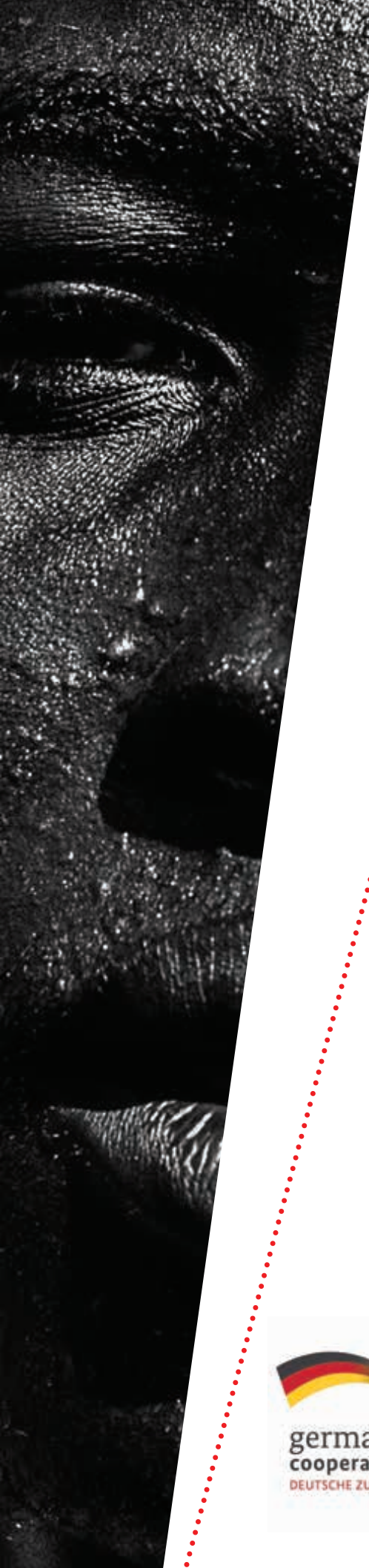




Investigating the Potential of Peace Committees in Ethiopia

**A Needs
Assessment in
IGAD CEWARN's
Karamoja and
Somali Clusters**



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With reporting by Firehiwot Sintayehu and Felegebirhan Belesti



CEWARN



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The Ethiopian Conflict Early Warning and Early Response Unit (CEWERU) in collaboration with the GIZ Civil Service Program conceived and commissioned the assessment study. The research design was developed by Luke Glowacki, Harvard University, and Katja Gönc, International Peace Adviser at GIZ Civil Peace Service in Ethiopia. Both LG and KG contributed research, reporting, analysis, and manuscript preparation.

Firehiwot Sintayehu and Felegebirhan Belesti contributed research and reporting from the Somali cluster.

The field data collection process was coordinated and assisted by CEWERU of Ethiopia through the InterAfrica Group, the NRI for Ethiopia.

Disclaimer

The views expressed in this report do not all coincide with the views of the Ethiopian CEWERU (Conflict Early Warning and Response Unit).

Content

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Abbreviations

AEPDA Atowoykesi Ekisil Pastoralist Development Association

CARE Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere

CEWARN Conflict Early Warning and Early Response

CEWERU Conflict Early Warning Response Units

CPS Civil Peace Service

CSA Central Statistical Agency

CSO Civil Society Organization

EPaRDA Ethiopian Pastoralists Research and Development Association

EWER Early Warning Early Response

GIZ Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit

IAG InterAfrica Group

IGAD Intergovernmental Authority on Development

LPC Local Peace Committee

MoFA Ministry of Federal Affairs

OLF Oromo Liberation Front

OPA Oromia Pastoralist Association

SNNPR Southern National, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State

Executive Summary



Photo © Kaja Olanic

1.0 Executive Summary

Local Peace Committees (LPCs) constitute a vital part of the Ethiopian Conflict Early Warning Response Unit (CEWERU). They have a variety of tasks in peace processes and are essential for resolving conflicts as well as collecting and sharing information at the local level. Because of a recently narrowed landscape of civil society organizations that support local peace committees, gradual implementation of peace architecture guidelines, and complex conflict landscape there has been a growing disconnect between the practice and capability of LPCs. This assessment was undertaken to assess the functioning and potentiality of local peace committees in CEWARN's Karamoja and Somali clusters focusing on four core areas:

