resulting from a rapidly deteriorating environment and fast-growing populations (Abrha, 2012).

2.3. Theories of Conflict

Theories of conflict are the explanations put forward to explain causes of conflict. The causes of conflict are numerous and complex, thus creating problem of analysis of specific conflict situations. The theories are advanced to simplify the causes by looking at them in categories. The theories explaining causes of conflict include structural theory of conflict, economic theory, and psychological theory of conflict. These theories enable a researcher to analysis the finding based on the explanation of the aforementioned theories.

2.3.1. Structural Theory of conflict

This theory tries to illuminate conflict as a product of the tension that arises when groups compete for scarce resources. The core argument in this sociological theory is that conflict is constructed into the particular ways societies are structured (Oakland, 2005). This theory elucidates the situation of the society and how such condition can produce conflict. This theory isolates such conditions as social exclusion, deprivation, class inequalities, injustice, political marginalization, gender imbalances, racial segregation, economic exploitation and the likes, all of which often lead to conflict (ibid). They argued that conflict occurs because of the exploitative and unjust nature of human societies. Regardless of its deficient, this theory helps to analysis the cause conflict from the angle of the stricture of society.

2.3.2. Economic Theory of conflict

This theory of conflict expounds the economic undercurrents in conflict causation. There is considerable interface between politics (power, resources or value) and scarcity. People seek power because it is a means to an end, more often, economic ends. Communities feud over farmlands, grazing fields, water resource, et cetera, and groups fight government over allocation of resources or revenue. Scarcity, wants, needs, or the fear of scarcity is often a driving force for political power, contention for resource control, and so forth. Conflict is thus not far-fetched in the course of such palpable fear or threat of scarcity. Just as the fear of poverty and deprivation
could lead to fraud or corruption; so is threat of or real famine, deprivation, mismanagement of scarce resources, could propel conflict over resource control. This theory helps the researcher to see the cause of conflict from the angle of scarce resource since there is a inter-ethnic conflict in study area based on grazing land and water (Folarin, nd).

2.3.3. Frustration-anger-aggression

This is a psychological hypothesis of conflict that posits that it is natural for man to react to unpleasant situations. The theory says that aggression is the result of blocking, or frustrating, a person's efforts to attain a goal (Berkowitz, 1996). Frustration is described as the feeling we get when we do not get what we want, or when something interferes with our gaining a desired goal. When someone is prevented from reaching his target, he becomes frustrated. This frustration can then turn into anger and then aggression when something triggers it. When expectation fails to meet attainment, the tendency is for people to confront others they can hold responsible for frustrating their ambitions or someone on whom they can take out their frustrations. And when aggression cannot be expressed against the real source of frustration, displaced hostilities can be targeted to substitute objects, that is, aggression is transferred to alternate objects (ibid).

2.4. Causes of Inter-ethnic Conflict

The causes of inter-ethnic conflicts are not static but rather dynamic and varied in nature depending on the socio-economic and geopolitical circumstances at the time (Abrha, 2012). Various factors have been identified by scholars as responsible for inter ethnic conflict in the country. Some of the factors are population explosion, economic migration, and the anti-poor policies of the government. According to Horowitz (2000) communal conflict revolve around politics, politicians, and their pursuit of group advantage whereas Brosché (2015) identified that settler problem, religious differences, ownership of land and its resources, goals and aspirations of people as some of the factors that can ignite communal conflict in the country. Yecho (2006) also indicated that the essential causes of inter ethnic conflict are poor economic conditions, high level of illiteracy, the quest for, and fear of domination by other groups, land disputes, market ownership, and party politics (Yecho,2006). Varvar (2000) also point out that enlarged demand for land, unemployment, rural hunger, poverty impoverishment causes of inter ethnic conflict. Deprivation, exploitation and domination of minority groups by major ethnic groups and
leadership problem are also the factors for inter ethnic conflict (Varvar, 2000). In essence, the causes of inter ethnic conflict from the above analyses are:

- **Economic factors:** These factors manifest in the forms of competition for inadequate resources such land and its content; problems of distribution of available resources; unemployment and poverty.
- **Social factors:** This has to do with issues that border on deprivation, envy, jealousy, marginalization and exploitation of people. In fact, fear of domination by major groups is equally asocial factor that attracts inter ethnic conflict.
- **Political factors:** It involves the contest for available political positions in a community and leadership failure. Also added to this, is traditional local leaders struggle imminent in communities in the country.
- **Ecological factors:** These factor manifests in the forms of encroachment problem, farming and pastoral problems, deforestation, flooding, soil erosion, and bush burning. Inter ethnic conflict creates room for people to drift from place to place as a survival mechanism and in search of livelihood.
- **Colonial factors:** Colonialism is believed to be the background cause of inter ethnic conflict in Africa. Most of inter ethnic conflicts have direct attachment to colonial formation, while others manifesting in the post-colonial period have explanation in colonialism though it excludes Ethiopia.

### 2.5. Conflict Dynamics

Conflict dynamics can be defined as factors that instigate the escalation and de-escalation of conflict or resulting of interaction between the conflict profile, the actors, and causes (Galtung, 1996). In other words conflict is dynamic social process in which the original structure themselves are restructured. Therefore it is the possibility for conflict to increase, decrease and remain stable. The dynamics of conflict in the Horn have not been limited to within state borders or limited to state actors, but have drawn in non-state actors such as militias, rebel groups and armed bands, have proliferated in some of the countries, operating within and across borders, with violent conflict assuming cross-border and regional dimensions. This scenario is further complicated by the involvement of Diasporas, trans-territorial actors and the world’s established and emerging powers in the festering conflicts (Bereketeab, 2013).
Conflict escalation can be defined as an increase in the magnitude of disagreement, hostilities or violence. During the escalation time, tensions between the conflicting parties rise, leading more and more often to violence. The process escalation is complex and unpredictable. In the long run, the conflicting parties reach total open confrontation (Ramsbotham, 2011). On the other hand de-escalation sees the decrease in violence, with an eventual disengagement informed by the recognition of the others position. The de-escalation phase was hopefully close with a settlement or agreement (ibid). Understanding conflict dynamics would help to identify windows of opportunity, in particular through the use of scenario building, which aims to assess different possible developments and think through appropriate responses. Scenarios basically provide an assessment of what may happen next in a given context according to a specific timeframe, building on the analysis of conflict profile, causes and actors.
2.6. Inter-ethnic Conflicts in the Horn of Africa

In many societies, violent conflict is one of the major factors negatively affecting development. It diverts resource that could have been otherwise used productively; hence, it appears that there is a general agreement as to its undesirable nature. In order to resolve and, if possible, prevent violent conflict, it is imperative to understand the underlying motives behind it. The Horn of Africa provides a perfect instance of a conflict-ridden area and the major share of the violent conflicts. The region experiences conflicts that set states against states and communities against communities resulting in political turbulence and human tragedy (Bereketeab, 2013).

Inter-ethnic conflict is one dimension of intra-state conflict in Africa. Conflicts among inter-ethnic groups in the Horn of Africa are triggered by multiple ecological, economic, socio-cultural and political factors rather than single causes. The most frequent conflicts are linked to competition over common grazing land and water resources. The proliferation of small arms is another aggravating cause of violent conflict in the area. Conflicts can also be triggered by individual killings, seen as acts of heroism by some pastoralists’ communities, which can in turn stimulate ethnic conflicts (Yohannes & Zerihun, 2005). In general, conflict and ethnic tension, pastoral conflict, poverty, scarcity of resources, wide availability of small arms and armed group, political instability and the like are the characteristics of the horn region. All these are affects the stability and peace of the region.

2.7. Dynamics of Inter-ethnic Conflict in Ethiopia

Ethiopia is a multi-ethnic country where diverse people live together (Abeje, 2006). As a multi-ethnic country, it is not an exception to facing ethnic confrontations. In spite of differences in degree, extent, causes and actors of inter ethnic conflicts; Ethiopia has faced many inter-ethnic conflicts at different periods. Though ethnic differentiation in Ethiopia has been taken as one aspect of its cultural and historical assets, it seems, however, that the internal divisions are more of a curse than a blessing in its development process. Even if Ethiopia is a country with no colonial history, inter-ethnic conflicts are still intense and challenging (Bahru, 2008). Inter-ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia can be traced back to the formation of the modern Ethiopian state at the turn of the 19th century, incorporating different communal groups’ found at various levels of social and economic development through the use of both forceful subjugation and peaceful
persuasion(ibid). Those newly incorporated ethnic groups in the Ethiopian state were forced to abandon their former identities and entered the process of assimilation into the dominant culture and society by land measures. However, following the downfall of the Derge, the liberation groups formed transitional government, having an interim constitutional charter.

To address the long lived ethnic conflict and accommodate diversity, an ethnic form of federalism, and a new political paradigm should be introduced into the political scene of the country, specifically after the promulgation of the FDRE Constitution in August, 1995(Merera, 2000). By making this a historical land mark, Ethiopia witnessed transition from ‘ethnic dominating’ to ‘ethnic egalitarian’ system and the emergence of new ethnically based partisan groups. As a result of this, formerly anguished ethnic minorities in different parts of the country began to emerge in the country’s politics (ibid). However, there have been various inter-ethnic skirmishes and clashes here and there; when the former minorities trying to exercise their democratic rights and those, who enjoyed earlier, trying to uphold the status quo.

