Research Article

Examining Ethnic Conflicts: The Case of Selected Regions in Ethiopia

Gerum Taye Mulaw

Department of Sociology, University of Gondar, Ethiopia

Abstract - This study attempts to assess ethnic conflicts in some parts of Ethiopia between 2016 and 2018. Thus, it is based on a qualitative approach that relies on data obtained from secondary sources. Besides, both instrumentalism and social constructivism theoretical perspectives were employed as lenses in the study's text-based or discourse analysis. Hence, it is identified that the nature of the current federal-state structure and the government system in the country, greed centred attitude of elites or ethnic entrepreneurs, and limited access to different resources, including the economy, are some of the factors that drive into the emergence of ethnic conflicts. Also, it has resulted in multifaceted consequences that have social, economic and political dimensions. Therefore, revisiting the government system's aspects and devising policies, which help reduce the incentives that flare up ethnic conflict and realize peace and order, can have paramount significance.

Keywords - Ethiopia, Ethnic Conflict, Ethnicity, Instrumentalism, Social constructivism.

1. Introduction

Conflicts among ethnic groups have been observed in different parts of the world at various points in time in human history, and this has also continued until these days (Tepfenhart, 2013 and Vanhanen, 2012). For instance, as has been summarized by Williams (1994), about half of the countries in different corners of the globe experienced ethnic conflict after the Second World War. As a result, many countries have created a major security challenge, including the Balkans, Chechnya, Ukraine, India, Sri Lanka, Iraq, Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and most sub-Saharan Africa (Che, 2016).

According to Vanhanen (1999), in a more ethnically heterogeneous society, to achieve political and related interests, conflicts have mainly been framed along ethnic lines. Essentially, ethnic heterogeneity is one of the signifying features of many African states; for example, In Nigeria, there are more than 250 ethnic groups (Alemante, 2003). In this connection, Diamond (1987) contended that; one of the very serious challenges to sustaining political order and state cohesion in many African states is ethnic conflict.

As per the explanation given by Cordell and Wolff (2016), ethnic conflict refers to a conflict where 'the goals of at least one conflict party are defined in… ethnic terms, and in which the primary fault line of confrontation is one of ethnic distinction' (p.4). Thus, in such instances, even where the root causes over which conflict has occurred may not necessarily be the result of ethnic differences, it is explained in terms of that least by one of the conflicting groups.

Ethnic conflict is one of the various challenges that have been faced in Ethiopia (Fransen and Kuschminder, 2009). It has been a very rare scenario in the country's long history (Assefa, 1996). Therefore, this study assesses ethnic conflict that occurred between 2016 and 2018 in nearly half of the regional states of Ethiopia, including Oromia, Somali, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples (SNNP), Benishangul-Gumuz, and Amhara. These areas are taken as targets of the study due to the fact that the conflicts in these areas have forced an enormous number of people to face internal dislocation, and it is an understudied timely issue. Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (2018); an ethnic conflict between ethnic Gedios and Oromos in the west Guji zone of the Oromia region, for example, has resulted in about one million people fleeing from their homes since the beginning of September 2018. In addition, as has been indicated by Delafortrie (2018), as a consequence of ethnic conflicts that have occurred since 2016, the number of internally displaced people across different regions of the country has increased at an alarming rate, close to 3 million.

This invites raising the question, what has gone wrong in the country for such conflicts have become common in the present times? Consequently, this study aims to elaborate on some factors explaining and contributing to ethnic-based conflicts in the study areas.

2. Methodology of the Study

The study employs a qualitative method that relies on secondary sources. This data is gathered from the literature of other work relevant to the study topic, including scholarly publications and research, reports and document reviews, and media sources. Moreover, it is analyzed using discourse

analysis or a text-based qualitative approach. The study discusses the issue by taking instrumentalism and social-constructivism theoretical perspectives as a foundation for my argument and as lenses to the analysis.

3. Findings and Discussion

3.1. Factors Contributing to Ethnic Conflicts

Diversified ethnic groups in a given area per se do not result in ethnic conflict (Rupesinghe, 1996). So, the important question that has to be raised is: what are the factors that drive the occurrence of ethnic-based conflicts in different parts of the country?

While trying to address the above question, the study topic is discussed in the light of instrumentalism and social constructivism theoretical perspectives. So, I argue that ethnic conflict results from the strategic efforts exerted by elites to realize their desires. This is facilitated through ethnic grouping, which external forces, including the state structures, have constructed.