1. Composition, structure, and mandate
2. Early warning and early response participation and capacity
3. Approach to conflict transformation
4. Gender and peace structures

This study involved 30 days of fieldwork by two teams, each operating in either the Somali or Karamoja cluster. Each team visited all woredas in their respective cluster conducting key informant interviews with woreda administration and other relevant persons. Focal group discussions were held with local peace committee members and individuals of other groups including elders, women, and youth. Relevant CSO actors were also interviewed. Interviews were also conducted with the Ministry of Federal Affairs and representatives from relevant zonal governments. These interviews and consideration for the legislative landscape constraining CSO activity formed the basis of the analysis and recommendations. A validation workshop was held on January 18th, 2013 in which additional stakeholders contributed to the final analysis and recommendations.

1.1 Findings

Although the study covered a broad range of conflict landscapes with substantial variation in geography, subsistence, religion, and conflict type, some findings are common across clusters. Commonly, LPCs have a large underutilized potential to contribute to conflict prevention and resolution. However, they face significant challenges including a lack of CSO support, inadequate infrastructure, logistical difficulties, a dearth of administrative and financial support, lack of accountability, and inadequate integration into larger peace architectures.

Composition, structure and mandate

Main Finding: In SNNPR, composition, structure, and mandate generally adhere to the regional conflict transformation strategy and guidelines, while the Somali cluster regions lack conflict transformation strategies. In most cases, woreda peace committee composition consists primarily of administrative representatives and male elders, with only a few female and youth members. Mandates at the woreda level are usually adequate to address conflicts while at the kebele level they are generally inadequate for addressing inter-woreda and cross-border conflict.

Main Recommendation: Oromia and Somali regions should establish regional guidelines. In all cases, LPCs should receive more support from regional and zonal governments. Secretariats should be established for both woreda and kebele peace committees and be tasked with coordinating and reporting on regular meetings. Kebele peace committees should be more fully integrated into the EWER system at the woreda level and mandated to meet regularly as well as discuss inter-woreda and cross-border conflict relevant to the area. Permanent cross-border and joint-woreda peace committees should be formed in all areas where conflict crosses woredas or national borders.

Early warning and early response participation and capacity

Main Finding: The lack of communication equipment, poor infrastructure, and an insufficient LPC presence hinder the early warning participation and capacity of peace committees. At the same time, early response from regional levels and CEWARN is impeded by a lack of integration between these reporting mechanisms and the LPCs.

Main Recommendation: A comprehensive Early Response Strategy should be developed within CEWERU, and kebele and woreda peace committees should be further integrated into the EWER system. Communication equipment should be distributed to all kebeles with sufficient infrastructure located in conflict-prone areas. Regular communication between kebele and woreda peace committees should occur. Efforts by both IGAD and the regional government should focus on facilitating joint-woreda and cross-border meetings as well as regular information exchange between woredas with ongoing or potential conflicts between them.

Approach to conflict transformation

Main Finding: In most cases, peace committees employ a hybrid of customary institutions and rule of law approaches to conflict resolution. Many peace committee members have not received formal training in conflict resolution. This is in part because the narrowed landscape of CSO actors has left a gap in supporting agencies.

Main Recommendation: Select peace committee members should receive training in conflict resolution techniques. In cases where customary institutions are respected and have been successfully employed, these should be encouraged. In other cases, efforts should focus on employing customary techniques alongside rule of law.

Gender and peace actors

Main Finding: Although women and youth have a visible representation, they generally do not have a significant presence in woreda peace committees. The capacity of peace committees, especially on the kebele level and inter-woreda level, would be increased through additional female and youth participation.

Main Recommendation: Underrepresented actors, especially women and youth, should be more fully incorporated into peace committees, especially at the kebele level. Female-led peace initiatives should be encouraged and supported. Trainings in conflict transformation, targeting women and youth, should be designed and implemented on the kebele level.

