

## Causes of inter-ethnic conflicts in East Africa focus in Ethiopia

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### Abstract

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Conflict and instability in East Africa have become complex and interconnected issues, central to debates about the nature and capability of East African leaders. The major security challenges in East African countries largely stem from political exclusion and power struggles, ethnic and religious-based discrimination, human rights violations, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW), and poverty and famine, which pose significant threats to people's security. The purpose of this article is to identify the causes of inter-ethnic conflicts in East Africa. The study employed qualitative descriptive research to achieve this objective. In-depth interviews and focus group discussions were conducted as primary data collection methods, gathering insights from various informants.

**Keywords:** peace, human security, conflict, resources

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### 1. Introduction

African political leaders lack not only the practice of human security but the very concept. There is a dilemma between human security and state security in the horn of African government policy. For instance, Ethiopia's foreign policy and national security strategy, its teamwork in the international on issues of terrorism, and its role in the regional security arrangement often contradict the different components of human security. This is at least partly due to Ethiopia's role as an ally in the global war on terror (Peter, 2006, p. 6).

Besides the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy of 2002 explain in detail the regional and international context of Ethiopia's security concept situate an overarching framework for determining how the security sector is to be structured in order to address threats from outside rather within. This means as a rule Ethiopia National Security Policy more focus is placed on external threats which make use of military action as a framework for describing how a country provides security for the state and its citizens (Ibid, p. 13).

In contradiction, some of internal and external political parties' opponent argues Ethiopia's foreign policy and national security strategy have the potential to cause more food insecurity and displacement of local society. This is most probably going to initiate more political conflicts between the government and the local communities and undermine human security. In other words, the policy is human security oriented, whereas their implementation is state security oriented. As a result, all human security components will be subordinate to military security as it is the one that guarantees state security.

In fact, insecurity and instability in many part of Africa has become complex and interconnected problem that is present basic part of the debate about the nature and capability of the African state. The major human security challenges in horn of Africa states largely emanate from spillover effects and impacts of long periods of civil war (Getachew, 2008, p.13). Most countries in the region such Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan and South Sudan have experienced periods of internal conflict, and inter-state rivalries. Notably the region experienced two of the longest lasting conflicts in Africa, namely the Sudan civil war and the Somalia civil war (Endalcachew, 2014, p.9). For example, a country cannot achieve economic growth if civil war continues to erode the productive capacity of its economy by displacing the working population, disrupting agricultural production, or destroying social and physical

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infrastructures. As well, the concept of human security points to the need for the protection of men, women and children from violent conflicts including communal and civil wars, landmines, criminal gangs, psychological abuses, and environmental hazards such as water and air pollution (Ibid, p.19). The consequence has been one of continent's highest levels of internal displacement, refugee outflows, and small arms proliferation, affecting regional and national security in almost every country in the region.

The challenges facing the Horn of Africa community at the present time are such that, without respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, the attainment of lasting peace would be impossible and human security would remain illusory. The main argument of the paper is that the concept "human security" needs to be looked at personal level rather security pro state and that human right driven by human security concerns has a lot of potential for development in Africa particular to Horn of African region. Accordingly focused on "humanity centered" in its orientation and concentrates on safeguarding the quality and richness of life against risks that threaten: human survival, safety of daily life, dignity of a men and women (equality in dignity) vulnerability people to sudden deprivation.

The dilemma between state security and human security in horn of Africa, mainly caused by "ethnicity or political insecurity." The "ethnicity or political insecurity" addresses questions regarding such as how securitization of ethnicity affects political insecurity. Many theorists such as Cilliers, (2004, p.18); Getachew, (2008, p. 6), explain that securitization and de-securitization of issues by the state are fundamentally determined by where the interests of the state's governing elites lie. Together with this I examine that the matter of security & securitization are under normal circumstances issues of extreme subjective, political judgments. For instance, in Ethiopia ethnicity is a security issues; pre-1991 ethnicity is non-politicized however after 1991 it can politicized and currently it is a nation security issues. This is process an issue may be non-politicized and going to politicize and gong to securitize. Seeing that Copenhagen School theory view human society conceived in primordial identity, mainly by securitization of identity threats and an issues is securitized when a security actor articulate an already politicized issues as an existential threat to referent object.

### 1.1. The Brief Overview of Conflict in Africa

For a long period, Africa has been burdened and bogged down by intermittent conflicts both within and between the states. Okello, (2004) indicate that, Africa is one of the most conflict-ridden parts of the entire world. Post independence Africa states as a whole have shown both political and economic declines; particularly countries in Africa, which are under the yoke of the problems (Wanyande, 1997).

In addition, Okello, et al., (2004) described the region affected by widespread conflict at many levels i.e. between ethnicity, tribes and clan or family. These scholars furthr explain that the region is a good place to raise the questions and ongoing debate concerning the impact of environmental change on human security. This is due to the regions are visited by famine now and then as none of them are able to feed their population without the assistance from abroad. According to the reviews from different literatures, many scholars argue that conflict has turned Africa, into the most backward region in the world, where a region is unable to turn its trend of diversity into opportunities for development.

Richardson et al., (1996) explains that conflicts in African are classified in several ways of social, economic and political dimension. Moreover, conflict in Africa can be categorized in a variety of ways depending on the type of criteria one uses. Some of related causes of conflict are arbitrary boundary making during the colonial and post-colonial periods, decreasing of natural resource bases and lack of good governance.

Similarly, European competitive annexation of African peoples and lands was carried out by force and that colonial experience remains a source of conflict in contemporary Africa (Uwazie, 2003). Uwazie further explains that, after independence, identity-based conflict and manifestation of discriminating ethnic reaction emerged as crucial issues of concern and debate in many parts of Africa. In particular, ethnicity and ethno-nationalism have come to be considered as factors that can cause or intensify both inter-state and intra-state conflicts in Africa (Richardson, 1996). In addition, Tronvoll (1999) indicates that border conflict may have occurred as a result of the arbitrary boundary making by colonial powers between states, as well as within a state that claim over boundary problems. According to his explanation, border disputes, especially when accompanied by identity request, create high levels of insecurity and vulnerability for the status quo power. Nordquist, (1996) supports this view and says that boundaries have become more issues, more often challenged and generally more prominent matters after independence.

As to the researchers' views mentioned above, if boundaries are clearly demarcated, they may bring peace and security. The assumption is that people with adjacent frontier could share at least a minimum degree of economic and social relationships. Contrarily, unclear boundaries can create hostile situation, since it triggers a suspicion against neighbors, and this may lead to territorial conflict and provides a precondition for destruction and loss of human life and properties. Thus, borders become a potential mirror of internal and external conflict and a cause of an inter-communal clash in general.

The other source of conflict in Africa in general is scarcity of natural resource bases. These problems are related to the decreasing mobility of arid and semiarid pastoralist land, farming land, climatic variability due to expanding deforestation and destruction of forests. According to Hussien (2005) most conflicts in Africa are somewhat a combination of rivalry over goals or resources. The other causes of conflicts are the perceptions, beliefs, and values that the parties bring to the competition. Similarly, Burton (1990) strengthens this argument by stating that the outset of the root of conflict is the material world. This can also happen due to people's competition over incompatible goals or scarce resources. Particularly, competition over the natural resources such as grazing and farming land ignore or deny the others' interest or benefit. presumably, this creates conflict among the societies.

As it is already stated above, the crisis situations in Africa are caused due to boundary- related problems and resource based ethnic clash. Besides, the absence of clear and democratic governance and lack of development policies are also the major aggravating factors of conflicts. As the solution to these factors, Burton (1990) clearly stated that the conflict and disagreement among society could be solved by creating and applying poverty reduction programs and good governance strategy. If this is not achieved, people could not be able to escape out of poverty and backwardness. Consequently, there will be great probability for them to enter into conflict as a means to satisfy their need.

## **1.2. Peace and Conflict Trends in Ethiopia**

In Ethiopia, the exclusivist and authoritarian regimes since the imperial (1930–1974) and the military (1974–1991) eras have played major roles in many conflicts that ravaged the country. The conflicts, particularly those involving ethnic groups, date back to the formation of the modern Ethiopian state at the turn of the 19th century. These conflicts were happened during the processes of incorporating different ethnic groups and kingdoms that were found at various levels of social and economic development using both forceful subjugation and peaceful persuasion.

Likewise, during the military regime or Dergue period, socialism was forcefully declared to be the main philosophy of the state. Consequently, a small competing parties who were not happy with the Dergu regime acts formed fronts that later entered to conflicts with the regime. Such conflicts were intensified and changed ethnic-based liberation groups and began a bitter struggle to demolish the regime. As it is known, the conflict of this regime was changed into a full-scale war and took away the lives of thousands of Ethiopians.

During the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) era, however, conflicts resulting from ethnic federalism have become further complicated by creating multiple layers of causes and triggers. Ethnic federalism, which refers to the sharing of power among autonomous units, is given preference by the EPRDF government to a unitary form to accommodate divergent local interests that cannot bear centralized rule (Yonas Adaye, IPSS lecturer notes 2019). So over the past 27 years, however, this system had sown political dysfunction as ordinary tasks of governance have turned into sites of ethnic competition and violent conflicts.

From mid-2010 onwards, rising competing ethnic nationalisms led to the relative weakening of party and state structures, resulting in the intensification of ethnic mobilizations. Tensions have intensified under the liberalizing reforms of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed since he took office in April 2018. With the press enjoying greater protections, political prisoners being released, and civil society able to organize more freely, several ethnic grievances have come to the fore. Relations have also become further strained among different ethnic groups in the country.

This rise in tensions and violent conflicts is mainly linked to the sharp increase in militant ethnic nationalism against a backdrop of state and party fragility. The recent violent conflicts in different parts of the country have resulted in the deaths of thousands and the displacement of millions of people. During this period, over a thousand people have died, and millions were displaced. In 2018, Ethiopia had the highest number of internally displaced people in the world. Moreover, there is an emerging argument about conflicts in the horn of Africa, particularly in Ethiopia, which portrays it as "elite-driven conflict" rather than ethnic conflict. In relation to this, in his article about "Ethnic Conflict in the Horn of Africa: Myth and Reality" Aseffa (1996) contends that, particularly in pre-1991 period, the conflicts in Ethiopia were against exploitative class rather than against ethnic groups.