In nut shell, though the FDRE constitutions come up with ethnic federal formula to overcome the long lived inter-ethnic conflict with in the country, the fruit of the designed formula is not as such fruitful since the degree of conflict is still now exacerbating in different parts of the country (Abera, 2009). The pastoral and non-pastoral conflict and the like are some evidences for the recurrence of inter-ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia. Patterns of relationships between ethnic groups in Ethiopia have historically been experienced as both obliging and conflicting (Asnake, 2002). Since the 1990s, there have been conflicts between various pastoral communities. Some of the conflicts may be referred to as low intensity while others were more serious and troublesome. These tit-for-tat reactions between pastoral communities were not only occurring within state borders but also across the national borders of countries like Ethiopia and Kenya (Getachew, 2001).

The very motives of the inter-ethnic conflicts were mainly attributed to traditional competitions of ethnic groups over such common resources as water points or grazing land, social values, economic issues (cattle raiding), and some others like the need for local autonomy in the past decades (Buli,2001).Actors of the conflict were both communities and local governments. Conflict, therefore, is not a new event. Nevertheless, there is no consensus among scholars about
the alleged escalating trends of current inter-group conflicts in non-pastoral and pastoral areas of Ethiopia and other East African countries (Hussein, et al. 1999). Contrary to the above idea, some argue that current conflicts differ from the earlier ones in terms of frequency, intensity, causes and actors involved and their effects on the communities (Abera, 2009).

The dynamics of conflicts in Ethiopia may be analyzed in the light of past and ongoing complex process of political liberalization and ethnic federalism-based policies that have been taking place since the early 1990s. In line with this (Hagmann & Alemay 2008) argued that post-2017 administrative decentralizations are a major driving force in struggles over resources between trans-human herders in Ethiopia’s peripheral regions. The country witnessed a main departure in the arena of national politics since the early 1990s. Ethnic federalism was introduced as a political instrument to end the past conflict-ridden ethnic relations in the country (Asnake, 2009). However, the political changes aimed at rebuilding the Ethiopian state encountered sets of challenges and opportunities in the management of inter-ethnic conflict and tensions. Pastoral and non-pastoral communities were the most vulnerable groups in such inter-ethnic conflicts in lowland areas. Some previous studies suggest that violent inter-ethnic conflicts have been increasing in recent years. Pastoral communities in the lowland areas of Ethiopia face more threats to their mode of life and survival nowadays than earlier times. In the post-2017 period, several episodes of inter-ethnic tensions and conflicts over territorial issues have taken place between regional boundaries. As various studies conducted by different researchers revealed few of inter-ethnic conflicts between the Guji-Gedio (2007), Anuak-Nuer (2002), Gumuz-Berta (2009), Borena-Gerri (2013), Afar-Issa (2009&2013), Afar-Karrayu (2010), Wejerat -Afar (2012) and are some reflections of the current inter-ethnic conflicts.

Sometimes, local level inter-ethnic conflicts are often incited by local level ethnic entrepreneurs who aim at controlling the local state institutions (Alagaw, 2013). In some parts of Ethiopia the various inter-ethnic conflicts are accentuated or triggered by local elite’s manipulation of ethnic identity. Some of the above listed inter ethnic conflict driven by government elites for their own private interests. For instance, Guji and Gedeo conflict is closely related people in many ways with a significant bilingual population around the ethnic border. However, following the federal restructuring, the Gedeo elite dominated the local administration generating grievances on the part of the Guji elite. The latter called for a referendum to join a region populated by their
family. Contestation with the result of the referendum and the manner it was undertaken resulted in a call for further referendum that had caused further violence (Assebe, 2007). In other cases, the competition among elites to control local institutions generated large scale conflicts. The rivalry between the Anuwak and the Neur elites to control the regional government institutions in Gambella Regional State caused extensive inter-ethnic violence (Lubo, 2012). Similarly, the competition between the Gumuz and the Berta elites to dominate the regional administration in the Benishangul Gumuz regional state resulted in inter-ethnic clashes between the two groups (Asnake, 2009). Therefore, Local elites could also trigger inter-clan conflict because of their repression and discrimination against minority groups in their domain.

Instead in Ethiopia some conflicts are shaped and intensified by changes in administrative boundaries and inter-state wars. For instance pastoralist conflict Borana-Oromo and Garri -Somali shaped by conflicts between Somalia and Ethiopia and triggered by Competition for scarce natural resources droughts and demographic factors (Tigest, 2014). Some conflicts also caused by competition over scarce resources or in terms of resource scarcity. For instance the conflict between Afar Karrayu and Afar Issa is that explained on the quest for water and rangeland resources (Asnake, 2011&2013). The protracted nature of the conflict formerly caused by competition over scarce resources is exasperated by ethnic differences. Similarly the conflict between (Wejerat-Afar) initially starts by Competition over scarce natural resources, particularly land and land- related issues. These causes are gradually transformed into the question of land ownership in the border areas post-2017 which is a new trend of conflict in Federal Ethiopia (Alemu, 2013&Abrha, 2012). The cumulative effective of all these inter –ethnic conflict is in deaths of thousands of people and destruction of properties. The lowland areas are now marked by budding insecurity resulting from possessions of firearms by all the pastoral, non-pastoral, and farming communities.

However, various reasons are given for the escalation of inter-ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia despite the disagreement on their trends among scholars. Competition over scarce resources, diminishing land resources, institutional failure, bad governance, degradation of customary laws in managing resource-oriented conflicts and related issues, political marginalization, and dispersion of small arms throughout the pastoral areas are among those at the forefront. According to Tigist(2010) because of the very weak state presence in pastoral communities and government’s inability to
ensure security, they habitually arm themselves to prevent cattle rustling and armed attacks. Indeed, there is also competition for other natural resources like forests claimed by communities to be a source of conflict, nevertheless, the major cause of conflict competition over grazing and farming lands. Most importantly, it is claimed that the House of Federations, despite its constitutional mandate, is not on the right track to address border-oriented intergroup conflicts among/between regions.

Conflicts in the pastoral areas affect not only conflicting regions but also the wider communities in the regions. For instance, the common regional borders between Amhara, Afar, Oromia, and Somali regions have become a safe haven for banditry and movement of rebel groups because of the frequent inter-group conflicts along the border areas. This has a national implication beyond regions. It destabilizes relationships between neighboring administrative regions and ethnic communities, curbs steps forward and invites poverty. As the constituent of pastoralist and non-pastoralist setting that of Afar and Amhara communities also prone to such dilemma. The relationship of Afar and Amhara is marked by resource based conflict. However, the issue is not only competition overgrazing land then a claim to territory expansion which is a new trend of conflict in Federal Ethiopia that gradually transformed into the question of land ownership in the border areas between the Amhara and Afar region since-2017.

2.8. Conflict Management and Intervention Mechanisms

Conflict management refers to the limitation of 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 (Gololcha, 2015). 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 conflict. Conflict management as a concept and practice has long been recognized as an important strategy in dealing with conflict throughout human history (Tarekegn, 2008). The fact that Ethiopia is the home of more than 80 ethnic groups with their language, religion and other cultural identities living together, leads to the conclusion that conflict is inevitable as long as it is driven by the existence of incompatible goals (Abeje, 2006). Moreover, the diversity of the country also needs strong and functional conflict management institutions at all levels of the government structure. To have an understanding of how conflict management in Ethiopia operates, it is important to examine how responsible
bodies, practitioners and different actors who have direct involvement in conflict management understand conflict.

2.8.1. Formal conflict management institutions

Conflict management is a key concern that all organized communities and all have established rules to manage conflicts as well as institutions to enforce them. Governments at different levels have a power and capacity to manage conflict. It is the prime responsibility of governments to manage and resolve conflicts. To discharge this responsibility government establishes institutions to manage conflict at national and local level.

In Ethiopia the house of federation is the highest body to manage and resolve conflicts in the country (Weyesa, 2011). 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). Regarding dispute related to border and rights of nation, nationalities and peoples to self-determination the HoF gives decision based on the settlement patterns and interest of the peoples in all the disputed territories.

The other important institution in Ethiopia which involves in conflict management activities is the Minster of Federal Affairs (Dereje, 2010). The minister also involves in conflicts, which arise from border dispute and ethnic conflict. This institution involves in facilitating conflict resolution under two circumstances. The first is when regions fail to resolve their conflict within themselves. In this case the regional states request the intervention of the federal government and the request comes to the prime minister’s office (ibid).

When the intervention was approved the Minster of Federal Affairs involves in facilitating conflict resolution. In the second circumstance the MoF As involves in conflict resolution process without the request of the government of regional state. 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. (Gololcha, 2015).
2.8.2. The Role of Indigenous Conflict Management Institutions

Traditional conflict resolution mechanisms in Africa are generally closely bound with socio-political and economic realities of the lifestyles of the communities (Bukari, 2013). Tarekegn (2008) explains that the traditional conflict management mechanisms could help us to resolve conflicts, reduce tensions and rebuild social relations. These mechanisms are rooted in the culture and history of the African people, and are in one way or another unique to each community. As a part of African socio-political setting, the major conflict resolution mechanism among pastoral areas is also found to be through indigenous system (Rabar and Karimi, 2004).

In a country like Ethiopia that has a strong cultural heritage; traditional institution can play a significant role in conflict management and resolution in the communities. In most parts of Ethiopia, conflict is a inter-ethnic concern. Thus, it is very important to address, as well as to enhance the participation of all the communities. Different ethnic groups have institutionalized different practices to manage conflicts and then to create friendship relations among themselves and also outsider their community. For instance Taddese (2000) and Dejene (2007) discuss how Jaarsummaa and Gumaa played a great role in conflict management among the Oromo. On the other hand Kelemework (2011) and Bekele (2010) discuss that the role of Mad’aa institution in Afar. In the next section the study tries to discuss the traditional conflict resolution mechanism of Shimgelen.
2.8.3 Shimgeleña

Shimgeleña is the process of reconciliation between conflicting individuals or groups by a group of elders mostly used in Amhara culture (Mekuanent, 2015). The Shimgeleña as one of the customary conflict resolution institutions uses its legal rules given by the constitution and the revised family code. It resolves overall conflicts in line with the custom and the spiritual beliefs of the community, which persists over time. The Shimageles is an individual who know about the root causes of the conflicts and the backgrounds of the conflicting parties and respect the culture of the community (ibid).