In light of the above, the study depicted that the underlying factors that have driven the conflict can be categorized as manifest and latent reasons. Hence, the manifest reasons that have caused the conflict are access to resources, mainly land and a claim for self-administration. At the same time, the latent reason behind the conflict was the elite's manipulation to realize their desires, mainly political goals.

For instance, as has been outlined in some of the study areas, such as in SNNP and Amhara regional states, when the elites are claiming the right to self-administration, it is clear that the fundamental element of the issue is the demand for political power, which enables to control other resources including the economic along the line. Therefore, it can be said that by employing various mobilization tactics, which even incite ethnic conflicts, elites are trying to attain their major goals. Hence, I argue that had this not been the fundamental reason, the masses identified as different ethnic groups across the country would not have lived in harmony for many years. Also, this strengthens the instrumentalist's claim by which Varshney (2009) and Green and Seher (2003) stated that ethnicity can be manipulated or removed to achieve a particular purpose. Consequently, ethnic entrepreneurs capitalize on the differences between ethnic groups to mobilize them towards conflict.

Above all, in a densely populated area like some study sites such as Amhara, SNNP, and Oromia regional states where several ethnic groups live, competition over scarce resources is an expected reality. However, Gardner (2019) reported that; in returning the dislocated people to the West Guji Zone of the Oromia region, there was disagreement on the exact figure of the returnees between local authorities of Oromo and Gedio ethnic groups. Gedios expect to send back about 500,000 people, whereas their Oromo counterparts expect only 40,000 people. This may justify an assertion that

scarcity of land in densely populated areas can be one of the driving factors behind the conflict between ethnic groups. Furthermore, Cordell and Wolff (2010) have stated that ethnicity can be employed as a tool to mobilize people for such collective action.

Nevertheless, I also argue that the conflict between those ethnic groups resulted from the greed-centred attitude of ethnic entrepreneurs, who ignored the fair utilization of scarce resources that enhance harmony and peaceful coexistence. Otherwise, they would not have lived together in the area for generations without such a predicament. In connection to this, Jeffrey (2017) reported that a woman from ethnic Somali said, "We had always lived with the Oromo peacefully until the regional special police turned up and started burning the houses of Somali". Besides, as Kaufman (2001) stated, instrumentalists assert that the conflicts between ethnic groups in many parts of Africa, like the study case, are usually driven by greed's tendency to expand economic resources.

To substantiate the above, an assessment, which was conducted by the government of Ethiopia and presented to the country's parliament in May 2019, has also confirmed that 'politicians at the grassroots level in different regions of Ethiopia are involved in displacing people' (New Business Ethiopia, 2019). This also suggests claiming the conflict resulted from contestation between ethnic groups for resources such as land and had an element of vying for power, which is between the political parties to maintain their constituency in the respective regions. Further, as has been outlined by Fearon and Laitin (2000), it affirms social constructivists' assertion that ethnic conflict is a consequence of the rival ethnic identities constructed by elites who wanted to acquire or maintain power. In line with this, Assefa (1996) claimed that by shaping their interests into ethnic or nationality contexts, elites could easily buy legitimacy and mobilize their ethnic group towards conflict.

Notwithstanding the above, when we take one of the socio-cultural practices, such as marriage, fascinatingly, for a long period, there was intermarriage and peaceful coexistence among different ethnic groups in the study areas. For example, before the conflict erupted within a part of the Amhara regional state, the Amhara and Kimant ethnic groups lived peacefully, and intermarriage was a common practice. Such a practice is limited to the Amhara regional state in different parts of the study cases and the country at large. Thus, I argue that this valuable socio-cultural practice has played its role in minimizing the occurrence and possible negative outcomes of conflict in the country until elite-driven ethnic-based conflicts have become the fashion of the day. In this regard, Wagley and Harris (1964) asserted that; the tendency to get married within the group or endogamous marriage is "an almost certain sign of hostility and conflict between groups" (quoted in Fowkes, 2002, p.178), which in a way can have its impact in limiting a healthy informal social

interaction among the people. However, this does not mean that intermarriage is the only remedy to the problem.