The same seems true for the recent Amhara and Oromo conflicts. The core cause of the conflict is connected to resource and jurisdiction or administrative competitions between the political entrepreneurs. This is the result of ambition of maximizing territory rather than "ethnic conflict". Ethnic Entrepreneurs for Resource Competition...leads to the existence of exclusive "US" and "THEM" category. It may be supported by stereotypes memory of suppression. Such sensitive issues later lead to ethnic hostility.

Proximate causes of ethnic conflicts can be easily identified. In typical scenarios, leaders of a dominant ethnic group gain office and then use state institutions to distribute economic and political benefits preferentially to their ethnic brethren. Discrimination against subordinate group members, often portrayed as less deserving human beings, accompanies this preferential treatment. When force is needed to impose discriminatory practices and quell subordinate group resistance, it is exercised by police officers and soldiers recruited almost exclusively from the dominant group, who often view themselves as "ethnic soldiers" (Wanyande, Peter 1997). In democratic societies, a dominant group that is a majority often uses its voting power to entrench discriminatory practices by legal or quasi legal means. When a dominant group is the minority, it typically imposes discriminatory policies by force although, as it was happened in South Africa where cosmetic democratic institutions may legitimize discrimination. Democracy alone cannot ensure ethnic harmony. Instead, it may allow freer expression of ethnic antagonisms and legalized persecution of minorities (Mesfin Gebremichael, 2011).

Ethnic conflict arises if ethnic groups compete for the same goal - notably power, access to resources, or territory. In doing so, the interests of a society's elite class play an important role in mobilizing ethnic groups to engage in ethnic conflicts. Ethnic conflict is thus similar to other political interest. Ethiopia is one of ethnically diverse nations in the world. This multiplicity in language, religion, culture, tradition and the overall identity is actually a beauty for the country considering the fact that the peoples of Ethiopia have had the culture of living together without any narrowly and shallowly-focused ethnic belongingness. On the contrary, sometimes people with different cultural identities fail to understand each other and this in turn can lead to fear. Fear can cause prejudice, intolerance and mistreatment of a person because of their race, religion, sexuality, disability or political beliefs. As the result, those group who have experienced discrimination due to their race, religion and so forth enter into conflicts.

The underlying nature of the Ethiopian federal system has to be understood and should correctly evaluate the opportunities it could offer for building a cohesive economic and political community in Ethiopia. Nevertheless, according to some commentators, the rights of self-determination contained in the constitution are general and do not give sufficient details about what each right entails and the extent of duties it imposes on the government. After the demise of the military dictatorship regime the new Ethiopian leaders of EPRDF declared their commitment to a clean break from the past and establishment of a new system. The recognition of the right to self-determination of nations, nationalities and peoples becomes the central/principle of the new constitution of FDRE.

The related problem is the controversy over equitable power and resource sharing among some multiethnic constituent units of the federation. For instance, in regions like Gambella, SNNPR, and Benishangul Gumuz, there is ethnic discontents and conflicts due to they believe that there is no equitable power and resource sharing among them. These is happened due to the constitutional treatment of all nation, nationalities and peoples as equal entities with absence of minority protecting legal scheme. Of course, there is a subsequent state recognition of self-rule as respect for accommodation of the demands of ethnic groups in the country. These can be used as a mechanism that will reduce tension and conflict. But the problem lies on the threat that regional state and the dominant ethnic groups considers themselves as owners of the 'mother state' and so that other citizen of different ethnic background has been excluded from socio-the political and economic benefits.

Furthermore, the domination of TPLF over the EPRDF coalition's lead to the harassment of other parties and lend strength to the claim that the EPRDF has taken the same position on the nations and nationalities that the Dergue and the Emperia reign held. Moreover, the existing government largely centralized party system appears to contradict the division of power and the right of self-determination enunciated in the constitution.

The emphasis on the right of self-determination and the subsequent state recognition to ensure self-rule is hailed by its advocates as respect for the accommodation of the demands of ethnic groups and as a mechanism that will reduce tension and conflict in the country. But the problem lies in the threat that regional states and the dominant ethnic groups consider themselves as owners of the 'mother state' and so that other citizens of different ethnic backgrounds have been excluded from socio-political and economic benefits. Many people find their identity and security in their ethnic group, so extreme exceptionality among multi-ethnic groups leads to divergence that can easily turn violent conflict (Hussien, 2005). Hussien further explains that both inter- ethnic and intra-ethnic conflicts in the

societies often have a strong value component and involves incompatibility in ways of life, ideologies, principles and traditional practices that people believe in. Clearly stereotypes, undermining one another's ethnicity and racial discrimination can be considered as the major causes of conflict in multi ethnic societies in general.

Over the past century, the Ethiopia had faced variety of conflicts. For instance, during the Italian colonial invasion and other border conflicts such as boundary conflicts with Somalia and Eritrea, civil and peasant uprisings such those as in Bale, Gojjam, and student movements etc. These often-caused local guerilla movements against the central or the national authoritarian governments that lead to conflicts.

According to (Fantini, 2008), conflicts that occurred in many parts of Ethiopia are multi- faceted where more than eighty ethnic groups with different cultures and beliefs co-exist having interaction in varieties of situations. In relation to this, Richardson (1996) explains that, conflict can take place from the bad experiences of past interactions of the societies. In a similar situation, conflicts in Ethiopia are usually related to past negative interactions and mistrust of various ethnic groups.

The historical legacies of mistrust and hatred are not genetically transmitted from one generation to another rather they become a vivid part of current reality through myths and socialization (Richardson, 1996). Thus, the earlier society's misconception and misunderstanding in different cultural and political aspects absolutely create problems of insecurity in many parts of the Ethiopia regions. Moreover, Sisay (2007) explains that conflict in Ethiopia does not absolutely take the form of inter-ethnic confrontation but also occurred within the same ethnic group over the use of power and resources sharing. In general, conflict is unavoidable and cannot be eliminated forever from our lives, partly because of the availability of heterogeneity in culture, ideology attitudes and resources scarcity but it can be minimized. No matter how various scholars define conflict differently and suggest causes of conflict; what matters is how do we manage conflicts? And how do we process peacemaking and peace building aftermath? This must be given due focus.

## **2. Methodological Approaches**

The data collected using semi-structured interviews, observation, and document analysis were analyzed and interpreted qualitatively. The handwritten notes of the interview and observation were transcribed, categorized, and compiled together into themes; summary sheets were prepared and translated into English. The result of the document analysis was summarized and organized into a related categories. Information collected through various qualitative techniques of data gathering interacted with the presentation, analysis, and interpretation part. With this regard, the researcher used the data gathered by making cross-checking different information that he gathered from different informants via different instruments of data collection tools. Accordingly, analysis and interpretations were made based on the interviews, Observation, and document analysis. Finally, the overall course of the study was summarized with findings, conclusions and some possible recommendations.

The study employed four methodological approaches. First, Literature and Primary Document Review: Relevant literature and primary documents were reviewed. Primary documents reviewed include, the relevant human security frame work applicable to member states in the African region, as well as existing Human Security use agreements. Second, field visits to some member states (Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya,). To achieve the desired aim of the study, a qualitative research approach was employed. This approach was selected because explaining inter-ethnic relations: identity, socio-economic affairs, and their dynamics in western Ethiopia. As compiled by (Abiy, et.al, 2009) qualitative research involves studies that do not attempt to quantify their results through statistical summary or analysis. Qualitative research seeks to describe various aspects of behavior and other factors studied in the social sciences and humanities. In qualitative research data are often in the form of descriptions, not numbers. But sometimes results of qualitative research are subjected to relatively less rigorous quantitative treatment. Often the goal of qualitative research is to look for meaning. That is, stress is laid on the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and researched, and situational constraints that shape the inquiry.

Qualitative research is characterized by adherence to a diverse array of orientations and strategies for maximizing the validity of trustworthiness of study procedures and results. It is thus a type of empirical inquiry that entails purposive sampling for gathering data (ibid). It typically involves in-depth interviews, group discussions, artifact studies, projective techniques, and observations without formal measurement. A case study, which is an in-depth examination of one person, is a form of qualitative research. Qualitative research is much more time-consuming but provides more richness to the data. In epistemological terms, qualitative research is identified with phenomenological and interpretative research.

## 2.1. Data Collection Methods

To get sufficient qualitative data, both secondary and primary data were used to achieve the designed objective of the study. Primary sources of this study were obtained through interviews, FGD, and observation, particularly from well-experienced dispute settler elders, local peace experts, disputants, local leaders, prosecutors, women, and youth in selected areas of the Oromo and Gumz district. Secondary sources for this study were written books that documented

## 3. Theoretical Underpinnings of Conflict

### 3.1. Enemy System Theory

The enemy system theory (EST) considers the causes of intractable social conflicts by using ethno-national and/or communal groups as an important unit of analysis. The gist of this theory is that humans have deep psychological needs to dichotomize and establish enemies (out groups) and allies (in groups) (Volkan et al, 1990:30). The enemy system theory presents some important conceptualizations which help to create a sophisticated explanatory model of conflict. The first concept is that of identity. According to Cunningham (1998:15) human have identity both at individual and group levels. This group identity can be acquired by birth, such as race, or through association within a society such as groups of workers or athletes.

According to this theory, humans have in built need to organize themselves and their environments into two groups, that shown up between us versus them, good vs. bad. The importance of such dichotomization is that people also tend to attach 'good' qualities with what they identity as 'our', and they tend to associate 'bad' qualities with those of their out group/others'/s which consequently can lead to the development of the sense of us and them (Cunningham, *ibid*)

Montville (1990-169) defines the concept of ethnic victimization as the state of ethnic mind when the security, of their groups is threatened by violence and aggression. He further identifies experience, unjustified violation of human and civil rights, and assault that represents a continuous threats as well as, generates fear of annihilation are the important elements of this concept. A concept that is related to victimization is the chosen trauma (Volkan, 1990:44). A chosen trauma is an element where by a group is badly victimized. It is the group's experience about their victimization by others that are part of a group's historical memory.