The Amhara practiced shimgelena between their community and its neighboring ethnic groups the mandate of shimgelena is not only confined to serious cases. There are some minor inter-ethnic conflicts in which the shimgelena intervene. Minor cases often relate to disputes over the share resources between Afar pastoralists. In such circumstances, elders related to the disputants may avail to settle the dispute. They also intervene when such a dispute leads to physical offence. In the next section the study tries to discuss the traditional conflict resolution mechanism of Afar.

2.8.4 Ma’ada

The term Ma’ada, or rules, is used by the Afar for their traditional system of customary law. The Ma’ada identifies five different types of crimes.

- **Eido**(killings)
- **Aymissiya**(injury)
- **Rado**(theft, destruction of property)
- **Samo**(adultery)
- **Dafu**(insults, affronts)

The notions of collective responsibility and intentionality are perhaps the defining features of the Ma’ada and have a direct bearing on the workings of the traditional system of conflict resolution. In the Ma’ada system it is the clan that is held responsible for the deeds of its members. (Jamaluddin, 1973:2-4):
2.8.5 Classification of Mad'a

As Gemaluddin (1998:35) claimed, “there are five sultanates or in the numerous tribal chieftaincies, the Afar are administered by customary laws known as Ma’ada which are processed through litigation or law-suit known as Mablo.” The law court is called HARA the jury is called Makaban. The well-known Ma’ada are Burilimada (Burili’s code of laws), Budditobarih Ma’ada (Buddito’s son’s code of law) and the Debnek- We ’ima Ma’ada (Debnek –We ’ima’s code of law). Even though, the Afar straddle in different political borders as a result of traditional authorities have a significant influence even superior than the national rules and regulations. (Getachew 2008:68).

Source. (Usman M.A Thesis 2017)
CHAPTER THREE

3. Historical background of Afar and Amhara people

3.1 The Afar and Amhara during Imperial Era

During the imperial era, the lowland of Afar region, while enjoying close proximity and intensive socio-economic and political interactions with the neighboring Ethiopian state and communities, was never an integral component of the Ethiopian entity. Afar Sultanates, clan and sub-clan chiefs at different points in time intermittently engaged in conflict with or acknowledged the suzerainty of the Abyssinian Emperors. However, the trade routes through the Afar region grew in importance as the centre of gravity of the Ethiopian state shifted south from Axum in Tigray to Addis Ababa in the Shewa region.

The Afar region was home to a succession of states that proved to be more than competent competitors with the Ethiopian Empire. These included the Sultanate of Ifat based in Zeila from the late 13th to the early 15th century, Adal (early 15th to mid-16th century) and finally the Sultanate of Aussa founded in the late 16th century after a split in the ruling elite of the Adal Sultanate based in Harar (Trimingham, 1952:260-265). The final decades of the 19th century CE saw the Afar region becoming a key area of competition between the Turko-Egyptian and European colonial powers on the one hand and a reinvigorated Ethiopian Empire on the other. During this period, the Afar-inhabited Danakil section of the Eritrean coast came under Italian rule, while the Gulf of Tadjoura came under French control. Emperor Yohannes IV of Ethiopia also began enforcing tribute payments and acknowledgement of Ethiopia suzerainty from Afar lineages and sultanates bordering the Ethiopian provinces of Tigray and Wollo (Gamaluddin and Hashim, 2007:416-419).

It should be stated that Ethiopian control of the Afar regions was weak at the best of times and nonexistent at others. During much of the imperial era Ethiopian rule consisted mainly of intermittent raids by the Emperor or feudal lords from the highland provinces to exact tribute or more specifically to loot Afar communities. This state of affairs continued until the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. The aftermath of liberation from Italian occupation in 1941 led to a transformation in the relations between the Afar and the Ethiopian state. Upon his return from
exile, the Emperor set about centralizing the Ethiopian state. In 1944, there was an armed
expedition by the imperial government that brought down the previous Sultan, Muhammad Yao
of Awsa, who had proved obdurate in acknowledging the authority of the central government
and had openly sided with the Italian regime. Thus Ali-Mirah Hanfere, from another faction of
the Aydahiso ruling lineage, was elevated to the position of Sultan (Trimingham, 1952:170-173).

This coup was by far the most profound intervention that the Ethiopian state attempted in the
region. By and large, central control and authority over the Afar people remained loose and the
imperial regime had to resign itself to governing the area through intermediaries.

Thus Ali-Mirah, who was recognized as the overarching imperial appointee over the Afar clans
and sub-clans especially in the south, became subordinate to the Sultan. Another important
development was the federation of Ethiopia and Eritrea in 1952. This along with the later
Ethiopian-Eritrean union in 1962 meant that the vast majority of Afar was now under Ethiopian
rule. They were divided between the provinces of Eritrea, Tigray, Wollo, Shewa and Hararghe.

In the 1960s, Somali irredentism coupled with the escalation of the war in Eritrea made control
and stability in the Afar region strategically more critical for Addis Ababa. The growing
economic importance of cotton plantations in the Afar inhabited Awash valley, and expanding
investment by the Ethiopian government and foreign capital in these plantations, further
underlined the importance of the Afar region in economic terms. It was during this period that
the imperial regime institutionalized the practice of conferring titles and stipends on clan and
sub-clan chiefs in the Afar region.

3.2 The Afar region during the civil war period, 1975-1991

The pre-eminence of southern clans, with a long history of contact with the Ethiopian state in the
structures of the Sultanate, meant that unlike other peripheral groups like the Somali and the
Oromo, the Afar were one of the last groups to openly challenge the Ethiopian state (Gamaledin,
1993:45). Large areas of the Awash Basin were expropriated for cotton plantations by the
Ethiopian state, but the Sultan and his family benefited from some of these schemes as pseudo-
landlords, thus criticism was muted (Ali, 1998:110).
The 1974 Wollo famine and the subsequent army-led coup had an immense impact on the Afar people and region. The 1974 revolution led to the rise to power of the Derg. In the aftermath of the revolution, the decree nationalizing all rural lands directly affected the economic and commercial interests of the Sultan and led to resistance. The nationalization of communal lands proved to be decisive and the Afar Liberation Front (ALF) was formed by Sultan Ali-Mirah in 1976. The ALF initiated a low intensity guerrilla war in the region which posed a threat to traffic along the Addis Ababa-Djibouti railway line and road traffic leading to Djibouti, but had a limited political impact beyond this. An alternative vehicle for the mobilization of opposition was established just before the collapse of the imperial regime, when a group of educated leftist Afar studying overseas set up the Afar National Liberation Movement (ANLM). The ANLM had close links to the Eritrean rebels of the Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF), who were fighting for the independence of Eritrea. In spite of these early links, the ANLM later formed an alliance with the Derg, based on promises of autonomy to a region that would incorporate all the Afar people. The alliance between the ANLM and the Derg led to the formation of an Afar militia termed the Ugugumo, which functioned as an important auxiliary of the Derg in its war with the EPLF in Eritrea and the TPLF in Tigray. By 1980, these two had emerged as the strongest and most viable opposition to the junta. It was the escalation of the war into the southern Raya, Azebo and Wajerat areas of southern Tigray that led to the initial contacts between the EPRDF and the Afar (Young, 1997:147-149). The TPLF formed a tactical alliance with the ALF and even mounted joint military operations with the ALF against the armed forces of the Derg (Young, 1997:150). The strategic decision by the TPLF not to launch offensive attacks against the Ugugumo, even when the militia continued to harass and attack TPLF controlled areas and units, went a long way to forging bonds between the Afar and the TPLF. These measures allowed the TPLF to generate a level of support and tolerance from the Afar in Tigray. Due to the multiple conflicts it was engaged in throughout the country,

The Derg was unable to substantially transform the relationship between the central state and the Afar. The first real attempt to alter this relationship took place in 1987 with the formal proclamation of the formation of the PDRE (People’s Democratic Republic of Ethiopia) and the promulgation of a new constitution. It led to changes in the structure of power in the country with the Derg transforming into the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE). With hindsight, the 1987 constitution was a long overdue response to the nationalities question and promises of self-
determination that had been a central demand of the regionalist and ethno-nationalist movements in the aftermath of the 1974 revolution. The PDRE constitution created an administrative structure of regions with five enjoying the status of autonomous regions. Specifically, the constitution created an Afar autonomous region carved out of Afar areas in Eritrea, Tigray and Wollo. In spite of cartographic changes the regime was reluctant to devolve substantial powers to these regions. More concretely, due to the military situation on the ground at the time, the changes were never truly implemented by the embattled regime and less than three years later, in May 1991, the junta was overthrown by the combined efforts of the EPLF and the TPLF dominated EPRDF.

3.3 The Afar Region in the Post-conflict Era

Afar people and region were to undergo a fundamental transformation in terms of their relationship with the Ethiopian state. The fall of the Derg ushered in the arrival of the EPLF and the de facto independence of Eritrea, which effectively meant the separation of the Afar in Eritrea from their Afar kin in Ethiopia. This process was formalized with the independence of Eritrea in 1993. The overthrow of the Derg also saw the return from exile of Sultan Ali-Mirah and the ALF. Shortly afterwards there was the establishment of a federal system based on ethno-linguistic criteria, which included the emergence of an Afar regional state (Akmel, 2006:76-77). On 8 December 1991, Sultan Ali-Mirah’s son, Habib Ali-Mirah, was elected as President of the region by the Regional Council. The 1995 constitution formally established a federal republic based on nine regional states and two federal territories and institutionalized the administrative and political structure of the state. The constitution provided a broad range of executive, legislative and judicial powers to the regional states (FDRE Constitution, Article 52).