In addition, the study has revealed that the nature of the government system was the other rationale for the emergence of the conflict, which resulted in difficult situations like the death of people and internal dislocation. That is, on the one hand, the power vacuum, which has been created in the government structure amidst a new reformist leadership that was reshuffled to power in April 2018, has contributed its part. In other words, due to such a situation, ethnic entrepreneurs can easily mobilize people towards conflict without any accountability. In this regard, Lake and Rothschild (1996) attest that when there is a decline in central authority; due to fear of insecurity, ethnic groups tend to rely upon themselves and prepare towards violence. Besides, Yarnell (2018) has confirmed that a shift in the political position at the federal government level has been taken as a suitable time to re-emergence ethnic conflict between ethnic groups who have been claiming overland borders and rights.

Further, Vermeersch (2011) contends that 'the sudden introduction of a democratic system in countries with no tradition of democratic values might be one element stimulating ethnic conflict' (p.11). This can be substantiated by the fact that after the federal government declared to reform the political system into a democracy in March 2018, the outbreak of ethnic conflict persisted in different regions of the country, mainly in the study areas. Due to this, citizens have started to question the government's capability to execute its legitimate role, that is, to maintain peace and order in the country.

On the other hand, the government has been authoritarian that can use all means possible to advance its political goals. This includes the conditions for conflict between ethnic groups in different parts of the country. In this connection, the head of the Ethiopian human rights commission has confirmed to Maasho (2018) that "in some cases, security officials deliberately avoided stepping in to control the conflicts. It is when the government fails in its responsibility to protect its citizens". In line with this, BTI (2018) has also indicated that the government of Ethiopia, which was highly dominated until April 2018 by one of the four ethnic-based coalition groups called Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), has managed to employ a strategy that incites division and violence among major ethnic groups to secure its dominance in the country's politics.

Moreover, Assefa (1996) has asserted that 'neighbours who have coexisted peacefully for decades … are being encouraged by official government policy to emphasize their ethnic difference' (p.42). Despite this, many grassroots people do not favour such a strategy, which has been devised to break up the bond between ethnic groups. For instance, Lefort (2017) reported that 'interviews with displaced Oromos confirm that Somali officials mostly forced their

departure: Liyu (special) Police, Somali militias, local authorities. [But] … their Somali neighbours tried their best to protect them. This depicts the invaluable intrinsic social fabric built in the society towards peaceful coexistence. Nevertheless, the divisive mobilization tactics employed by political elites or ethnic entrepreneurs erode such social values. This also confirms the outlook of instrumentalists, summarized by Green and Seher (2003), stating that ethnic entrepreneurs essentially preach the differences between ethnic groups and mobilize the people towards conflict.

On top of this, due to the rise of ethnic-based politics in the country's political system, a wider space has been given to ethnicity regardless of other alternative statuses. As a result, political elites or ethnic entrepreneurs have the opportunity to mobilize the people in that regard. Thus, it can be suggested that the ethnic identity construction, which political elites have highly promoted via establishing ethnic-centred regional state arrangement, has played a critical role in letting people view things in that order and has opened room for conflict. This is in joint with social constructivists' assertion, which Hemple (2004) outlined and Green and Seher (2003) as such; ethnic identity or ethnicity is not a social fact for granted but is socially constructed because of several factors, including political and historical processes. Besides, it affirms the instrumentalists' claim that regards 'the state as the arena for ethnic groups to arise' (Tilley, 1997, p.507). Therefore, I argue that ethnic conflict results from the strategic efforts exerted by elites to realize their desires. This is facilitated through ethnic grouping, which external forces, including the state structures, have constructed.

The ethnic-based federalism in the country has given more advantages to some ethnic groups, who are considered owners of the ethnic homeland, over others despite having lived together in the area for many years. This has aggravated the tensions between ethnic groups wherein; some groups have developed a tendency to have exclusive rights to the resources found in the area by marginalizing others. This, in turn, has led to the eruption of ethnic conflicts. To substantiate the aforementioned, for example, the Constitution of Benishangul-Gumuz regional state(2003), which is one of the study areas, has stated that 'Despite all people who live in the region are acknowledged, the ownership of the region belongs to ethnic groups namely Berta, Gumuz, Shinasha, Mao, and Komo' (p.4). This suggests us arguing that such kinds of institutionalized provisions, which promote ethnic groups to develop a sentiment of perceiving each other as primary and secondary citizens in their own country, have their impact in directing people towards the instigation of ethnic conflicts.