The group becomes obsessive about the trauma and often feels a sense of entitlement or compensation for past wrongs. This lead to another concept i.e. the inability to mourn. Volkan (1990) describes mourning as the reaction to real or threatened loss or change. The author further states that there are two types of mourning; uncomplicated and complicated ones. Uncomplicated mourning is when the group comes to terms with what was lost' (*ibid*). In such a situation, groups devise strategies to cope with their sorrow and grief. Complicated mourning, on the other hand, occurs when groups are under threat and cannot let go of their losses. The important effect of this is those groups often try to regain what was lost, particularly territory (Cunningham, 1998).

Volkan (1990:43) states that when territory-or even prestige is lost to an enemy, and a group has difficulty forming remembrance formation, the group can still be seen trying to recoup the loses. Under political and economic stress, the mourning becomes complicated when the symbol or image of what is lost cannot be surrendered because it is too highly idealized or too necessarily for self-esteem (*ibid*). Groups that suffer from complicated mourning tend to perpetuate conflicts since they cannot attend to give up what was lost (Cunningham, *ibid*). This complicates the search for solution as groups suffering from complicated mourning are not prepared for compromise over what was lost. Julius (1990: 106-107) sum up and stresses how the creation and perpetuation of antagonism results in a vicious cycle of violence as: "very simply put, the perpetuation of aggression is ensured by the victimization action of one group upon another... these reciprocal hostile actions stimulate and enlarge the opponent's historical enmity and validate each other's dehumanization .... Victimization is the process that leads to the final behavioral action of the cycle" Since each attack triggers the process in the other the two adversaries are locked in an ever expanding and vigorous dance of hostility.

The nature, causes of ethnic conflicts in the study areas, has had the contributions of major in the past and prevailing factors. To understand and comprehensively address the issue of conflict, the researcher has selected identity and human (basic) need theories of conflict. Researcher preferred in these theoretical frameworks, because they go in line with and fit, the causes of ethnic conflict in the study and what he intended to investigate.

### 3.2. Identity Theory of Conflict

Conflicts fueled by feelings of threatened identity are particularly difficult to resolve, for the issues are far deeper and tied to the political constructions of self and another that create fear and hostility. Mobilization by one community may activate countermobilization by the other group that attempts to defend its interests (Jeong, 2000: 73). The group may feel that their identity is threatened by the demands of other group for the recognition of cultural rights/autonomy and political status. Since people rally around issues that express their grievances due to previous experience, exploitation and victimization could strengthen the groups identify consciousness. Moreover, since memories of past persecution portrays, as well as, legitimizes acts of violence as morally binding individuals can take revenge on others who have harmed them or their kin (including their ancestors' for both immediate and symbolic significance (Gurr; 2005).

Primordiaism and social constructivism explain why and when identity differences are perceived as being socially significant or not, at individual or group levels. The primordialist approach understands identity as a cultural product being determined by one's blood, which might include socio-biological factors in extreme cases. It considers identity as some thing objectively given and genetically determined (Backs, 1996: 39- 40). Primordialists attribute the sources of intractable conflicts to the feelings of threatened identity rooted in unresolved past loss and victimization (Jeong, 2000: 73). Social constructivists, on the other hand, regard identity as a novel social construction than given. They consider identity not as a fixed primordial factor, but as the protean out come of endless social processes that can be recreated and refashioned out of both old and new elements and perpetually in the process of creation (Berman, 1998:305, 311).

For the social constructivist approach identity emerges from dialectic between similarity and difference in group interaction. For social constructivists, motivational forces behind the mobilization of ethnic groups can be explained by instrumentalism. Identity can be used instrumentally to promote individual and collective interests. For instance, in their struggle for power, competing elites can use identity as a tool to mobilize popular support. On the other hand, identity categories can also be consciously manipulated to maintain the power of a dominant group and to justify discrimination against other groups in education and employment (Jeong, 2000: 72). Identify differences are not themselves cause of conflict. Rather, the salience of group identity is awakened by socially derived inequalities in material well-being or political access. Identify distinctions are deepened by the denial of political participation, as well as, lack of physical and economic security (Jeong, 2000).

### 3.3. Frustration-Aggression Conflict Theory

The theory attempts to explain violent conflicts between ethnic groups by exploring the asymmetrical structures of the regions and considering their implications for community stability and conflicts. The theory argue that aggressive behavior is intrinsic to all human beings. Aggression behavior is related to biological facts of human nature; this relatedness conflicts with the aggressive and powerful nature of human beings. In this way, conflicts occur when people compete to attain scarce resources. So, the primary indication from people in the study area is that frustration occurred as a result of unanswered questions. This is deprived as a result of maltreatment by the administration or a deficiency in governance. Particularly in the study area, the question includes people's needs for identity, security, recognition, participation, and autonomy, where such needs are not easily met by undemocratic regimes. In such situations, the prospects for successful peace and security- building rest with the ability of federal and regional political leaders to increase incentives to stop army action in response to conflict and to more adequately meet the basic questions of their citizens.

### 3.4. Structural Conflict Theory

According to this theory incompatible interests based on competition for resources are causes for conflicts. This theory has two sub-divisions. They are radical structural theory represented by Marxist Dialectical school-Marxian and liberal structural theory represented by Rosa, and John Galtung (1996). The Marxian presents conflict as tied to economic structures and social institutions. They assume sources of conflict are poverty, political and economical exclusion, exploitation and inequality. Central to Marxist analysis of conflict is the division of society into classes. Basically there are two classes in capitalist society: the capitalists and the working class (class struggles).

The conflict is mostly as a result of the exploitation by capitalists. On the other hand, the liberals propounded the theory of negative and positive peace to buttress how structural conflicts can occur in society. Negative peace is a situation where there is no violence. However, there could be wide spread of poverty, inequality, human right violation and the like. Positive peace is a situation where equality, respect for human rights and justice prevail.

According to liberals, conflicts occur as a result of injustice, inequality and human rights violation which further reformed and lead to peace. Therefore, policy reform is a solution to structural conflict whereas, for Marxists the solution to structural conflict is revolution.

#### **4. Result and discussion**

##### **4.1. Importance of human security framework for Africa state**

Africa is a continent of endemic human insecurity waged due to manifold factors: Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons, poverty, the politics of exclusion, and ecological disaster. Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea, South Sudan are among the poorest in Africa, frequently visited by the above listed factors, and none of them is able at present to feed its population without assistance from abroad. Human securities in those countries are in shaky situation. According to Critical Security Studies (CSS) and the Human Security Debate view, human security is linked to meeting the needs of the most vulnerable populations such as poverty alleviation, environmental protection, treatment and prevention of HIV/AIDS, human rights protection (Getachew, 2008,p.18).

The state-centered understanding of security has been changed to people-centered security, specially, in the post-cold war era. Africa, though showing great effort in the maintenance of peace and security in the continent, still faces a challenge in maintaining human security (Getachew, 2008, p.4). The challenges of achieving the security of people include most of states are weak, as governance has vacuum parallel with the acute conflict crises experienced across the region. For that reason, security all the time to address the needs of individuals and vulnerable groups. Seeing that, Critical Security Studies theory argues attention on the individual rather than the state, as the main referent of security theory and politics (Ibid, p.23).

Contrary neo-realism theory argues, 'the state is the primary referent of security'. Certainly state security is important to protect human security from outward aggressive and inwardly repressive regime. State security is therefore, about those government institutions that ensure the physical protection, safety and health of their citizens, equal access to have law and protection from abuse (Baldwin, 1997, p.9). As well, the role of member states is identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood and dignity of their people.

Exponent of Critical Security Studies theory reject the state as the locus of security, without completely denying its instrumental relevance, they favour the construction of security communities for provision of security to individuals & groups (Cilliers, 2004, p.43). In fact in the contemporary world human security cannot exist without due provision of adequate national security. Conversely, national security cannot be achieved without respect for individual security in the form of respect for human rights and freedoms. Herein my point is individual security must be the basis for national security, and national security grounded in individual security.

Ironically, in its national security strategy, the Ethiopian government highlights that security policy has the absolute priority as it is a matter of ensuring national survival. Only when this national survival is secured other policy areas such as economic prosperity, sustainable peace, and human rights would follow. Yet there are a lot of circumstances where oppression shoves to gross violations of human rights, occasioning the movements of refugees and migrants, and conflicts. Certainly such issues tend to produce consequences that create instability in the public arena. This is obvious that where there is oppression and repression, development can hardly take place. It is precisely for this reason that Veilleux, (2013, p.13), notes that "the problem of peace and security in Africa is bound up with the nature and character of the human right and human development." Thus, I comprehend the centralities of development for Africa nation are the existence of peace and security. Therefore the existence of peace and security have great important to make developments possible in Africa. "If no security there is no development."

Human insecurity is the most obstruction to peace and development and the only way to achieve the Millennium Development Goals is a continued asset and pledge to the promotion of right of entry, protection and empowerment of human security in all its forms in Africa. Africa therefore needs special attention and international commitment to prevent the scourge of human insecurities and underdevelopment (Van langenhove, 2004, p.28). In my view, human security should be at the core of the vision of human development in Africa needs! In other words, the development goals of Africa need to be complemented by a broader vision that incorporates human security goals.



Many theory show that, lack of development has insecure many African countries but I shall argue to that the situation after situation in different parts of the Africa such as horn of African state where lack of security saps the creative capacity of the people and impoverishes them. Where people are free, they are inspired to create and to produce. I can say that insecurity around Africa continent is not only source of human suffering but also threat to the development of all nations.

## **4.2. Major Causes of Human Insecurity**

In this under discussed human security threats are not reciprocally exclusive in a sense that they are matching and reinforce each other. One security threat root, or caused by, the other one. Thus, the difference ended only for the sake of expediency and easy understanding. At the top of that, theses security threats are emanated either from domestic or external.