However, the relations between the ALF and the ruling party at the centre were far from smooth and tensions led to the emergence of a rift between the ALF and the TPLF-dominated EPRDF. Allegations of corruption and inefficiency on the part of the ALF-dominated regional government, along with the preeminent position given to the southern Afar and their region, in terms of regional positions and development spending, only served to heighten tensions. Thus, it was not surprising that soon after the overthrow of the Derge the EPRDF set about creating a surrogate Afar movement, the Afar Peoples Democratic Organization (APDO). Many Afar at the
time saw the APDO as a TPLF creation since the party gained its support from Afar clans which were part of the historic province of Tigray. However, the APDO went on to gain control over the region in the 1995 elections which saw the ALF fragment due to disputes between the Sultan and his sons. The situation was also further complicated by the low level insurgency which was still being waged by the *Ugugumo*. Overtime, however, the central government was successful in stabilizing conditions in the ANRS. The low level insurgency waged by the *Ugugumo* dissipated and the party competition between different sections of the Afar elite became a thing of the past with the establishment of the Afar National Democratic Party (ANDP) which has controlled the region since 2000. In this context, it is important to point out that the federal system, and the devolution of power that it entailed, created a space which allowed traditional institutions and the traditional system of conflict resolution to be reinvigorated in the ANRS. Over time, both the federal government and the regional administration of the ANRS acknowledged the contributions of the traditional institutions and their role in conflict resolution and management in the region.
CHAPTER FOUR
4. DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

This chapter mainly focuses on analysis of the dynamics of the conflict between Afar and Amhara community and the Root Causes of the conflict and significant role of primary and secondary actors in the conflict. Moreover, Consequence of the conflict situation are issues of the chapter. This chapter also focuses on the history and nature of conflict and finally, it tries to address the outcome of the conflict and peace efforts which were taken by the concerned body this part also attempt to made to fully depend on primary sources but where there exists lack of primary data; gaps filled by secondary sources. The information about the research participants’ general background is attached in the appendix part and informant name in the analysis part place by codes.

4.1. The Nature and Dynamics of Afar-Amhara Conflict

Historically and in the present day, competition over access to resources, cattle raiding and cultural practices have played a significant role in fuelling the Afar-Amhara conflicts. The nature of the conflicts between these two groups has also been shaped by environmental degradation and political dynamics most notably, changes in administrative boundaries that resulted from regime changes in post 2017. The following section is mainly emphasis on the nature and dynamics of Afar-Amhara conflict in pre 2017 and post 2017 period.

4.1.1. The Pre-2017 Period

The pastoralists of Afar and agro pastoralist of Amhara have had a long history of relationship marked by friendly coexistence and occasional conflict. They have shared symbiotic relationships in the spheres of utilization of grazing resources and other social functions since long time in the past. When we look the relationship of Amhara and Afar in the past, the two communal groups have smooth market interaction, strong alliances in fighting their common enemies and mutual utilization of their resources (AFGDP-10, April 2018).
Similarly, other informant from Amhara stated their historical relationship as follows:

We [Amhara and Afar] were allies even in fighting against others, for instance, our area were densely stuffed with forests. This forest was fortified by warrior or bandits and used to kill the peoples and looted our properties like cattle. But we have had strong alignment with Afar and fought with warrior (shifta)(AMKII-10, April 2018).

Beside this, the Amhara and Afar mutually utilize water and grazing lands even in some occasions the Amhara used to live with the Afar territory in places like Gararo, Jara and Kontolla. The other most important type of linkage was market. The Afar used to exchange market commodities in Bati town. Likewise, the Amhara made the same in Chifra or Kallowan (AFGDP-22, April 2017). The finding also revealed that the two groups have co-existed peacefully and shared resources inside one another’s territory even though there existed occasional conflict.

The Afar–Amhara conflict is as old as the relations of the two groups. Regarding the actual time and history of conflict between Afar and Amhara, there is no well-known and specific time indicating their conflict. However, as the data collected from informants reveals the conflict between the two Inter-ethnic groups traced back to the time of Italian occupation. But the conflict between these groups during that time was mainly had cultural elements and competition over resources like grazing land and water. As the informants described beyond resource related factors, traditional cultural practices or the act of killing of Afar toward other groups are also the responsible factors for the occurrence of conflict between the two ethnic groups. In the earlier times, inter-ethnic conflict between Afar and Amhara were related with cultural practices, and competition over scarce resource and cattle raiding were common.
4.1.2. The Post-2017 Period

The nature and dynamics of the Afar–Amhara conflict in the post 2017 period are changed. This is primarily related with the restructuring of Ethiopia in to ethno national federalism. In line with this, Lubo (2012) argued that the current intra-ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia can be categorized as ethno-nationalist conflicts that emerge due to ethnically based federalism and it is a conflict over land and water resources. Moreover, Muhabe (2015) explained that Even though, ethnic federalism in Ethiopia leads to the recognition of the cultural and linguistic rights of ethnic groups, conflict between different ethnic groups are provoked. Likewise, Abbink (2006) argued that the federal system was partly introduced to address ethnic issues, yet it also seems to be at the root cause of conflicts in some areas, particularly those relating to disputes over land ownership and livestock raiding on the border areas between different administrative areas.

The informants from both groups outlined that before the EPRDF came to power both the Amhara and Afar were under the same administrative province in Wollo awrajja- then Chifra woreda. However, the new ethnic based territorial restructuring put in place by the EPRDF regime split this province in to two ethno regional states of Afar and Amhara. The informants from both groups discussed the Conflicts between Afar and Amhara have existed in different forms for centuries and are not new phenomena but the current conflict differ from the earlier one in terms of its frequency, intensity, causes and actors involved and their effects on the community.

Alagaw (2013) explained that imperfect State policies designed for administrative purpose, at times, generate conflicts. He stated that boundaries were artificially drawn and redrawn by policy makers and thereby exacerbates ethnic tension. This has been intensified especially after the adoption of ethnic federalism in1991 (Asnake, 2009). as many of the informants confirmed, from the time when the adoption of a new more ethnically-based federal structure, new issues included which leads to the emergence of a local ethnically-based elite and claims over land ownership rather than resource use rights. According to the informants the claim of territorial expansion or unclear demarcation of boundary is triggering factor for the conflict between the two groups specifically since 2017.
Above all, the conflicts have intensified and changed over the last decades due to a range of factors including environmental degradation and changes in the federal structure of Ethiopia. Unlike the past, the current conflict not only the result of cultural practice of individual killing, cattle raiding and grazing land but also related with ethnic based federalism. In general, the post 2017 Afar and Amhara inter-ethnic relation can be viewed as peaceful at one time and conflictual on another time.

4.2. The Dynamics of Afar–Amhara Conflict

Conflict dynamics can be defined as factors that instigate the escalation and de-escalation of conflict (Galtung, 1997). It is the possibility of conflict to increase, decrease and remain stable. The first objective of this research is to investigate the dynamics of inter-ethnic conflict between Afar and Amhara communities. In line with this objective, the finding of the study shows the nature of conflicts between the two groups is changed to a serious level and escalated. The escalation of Conflict is increase in the magnitude of disagreement, hostilities or violence. The informants confirm that in the earlier days conflict was less frequent and had never been beyond the capacity of indigenous mechanisms. But, currently, conflict has becomes a day-to-day affair. According to the Afar and Amhara elders, there were also unfamiliar events never seen before 2017. In line with this the informant from Afar says that:

_We can say that the conflict between us (Afar and Amhara) has started forty and fifty years ago, however, nowadays the situation is entirely different from the past. The frequency and magnitude of conflicts have increased. The causes and actors involved have become more complex. In the past, there were fewer conflicts, partly because droughts and competition on grazing land and were less frequent. The level of destruction was also minimal as traditional weapons were used (AfII-26, April 2018)._
In addition, the dynamics of conflict explained by its frequency. Regarding the intensity of the conflict my informants from Amhara said that:

*In the past, the conflict started in the morning and continued up to 7 o’clock even sustained until the evening and we perceives that no alive all are passed away especially from Afar said peace and security office head was died. But currently especially beginning from 1997EC, the conflict would continue up to one month’s even lasts up to three months. Both groups fight until three days by establishing peace. Currently within six months two times get into conflict and continued up to five days and supported by different modern technologies guns (AMKII-2, May 2018).*

Thus, the conflict is being escalating from time to time due to the involvements of several actors, complex causes and profile of conflict.