In line with the above, Adgeh (2009) asserted that federalism, which puts ethnic identity at its centre and allows some as privileged while others as non-privileged groups in a given region, has contributed to the decline of trust and other social fabrics that had been built among ethnic groups for

generations. It has resulted in a state of ethnic otherness perception among each other that exacerbates ethnic conflicts. Similarly, the International Crisis Group (2009) has indicated that ethnic federalism in the country has increased ethnic tensions and antagonistic interests over land and other natural resources. This has pushed towards interethnic conflict in different regions of the country. For example, Gardner (2017) reported that 'more than 20 years after ethnic federalism was introduced, tensions between the two sides-Oromo and Somalis-are as fraught as ever.

Furthermore, Lavers (2018) has stated that with much reliance on the idea behind ethnic-based federalism irrespective of 'the universalist principles of state ownership', the role of state agencies has inclined to promote the displacement of other people, who are labelled as non-indigenous ethnic groups, back to their ethnic home region. Also, the study revealed that the ethnic-based political system, which gives room to regional governments to establish paramilitary forces along ethnic lines that has a greater tendency of loyalty to their ethnic group, has its impact in exacerbating the conflict. In this connection, Mamdani (2019), Human Rights Watch (2019), and AHRE (2018); have indicated that local government officials and ethnic militias that are under the command of the regional states were among the main actors behind the conflict in the study areas. Moreover, a report by Human Rights Council (2018) confirmed that since ethnic-based federalism was instituted in Ethiopia, people have died, been displaced from their villages, and lost their properties due to ethnic-based conflicts. However, the reluctance of the government to take timely action on the suggested investigation-based reports has contributed to an increase in the intensity and impact of such conflicts across the country. Therefore, I argue that ethnic conflict results from the strategic efforts exerted by elites to realize their desires. This is facilitated through ethnic grouping, which external forces, including the state structures, have constructed.

Further, the study revealed that limited access to different resources, including economic and related services, also contributes to causing conflict incidences. In this regard, demand for territory, which has its own economic and social strategic significance, has been identified. For instance, the then head of the government of Ethiopia affirmed to the country's parliament that there was an act commanded by the lower political bodies to acquire territories, which have been claimed by each conflicting party (Gardner, 2017). Besides, ethnically motivated youths were among the main participants in the conflict. Hence, it can be claimed that inadequate conditions like less income generation or employment opportunities are among the underlying factors that help ethnic entrepreneurs easily mobilize the youth towards ethnic-based conflicts.

To substantiate the above, Brown and Langer (2010) asserted that 'Low-income countries in the developing world are particularly at risk of experiencing violent conflicts and civil wars' (p.28). Most importantly, as has been summarized by Fearon and Laitin (2000,p.869);

A necessary condition for sustained "ethnic violence" is the availability of thugs (in most cases young men who are ill-educated, unemployed or underemployed, and from small towns) who can be mobilized by nationalist ideologues, who themselves, university educated, would shy away from killing their neighbours with machetes.

3.2. Effects of Ethnic Conflict in the Study Areas

The study showed that for a developing country with diverse ethnic groups, as in the study case, ethnic conflict has multifaceted consequences that include social, economic and political elements.

Primarily, people are forced to face several challenges that have social impacts, such as the death and injury of family members, the destruction of schools and churches, and the lack of access to food, shelter and health services. For instance, OCHA (2018) reported that due to the conflict between ethnic Somalis and Oromos, more than 93,000 children are compelled to discontinue their schooling. Also, the displaced people have reported children separation, sexual violence, and psychosocial distress. In line with this, an assessment by the UN Migration Agency (2018) has confirmed that following the conflict between ethnic Oromos and Gedios, the suffering from various health-related challenges of close to 4000 people has been reported. Besides, the destruction of houses, insecurity, and lack of access to food were the most determinant factors reported by the conflict-ridden, dislocated peoples, hindering them from returning. It indicates that ethnic conflict has a direct social implication in affecting people's lives now and in the future.