### **4.2.1. Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons**

Pastoralists straddling border regions Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan, Uganda Somali borders are armed. Engage in cattle rustling to restock herds. Fight over grazing land and water with the increased use of modern weapons increasing insecurity, and leading to high losses of lives. Small arms and light weapons (SALW) are abundant more people can carry rather loaded on pack animals to move from place to place and are cheap and widely available to use by mass of the countryside communities. The acquisition of small arms by any member of the society is considered to be a top priority to protect themselves from enemy. Because governments in the region cannot provide adequate security for their citizens, individuals lived in these cyclical scenarios of animosity feel forced to use these as a matter of individual as well as collective security.

They believe that the possession of firearms by large numbers of people is an asset. The majority of youth the attach great values for semi-automatic rifle, because it is considered as an assurance to gain power over the opposed groups. These weapons were simple to be used by one group against the other. Therefore, the easy availability of small arms in the vicinity has contributed to the human insecurity.

Even today, the presence of small weapons is a great question between the communities in region in Ethiopia Furthermore, the presence of arms dealers from different areas indirectly added fuel to the fire.

### **4.2.2. The Politics of exclusion**

The Horn of Africa leaders have been devoted to power monopoly. This, in turn, led for the exclusion of certain groups which are not in the political position. The problem of exclusion significant challenges human security, more than ever pastoralist area of the region. This due to state capacity, in the region have areas where the state barely exists, and therefore services, such as security, water, sanitation, health and education are not available (Endalcachew, 2014, p.3). These breed a sense of marginalization and disenfranchisement among community groups that do not benefit from state services compared to similar communities in other regions of the countries. State policies can appear to favor certain groups over others. However pastoral communities in the region limited access to public resources and services than farming and other sedentary communities. The needs of one group clash with the needs of others.

The attempts of disadvantaged groups to reverse unjust conditions often meet with harsh responses. Violence is used to force them to cooperate with the authorities. Detention, persecution, mistreatment, and other human rights violations become a common practice in Africa. The victims of the politics of exclusion rarely achieve a fair hearing before courts, which further exacerbates their conditions. They are not allowed to become active players in the key areas of the economy, lacking access to agricultural lands, investment opportunities, or the higher positions that their counterparts enjoy (Ibid, p.22).

### **4.2.3. Ecological fragility**

The Horn of Africa has been characterized by recurrent natural disaster like drought and flood. As a result of this, countries of the region faced food crisis. Key sources of instability arid areas are inter-communal clashes, pastoralist that straddle the shared borders, over grazing land and water points. The region is a good place to raise the question posed in the ongoing debate concerning the impact of ecological disaster on human security. I understand environment change poses a considerable threat of undermining human security and future opportunities of the state.

For instance in Somalia the demand for wood and charcoal, boosted by the absence of alternative fuels, appears to be drastically reducing forest reserves and providing a valuable source of income for al-Shabaab (Keller, 2013, p.16). This is true that many of horn of Africa communities being at highest climate-related risks, particularly because of the impacts of droughts and floods.

Indeed Water scarcity and climate change will continue to put pressure on human security whose resources are already stretched by population growth and environmental degradation. Efforts to manage water and make it available where it is most needed are hampered by underdeveloped water storage infrastructure, changing climates, and the weak capacity of regional water-resource management institutions (Homer-Dixon, 1994, P. 3).

#### **4.2.4. Terrorism**

Horn of Africa has been one of the most terrorism affected regions in the world. The combination of conflict, lack of development and good governance has contributed to making the region prone to radicalization and to the resort to violence (Peter, 2006, p. 18). While terrorism can never be justified, addressing these challenges can certainly help in reducing the threat and vulnerability. Terrorist incidents cause suffering and damage to human life and property. The terrorist threat induces higher levels of uncertainty, which impacts investment and consumption decisions. It reduces opportunities to diversify national economies with many member states desire to increase revenues from sectors such as tourism being compromised by insecurity.

As a matter of importance, the state government would have to recognize that the best counter terrorism strategy is one that is based on providing human security to citizens, and not in the narrow sense of state security. The respect of human rights, the observance of good governance and the practicing of democratic principles would go a long way in reducing the threat of terrorism in each country and the region as a whole (Ibid, p.12).

#### **4.2.5. Displacement of People**

Conflict, instability, and food insecurity have contributed highest levels of displacement on the continent. War and violence in South Sudan contributed to marked increases in refugee outflows into Ethiopia, Uganda, Sudan, Kenya, and Djibouti. In August 2014 Ethiopia became the country hosting the largest number of refugees in the region, overtaking Kenya.

The war in Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan, have left the region with the highest population of refugee and displaced persons in Africa. Refugee and displaced populations pose significant pressure on weak local and national institutions and place significant strains on national and local governments and host communities (Keller, 2013:32).

In addition, displaced and refugee populations are frequently the most deprived, vulnerable, and excluded. Indeed, such massive involuntary population movements as has been experienced in the region inevitably has negative impacts on human and social capital, economic growth, poverty reduction, and environmental sustainability. Forced displacement can itself fuel further instability, insecurity, and conflict by concentrating or diluting ethnic, clan, religious, or political groups or fuelling conflicts between refugees, internal displacement people, and host communities over land, natural resources, and livelihood opportunities. Issues related to the status and return of refugees can also be a source of tension between communities and even states in the region.

Currently, Somalia and Sudan are two largest sources of refugee overflows and internal displacement in the region. The steady stabilization of Somalia, if sustained is a positive development that, when fully consolidated, would have the potential to contribute significantly to regional stability.

Besides refugee's flow affect the security and stability of the host country by contributing to organized armed conflict on the territory. The influxes from neighboring states significantly increase the risk of civil war. Along with the refugees themselves, foreign fighters, arms and ideologies that contribute to violence may also stream across the border, refugee's warrior communities as asserted by various scholars can expand rebel networks encompass the host state when militants established bases on external territory and can form social ties with domestic opposition groups with similar ethnic or political orientation. Therefore, refugee inflows may lead to violent turmoil on the host country's territory (Dereje, 2014, p.7).

### **4.3. Federalism as a Tool for Conflict Management in Ethiopia**

Ethiopia is a country with a diverse range of ethnic and linguistic groups that have historically experienced tensions and conflicts. Ethnic federalism was introduced in Ethiopia in the 1990s as a way to address these conflicts by allowing ethnic groups to have greater autonomy and control over their own territories. However, the implementation

of ethnic federalism has itself been a source of conflict and tension, raising questions about the dynamics of conflict and ethnic federalism in Ethiopia. This chapter critically examines both sides of the argument, and drawing on recent research and discourse.

#### **4.3.1. Notation of Federalism and Ethnic federalism**

Federalism is the most effective system of governance for promoting democracy, and achieving economic growth and development. Federalism has been shown to promote democracy by allowing for the distribution of powers and responsibilities between the central and state governments. This ensures that decisions are made at the most effective level and that the interests and needs of all citizens are represented. For example, in the United States, the federal system allows for the protection of minority rights through a system of checks and balances that limit the power of both the central and state governments. A study by Levitsky and Ziblatt (2018) found that federalism can also reduce the likelihood of democratic breakdown by creating an institutional framework that promotes stability and accountability.

Furthermore, federalism is a crucial system for guaranteeing individual rights and liberty. By distributing powers and responsibilities between levels of government, federalism ensures that no one branch or level of government can be overly powerful or unrestricted in their actions. This is apparent in the case of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which provides protections for individual rights and liberties against the power of both the federal and provincial governments. A study by Schmitter (2017) indicated that federalism can also foster the free flow of ideas and greater participation, leading to the development of more diverse and effective policies.

Finally, federalism has been linked to economic growth and development. By allowing for greater local control and flexibility, federalism provides an opportunity for more efficient and tailored economic policies to be implemented. A study by Rodden (2019) found that decentralized economic policies can lead to better outcomes in terms of employment, wages, and economic growth. Additionally, federalism encourages competition between states, which can lead to greater innovation and efficiency. On the other side, opponents argue that federalism can lead to excessive political fragmentation, inefficiency, and inequality. By allowing for multiple levels of government, federalism can lead to confusion and unnecessary complexity in government policy-making. For example, a study by O'Toole et al. (2018) found that federalism can lead to duplication and overlap, leading to inefficiencies and reduced public confidence in government. Additionally, opponents argue that federalism can lead to inequality and uneven distribution of resources to different states and regions, leading to a lack of equity and social cohesion. Furthermore, opponents argue that federalism can lead to a lack of accountability and coordination. Because of the decentralization of power, it can be difficult to establish clear lines of responsibility and oversight, leading to a lack of transparency and accountability. For instance, in Nigeria, the decentralization of power has led to a lack of accountability and weak democratic institutions, leading to rampant corruption (Okechukwu and Udah, 2017).

Indeed, while there are certainly valid arguments for and against federalism as a system of governance, research supports the view that federalism can be an effective means of achieving democracy, protecting individual rights and liberty, and promoting economic growth and development. However, it is important to address potential weaknesses and challenges, such as fragmentation, inefficiency, and inequality. By emphasizing transparency, accountability, and coordination among different levels of government, federalism can continue to be an effective system of governance.

#### **4.3.2. The need of Ethnic Federalism**

Many proponents of ethnic federalism argue that it has allowed for greater representation of diverse ethnic communities within the federal system. According to Debebe Hailegebriel, ethnic federalism is a way to “recognize and respect differences in traditions, customs, languages, and cultures” (2019: 2). In the Ethiopian context, this has led to the creation of regional states based on ethnicity, which have a degree of self-government and control over local resources. As a result, ethnic minorities have been able to participate in the political process and have a voice in decision-making (Tadesse, 2017: 33).

Ethnic federalism is an effective system for promoting equality, democracy, and preserving the cultural identities of diverse ethnic groups within a country. Ethnic federalism is a system of governance that recognizes the cultural diversity of a country and seeks to provide equal representation and opportunities for all ethnic groups within it. Ethnic federalism can promote equality by allowing for a more diverse range of voices to be heard in government decision-making.

This helps to ensure that ethnic minorities are not marginalized or discriminated against in favor of the dominant ethnic group. For example, Ethiopia's ethnic federation is seen as a way to give different ethnic groups self-rule, and has benefited historically marginalized groups such as the Oromo and Tigrayans (Abdi, 2020).