**4.3. The Root Causes of Afar-Amhara conflict**

It is white and black that conflict has no one single and simple causes rather the cause of conflict is very complicated and intertwined. Likewise, there are multiple causes that are responsible for the escalation of Afar-Amhara conflict like ecological, economic, socio-cultural and political factors. As regards to the causes of inter-ethnic conflicts in the study area, structural theories of conflicts are selected. This is because the theory denotes economic, political, socio-cultural issues that trigger the conflict. The cause of the conflict in the study area can be classified as structural and triggers cause based on the degree of their contribution to the recurrence as well as intensity of conflict. Structural causes of conflict are pervasive factors that have become built into the policies, structures and fabric of a society and may create the pre-condition for violent conflict. Trigger cause are single key acts, events, or the anticipation that will set off or escalate violent conflict.
4.3.1. Structural causes

4.3.1.1. Economic factors

Competition over scarce resources

Competition over scarce resources relates to access to grazing pasture and water points. This has been caused by the degradation and reduced carrying capacity of the rangelands combined with continued overgrazing by large cattle herds (Ayalew, 2001). Accordingly, the relationship of Amhara and Afar is marked by resource based conflict. The Amhara who practice agro pastoralist get involved in confrontation with Afar herdsman as a result of competition over declining natural forage and water for their cattle. One of the informants from Afar said that:

_We Afar are pastoralists travel from place to place. We travel to the territory of Amhara to search grazing land to our cattle. In the past time when we want to graze our cattle on the land of Amhara, we have to ask permission from the owner of the land (Balabat). After getting permission we pay for grazing. If we can’t pay, we can’t graze our cattle. When our cattle probably or by any coincidence enter into their grazing land in the absence of permission from them, they will take the cattle. In order to return back our cattle, we entered in to fighting with them_ (AFKII-4, May 2018).

The research conducted by Ayalew (2001) also consolidates the aforementioned idea. He argued that during 1960’s resource scarcity coupled with the development program of the state exacerbated the conflict between Afar and their neighbors by bringing decline of pastoral resources.

As the livelihoods of pastoralists and agro-pastoralists depend on key resources such as land, water, forests, minerals, wildlife, livestock and pasture, the environment poses particular challenges to their survival and these resources are shrinking from year to year, intensifying competition over resources and causing violent conflict between groups (Tigist, 2014). Similarly, both groups confirmed that access to grazing land is the main cause of conflict especially during droughts and dry seasons when the nutritional conditions of livestock are generally grave between the Amhara and Afar. FGD participants of both Afar and Amhara also explained that
the Jarra rangelands (Edo, Haya, LediRoba, HarroHuba and HarroArba) found in the east of the Kontolla which is border of the two regions, where both groups graze their livestock are the main areas of confrontation involving cattle raiding, personal injuries and loss of lives.

As the Afar informant claim, the Chifra rangelands are the grazing sites particularly the Afar during dry as well as rainy season. They also claim that there were displaced from their village on border around chifra woreda so called kebele government project due to repeated encroachments into the area by the Amhara. Another site of conflict between Afar and Amhara is the area of pasture. Concerning how grazing land is the causes of the conflict, the two communities blame each other. An informant from Afar says:

>We pastoralist need large land for grazing when we graze and finished one place, we shift into another place. But when we return back the place that we leave first, we found that the Amhara arrived and deforest and make it farm land. However, we ask them to leave the land but they weren’t willing to leave the land finally we start conflict (AFKII-7, May 2018).

On the other hand the Amhara informants stated that” Afar’s have the habit of use wide land for grazing. They spread their cattle into our farm land and damage our crop that is why we start conflict” (AMKII-8, May 2018).

From the above statement the researcher understand that conflict on the study area caused by not only competition over grazing land and water but also the results from different way of life. As both Afar and Amhara FGD participants point out, Competition over scarce resource on the study area explained not only grazing land and water but also over farmland and forest for charcoal production and construction. However, the nature of the conflicts has changed over the last decades. Grazing land was decreased as a result of many internal and external factors, including the expansion of cultivation, settlements, national development issues, and human and animal population growth. There is no doubt that all these factors intensified competition over pasture and water in the study area among the pastoralists and agro pastoralists. Therefore it results frequent armed conflicts between the two ethnic groups.
4.3.1.2. Political factors

Conflict along Political Border of Afar and Amhara Regional States

The conflicts between the Afar and Amhara have been intensified and shaped by changes in administrative boundaries. The border line between the Afar and Amhara is not yet clearly demarcated. Such unclear demarcation of boundary has triggered conflict between these two groups and complicated resource use. Moreover, from the researcher field experience and observation the Afar and Amhara land is demarked by artificial boundary. The plain divides the grazing land into two. In fact, this demarcation was effectively functional when it comes to managing pasture as common and reserved resource.

However, in post-2017, based on regional demarcation by EPRDF, both groups claim that the grazing land which are demarcated by plain are their owns lands. The Amhara informants argue that the pastoral way of life is characterized by mobility from one place to another in time of scarcity. They stayed in one place for some time even if the area is not part of their respective territory. Thus, the Afar on the pretext of the principle of effective control over a certain territory, strive to claim and control the area that they lived in for a short time as permanently their own. In the name of temporary residence in some sites for some months, they explode a conflict that ultimately causes boundary dispute.

As Afar and Amhara key informants asserted, Conflict has been a reality for many years ago by different causes but the question of territorial expansion related with unclear demarcation of boundary is one of the triggers factors of conflict since 2017. In this connection, my informant from Afar says:

*Conflict has been common since the imperial period, and we were in conflict when we live in even in Chifra before 2017 by cattle raiding and culture. But in the post 2017, the issue of border and territorial expansion becomes another factor that exacerbates the conflict. When boundaries are demarcated based on artificial. So now we are in the border region of Amhara. Before 2017 the current regional border was Jarra Kebele. When we inter in to Amhara region we integrated in to our previous kebele* (AFKII-10, May 2018).
On the other hand the participants of Afar on Focus Group Discussion at Chifra claim that even some of their localities have been renamed by the Amhara with the intension of controlling and retaining them as their own territory. According to the informants, some of the places which were under the control of Amhara are renamed

One informant from Amhara confirms that the issue is not only competition overgrazing land but a claim to territory expansion especially post 2017. Therefore, the desire for territorial expansion and seizure has been the principal factor behind the problem between Afar and Amhara conflict. From the above views of the two groups, the researcher understands that the presence of unclear demarcation of boundary between the two regions is fertile ground for existence of conflict. Thus, there was a feeling by both communities that a dispute is inevitable unless a clear demarcation is made to separate the two regions. As many of the key informants declared, in the name of ethnic difference some parties mobilize the groups in to conflict which were not issues of conflict before.

In the study area there are different facts which testify that the conflict is exacerbating by territorial expansion and the claim of land ownership. The key informant from Afar reveals that:

*For instance, Jarra was formerly our place but now settled by Amhara. We asked the concerned body from local to federal to return our land but they failed to return our claim but we did not agreed since we believe that land belongs to the people. Till, continuing our claim and conflict until this place is returned for us. Because the Amhara would continue taking another traditional places which is important for us* (AFKII-6, March 2017).

In the west, along the escarpment, the Afar, Amhara and Oromo agro-pastoralists live together in peace with traditional sporadic disputes arising from customary practice and/or over access to resources. The traditional conflict between Amhara and Afar can be traced back to the historical movement and settlement patterns of people. According to the local discourse within the Amhara as well as the Afar side, it’s believed that due to successive pressure from the Oromo and Somalis, Afars in their turn moved to westward and occupied the Amhara homelands. Afars have an oral tradition that describes the incident happened on seventeenth century.
According to the Afar elders in Chifra area, there was a heavy armed confrontation conducted at a place called Hado in which the Chifra leader, Zaynu Arba waged a war against the Amharas in Jara who looted cattle from the Afar and amongst them the most beloved cattle of Zaynu named as Denenti was also taken. After month-long fight, Zaynu was succeeded to get hold of Denenti back however the Amharas’ reinforcement force marched from Burka and Andarkalo conducted a massive attack against the Afar’s army that ended with the death of the leader of Afars of Chifra, Zaynu Arba, in the battle. Apart from the early population mass movements, the infrequent conflict between the Amhara and Afar ethnic groups are sometimes aroused from cultural practices.

Kabbede and Shimalis (2002) affirmed that “there were sporadic conflicts of Afars and their neighbors (Amharas) in zone 1,4 and 5. The causes of the conflicts are not over resources. They are rather on cultural practices (a person to get fame among his ethic group if he kills a person that is from another ethnic group) as it was reported by the elders.” Resolution of such type of conflict is managed by the elders of both contesting groups. Shimlina is a traditional conflict resolution institution functional for areas bordering the Afar and Amhara people. the frequency, magnitude and characteristics of the conflict between both communities seems escalating as a result of frequent armed disputes due to territorial claims. Nowadays, during shortage of pasture in their respective areas, trying to move into the neighboring grazing sites would automatically lead to deadliest fight.

The contesting areas among the Afar and Amhara are well defined. Under the current regional administration structure, the four out of ten zones of Amhara region bordering three out of five zonal administrations of the Afar region. Meanwhile, out of the Amhara five Woredas, two are part of Oromia zone within Amhara region, which predominantly inhabited by Oromo people. According to the study report presented by the joint Amhara and Afar expertise group, the contesting areas are pieces of agricultural lands and residential areas. Some arguments are evolving as result of shortage to resources while some cases are becoming contesting factors due to claiming historical ownership of places. For instance, Hudade irrigation area claimed by Andar kalo kebele in Amhara region and Aware and Aredo kebele in Telalak Wereda in Zone five of Afar region, Oromos (incorporate in Amhara region) need the land for agriculture and Afars argue on their historical right and demands the land for grazing.
Overall, apart from being regarded as a hero within one’s own society, competition to show ethnic supremacy, revenge for lost lives and properties, wealth accumulation and the post federalism elite’s manipulation to expand an administrative territory of each region are major factors that aggravate the conflict between the two neighborhood people. Some cases may need the involvement of governments at any level in parallel to the traditional system. For example, in Oromia Zone, Bati Woreda special zone of the Oromia side and the Zone one of Mille Woreda of the Afar region contested in one kebele that the Amharas called it Chachatu and Burka kebele while the Afar called it Jelgu and Burka From the Afar region Habib Mohammed Yayyo, Yassin Yayyo Mohammed and Omar Mohammed Yussuf are the contributors while from the Amhara region Eshete Tesfaye, Berhan Abebe and Kefle Esubalew are participated in the study undertaken on March 2017kebele and they both regional flags are flown and both Woreda have official stamp. The area was burnt twice between the years 2010 and 2011. Moreover, in accordance to the expertise group findings, within the eight years from 2003 to 2010, there is a police report of deaths as follows: 9 deaths in Kewot Wereda, 7 in Jille Timuga, 4 in Bati, 15 in kalluwan and 6 in Chifra. Generally, the conflict between the Afar and Amhara ethnic groups are involving new actors in post federalism structure in Ethiopia that in turn sophisticate the conflict and enhance the severity and magnitude of damages incur.

