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Federalism and ethnic conflict in Ethiopia. A comparative study of the Somali and Benishangul-Gumuz regions

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Abstract

In the contemporary world, state restructuring has become a global phenomenon. In almost all corners of the world, there are currently efforts that aim at redesigning structures of states in response to demands of communities for increased participation in the politico-economic realm. In this context, federalism has become attractive to multiethnic countries as a way of maintaining balance between such lofty ideas as ‘self-rule’ and ‘shared-rule’. As a result, today many countries all across the world are experimenting with federalism and other forms of autonomy in order to resolve inter-ethnic conflicts and tensions.

Ethiopia witnessed a major turning point in the arena of national politics since the early 1990s. One of the most important features of the political changes in the post-1991 period has been the recasting of the Ethiopian state into an ethnic federation. In doing so, the country has constitutionally formalized ethnicity as a fundamental principle of state organisation, representation and political mobilisation. As a result, both ethnicity and governance experienced changes. This thesis analyses the impacts of federalism on ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia in general and in the Somali and Benishangul-Gumuz regions in particular by using comparative and empirical approaches.

This study broadly examines three key questions. First, it seeks to problematise the question of federalism and ethnic conflicts at the theoretical level. Second, it discusses factors such as conflicts and unequal ethnic relations that led to the reconstitution of the Ethiopian state into an ethnic federation. Third, it considers the impact of federalism on ethnic conflicts from two broad angles, intra-regional and inter-regional conflicts. In fact, as will be demonstrated in several chapters of this thesis, both the Somali and the Benishangul-Gumuz regions were affected by conflicts that have been in one way or another intertwined with the federal restructuring of the country. For instance, in the multiethnic Benishangul-Gumuz region, intra-regional conflicts emerged at two levels – between the newly empowered

‘titular’ ethnic groups and the titular and the ‘non-titular’ groups. This shows how ethnic federalism would have different outcomes for different groups. In the Somali region, intra-regional conflicts on the main emerged among different clans. When it comes to inter-regional conflicts, ethnic federalism has different conflict outcomes. On the one hand, the reconstitution of the country into an ethnic federation led to the transformation of ‘traditional’ resource conflicts (e.g. between the Somali and their neighbours) into nation-state type boundary conflicts. The boundary thinking that federalism engenders at local and regional levels, on the other hand, induces conflicts between groups who in the past had peaceful relationships (e.g. conflicts between Gumuz and Oromo neighbours).

This thesis also examines contextual factors such as democracy and rule of law that explain the success and failures of federalist projects in striking the ‘right’ balance between unity and diversity. This is necessary to appreciate the gap that prevails between the theory and practice of Ethiopian federalism. Finally, the thesis synthesises the theoretical and empirical discussions and seeks to identify some of the institutional and ideological aspects of Ethiopian ethnic federalism that need reform.



Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>iii</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>Maps and Tables</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>Acronyms</i>	<i>xiii</i>
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Issues and Problems	4
1.3 Problem Statement	7
1.4 Research Questions	9
1.5 Objectives	9
1.6 Analytical Framework	10
1.6.1 Historical explanations	11
1.6.2 State centred explanations	12
1.6.3 Multiethnic society	14
1.7 Research Design and Methods of Data Collection	15
1.7.1 Comparative research method	16
1.7.2 Case selection	17
1.7.3 Data Collection	18
1.8 Structure of the study	20
2 Federalism, Federations and Ethnic Conflict: Concepts and Theories	23
2.1 Introduction	23
2.2 Federalism and Federations: Conceptualisations	24
2.2.1 Federalism and federation: Making a distinction	24
2.2.2 Federal bargain, federal integration and federal restructuring	26
2.2.3 National, multinational and ethnic federations	28
2.3 Theoretical Approaches to Federalism and Federations	29
2.3.1 Legal and constitutional approaches	30
2.3.2 Sociological approaches	32
2.3.3 Symmetry and asymmetry in federations	32
2.3.4 Political and ideological approaches	33
2.4 Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflicts	36