Research also suggests that ethnic federalism has contributed to economic growth in Ethiopia by allowing for greater regional autonomy in economic policy-making. A study by Barne, Gebregziabher and Oli (2019) found that regional states were able to tailor economic policies to their specific needs and resources. This has led to greater investment in agriculture, manufacturing, and other sectors, resulting in significant economic growth in recent years.

Furthermore, ethnic federalism can be a powerful way to preserve the cultural identities of different ethnic groups within a country. By recognizing the unique history, culture, and language of different groups, ethnic federalism can prevent the erosion of long-standing traditions and values. For example, the adoption of ethnic federalism in Kenya has been linked to the preservation of indigenous languages and cultures, as well as promoting national unity (Kang'ethe, 2013).

However, critics of ethnic federalism argue that it has fueled ethnic separatism and conflicts between different groups. According to Zenebe Bashaw, the creation of regional states based on ethnicity has led to the "emergence of exclusive and homogeneous territories" (2018: 215). This has led to the exclusion of certain ethnic groups from political and economic life, which in turn can lead to feelings of marginalization and resentment. Furthermore, some argue that ethnic federalism has contributed to violence and instability in Ethiopia, exacerbating existing ethnic tensions (Banda, 2020: 45).

In conclusion, the debate over ethnic federalism in Ethiopia continues to be a contested issue. While proponents argue that it has promoted democracy and economic growth, critics suggest that it has fueled ethnic separatism and violence. Ultimately, the effectiveness of ethnic federalism will depend on how it is implemented and whether it can address the concerns of different ethnic groups in Ethiopia.

### **4.3.3. Challenges of Ethnic Federalism**

Many political elites suggest that ethnic federalism has contributed to the politicization of ethnicity in Ethiopian society. According to a study by Yohannes Gebeyehu (2018), political parties have increasingly used ethnicity as a means of mobilizing support and gaining power. This has led to the eroding of national identity and cohesion, as ethnic identity takes precedence over other forms of identity.

Critics argue that ethnic federalism can lead to ethnic conflict, discrimination, and fragmentation. By giving too much power to regional ethnic groups, ethnic federalism can create a situation where groups are competing against one another for resources and representation. This can lead to ongoing resentment and tension, as well as discrimination against minority ethnic groups. For instance, ethnic federalism in Nepal has created a situation where different ethnic groups are competing for power and representation, leading to ongoing political instability (Eibensteiner and Karanth, 2018).

Furthermore, opponents argue that ethnic federalism can lead to economic inefficiency. By dividing a country up into separate regions, ethnic federalism can create barriers to trade and transport between regions. This can lead to fragmentation of markets, which can harm overall economic growth and development (Abdi, 2020).

There are valid arguments for and against ethnic federalism as a system of governance. While ethnic federalism can be a powerful way to promote equality, democracy, and preserve cultural identities, it is important to address potential challenges and weaknesses such as ethnic conflict, discrimination, fragmentation, and economic inefficiency. By emphasizing transparency, cooperation, and the promotion of equal opportunities for all ethnic groups, ethnic federalism can continue to be an effective system of governance.

Ethnic federalism in Ethiopia has been a subject of debate and discussion among scholars, policymakers, and the public. Although the Ethiopian government officially adopted ethnic federalism in 1994, the issue remains controversial due to pressing challenges and problems faced by the policy. This essay will discuss pressing challenges about ethnic federalism in Ethiopia, drawing on recent research and in-text citations to support the argument.

One of the most pressing challenges of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia is the issue of ethnic conflict and violence. Ethiopia has experienced numerous ethnic conflicts, resulting in the displacement of millions of people from their homes and causing social and political instability.

According to a study by Lavers (2020), ethnic federalism has contributed to the emergence of exclusive and homogeneous ethnic territories, leading to the marginalization of some ethnic groups. This has resulted in conflict over access to resources, power, and representation, which is often resulted in violent clashes between different groups. Another pressing challenge of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia is the politicization of ethnicity, where politicians use ethnic identity as a tool for mobilizing support and gaining power. Politicization of ethnicity can lead to the erosion of national identity, social cohesion, and stability in the country. According to a study by Hizkias (2018), ethnic federalism has contributed to the fragmentation of Ethiopia, leading to the formation of ethnically defined political parties that promote ethnic interests over the common good of the country.

Furthermore, ethnic federalism in Ethiopia has faced the challenge of uneven development and inequality among different regions and ethnic groups. Despite the decentralization of power, resources, and development initiatives to regional states, many regions and ethnic groups in Ethiopia still lag behind in terms of social and economic development. A study by Teshome (2020) argued that ethnic federalism promotes unequal development since the allocation of resources is based on ethnic quotas rather than the needs of the population. This has resulted in underdeveloped regions and ethnic groups being left behind.

Another challenge faced by ethnic federalism in Ethiopia is the issue of identity politics, where ethnic identity takes center stage in political discourse, resulting in the neglect of other important issues such as economic development, education, and healthcare. According to a study by Lemma (2020), ethnic federalism has created a situation where political discourse and public policies focus on ethnic identity, limiting the scope of political issues being discussed.

In conclusion, ethnic federalism in Ethiopia faces various pressing challenges that require urgent attention for the policy to be effective and sustainable. The issues of ethnic conflict and violence, politicization of ethnicity, uneven development and inequality, and identity politics need to be addressed to ensure that ethnic federalism promotes democracy, social cohesion, and economic development in Ethiopia.

#### **4.3.4. The Dynamics of Conflict and Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia**

One of the key arguments in the debate over the dynamics of conflict and ethnic federalism in Ethiopia is that ethnic federalism has been successful in reducing conflict and promoting stability. Proponents of this argument cite the many positive examples of ethnic federalism in action, such as the peaceful coexistence of different ethnic groups in regions like Tigray and Gambella (Asfaw, 2016). In addition, proponents argue that ethnic federalism has given more power and control to local governments, which has led to better service delivery and development in these areas (Abdella, 2018).

However, critics of ethnic federalism argue that it has actually exacerbated existing conflicts and created new ones. They argue that the formation of ethno-nationalist groups, which are based on exclusive ethnic identities, has led to discrimination and marginalization of minority groups (Samuel, 2017). Ethnic federalism has also been criticized for creating unequal development across regions, with some regions receiving more support and investment than others (Jennings, 2015). This has caused resentment and tension between different ethnic groups, with some feeling that they are being left behind in terms of economic development and political power.

Another argument in the debate over ethnic federalism is that it is a flawed approach to addressing the underlying causes of conflict in Ethiopia. Proponents of this argument point out that ethnic federalism has not addressed the root causes of conflict, such as poverty, inequality, and political repression (Talbi & Banegas, 2015). Instead, ethnic federalism has focused on dividing the country into smaller ethnic-based regions, which has made it difficult to address these larger structural issues.

Opponents of this argument contend that ethnic federalism is a necessary step towards resolving these underlying conflicts. They argue that by giving more power to local governments, ethnic federalism can help address poverty and inequality in specific regions (Bereket, 2017). In addition, they argue that the creation of ethno-nationalist groups can help promote unity and cooperation between different ethnic groups.

The academic debate over the dynamics of conflict and ethnic federalism in Ethiopia is complex and multi-faceted, with arguments for and against the effectiveness of this approach. While there are many positive examples of ethnic federalism in action, there are also concerns about its ability to address the underlying causes of conflict and promote national unity. Further research is needed to better understand the impact of ethnic federalism on conflict dynamics in Ethiopia.

Federalism is a political system in which power is shared between a central government and its constituent regions or states. There are two main theories of federalism: dual federalism and cooperative federalism. Dual federalism is a system in which the national government and the state governments each have separate and distinct powers. Cooperative federalism, on the other hand, is a system in which the national government and the state governments work together to govern the country.

One of the earliest political scientists to study federalism was Publius, the pseudonym used by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay in *The Federalist Papers*. In *Federalist No. 39*, Publius argued that the United States was a federal system because power was shared between the national government and the state governments (Madison, Hamilton, & Jay, 1788).

Another prominent theorist of federalism was Daniel Elazar, who argued that there were three types of federalism: cooperative federalism, dual federalism, and conflicted federalism. Elazar believed that the type of federalism that existed in a particular country depended on its political culture (Elazar, 1987).

In recent years, political scientists have studied the impact of federalism on various policy areas. For example, Michael Fix and Jeffrey S. Passel (2003) examined the role of state and local governments in immigration policy in the United States. They found that the federal government had largely failed to address the issue of illegal immigration, leading many states and localities to take matters into their own hands.

Similarly, Susan M. Sterett and Susan Rose-Ackerman (2013) studied the impact of federalism on social welfare policy. They found that the fragmentation of power between the national government and the state governments had made it difficult to create a coherent and effective social welfare system in the United States.

Overall, federalism remains an important topic of study for political scientists, as it continues to shape the way that governments and societies are organized around the world.

Federalism is a system of government in which power is shared between a central government and its constituent units. There are several types of federalism, including dual federalism, cooperative federalism, and coercive federalism.

Dual federalism, also known as layer cake federalism, is a system in which the national government and the state governments have separate and distinct powers. The federal government is responsible for issues related to national defense, foreign relations, and interstate commerce, while the states are responsible for issues related to education, public health, and law enforcement. This type of federalism was prominent in the United States during the 19th century, when the federal government had limited power and the state governments were much more influential (McCormick, 2009).

Cooperative federalism, also known as marble cake federalism, is a system in which the national government and the state governments work together to address policy issues. In this type of federalism, the federal government provides funding and support for state programs in areas such as education, healthcare, and transportation, while the states are responsible for implementing and administering those programs (Gerston & Christensen, 2014).

Coercive federalism, also known as picket fence federalism, is a system in which the federal government uses grants and other incentives to force state governments to comply with national policy goals. In this type of federalism, the federal government often sets specific requirements and guidelines for state programs and provides funding only to those programs that meet those requirements (Nelson, 2008).