From this, it is possible to conclude that since2017E.C political change and the new regional arrangement in the country which resulted in the ethnic groups to have their own regional administration not only aggravated the already existing conflict over resources but also reshaped the conflict in terms of territorial claim. As the result of a border dispute between the Afar and Amhara post 2017, the two communities have lived under constant threat of conflict.

Absence of good governance

Conflict also arises from absence of good governance problems. Brosché (2015) argue that Inter-ethnic conflicts are more likely to be prevalent when rules do not reflect local conditions and when local actors are unable to influence decisions. According to the informants from both groups, there is a gap between the official implementation of the law before and after the problem has happened. This indicates there a gap between leaders of the districts to implement the law. One of the Afar elders stated:
Killing a person is a big crime. I have been working more than 10 years as traditional leader. I didn’t see even the Amhara punished for whatever they kill or steal. But when an Afar cattle is taken by Amhara and when we ask to take our cattle they asked us to pay. Even without any reason there is someone who is punished in entire life in prison (AfKII-15, May 2018).

The informants also discussed that the two Woreda leaders and even police are among others for mismanagement and mal governance system. One of my key informants from Amhara said that “Once upon the time; I caught a thief and jailed him. But when I return into my home I met him released from the prison.” (AKII-18, May 2018).

Thus, weak law enforcement and justice system as well as frequent homicides with impunity of offenders are the dominant features that cause and aggravate violent conflict. As many of my key informants revealed that the local government institutions of Woreda and Zone are weak in giving a fast response to inter-personal clashes before escalating in to inter-group conflict. There is a lack of timely intervention and resolution by the federal government due to the absence of commitment and in-depth knowledge. The other factor which contributes to the conflict is lack of functional government structure at local and regional level. The informants argued that there are well organized government structure but the staffs are unable to offer effective means for the peaceful handing of such deep rooted conflicts. As a result, the relatively well structured local government has failed to function and manage in the area of conflict management due to the absence of coordination and cooperation from the parallel local government.
4.3.1.3. Socio-cultural factors

Difference in life style

The presence of similarity or difference of life style provides a wider chance for the increase of conflicts. In this regard, one informant from Amhara working as expert in peace building, argued having different way of life as causes of conflict in the following manner:

*When you go to any part of the country if your neighbor is pastoralist you may get into conflict. The current conflict is not only between Afar and Amhara or one of Afar also stated that we also have difference in life style this life difference exxacegurte conflict between us. For instance having life difference of pastoralist and agro-pastoralist and we have another Amhara neighbor around Bati Woreda they are pastoralist. But we didn’t get into conflict with them because we have similar life style (WGOI-29, May 2018).*

Thus, the presence of difference way of life is also another triggering factor for the conflict between Afar and Amhara.

4.3.2.3 Drought

In many pastoral areas drought occurs on a regular basis due to climate change and environmental degradation (Tigest, 2014). Pastoralist way of life is characterized by mobility in drought period to search for better pasture for their cattle. In line with this, Abrha (2012) elucidate that Seasonal movement to regular pasturing areas is logical for pastoral groups in Ethiopia to practice some form of transhumance. According to the Afar and Amhata informants, the search for pastoral land and water has become more difficult as extreme weather has reduced their availability, and moving into new areas in search of these resources often aggravates conflict. Most of the informants from the Amhara side confirm that violent conflicts usually occur during dry season but are slightly less frequent in the rainy season. One Woreda government informant stated, the Afar and Amhara inter-ethnic conflict is partly caused by competition over land resource like forest and farmland. The same informant stated the area is vulnerable to environmental scarcity and shortage of rainfall for three years and they also affected by locust. As a result, due to such environmental scarcity and difference way of life Afar and Amhara compete over control of land resource forest and farmland to do charcoal
production. Moreover, the population pressure speed up the competition over the land resource that led to conflict between the two groups. Nevertheless, there is clear evidence from the perspectives of informants on both sides that violent conflict arises even in rainy season as much as it does in the dry season. Accordingly, though the explicit cause of conflict seems to be drought, the implicit on is related to territory claim.

4.4. Actors and their interest

The escalation and de-escalation of conflict is not something that emanate from the vacuum rather there are several actors involved in the conflict directly or indirectly. Thus, the possibility of conflict escalation depends on the way the parties involved react in response to others. Hence, the identification of the actors engaged in the conflict is the crucial task of conflict analysis and helps to apprehend the conflict in more depth. An actor can be an individual, group, or an institution. These actors contribute to conflict are affected by it in positive or negative ways, and engage in dealing with it. Actors in conflict thus include perpetrators and victims, as well as interveners (UNITIR, n.d). Conflicts are obviously activated and started by the certain individuals and groups. Here in this study the researcher have tried to categorize actors into two who directly engage and indirectly play shadow role by facilitating inputs for conflicts. Primary actors are those who involve into a conflict directly whereas secondary actors are those whose involvement may not be observable but who undeniably have some stake in the conflict (ibid).

Primary actors: The Afar and Amhara informants confirms that in the study areas primary actors are those the local ethnic groups of Afar and Amhara most notably youth, adult men, and cattle keeper who are openly engaged in various conflicts who are at the same time direct victims of the conflicts and their day to day life relies on the use and protection of grazing lands and water. In the Afar-Amhara conflict, every capable youth and adult men most frequently dominate the conflict and hence they are frontline actors in the conflict. As the participants of FGD from both group identified the motives behind the participation of youth and adults in the conflict include wish to help their community members and wanted to enhance economic opportunity through conflict. The other actors are Cattle/camel keeper mostly they are affected by the conflict. The informants from both groups confirm that the mortality number of cattle keepers is more than that of the other people whether in culture or intentional killing.
In the Afar-Amhara inter-ethnic conflict, women were one of the actors that play a key role in stimulating the conflict. However, they did not directly involve in the conflict. Women are not only victims of the conflict but also actors that can influence their husbands and act as facilitator of conflict. Both Afar and Amhara FGD participants confirm that women’s play major roles as an actor in the conflict through preparing food, encourage their husbands and sons, help victims, disseminate messages about the conflict around villages and take care of their children and property.

Secondary actors: are political elite who play a role by aggravating, encouraging and ideally supporting of the action through calculating their objectives. Informants from both groups in the study areas said, the contributions of local leaders and elites especially in post 2017 conflict is more significant. In the context of Afar-Amhara inter-ethnic conflict, political elites are those government officials in different levels such as Kebele, Woreda and Zone. As some key informants indicated, Woreda and Kebele government officials played their hidden role in the conflict. The data obtained from FGD participants and Key informants confirmed the local government officials get involved indirectly in to the conflict. The local leaders and elites may play roles in aggravating the conflict by supporting the other side of the conflict, due to their inability to give immediate solutions to conflicts and some cases being causes of conflicts. In line with this one Woreda informant from Amhara stated that:

*The actors involved in the conflict have become more complex. From 2009-2010 E.C there was serious conflict between us. Specifically in 2010 E.C when the country celebrates its nation and nationality day, we were in conflict situation which lasted up to eleven days. The conflict was started in the morning and continued up to night by preparing ground. It was group conflict. The conflict was not only between Afar and Amhara but the local, Woreda and zone leader from both group and even federal police were participated. In the past, when the conflict happens in one Kebele, it should be solved by the community elder. But now the conflict that happen in one Kebele simply spreads in to other five or six kebele which then changed in to group conflict (WGOI-30, May, 2018).*

The informant also demonstrates that during the course of the conflicts, the local government officials from both sides are played the adverse role in intensifying the problem. The officials
mobilized their respective communities by supplying arms and ammunitions and even by utilizing relief grain for the very purpose. They also stated members of the police and security forces in the two woreda took part in fighting on the side of their respective groups, putting ethnic allegiance and loyalty before the rule of law. Local militia mobilized the local communities along ethnic lines in the name of defending regional state boundaries. Moreover, various rebel groups operating in the area as well as local elites have had their influence in the intensification of the conflict, especially in relation to the question of border.

4.5.1 Impacts of the conflict

After having analyzed the dynamics of the conflict, actors of conflict, causes and aggravating factors the following section discusses the impact of the conflict. As the data collected from the research participants revealed, the impact of Inter-ethnic conflict broadly explained in economic, social, psychological ways.

4.5.2 Economic Impacts

The Afar and Amhara official informant confirmed that the inter-ethnic conflict between the two groups damaged the economic resources of the area. A number of individual properties were looted and damaged by the conflict. However, there is no exact data on the number of properties looted, damaged and burned from both group. In addition, many of key informants and FGD participants underlined that the Afar-Amhara conflict affected the economic activities (such as agriculture and trade) of the study area. In general, as confirmed by both Afar and Amhara informants, due to the conflict a large part of prime grazing land together with essential pasture and water points are deserted. This has aggravated the scarcity of pasture and water as well as overgrazing in other areas. The result is environmental degradation and infestation of parasites causing animal diseases. In addition, many families have been displaced. The flow of displaced people has contributed to the destruction of the already fragile environment. It has become a question of survival for the displaced to cut and burn trees for firewood.
4.5.3 Social Impacts

In consequence, the weakness of security institutions has led to an increase in individual crimes like homicide, lootings, damages etc. that further lead in to group conflict. According to the zone report on Afar-Amhara conflict, loss of human life was the first of all social impacts in the study area. Even though, accurate data is not mentioned the Zone report further indicated that many people were injured, left homeless, displaced and killed. Moreover, many of the key informants and FGD participants asserted that the frequent Afar and Afar inter-ethnic conflicts weakened and destroyed the social interaction between two groups.