Secondly, viewing it from the economic point of view, the study revealed that the properties of individuals who struggled to fulfil their subsistence had been looted and destroyed. This will be another challenge for the government, which has a weak economy, to fulfil the demands of its people, restoring those who lost their entire assets. In this regard, OCHA (2018a) reported that in January 2018, the government of Ethiopia announced the mobilization of nearly $40 million from the state and private sectors to rehabilitate dislocated people due to the conflict between the Oromia and Somali regions alone. Therefore, I argue that had there not been an ethnic conflict in a poor country like the study case, which has multifaceted social problems, this money could have been allocated to bridge other gaps that help provide people access to various social services, including food, health, school and employment opportunities.

On the other hand, Gardner (2019c) has indicated that despite the humanitarian organizations having confirmed as they are working in consultation with the government, the government's request for financial support was not mostly made available to donors' reservations on the transparency

and clarity of the plan. This suggests arguing that the conflict has implications for extending the country's economic dependency.

On top of this, the study depicted that the political actors and their associates have been taking part in the mobilization towards ethnic conflicts, which have resulted in several challenges, including deaths, injuries and dislocation of people. For instance, in the conflict that has occurred in some of the study areas, it was reported that local government officials and armed militias in the area are the ones who have been orchestrating the conflict (AHRE, 2018). This suggests claiming the conflict incidences can have a political impact wherein; public trust tends to be eroded not only upon actors in the political system, which are responsible for keeping peace and order but also on the country's governance system at large. This may result in a normless situation that creates fertile ground for ethnic entrepreneurs to instigate another conflict.

Besides, the study has shown there was an act of repressing the rights of individuals that put restrictions on access to basic services and freedom of movement of the people. In this connection, Gardner (2019a) and Wilson (2019) have outlined that before assuring stable living conditions, the displaced people were expected to return and remain in their place of origin; otherwise, they were denied humanitarian assistance by local government officials. Indeed, this has been used as a deterrence mechanism to let them remain in their place of origin at the expense of their life, which is also against what has been enshrined in the constitution of the federal government of Ethiopia, indicated in Federal Negaret Gazeta(1995,p.10) as:

Any Ethiopian or foreign national lawfully in Ethiopia has, within the national territory, the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence and the freedom to leave the country at any time he wishes to.

4. Concluding Remarks

The study has assessed ethnic conflicts that have occurred in some selected areas of Ethiopia, taking the time frame 2016 to 2018 in focus. In this connection, the nature of the political system in the country that highly rewards people for identifying themselves in ethnic terms, as if there is no other common denominator that binds them together, has created the favourable condition to instil emotions to conflict. While such a situation persists, Fowkes (2002) stated; that there will be a possibility of frequent conflict in demanding territorial division, which emanates from the perception that the territory is an ethnic property. This kind

of territorial claim in the name of ethnic homeland is one of the main reasons for ethnic conflict in the study areas.

Therefore, reconsidering the government system's aspects that have offered certain exclusive rights, including political and employment, to some ethnic groups over others can be relevant. In addition, devising a policy that reduces the incentives that flare up ethnic conflict and realize peace and order can be a suggested option. Therefore, the presence of institutional arrangements with accountable leadership and the potential to realize the rule of law at the different tiers of government structure could be pertinent. Likewise, the availability of independent civic organizations that promote integration among ethnic groups can benefit from preventing the occurrence of ethnic conflict. In this regard, cultivating the local indigenous associations, which are common among various ethnic groups in the country, can enhance the peaceful coexistence of society. Further, the government had better create platforms that help all stakeholders, including scholars, opposition political groups, civil society, elders, and local indigenous associations.

Moreover, misunderstandings on the interpretation behind ethnicity and the related concepts within the people, especially in the light of the different theoretical assertions, have their bearing in creating fertile ground for ethnic entrepreneurs to distort their meanings and mobilize the youth towards ethnic conflicts. Hence, teaching the various explanations specified under the different schools of thought in the educational curriculum, mainly ethnicity and the associated concepts in context, can have its advantage in making an informed decision, which helps sustain peaceful coexistence among different ethnic groups and hinders the emergence of ethnic conflict in the long run.

Furthermore, improving the social conditions, such as access to employment opportunities and realizing social justice that assures the rights of all individuals, who live across different corners of the country, help prevent the emergence of ethnic conflicts.

Finally, promoting the accountability of perpetrators of ethnic conflict with the due process of an independent legal system can be a useful mechanism to deter other ethnic entrepreneurs from engaging in similar practices in the future.

5. Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author received no financial support for the research and has no potential conflicting interest with respect to the authorship and publication of this article.