Some researchers argue that there are additional types of federalism, such as new federalism, which emphasizes the devolution of power from the national government to the state governments, and liberal federalism, which emphasizes the protection of individual rights and freedoms (Grose & Schneider, 2019). Overall, the type of federalism that exists in a particular country or region depends on a variety of factors, including the nature of the political culture and the historical and institutional context.

#### **4.3.5. Federalism and the Accommodation of Ethnic Diversity:**

In Ethiopia, there are several established Modern institutions for conflict resolving mechanisms. Hence, the rationale behind federalism, like most institutional forms, is a solution to, or an attempt to manage, a certain kind of ethnic problem of political organization. In some states, federalism is chosen as an instrument of good governance, and the success of democratic management of ethnic conflict depends on the extent to which multi-ethnic democracies create specific institutional arrangements and practices that would regulate interethnic conflicts.

Hence, resource issues are the root of ethnic conflict in Ethiopia, and democratic decentralization, or power sharing, has become the core approach to ethnic conflict management in Ethiopia. Both the modern and traditional institutions of conflict management require the consent of the conflict parties to accept or implement arrangements relating to the control of conflicts.

The federal state of Ethiopia believe that Ethnic empowerment is the single most device to improve the political, economic and socio-cultural rights and privileges of Ethiopia's "nations, nationalities and people" in particular, the issue of developing languages, cultures, and a sense of pride in ethnic identities of those previously oppressed groups. In spite of this, Ethiopia's ethnic federalism is designed to address the 'national question' (a popular name for the 1960s struggle against ethnic domination in Ethiopia). To address this question, Article 39 of the federal constitution stipulates that every ethno- cultural community has its regional state and territory. The constitution, among other democratic rights, proclaimed the following (Article 39) which is very much by the principles enshrined in the transitional period charter. Every Nation,

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

The terrible experience of ethnic conflict in Ethiopia, federalism is still active for reconciling unity and diversity under a multi political system. The academic debate and experiment of this system of administration is ongoing. However, in my view, multi cultural federal system and political decentralization contribute to regional stability by sharing power with the lower levels of government to decide on their own affairs.

In contrast to these early in the 1990s, the TPLF-dominated government in Addis Ababa decided that the ethnic federalism system the danger of increasing ethnic tensions; the extreme complication of local administration; the spread of corruption as many small local political elites were created, all with their appetites and agendas; the extreme difficulty of coordinating multiple ethnic parties within the regional governments; and the poor progress towards democratization since each ethnic party dealt mostly with parochial issues without any interest in national ones.

The study sought to examine federalism as tools of resolving conflicts in Metekel Conflict upon this the research explore structure, and institutions within federal system as resolving conflict in the study areas. A few of these are singled out based on findings from the interviews and FGDs:

On the other hand, according to information from some people who were tied with that conflict, in order to resolve ethnic conflict that occurred between Oromos and Amhara, Gumuz who were active parties to conflict government has played a very prominent role. Since the conflict was between two ethnic groups having their own state and defined territories the federal government has intervened due to the fact that resolving ethnic conflict falls under federal government specifically for house of federation. By virtue of power entrusted to it the house has taken different conflict resolution mechanisms. In other way house of federation tried to resolve conflict amicably bringing together representatives of Oromia and Gumuz region. So, after serious discussion representatives of both regions agreed on resolution under guidance of house of federation on border claim of their respective ethnic.

#### **4.3.6. The conflict in the Metekel Zone of the Benishangul-Gumuz region, Ethiopia**

The conflict in the Metekel Zone of the Benishangul-Gumuz region is a complex and multifaceted issue, deeply rooted in the socio-political landscape of the area. The Metekel Zone has experienced significant ethnic tensions and conflicts, leading to tragic events and humanitarian crises. The Oromo, along with several other ethnic groups, live in this region. The history of the Oromo people in the Metekel Zone is deeply intertwined with the broader history of the region and Ethiopia. The Oromo people in Metekel have faced political alienation and limited access to resources. The region's constitution recognizes only five ethnic groups (Gumuz, Mao, Shinasha, Berta, and Komo) as the owners of the region, while others, including the Oromo, are considered residents without full political representation. This exclusion has led to systematic and gross human rights violations against the Oromo community. The Historical Context of the Oromo people, one of the major ethnic groups in the region particularly in the zone, are known for their distinctive Gada system, a traditional socio-political governance structure that has played a crucial role in their self-government and cultural preservation throughout history. The Oromo in Metekel, like their counterparts in other regions, have a rich cultural heritage that contributes to the diverse cultural mosaic of Ethiopia. Promoting and preserving this heritage is crucial for fostering a sense of identity and belonging within the Oromo community in Metekel.

The Oromo community living in Matakal province have a rich traditional socio-cultural history, and their economic and political development has evolved over time. Matakal, specifically, has been a significant area for the Oromo, and their presence there has shaped the local dynamics. The region has experienced significant challenges and opportunities: Like many ethnic communities, the Oromo community in Matakal faces both challenges and opportunities. Challenges may include issues related to land tenure, access to resources, cultural preservation, and political representation. Opportunities lie in community-led initiatives, cultural revitalization efforts, and collaboration with other ethnic groups for mutual benefit. Remember that each community within the Benishangul-Gumuz Region contributes to the region's diversity and resilience. By understanding their histories and current contexts, we can appreciate the richness of Ethiopia's cultural mosaic. The Oromo, along with several other ethnic groups, are present in the Metekel Zone, Oromo people are one of the largest ethnic groups in the zone in the Benishangul-Gumuz region. The history of the Oromo ethnic group in the Metekel zone is deeply intertwined with the broader history of the region and Ethiopia.

Currently, the Oromo people are one of the largest ethnic groups in Benishangul Gumuz and have a significant presence in various zones, in particular in Galesaa, Cancoo, Geshee, Barbar, Caffee Dhibba, Bullen, Dibati and Wonbera etc. For long years many areas of the metekele zone were administered by Oromo land administrators for example Gerazmach: Amente Gute Abe Admonitor Galesaa area: Gerazmach: Hulfata Degaga Admonitor Jejebagisa : Gerazmach: Dingde Roo : Admonitor Cancoo: Gerazmach: Gult Kumsa Admonitor Chaffee Diba : Fatwaarar Nuqusi Guska Admonitor Albasa area; Gerazmach: Sima, Admonitor Albasa : qannnyizmach: Bayam Gameda Admonitor Dale area: Gerazmach:-Arega Abd Gaga Admonitor Lagagurcha ; Gerazmach: Aga Tufa Admonitor Gafare Aarea Gerazmach:-Dengde Chfe Berber Gerazmach:-Duresa Kumsa Gaga Gerazmach: Gulti Kumsa Tulu Akin Right-handed: Get up, get up Right-handed: Hafa jumped up and waved his hand Right: Tso Gaga Moreka Chalia In Ranbers.-Gute Abe Galesa In Ranbers: Bekere Kenei broke and Berber Berberes: Aga Konbe Berber/Gshay In Ranberes: Kedda Ganse Gute Demba In Ranbers:- Jena Aga Jru Berber In Ranberes: Hafa Quqem Luya Geshe In Ranbers: Sor Woega Geshe In Ranberes, I will eat meat In Ranbers: Aga Sunday sent In Ranberes: Amente Nono Gaga Korka In Ranbers: Steal Ya Tux In Ranberes: Roro Jebene Jejeba Gisa In Ranberes, solve the problem with Gamma Gerb In Ranberis: Rope Moa Mora Berberes: Tens of thousands of people 10 Chief: / Agafari / Bdu Kumsa Horaagamsa Fataurar: Gebul Moreka Dalat Right-wing Jilo Gosu Sombo Sr Right: Nuqus Erge Ulumai/Sombo Sr In Ranberes: Mokonennukuserge Ulumai/Sombo Sr Gerazmach: Bajira Walga Dale In Ranbers: Debel Senge Gongo In Ranbers: Debala Qunache Geshgara In Ranberis: Gaga Morka Chalya Gerazmach: Erge Antute Tulu Dimt

Historically:- The Oromo people are known for their Gadaa system, democratic governance and social organization. They traditionally practiced agricultural lifestyle, which has been affected by modern changes and government policies. The Oromo language, Afaan Oromo, is widely spoken and is part of the Cushitic language family. In Metekel, the Oromo, along with other ethnic groups such as the Gumuz and Shinasha, have faced challenges due to ethnic conflicts and land disputes.

The Oromo's history in Metekel, like in other parts of Ethiopia, is marked by their resilience and adaptation to changing political and environmental landscapes. For a more detailed historical account, scholarly articles and historical texts would provide an in-depth perspective. Historically, The Oromo, Gumuz, Agew and Shinasha, inhabitants of Metekel continued their interactions for their daily activities (Tsega Endalew, 2006). Although they have their own respective traditional principles of marriage ceremony. They gradually adopted Oromo traditional customs and various traditions conflict resolution known as "Jaarssumma" (lead by Jarsaa Abbaa Biyaa" or Jarsa Arara) ,"Gadaa Caffee Caancoo"(lead by), "Luba Basa," (lit. to set free) and "Harma Hodha" (lit. licking a breast) are among the most important traditional principles aware that loving their brother and sister is good in front of God (Waaqa duratti) and sinfulness of forbidding their brothers/sisters inheritance right according to the norm of the society as to the elders of the Metekel Zone.

Besides the Oromo people have their own language, which is called Afaan Oromo or Oromiffa. Oromiffa is a Cushitic language spoken in most parts of the Metekel zone. It is considered one of the second widely spoken languages next to Gumuz from among the languages of the region. The Oromo language has very rich vocabulary and it is the third most widely spoken language in Africa.

The Oromo in Metekel zone have vast and very rich culture, fostered by the size of the population and large land areas with diverse climatic conditions. Marriage is one of the most important rituals in the Oromo culture.



There are three things Oromos talk about in life: BIRTH, MARRIAGE, and DEATH. These are the events that add to or take away from the family. Therefore, it is the task of anthropologists and sociologists or other professionals to have a record document about cultural lives of Oromo people including marriage patterns, family formations and kinship system. This study deals mainly with the marriage practice among the Metekel Oromo. In the Metekel Zone, particularly in areas like Woredas Gallela, Bulen, Dibate, and Wonbera, the Oromo community has made significant contributions to the cultural and social fabric of the region. Despite their contributions, the Oromo in Metekel have faced challenges, including political alienation and limited access to property and services.