4.6.3 Psychological impact

Experiencing violent conflict can be extremely disturbing. In line with this, Shale (2005) describe that many war affected persons suffer from post-traumatic stress syndrome, which contribute to poor mental and family life and increased violent behavior. One of peace experts from Chifra woreda stated that in the study area Youth and children especially cattle keeper are at particular risk experiencing violence at early age results in higher risk of spreading violence. As both Afar and Amhara FGD participants indicated feelings of humiliation and the desire for revenge also perpetuate a cycle of violence in which underlings rise to power, engage in extreme acts, inflicting indignities on those who had done the same to them.
Summary of the Causes and impacts of Afar-Amhara Conflict Tree

The above tree is the visual representation of Afar-Amhara inter-ethnic conflict. The tree images the interaction among root causes, trigger factors and the impacts of the conflict. The roots symbolize the underlying (root) causes of the conflict. The trunk represents the trigger of the conflict, while the branches represent the consequences or impacts of the conflict.

4.5 Conflict Management and Peace Building Efforts

The last objectives of this research are intended to discuss the attempts made by different bodies to manage the conflict. Regarding this objectives, in order to resolve the Afar-Amhara inter-ethnic conflict, many attempts were made. The attempts can be categorized in to Federal level, Regional Governments level and traditional conflict resolution mechanism of the two groups.
4.5.4 Formal conflict management

Conflict management is a key concern in all organized communities and all have established rules to manage conflicts, as well as institutions to enforce them. The strengthening escalation of conflict sometimes stopped by the intervention of the government (Bekele, 2010). Governments at different levels have a power and capacity to manage conflict.

The primary responsibility for resolving border disputes is the administration of the two regional states. After realizing that the two regional states failed to resolve the border dispute along their border area, the Federal Government started to take its own initiative such as organizing conferences for community representatives who are living along the border of the two regional state. As all participants of FGD said both Afar and Amhara the issue of boarder is under the control of federal government. They argue that a government surveyor was sent to the area two years ago to demarcate the boarder. Whatever the underlying reality, the government has remained silent on the boundary dispute. According to informants, the Federal Government also deployed Federal Police in the conflicting areas to intervene when conflict erupts.

In the border woreda of the two Afar and Amhara regional states, conflict and tension become a daily activity since the establishment of Regional States in Ethiopia. Despite the occurrence of conflicts in the borders of the two regional states, there is no established mechanism to manage the conflict which arises from ownership of land. According to the informants from both groups the two regional states preferred a political solution to the territorial dispute. The response given by both regional governments to the question of border demarcation was that the issue was not their business but that of the Federal government. This unclear demarcation boundary is a fertile ground for conflict between these neighbors.

The other is the reorganized government bodies that are organized on the basis of administrative structures and boundaries. In both woreda there are peace and security committee and community policing officer which is mandated to prevent and control conflicts in its area. According to Afar and Amhara informants, when the conflict occurs, peace committee, local and district leaders, militia and federal police will intervene and halt the fighting but do not take lasting solution to address the conflict permanently.
Nevertheless the formal government institutions are hindered 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. The informant also claim that moreover, because they are often based far from the areas where the conflicts take place, accurate information about the conflict reaches their offices late. Beside this, proximity is also another challenges that hampered the conflict resolution due to lack of accurate information where and when the conflict is occurred. The informant from Amhara states:

> When the conflicts occur between [Afar and Amhara] the concerned bodies have not discharge their responsibility properly instead of saying that the conflict is began just like the ordinary people. As we have said before, the concerned bodies including the regional government officials remain silent instead of investigating where and when the conflict is occurred? How many people become vulnerable or the victim of the conflict and what should be done for the future? Rather the local as well as the regional government officials say, the conflict between Afar and Amhara is as like as the quarrel of wife and husband (AMKII- May, 30 2017).

This indicates that local and regional government officials did not give serious attention on the Afar- Amhara conflict though the conflict is escalating.

### 4.5.5 The Role of Traditional conflict management institutions

Inter-ethnic conflicts have colored the interaction between the Amhara and Afar through their long mutual history. When the Afar were pastoralist such conflicts were mostly related to competition over resources such as land, cattle and water points. Competition often induced series of raids and counter raids. The traditional way of conflict resolution led by elders is more preferable by the society. These institutions are effective in managing conflicts within their own ethnic groups, and they also sometimes play a role in resolving conflict outside their ethnic group. The two communities have their own indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms. The Amhara used shimgelen to resolve conflict especially when the conflict happen within their community and Afar also used Madaa under the customary law, Madaa system. According to the elders, the practices of conflict resolution commonly used by the Afar and Amhara communities are Madaa. That is equivalent with Amharic version of paying compensation.
Information obtained from the Focus Group Discussions at Jarra Kebele reveals that the Amhara believes that all disputes within their ethnic group should be settled peacefully and according to the long standing customary law of Shimgilnga. It consists of specified guidelines and rules on how to handle dispute cases. The Focus Group Discussion with elder’s states, For instance, Offence against another member of the community is usually resolved upon the payment of some compensation both in livestock and cash. The compensations and punishments of the traditional management system depend on a plurality of decisions and participation. In this regard, an entire clan or sub-clan is said to be responsible for a crime committed by one or some of its members. The informants argue that money and livestock to be paid in compensation and it’s usually contributed by clan members regardless of their place of residence. As a result of the traditional peace-making mechanisms and a culture of interdependency among both groups, the designated elders were able to resolve conflicts through peaceful manner in the past. The informant from Amhara confirmed that:

When we compare the degree of current conflict from the past, during the past time when the Afar committed killing of the Amhara, they reached into agreement via paying compensation named Mekla. Beside this the conflict may also solve by shimgelena or Madaa system. The group was also ready for agreement. If they are getting into conflict by resources or cattle raiding they didn’t have other indirect agenda in the past. But now things already changed, for instance, if there is conflict on grazing land they may claim the issues of boarder (AMKII-30, May 2018).

However, now a day as most of Amhara and Afar FGD participants and key informants witnessed the weakening and undermining of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms. This is because of the Marginalization of traditional practices. The Focus Group Discussion with elders reveals that the traditional conflict resolutions held in post 2017 failed to restore long lasting peace between Amhara and Afar due to different reason. The conflict management has gone beyond the level of the traditional institutions. As elders opinions indicate, there are several cases in which negotiations were unable to bring any change simply because the looted animals had been marketed elsewhere within Ethiopia.
The informants further stated that killings and retaliations were committed while elders were engaged in the process of negotiations so as to return looted properties to their owners and arrange compensation for the damage properties. The involvement of diversity of actors on the conflict particularly commercial cattle raiding, the use of sophisticated arms and denying of compensation between both groups are among the factor that makes peace initiatives more complex and difficult. Thus, the weakening of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms contributes to the continued inter-ethnic conflict between two groups.

However, multiple efforts have been made to address the conflict, through local government arbitration, negotiations between elders and community-based initiatives. Despite these efforts, the conflict continues to create negative consequences for both communities and become more escalated.

4.6 The prospects of peace

Even though the actual conflict fighting are halted at present, the informant stated it as follows:-

*At this time, there is no conflict between us. We don’t hear the sound of gun now.*

*The current temporary peace is prevailed due to the state of emergency declared by the federal government. But we cannot predicate what will happen after the termination of state of emergency throughout the country. Even now, despite the state of emergency, the Afar are using our land and territory for grazing but we preferred to be silent with fear of the command post and being labeled as “terrorist” (AMKII-30, May 2018).*

The above statement clearly depicts that although negative peace is maintained between the two groups, there is no guarantee of sustainability as long as the root causes of the conflict is not addressed. To bring lasting and durable peace, there is the need to adopt constructive and long term solution through considering the very nature of the conflict and its environment. Despite minor inter-personal disputes over forest and farmland and cattle raiding, currently there is no violent conflict between Amhara and Afar communities. As explained by Johan Galtung (1967), negative peace is all about the absence of organized collective violence which is now happened in the Amhara and Afar community. However, the presence of negative peace would not be sufficient to achieve sustainable peace in the study area.
CHAPTER FIVE
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

Inter-ethnic conflicts are fought among ethnic group, clan and occupational groups like pastoralists and agro-pastoralist. It may occur between competing groups within a state. Inter-ethnic conflicts are caused by livelihood-based resources such as land, water, grazing, pasture resulting from a rapidly deteriorating environment and fast-growing populations. It is also caused by some Cultural practices, lifestyle or ways of life that communities are following like agro pastoral and pastoralist. The Awash valley areas are an inter-communal conflict prone region of Ethiopia. Among the others Afar-Amhara communities that can offer a strong evidence of such dynamics of inter-ethnic conflicts that have been largely driven by factors already mentioned. The study attempted to address the central objective: to investigate the dynamics of inter-ethnic conflicts between Afar and Amhara communities. It tried to assess the nature and history of conflict, causes, actors and their interests as well as impacts of the conflict in the study area. In addition, it addresses the peace efforts applied to resolve the conflict. The finding showed that conflicts in the study area have become more intensified. The study indicated that escalation of conflict in the study area resulted from the interaction between the causes and actors. By doing so, the study discussed how the causes and actors has escalated and intensified pastoralist and Argo pastoralist conflict, particularly the Afar-Amhara conflicts. The causes of the conflict in the study area are multidimensional. Competition over scarce resources, particularly land and land-related issues are one of the major causes of conflict between Afar and Amhara communal groups. In the study area, Competition over scarce resources is not only a principal cause of the conflict but also a determinant factor in the protracted nature of the violent. The most strong change in the dynamics of the conflict is that the old common causes of pastoral conflict such as pasture, water, are no more considered as immediate cause of conflict rather the instruments for the accomplishment of political objectives like territorial expansion of administrative boundaries in the border areas post-1991 which is a new trend of conflict in Federal Ethiopia. The situation is exacerbated by the contested and unclear administrative regional borders with the presence of mutually shared natural resources like grazing lands, water points, demands for farm land, etc. in
the border areas. Post 1991 causes and motives of the Afar and Amhara conflicts were not merely killing for honor rather it had the economic and political motives behind as well.