2.5 Essence of Ethnic Conflict Management	40
2.6 Consociationalism and Ethnic Conflict	43
2.7 Federalism and Ethnic Conflict	44
2.7.1 Federalism as a means of managing ethnic conflicts	44
2.7.2 Federalism as a recipe for more ethnic conflicts	46
2.7.3 Beyond the controversies: contextual factors	49
2.8 Conclusion	51
3 Ethiopia's Ethnic Federalism: History and Ideology	54
3.1 Introduction	54
3.2 From Multi-ethnic Empire to Ethnic Federation	55
3.3 Ideology of Ethiopian Federalism: Self-Determination for the Nationalities	59
3.3.1 Stalinist theory of nationality and the reconstruction of the Ethiopian state	62
3.4 EPRDF's Revolutionary Democracy and Federalism	67
3.4.1 Political parties and the vanguardist tradition	68
3.4.2 Making sense of EPRDF's revolutionary democracy	69
3.4.3 Reinvention of the EPRDF as a dominant party	72
3.5 Conclusion	77
4 Asymmetries and Emerging Trends of Conflicts in Federal Ethiopia	80
4.1 Introduction	80
4.2 The Enduring Debate on Ethnic Federalism	81
4.3 Asymmetries in Ethiopia's Ethnic Federation	83
4.3.1 Horizontal asymmetries	83
4.3.2 Vertical asymmetry	86
4.4 Politics of Resource Sharing and its Conflict Potential	87
4.4.1 Subsidy formula: bigger versus smaller regions	88
4.4.2 Ethnic based transfer of resources fuels conflicts	90
4.5 Federalism and Secessionist Wars	94
4.6 Autonomy and Generation/Transformation of Ethnic Conflicts	97
4.6.1 Federal restructuring and identity conflicts	99
4.6.2 Intra-federal boundary conflicts	100
4.6.3 Intra-regional conflicts in multiethnic regions	102
4.6.4 Conflicts between titular and non-titular groups	104
4.7 Conclusion	105
5 Peripherality, Ethnic-Makeup and History: Somali and Benishangul Gumuz	109
5.1 Introduction	109
5.2 Peripherality of the Two Regions	110
5.2.1 Periphery from Addis Ababa, significant to Mogadishu: the Somali region	110
5.2.2 Double periphery frontier region: Benishangul-	112

Gumuz	
5.3 Ethnic Makeup and Relations	114
5.3.1 Somali ethnic identity and the clans	115
5.3.2 Ethnic relations in Benishangul-Gumuz	117
5.4 History of Incorporation and Administration	122
5.4.1 Somali incorporation and administration	122
5.4.2 Benishangul-Gumuz incorporation and administration	126
5.5. Conclusion	129
6. Federalism and Autonomy conflicts in the Somali Region	133
6.1 Introduction	133
6.2 Autonomy and Intra-regional Divisions	134
6.2.1 Cleavages between the Ogaden and the non-Ogadeni clans	134
6.2.2 Rise and decline of the Ethiopian Somali Democratic League	137
6.2.3 Autonomy and intra-Ogaden divisions	139
6.2.4 Autonomy and cross-clan cleavages	141
6.3 Autonomy Conflicts: Clans and New Federal Resources	144
6.3.1 Identity, autonomy and Bantu minorities	144
6.3.2. Sheikash quest for self-administrative structure	149
6.4 Conclusion	153
7. Federalism and Autonomy Conflicts in the Benishangul-Gumuz region	158
7.1 Introduction	158
7.2 Autonomy and Intra-regional Instability: Rise and Decline of the Benishangul People's Liberation Movement	159
7.3 Bertha-Gumuz Dispute: Bertha Dominance or Exit?	162
7.3.1 First stage of the dispute: Bertha's demand for regional presidency	163
7.3.2 Second stage of the dispute: Bertha's demand for exit	163
7.3.3 Federal mediation: Neither dominance nor exit	166
7.4 Autonomy and Conflict between Titular and Non-titular groups	168
7.4.1 Citizenship right and representation for the non-titular groups	168
7.4.2 Economic dimensions of the conflict	171
7.4.3 Position of the titular political class	173
7.4.4 Settlers' electoral rights and the House of Federation	174
7.5 Conclusion	176
8. Inter-regional Conflicts: Somali region	180
8.1 Introduction	180

8.2 Background to Somali Relations with the Oromo and the Afar	181
8.3 Somali-Oromia Boundary Conflicts: Case of Moyale	183
8.3.1 Nature and evolution of the conflict	184
8.3.2 Federal restructuring and the Moyale dispute	187
8.4 Somali-Afar Boundary Conflicts: Case of the Afar-Issa Conflict	194
8.4.1 Nature and evolution of the conflict	195
8.4.2 Federal restructuring and the Afar-Issa conflict	200
8.5 Conclusion	207
9. Inter-regional Conflicts: Benishangul-Gumuz	213
9.1 Introduction	213
9.2 Background to Gumuz Relations with Amhara and Oromo	214
9.3 Inter-Regional Relations: Benishangul-Gumuz and Amhara	216
9.3.1 Transformation in Gumuz-Amhara relations: Mentawuha and Mandura	219
9.4 Inter-Regional Relations: Benishangul-Gumuz and Oromia	223
9.4.1 Boundary and resource conflicts: Darro-Dimitu and Tolle localities	227
9.5 Conclusion	232
10. Centre-regional Relations: Somali and Benishangul-Gumuz Regions	236
10.1 Introduction	236
10.2 Centre-regional Relations and the Federal Executive	237
10.2.1 Direct control through central advisors (1992-2001)	237
10.2.2 Ministry of Federal Affairs and centre-regional relations	239
10.3 The House of Federation in Centre-regional Relations	243
10.4 Asymmetrical Inter-Party Relations	246
10.4.1 Proliferation ethnic/clan parties	247
10.4.2 Restructuring of the party landscape	248
10.5 Political and Economic Exchanges	252
10.5.1 Legitimacy to the 'new' Ethiopia	253
10.5.2 The periphery and the power of the central elite	255
10.5.3 Economic exchange: dual traffic?	256
10.6 Conclusion	257
11 Synthesis and Conclusion	260
11.1 Introduction	260
11.2 Federalism and State Legitimacy in Ethiopia	260
11.3 Comparing the Somali and the Benishangul-Gumuz Regions	262
11.3.1 Intra-regional autonomy conflicts	263