#### **4.3.6.1. Conflict Dynamics**

The Metekel Zone has been a hotspot for ethnic conflict, partly due to its diverse population and competition for resources. The strategic importance of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) project has further complicated the security situation. Various armed groups, including Fano militia, and regional security forces, have been active in the region, leading to human rights violations and displacement. The Metekel Zone has been a hotbed of community conflict, partly due to its diverse population and competition for resources. The strategic importance of the Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) project has further complicated the security situation. These conflicts have often resulted in human rights violations, disproportionately affecting minority communities such as the Oromo. Efforts are being made to promote peace and stability in Metekel. Initiatives aimed at promoting dialogue, understanding, and inclusive governance are critical to resolving the roots of conflict and building cohesive communities. The involvement of community leaders, local authorities, and stakeholders in peacebuilding activities is essential to creating sustainable solutions. Efforts are being made to promote peace and stability in Metekel. Initiatives aimed at promoting dialogue, understanding, and inclusive governance are critical to resolving the roots of conflict and building cohesive communities. The involvement of community leaders, local authorities, and stakeholders in peacebuilding activities is essential to creating sustainable solutions.

#### **4.3.6.2. House of Federation (HOF)**

The FDRE constitution, Art. 48 (1), stipulates that all state border disputes shall be settled by agreement of the concerned states. Where the concerned states fail to reach agreement, the HoF shall decide such disputes based on settlement patterns and the wishes of the peoples concerned. The HoF's top responsibility is to deal with conflict. It is an organ constitutionally mandated to find a solution to disputes or misunderstandings that may arise between states, as stated in FDRE Constitution Article 62(6).

After the violent clash of May 2008, the regions agreed to discuss the issue of the conflict to find better ways of resolving it when the HoF brought them together in the aftermath of the conflict. In the continued discussions, the regional states established a joint boundary assessment committee. This aimed at resolving the boundary dispute through negotiations between the two regional states, according to the FDRE constitution (Art. 48).

The HoF has limited involvement in proactively acting on conflict prevention, except for the establishment of the consultation forum between the HOF and the regional states. Initially, the role of MoFA was too weak regarding managing the conflict, but now it is working on a new strategy that strengthens its capacity and understanding in dealing with conflict. The strategy involves processes such as peace value building, conflict early warning and quick response, and conflict management and research.

Generally, as both groups' key informants complain, the needed interventions of the federal institutions came late after things got out of hand after hundreds perished and thousands were displaced. The federal intervention brings to the table a customary conflict resolution mechanism, though the result seems delicate since both suspect the other of breaching the agreement. The study revealed that none of the institutions pursued a proactive approach to conflict management before resorting to violence.

The constitution remits the HoF as the legislative governmental organ responsible for conflict mitigation. The House is responsible for issues relating to the rights of nations, nationalities, and peoples. It can decide on the right to self-determination. In the actual management of ethnic conflicts in the country, the standard practice followed by the HoF in resolving border conflicts between member regional states of the federation has been to hold a referendum, although some remain unsettled even today. Referenda were held in different parts of the country to provide solutions to conflicts over territorial claims among ethnic groups residing in neighboring states. Likewise, the

referendum was conducted in some contentious Kebeles of Cancoo and Galeesa Weredas of the Benishangule to Oromiya Regional States, respectively.

In theory, this seems like an ideal solution, as it will allow residents of the disputed territories to decide to which region they want to belong. In practice, however, the referendum was not instrumental in providing a lasting solution to the border disputes between the two communities because the HoF, despite its constitutional mandate to resolve the dispute, did not make any considerable contribution towards managing and resolving such violent inter-communal conflict due to serious human and technical capacity constraints as well as its inability to address its obligation independently. Aside from the negligible role played by HoF regarding the process and the result of the referendum, the Oromo people perceive the situations differently. Some of my Oromo informants in the conflict localities cast doubt on the sincerity of the result of the referendum by saying: We Oromo are extremely displeased in many ways with the results of the referendum, which still influences the relations of the groups in these Weredas since it does not serve its aim impartially.

In the same way, other Gumuz informants from other district and former government Official, who was an Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO) member, Substantiated the above points in the following words: Many Gumuz people are dissatisfied with the process because they feel they have lost their land by a referendum that they considered as unjust and unfair. However, they have no choice rather than accepting the peace process; otherwise, they would be arbitrarily labelled as anti- peace and jailed.

Besides, the federal legislature has the responsibility of direct involvement in conflict management through investigations against human rights violations conducted by the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission and by sending Members of Parliament to conflict-ridden zones. These varieties of circumstances allow the federal government to intervene in the internal affair of the regional states to give effective protection and remedies to victims of human rights violations as well as to reverse the grave and deteriorating security conditions in those areas. In this case, the other apparent trend in the management of the conflicts, which is still characterized by the dominance of politico-administrative organs through federal government intervention, was the use of force.

#### **4.3.6.3. The Ministry of Peace**

The office of the Ministry of Peace was created to sustain the reforms that Ethiopia is currently undergoing through peacebuilding measures, establishing and strengthening the rule of law, and building the capacity of peace and security-focused sectors. Additionally, the office is tasked with using already existing social customs to deepen and sustain peace-building objectives and build national consensus. Additionally, the office is tasked with using already existing social customs to deepen and sustain peace-building objectives and build national consensus.

House of Federation (HoF) The constitution remits the HoF as the legislative governmental organ responsible for conflict mitigation. The House is responsible for issues relating to the rights of nations, nationalities, and peoples. In recognition ide on the right of self-determination. Ministry of Foreign Affairs Cognizance of the spillover of external conflict into Ethiopia, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has a central peacebuilding external efforts to address internal challenges. Regional States and Local Authorities Regional states have a major responsibility to address local conflicts by undertaking conflict prevention and peace-building activities.

The Ethiopian Ministry of Peace Established in 2018, the Ethiopian Ministry of Peace is one of the critical structures built by the new leadership to sustain the ongoing reforms through undertaking peace-building measures. This involves the development and strengthening of peace and security structures and institutions to ensure the rule of law and lasting peace. The Ministry oversees key peace and security offices, including the National Intelligence and Security Service (NISS), the Information Network Security Agency (INSA), the Federal Police Commission, and the Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs.

The formal justice system Manage conflicts by improving independence, efficiency, quality, and access to justice. Traditional Mechanisms Being easily accessible to many communities, Traditional mechanisms provide a quick solution to conflicts, including inter-clan conflicts and other (e.g., border) disputes Ethiopian reconciliation commission. The objective of the Commission is to maintain peace, justice, national unity, consensus, and reconciliation among Ethiopian peoples. Civil Society Organizations Cultivating trust among conflicting parties, undertaking monitoring and advocacy in human rights, developing action programs to support the livelihood of conflict victims, and creating access to justice and peace education.

Accordingly, upon request by the highest executive organ of the Benishangul Gumuz and the Oromia Regional States, the Federal Police Forces and Rapid Police Forces intervened between the two conflicting parties to assist regional law enforcement organs to maintain law and order through the use of appropriate measures proportionate to the circumstances, but with little success. What rather happened was that rapid police forces, as was the case in 2008, were themselves encircled in areas such as Theresa Kebele, let alone stopping the fighting. Worst of all, the Gumuz became infuriated with the forces and began selling them as they suspected some members of the force were siding with the Oromo, thereby, in some instances, complicating the situation. In the end, unlike the traditional conflict resolution practice the groups employed long ago to bring durable peace, the military intervention stopped the 2008 conflict after huge damage had already been done. This has significantly shown the inadequacy of traditionally developed instruments of conflict management between the two communities after the federalization of the country.

Unlike the 2008 conflict, however, the military intervention was unable to control the 2018 conflict until local elders from both conflicting groups and the neighboring ethnic groups intervened between the two belligerent groups for a cessation of hostilities. There is a general understanding that the intervention of elders ended the 2018 conflict, while government structures made the progress of traditional institutions of intervention smooth. Government authorities also acknowledged the role of the traditional conflict resolution method through the Jarsuma practice. Apart from the military intervention, the federal police forces, in collaboration with the authorities of the two regions, also rehabilitated the internally displaced persons who lost their homes and properties during the conflicts. Moreover, these forces assisted the endeavors made by the two regional authorities to bring to justice those who were implicated in criminal activities during the conflicts. Particularly, architects of the conflict from both sides, including the higher officials, were imprisoned indefinitely.

Until recently, however, there were no efforts by the federal government to find a lasting solution to the problem. The federal government faces a critical dilemma about the border conflict between the two peoples. The immense polarity that exists, not only between the narratives of the two groups about the root cause of the conflict but also about the means to resolve the conflict, provides little room for the federal government to maneuver a compromise.

More importantly, the federal government appears tied by its geopolitical interest in the region, the Federal Constitution, and its policy pronouncements, which heavily emphasize the rights of peoples in the contested territories to freely choose to which region they would like to belong through a plebiscite, for which the Gumuz in the past vigorously blamed the federal government in many ways with the results of the referendum as it did not serve its aim fairly. From the above discussion, it is very clear that the political center emphasized heavily on temporary solutions—a fire-brigade approach rather than addressing the factors that cause the border conflict. In this connection, it may be right to cite the words of the official government report from Girma, which states that:

As the previous firefighting approach to conflict resolution has not succeeded, more efforts are now directed towards prevention, and an early warning system is being studied with the assistance of UNDP. It is anticipated that within a short period, the country will have a comprehensive strategy on conflict prevention and resolution, and based on this strategy, extensive measures will be taken to end the occurrence of conflicts.

Based on this, it is fair to conclude that many of the interventions made by the federal government remained ad hoc, disparate, not well coordinated, and, above all, reactive.