The problem of good governance is another critical issue that has a link with the conflict between Afar and Amhara. The study showed that the local government institutions are weak in giving a fast response to inter-personal clashes before escalating in to inter-group conflict. There is a lack of timely intervention and resolution of conflict due to the absence of commitment. The administrative and security services not only failed to provide security to community but also were surprisingly involved in conflicts siding with their group. Another factor behind the conflict is access to conflict technologies, which is the availability and misuse of small arm in the study area. The people specially the youths have small arms whether considered as a symbol of wealth and respect or self-protection. That may develop uncertainty, threat and insecurity feelings among the society. The easy accessibility of these arms also aggravates homicide and revenges.

The escalation of conflict is resulted from the involvement of a number of actors who directly or indirectly play role. The local ethnic groups of Afar and goat keeper are the primary actors who are openly engaged in various conflicts who are at the same time direct victims of the conflicts. The political elite were indirectly involved by aggravating, encouraging and ideally supporters of the action by calculating their objectives. The contributions of those secondary actors especially in post 2017 conflict is more are significant.

Moreover, the escalation of violent conflicts can be endorsed to weak institutional performance in preventing as well as managing conflicts. As the finding of this study showed, to bring peaceful relation among the two groups in study areas the concerned bodies used both indigenous and formal conflict management mechanism during the conflict and post-conflict period. The involvement of political actors in the process of indigenous conflict management mechanism has contributed to the deteriorating role and rule of the real tradition in managing the communal conflict in the study areas. In general, to manage the conflict and build peace in study area, different attempts were taken by the local governments (Woreda and Zone) and elders. However, as the findings of this study revealed, the Afar and Amhara inter-ethnic conflict is not resolved at the grass root level because the efforts taken were more of corrective than preventive. All the above components whatever their basic motives, have contributed a lot to the escalation of conflict in the study area.
As a consequence of the conflicts, economically a large part of prime grazing land together with essential pasture and water points are deserted. This has aggravated the scarcity of pasture and water as well as overgrazing in other areas. In addition, families have been displaced. The flow of displaced people has contributed to the destruction of the already fragile environment. Socially, loss of human life was the first of all social impacts in the study area many people were injured, left homeless, displaced and killed. Moreover, conflicts weakened and destroyed the social interaction between two groups. To developed feelings of humiliation and the desire for revenge also another impacts of the conflict in the study area.
5.2 Recommendations

The Afar-Amhara Conflict tackled with a series of political, social, and economic measures in a way consultations with a wide range of stakeholders have highlighted a number of priorities for addressing the root causes of conflict and promoting sustainable peace among the groups. In this regard, the following recommendations are forwarded based on the findings of the study.

**To Federal Government**

- The federal government should demarcate the physical border between the Afar and Amhara regional states in a way that ensures the freedom of movement of pastoral groups. Furthermore, institutional mechanisms need to be established to manage shared pasture and water points in a way that minimizes conflict over resources.
- The government should facilitate sustainable projects to address food shortage instead of providing temporal food aid and the agricultural sectors should get special emphasis to bring lasting solution.
- Non-Governmental Organizations and Donors should increase their support for peace-building and conflict sensitive development interventions that aim to address the factors and cause which contribute to the conflicts.
- Joint sustainable development projects and investment opportunities in agriculture should be developed by the two regional states in the border areas that would link the two communities, mitigate economic-related potential conflict and poverty, and enhance food security.

**To the Regional Government Level**

- The regional government from Afar and Amhara should give answer to the questions of development and good governance.
- The regional government should facilitate and create alternative income generating economic activities for the youth and adults through job creation and job opportunity to resource alleviate competition over scarce resources.
- The regional government should give special attention for the remote areas especially those very far from the region.
Managing inter-ethnic conflicts requires strong cooperation between neighboring regions of Amhara and Afar including planning institutions to control cross-regional livestock raiding and facilitating inter-communal resource-sharing. Thus, the two regional governments should facilitate discussion on those issues.

To Woreda and Kebele Administration

The peace committee should clearly aware of the root causes of Afar and Amhara communal conflict since they involves in conflict management and peace building. The right selection of member for peace committee from both groups must be given to direct actors and at the victims of conflicts.

The Woreda government should encourage traditional or indigenous conflict management through providing facilitation.

The government from the two Woreda should create awareness among young generation by socializing for their common social relationships and to avoid some cultural and traditional practices like which may cause ethnic conflict. The government should reconstruct social relations through trainings and common social events which can gradually change social behavior for common good.

The government should avoid inappropriate settlement system which is not compatible with the traditional pastoral natural resource management system.

The local government in the study area should encourage and strengthen the traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, because they are highly accepted and respected in the society than the formal legal system.

Awareness should be created in both groups to prevent the escalation of inter-personal conflicts in to inter-group conflict. Besides, community based and participatory crime prevention mechanisms with the collaboration of community policing officers should be organized at the Kebele level.

To the Community

The members of the community from both groups should not be collaborated with Perpetrators or the suspected individuals by crime. They should expose attempted planned by third parties and they should not confirm the conflict request by secondary actors.
References


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Hancoc, B (1998). *an introduction to qualitative research: trends focus group*. University of Nottingham


Hussien Jemma (2002). *Competition over Resource and Ethnic conflict in Federal Ethiopia: The case of Recent Guji-Gedeo conflict*: A research report to be presented to OSSREA.


what is Conflict? Geneva, Switzerland


Hello! My name is ------------ I am lecture in Samara University. The purpose of this Interview guideline is to gather reliable data& information on Afar-Amhara Conflict around in Chifra woreda since 2017 and Assessing indigenous conflict resolution mechanism. I have identified you as a study participant hoping that you would be willing to help provide me with some information. I have several questions which I would like to ask you, if you have the time and are willing. The questions include Afar-Amhara conflict around in Chifra woreda since 2017. All information you provide would be kept confidential. I would not include any identifiers, such as your name or exact address. Only honest answers would contribute to Conflict Resolution Mechanisms and Reduction of conflict between Afar and Amhara. Thank you in advance for your cooperation. Success of this research is important and I appreciate your contribution to the research. You can withdraw at any time during the interview if you feel uncomfortable. Would this be okay with you? Therefore, you are kindly requested to give your answers for all questions that you feel and you are expected to answered questions.
List of Interview Guides

Part I;

IG1. Questions related to Police Administrators, Officials from both regional states.

1. Where were borders between Afar and Amhara people as you remember?

2. What are causes of conflicts among Afar and Amhara in your time and in specific causes that you witnessed?

3. How can the dynamics of the conflict be explained in terms of socio-cultural, political and economic aspect?

4. How do you evaluate the response of the Imperial and the Derge government towards Afar and Amhara conflict?

5. What are the consequences of Afar-Amhara conflicts?

6. What are your recommendations to solving this conflict?
Interview Guiding Questions related to Settlers around Chifra Woreda

1. When did you establish settlement is there any resistances from the Afar regional State? 

2. What are your justifications for termination of transportation services from both side?

3. What are the Consequences of Afar-Amhara conflicts?

4. What is the administrative status of your villages?

5. How can the dynamics of the conflict be explained in terms of socio-cultural, political and economic aspect?

5. What are your recommendations to resolve this conflict?
FGD Guiding Questions related to Afar and Amhara Clan Elders and Religious Elders

1. How you explain genealogical link between Afar and Amhara subclans?

2. What is an Administrative status of this area?

3. What are reasons about the failure of the Imperial and Derge regime in mitigating this conflict?

4. What are the root causes of conflicts between the two groups in Chifra?

5. Who are Actors in the Conflict? And any hope for the future?

6. How can the dynamics of the conflict be explained in terms of socio-cultural, political and economic aspect?

7. What are the Consequences of Afar- Amhara conflicts?
Part II: Questions Related to Afar-Amhara Conflict Resolution Mechanism

1. What actions taken as possible solutions with regard to Afar-Amhara conflict for the previous years that you know?

2. What kind of Conflict Resolution Mechanisms you used in Afar-Amhara conflict?

3. What types of Conflict Resolution Mechanisms will be taken to reduce Afar-Amhara Conflict? for Feature Please explain theme?

4. How can the dynamics of the conflict be explained in terms of socio-cultural, political and economic aspect?

5. What are the Consequences of Afar-Amhara conflicts?

6. What are you recommend about Government Intervention to solve Conflict? Please explain theme?

Thank you for your participation!
Appendix 2: List of key Informant

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Key: AFGDP: Afar focus group discussion participant, AFGDP: Amhara focus group discussion participant
List of field assistance C

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Key: FA: Field Assistant