11.3.2 Inter-regional conflicts	265
11.4 Reflections on the theoretical framework of the study	267
11.5 Reappraisal of Federal Theories and the Ethiopian Experience	269
11.5.1 Federalism and political pluralism	270
11.5.2 Federalism and rule of law	272
11.5.3 Ethnicity and federal restructuring	273
11.6 Reforming Ethiopia's Ethnic Federation	274
11.6.1 Ethnic and overarching civic citizenship	275
11.6.2 Secession and territorial adjustment	277
11.6.3. The opening up of political space: Could power sharing help?	279
References	282
Samenvatting	314
About the author	317

Maps and Tables

Maps

1 Ethiopia regional divisions	xiv
5.1 <i>Zonal</i> and <i>woreda</i> divisions, the Somali region	111
5.2. <i>Zonal</i> and <i>woreda</i> divisions, the Benishangul-Gumuz region	113
5.3 Location of Somali clans	116
5.4 Location of ethnic groups in the Benishangul-Gumuz region	120
8.1 Location of the Borana, Garre, and Gabbra and the Moyale town	186
8.2 The Afar-Issa conflict zone	197
9.1. The location of the Gumuz	215
9.2 The boundaries of the Benishangul-Gumuz region in 1992	218
9.3 OLF's map of Oromia	224

Tables

1.1 Summary of trends of conflicts in Ethiopia	7
1.2 Ethiopia, regional population, territorial size and ethnic composition	15
2.1. Summary of theoretical approaches to federalism	36
4.1 Distribution of seats at the House of People Representatives by ethnic regions	85
4.2 Federal and regional revenues	88
4.3 Federal and regional expenditure	88
4.4 Federal subsidy to the regions	89
7.1 Ethnic composition in the Benishangul-Gumuz region Regional Council	164
10.1. Regional representation at the House of Federation	245

Acronyms

ANDM	Amhara National Democratic Movement
ARDUF	Afar Revolutionary Democratic Unity Front
B-G	Benishangul-Gumuz
BGNRS	Benishangul-Gumuz National Regional State
BGPDUF	Benishagnul-Gumuz People Democratic Unity Front
BNWEPDUP	Benishangul North West Ethiopia People Democratic Unity Party
Boro-SPDM	Boro-Shinasha People Democratic Movement
BPLM	Benishangul People's Liberation Movement
BWEPDO	Benishagnul Western Ethiopia People Democratic Organisations
CCI	Council of Constitutional Inquiry
CoR	Council of Representatives
CUD	Coalition for Unity and Democracy
DWPDM	Dil Wabi People Democratic Movement
EBPDO	Ethiopia Bertha People Democratic Organisation
EPDM	Ethiopia People's Democratic Movement
EPRDF	Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front
EPRP	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party
ESDL	Ethiopia Somalia Democratic League
FAG	Federal Auditor General
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FRUD	Front for Restoration of Unity and Democracy
GPDUP	Gambella People's Democratic Unity Party
GPLM	Gambella People's Liberation Movement
GPLP	Gambella People's Liberation Party
HoF	House of Federations
HoPR	House of Peoples' Representatives
KPDM	Komo People Democratic Movement
MEISON	Mellaw Ethiopia Socialist Niknake
MKPDO	Mao Komo Peoples' Democratic Party
MoFedA	Ministry of Federal Affairs
MPDM	Mao People Democratic Movement
NDRP	National Democratic Revolutionary Programme
NEBE	National Electoral Board of Ethiopia
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
ONLF	Ogaden National Liberation Front
OPDO	Oromo People Democratic Organisation
ORA	Office for Regional Affairs
PDRE	People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
RBPP	Rer-Barre People's Party
SALF	Somali Abbo Liberation Front
SEPDM	Southern Ethiopia People Democratic Movement
SNNPR	Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region
SNRS	Somali National Regional State
SPDM	Sheikash People Democratic Movement
SPDP	Somali People's Democratic Party
TGE	Transitional Government of Ethiopia
TPLF	Tigray Liberation Front
UEDF	United Ethiopian Democratic Forces
WPE	Workers Party of Ethiopia

Map 1 Ethiopian regional divisions