References

[1] A.K Adgeh, "*Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Ethiopia: A Comparative Study of the Somali and Benishangul-Gumuz Regions,*" Doctoral Thesis, 2009.

[2] Alemante G. Selassie, "Ethnic Federalism: Its Promise and Pitfalls for Africa," *Yale Journal of International Law,* vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 51-107, 2003.

[3] Hizkias Assefa, "Ethnic Conflict in the Horn of Africa: Myth and Reality," In Rupesinghe, K. and Tishkov, V.A. Eds., *Ethnicity and Power in the Contemporary World,* United Nations University Press, pp. 32-51, 1996.

[4] Association for Human Rights in Ethiopia (AHRE), Ethiopia: Stop an Ethnic-based Displacement and Evictions, 2018. [Online]. Available: https://ahrethio.org/2018/05/05/ethiopia-stop-an-ethnic-based-displacement-and-evictions/

[5]   G.K. Brown, and A Langer, "Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: A Critical Review and Research Agenda," *Conflict, Security & Development,* vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 27-55, 2010. *Crossref,* https://doi.org/10.1080/14678800903553837

[6]   BTI Bertelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index, Country Report: Ethiopia, 2018.

[7]   A.M Che, Linking Instrumentalist and Primordialist Theories of Ethnic Conflict, 2016. [Online].Available at https://www.e-ir.info/2016/06/01/linking-instrumentalist-and-primordialist-theories-of-ethnic-conflict/

[8]   Constitution of the Regional State of Benishangul-Gumuz, An Improved Version of the Benishangul-Gumuz Region Constitution, Assosa, 2003.

[9]   Karl Cordell, and Stefan Wolff, *The Routledge Handbook of Ethnic Conflict*, Second Edition London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2016.

[10]   Karl Cordell, and Stefan Wolff, *Ethnic Conflict: Causes-Consequences-Responses*, Polity Press, 2010.

[11]   A Delafortrie, Helping People Displaced by Ethnic Violence in Ethiopia, 2018. [Online]. Available: https://ec.europa.eu/echo/field-blogs/photos/helping-people-displaced-ethnic-violence-ethiopia_en

[12]   Larry Diamond, "Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict," *The Journal of Modern African Studies,* vol. 25, no. 1, pp.117-128, 1987. *Crossref,* https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X0000762X

[13]   James D. Fearon, and David D. Laitin, "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity," *International Organization,* vol. 54, no. 4, pp. 845-877, 2000.

[14]   Federal Negaret Gazeta, "Proclamation of the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia," 1st year no.1. Addis Ababa-21st, 1995.

[15]   Ben Fowkes, "Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict in the Post-Communist World," Palgrave: New York, 2002.

[16]   Sonja Fransen, and Katie Kuschminder, "*Migration in Ethiopia: History, Current Trends and Future Prospects*," Paper Series: Migration and Development Country Profiles, Maastricht Graduate School of Governance, 2009.

[17]   Tom Gardner, "Ethiopia's Neglected Crisis: No Easy Way Home for Doubly Displaced Gedeos," *The New Humanitarian* (formerly IRIN News), 2019.

[18]   Tom Gardner, "Go, and We Die, Stay, and We Starve: The Ethiopians Facing a Deadly Dilemma," 2019.

[19]   Tom Gardner, "Uneasy Peace and Simmering Conflict: The Ethiopian Town Where Three Flags Fly," 2017.

[20]   Donald P. Green, and Rachel L. Seher, "What Roles Does Prejudice Play in the Ethnic Conflict?," *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 6, pp. 509-531, 2003. *Crossref,* https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.6.121901.085642

[21]   Lynn Hempel, "What's it worth to you? The Questionable Value of Instrumentalist Approaches to Ethnic Identification," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, vol. 45, no. 3-4, pp. 253-275, 2004. *Crossref,* https://doi.org/10.1177/0020715204049596

[22]   Human Rights Council, The 143rd Special Report that Requests a Practical Policy Measure to Resolve Ethnic-Based Conflicts in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa: Ethiopia, 2018.