#### **4.4. Regional government and Local Governments in resolving Conflicts in Metekel**

The FDRE constitution stipulates that regional states have the power and responsibility to maintain peace and order within their borders. Art. 52(2/g) reads as follows: The state shall have the powers and functions to establish and administer a state police force and to maintain public order and peace within the state. But both the BGRS and Oromia regional states lack some of the important institutional mechanisms for diversity accommodation. The local authority engaged more in activating rather than solving issues; they were unable to negotiate on issues since they accused each other: Gumuz accused the Oromo authorities of looking down on them, and the Oromo, on the other hand, accused Gumuz of being insecure.

The regional constitutions of both regions do not provide minorities rights and enhance the perception of the "mother land". For instance, Article 8 of the Oromia regional constitution of 2001 recognizes that sovereign power resides only with the Oromo people and is exercised through their elected representatives. This implies that non-Oromo groups cannot claim collective rights of representation.

The question of representation is one of the major constitutional gaps in the BGRS. The regional constitution of BGRS does not provide for a guaranteed representation of ethnic groups other than the indigenous in the state council of nationalities. State institutions, particularly in conflict-ridden areas, are not adequately functioning and, consequently, are not capable of regulating conflicts. Regarding inter-state conflict or dissent, the role of inter-governmental relations becomes silent. Two regional states have tried a lot together to contain inter-communal tension and conflicts before the recent violence.

Regional states and local governments have a major duty to sustain the peace and security of citizens and manage conflicts through joint or intergovernmental collaborative mechanisms. While the formation of comprehensive structures, processes, and mechanisms is imperative to improving inter-ethnic relations and managing inter-ethnic conflicts through the cooperation of all concerned bodies, there are some forums and channels of communication through which regional states meet and address their mutual problems at various levels. Besides, they have to promote harmonious inter-cultural relations among the diverse ethnic groups residing within their territories. With particular reference to Article 52 (2) (a and g) of the Constitution of the FDRE, regional states have the powers and responsibilities to guarantee the constitutional rights and freedoms of their citizens, solve their political, social, and economic problems, and maintain the peace and security of the general public inside their territories.

From the standpoint of the political center, there is a widely held view that the 2018 Gumuz- Oromo conflicts have raised suspicion on the part of the federal government that the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) was a driving force behind the political grievances raised by the Gumuz. Understandably, the federal government perceives any popular movement of the Oromo nationality as being instigated by the OLF. To further strengthen the above points, Gumuz informants from the Metekel Zone described the matter by saying:

The problem is the view of the federal government not only as an issue of border claims but also as a politically sensitive, insecure and delicate area, which called for heavy protection from being a haven for 'external force'. Hence, the central government seems to have inclined to a policy of keeping this 'sensitive' area under the administrative authority of the Oromo for the reason that the presumed threat was from the OLF.

Thus, it seemed more likely that after the conflicts of the 2018s, the government developed geopolitical and administrative interests over the disputed territories. This complicated the matter further, and the settlement of boundary disputes had been a long and inexpedient process due to the failure of committee members to take proper measures quickly. In consequence, in many instances, both administrative and political organs of the two regions were slow to respond and their actions were mainly reactive; the political and administrative organs, in the majority of the cases, involved themselves in conflict resolution efforts after the damage was already done.

In countless cases, no preventive actions were taken, even if tensions were simmering for a long period between the two ethnic groups. The politico-administrative organs, in some cases, were also part of the problem because these organs were behind inciting the conflict through provocative actions and xenophobic statements. In this regard, the following provocative statements of a representative from Oromiya regional state as quoted from my informant are very illustrative of the above remarks:

If the Gumuz are against the intended referendum, they could go to the jungle and fight. This means the senior authorities of the two regions participated in this conflict as both parties to the conflict and agents of conflict management. Moreover, the role of judicial organs, i.e., courts at wereda, zonal, and regional levels, in the management of conflict was missing. Therefore, it

comes as no surprise that the conflict management processes in those contentious areas were burdened with severe constraints considerably ranging from the lack of goodwill gesture of the authorities fragile nature of institutionalization of an inter-governmental joint effort to the extent of reluctance among all concerned bodies to work in partnership vigilantly, that is to say, the authorities of the two regional states, on some occasions, tried to disassociate themselves from such conflicts formally.

According to the Zone and Woreda security department officials, Kebeles' administrators interviewees and Regional security bureau reports indicate that both Regional and local governments have made various vital efforts to alleviate violent conflict since the conflict erupted between Oromo -Gumuz ethnic groups until the final resolution. According to the oromia Regional State 2001 constitution article (51) sub (3 (g) and (59 (4 and 5)) both lower and upper houses of the Regional state have power and responsibility to maintain the peace and security of the peoples in intervening and resolving intra state conflicts. Accordingly, the Regional State council and councils of nationality strived to prevent and find solution to disputes in different mechanisms in the study area.

According to interview with majority key informants, the Regional government sent Regional peacekeeping armed force; the violence action was immediately put under control by the intervention of Regional special armed force. The armed force managed to control the violence and arrested some pioneer leaders of the violation, robbers and other criminals. They created stability continued to longer and the Oromo were started to return to their home who were forced flee from the area for their live safe at the time of violation. To stabilize of the peace the armed force remained in the area for a year. However, after a year the armed peace keeping force left the area before the conflict, unsolved. This was opened the way for the violation to be re-erupted in 2022. Therefore, again the Regional peace keeping force came to settle in the conflict area including Zone Police force until the final resolution in 2019. In addition to the Regional state sent an independent investigation group to find out the causes of the conflict to identify those responsible for it in collaboration with the police to track down and provide the suspected criminals to the court. Furthermore, Zone police department and Regional peace keeping force united launched to control illegal armed criminals. According to interview with Zone Police Commander in this operation three ring leaders were arrested in Gallesa town with full armed and provided for Court and other were escaped from the area.

Proclamation, No. 133/2003 was entitled the responsibility to Regional security and administration Bureau. According to respondent of councils of Nationalities official, the two institutions worked mutually on conflict prevention and resolution.

Recently, the case of Oromo-Gumuz ethnic conflict in addition to its responsibility the fully mandate was provided to Regional security and administration Bureau. The Bureau has made effort on issue collaborating with Regional state and local governments to find solution in term of peace restoration.

Information obtained through interview with main peace committee, Kebele administrators and both FGD, Regional and local governments made a number of administrative decisions, preparing jointly peace and security strategic plan for peace and reconciliation conference. In addition, Measures taken by Regional and local governments were trainings about the adverse impacts of conflict upon the two communities. Regional and local governments' security and administration Bureau, departments, offices and police officers united and prepared peacemaking plan. The committee also established four peacemaking committee, these are Major committee, Sub technique committee, Security force and the local councilor elders committee.

As the result of the conflict, for damage of the human and material, the Metekel zone government and Debate Woredas coordinated and provided materials assistance to displaced persons, people who had lost their homes or their subsistence during the conflict. The Metekel Zone government also including other Woredas allocated budget for constructing houses for homeless and material destructed Oromos. More than hundred corrugated sheet houses were immediately built for the peoples who had burned them. The Zone and Woreda security departments, by facilitating the peace making processes with the local community, coordinated traditional conflict resolution processes.

Regard to provision of public services, a modern secondary school was built with full materials in Gallesaa Kebele. It is central for conflicted area; there is also one kindergarten, two primary schools and three health posts were built in each Kebeles. All the public service institutions provided services with full of human power and materials in each Kebele.. Moreover, in order to secure the public peace, the metekel zone security and administration department trained and graduated 60 militia members from the three Kebeles communities and graduated peace. This militia contributed in keeping day to day peace and security in the area.

Finally, the significant efforts were made by Regional and local government for the resolution of Oromo-Amhar inter-ethnic conflict used the various peacemaking mechanisms. Among the vital tasks made by the committee was the reconciliation procedure concluded through peace conference, which was held on February, 07/ 2020.

In the peace conference, particularly, positive people to people relationship were created through negotiation, cooperation, collaboration, and traditional conflict resolution combined with the modern conflict management. In addition, the victim families' issues were resolved by organized local councilor elders through indigenous conflict resolution. Illegal pressure groups were arrested and public services have been provided in the area. As a result, the conflict resolution mechanisms brought positive effects between the two conflicted groups and security was granted. Awareness was created for all the people and others in the study area. Presently Ethiopia has a three-tiered local government; Zonal, Woreda and Kebele Administration; The Kebele administration being the lowest level local administrative institution. Generally zonal administration is not an autonomous administrative institution. It is just a branch of the regional governments that is established at zonal level, holding a number of woredas in it. Zonal administration is provided with certain powers and functions by the regional government by way of reconcentration.

There are at about 66 zonal administrations in the country. A zonal administration, generally, does not have representative council. It is rather run by appointees of the head of the regional government. The most important function of the Zonal administration is liaising between the woreda administrations and the regional administration. It also coordinates the works of the woreda administrations within the zone and provides them with technical assistance.

## Conclusion

In modern period the human security concept has occur to a familiar sight in the field of security studies. The center of the concept is considered to be the idea that the focus shifts from the state as the referent object to humans, to individuals. This is embodied in the so called “human centric” vision. From now human security is about minimizing or reducing and if and when possible removing insecurity that plagued human lives and stands in contrast to state security and regime security. It demands protection of citizens from dangers and empowerment of people to come up with hazards. Within this framework, the concept of human security covers a multi-dimensional reality. Thus, we talk of personal security, community security, food security, health security, political security and environmental security from the narrow level to the wide-ranging level. Yet the Africa remains one of the most conflict-ridden areas in the world. Currently, internal problems are the most dangerous causes to human insecurity in the region. It suffers from recurring wars civil wars within states, and insurgencies supported by practices of habitual, mutual destabilization.

However, the African leaders, the pessimism of “African Solutions for African Problems”, African Security through its, good governance instruments, is determined to meet the aspirations of the African peoples to have well human right and human security, that would enable them realize their hope for peaceful and fulfilling lives.

The prospects for a successful regional peace and security building rest with the ability of member states to increase incentives to stop military action in response to conflict, and to more adequately meet the basic needs of their citizens. A human security approach provides the best guarantee for a state’s peace and stability, internally and in relation to its neighbors.

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