[23]   Human Rights Watch, Ethiopia: Abiy's First Year as Prime Minister, Review of Conflict and Internally Displaced Persons, 2019. [Online]. Available: https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/04/09/ethiopia-abiys-first-year-prime-minister-review-conflict-and-internally-displa

[24]   International Crisis Group, Ethiopia: Ethnic Federalism and its Discontents, 2009. [Online]. Available: https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/ethiopia/ethiopia-ethnic-federalism-and-its-discontents

[25]   Internal Displacement Monitoring Center, Ethiopia, Tops the Global List of Highest Internal Displacement, 2018. [Online]. Available: https://reliefweb.int/report/ethiopia/ethiopia-tops-global-list-highest-internal-displacement-2018

[26]   James Jeffrey, "Hundreds of Thousands of Displaced Ethiopians are Caught between Ethnic Violence and Shadowy Politics," *GlobalPost*, 2017.

[27]   Stuart J. Kaufman, "*Modern Hatreds: The Symbol of Ethnic War*," Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 2001.

[28]   David A. Lake, and Donald Rothchild, "*Ethnic Fears and Global Engagement: The International Spread and Management of Ethnic Conflict Policy*," University of California, Davis, 1996. *Crossref,* https://doi.org/10.1515/9780691219752-019

[29]   Tom Lavers, "Responding to Land-Based Conflict in Ethiopia: The Land Rights of Ethnic Minorities under Federalism," *African Affairs,* vol. 117, no. 468, pp. 462-484, 2018. *Crossref,* https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/ady010

[30]   René Lefort, "Ethnic Clashes in Ethiopia: Setting the Record Straight," *Open Democracy*, 2017.

[31]   Aaron Maasho, Ethiopia Government Failing to Protect People from Ethnic Violence: Rights Commission, 2018. [Online]. Available: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ethiopia-violence-rights/ethiopia-government-failing-to-protect-people-from-ethnic-violence-rights-commission-idUSKCN1ME2AK

[32]   Mahmood Mamdani, "The Trouble with Ethiopia's Ethnic Federalism," *The New York Times*, 2019.

[33]   New Business Ethiopia, Ethiopia Tops by Violence Displaced Number of People, 2019. [Online]. Available: https://newbusinessethiopia.com/politics/ethiopia-tops-by-violence-displaced-number-of-people/

[34]   OCHA, The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Ethiopia: Conflict Displacement Situation Report, 2018.

[35]   OCHA, The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Ethiopia: Somali Region Inter-Communal Conflict.

[36]   Kumar Rupesinghe, "Governance and Conflict Resolution in Multi-Ethnic Societies," In Rupesinghe, K. and Tepfenhart, M. The Causes of Ethnic Conflict, *Comparative Civilizations Review*, vol. 68, no. 68, pp. 84-97, 1996.

[37]   West Guji, and Gedeo Zone, The UN Migration Agency, Displacement Tracking Matrix, Ethiopia: Mobility Tracking Rapid Response Assessment, pp. 12-30, 2018.

[38]   M Tepfenhart, "The Causes of Ethnic Conflict," *Comparative Civilizations Review*, vol. 68, no. 68, pp. 84-97, 2013.

[39]   Virginia Tilley, "The Terms of the Debate: Untangling Language about Ethnicity and Ethnic Movement," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 497-522, 1997. *Crossref,* https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.1997.9993972

[40]   T Vanhanen, "Ethnic Conflict and Violence in Heterogeneous Societies," *The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, vol. 37, no. 1, pp. 38-66, 2012.

[41]   Tatu Vanhanen, "Domestic Ethnic Conflict and Ethnic Nepotism: A Comparative Analysis," *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 36, no. 1, pp. 55-73, 1999. *Crossref,* https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343399036001004

[42]   A Varshney, "*Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict*," In Boix, C. & Stokes, S.C. Eds., The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-24, 2009.

[43]   Peter Vermeersch, "*Theories of Ethnic Mobilization: Overview and Recent Trends*," Centre for Research on Peace and Development (CRPD) Working Paper no. 3, 2011.

[44]   Robin M. Williams, Jr., "The Sociology of Ethnic Conflicts: Comparative International Perspectives," *Annual Review of Sociology,* vol. 20, no. 1994, pp. 49-79, 1994. *Crossref,* https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.so.20.080194.000405

[45]   Tom Wilson, "Ethnic Violence in Ethiopia has Forced Nearly 3 Million People from their Homes," *Los Angeles Times*, 2019.

[46]   Mark Yarnell, "The Crisis below the Headlines: Conflict Displacement in Ethiopia," *Field Report, Refugees International*, 2018.