Introduction



Photo © Katja Göbnc

2

2.0 Introduction

2.1 Purpose

The Intergovernmental Authority of Development (IGAD) operates a sub-regional mechanism for Conflict Early Warning and Early Response (CEWARN) in its eight member states (Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, and Uganda) and fosters cooperation among relevant stakeholders to facilitate peaceful settlement of disputes. CEWARN currently receives and shares information on violent cross-border pastoralist and related conflicts, while also analyzing and responding to conflict incidents.

CEWARN undertakes its early warning and response function through its national network of governmental and non-governmental stakeholders, including the Conflict and Early Warning and Response Units (CEWERU), National Research Institutes (NRIs), and Field Monitors (FMs). Local peace committees are incorporated into the Ethiopian CEWERU and are tasked with a variety of peace tasks and are a vital part of the early warning and response mechanism.

The GIZ's Civil Peace Service (CPS) supports work on conflict transformation at the national, regional (SNNPR and Oromia) and local levels through its placement of peace experts at partner organizations. Their projects include mediation training for elders, the development of regional conflict transformation strategies, peace radio, and sustainable tourism projects in pastoralist areas. The CPS also provides support to indigenous organizations including local peace committees.

As a result of 2009 Ethiopian legislation restricting civil society organizations, many domestic and international NGO's have ceased participating in and supporting conflict transformation programs. This has resulted in a dramatic loss of support for local peace committees.

Local peace committees are an essential part of IGAD CEWARN and the GIZ CPS' peace strategies. Although LPCs are integral to their efforts, there is a gap between the committees' actual effectiveness and their potential.

Local peace committees are an essential part of IGAD CEWARN and the GIZ CPS' peace strategies. Although LPCs are integral to their efforts, there is a gap between the committees' actual effectiveness and their potential. In order to provide tailored support for local peace committees the Ethiopian CEWERU and GIZ CPS commissioned the present study to conduct an assessment of local peace committees in IGAD's two Ethiopian clusters, Karamoja and Somali, focusing on woreda and kebele peace committees. However, the analysis extended to their integration with larger peace architectures including zonal and regional governments. This assessment evaluates the functioning and potentiality of local peace committees in four core domains and provides recommendations to increase the effectiveness of local peace committees and for donors to optimize their support.

2.2 Focus Areas

Composition, structure and mandate

In order to be effective, the mandate of local peace committees must enable them to address nascent and ongoing conflicts. At the same time, their structure must adequately integrate them within larger peace architectures, and their composition ensure that stakeholders on the local level are participants. This focus area explored whether LPCs have a sufficient mandate, structure, and composition to adequately fulfill their capacity as part of CEWERU.

Early warning and early response

Local peace committees constitute a vital part of the EWER mechanism. They both collect and share information with IGAD CEWARN and CEWERU allowing early response to conflicts. They are also crucial for mediating conflicts on a local level. As such, this focus area sought to understand how LPCs currently participate in EWER and how they can increase their participation in the early warning and early response mechanism.

Approach to conflict transformation

In the study area, conflicts may be addressed by customary institutions that both mediate conflict and provide sanctions. In some cases, these may be more respected than rule of law sanctions. Peace committees may employ either customary institutions for conflict resolution, use rule of law methods, or use a combination of customary institutions and rule of law. This focus area was concerned with the approach peace committees presently employ and whether the adoption of additional approaches would facilitate conflict prevention and mediation.

Gender and Peace Actors

In most of the study area, social control is wielded primarily by male elders. However, the additional inclusion of other actors, including females, youth, and pastoralists may enable peace committees to have better understanding of the interests of the groups they speak for and create community consensus more easily. This focus area analyzed the participation of underrepresented actors, including females and youth, along with their capacity for increased participation.

2.3 Methodology

This analysis consisted of a literature review of available materials on peace committees, both in Ethiopia and internationally, as well as available background documents on local peace structures and their larger institutional framework.

Fieldwork was conducted by two teams of two consultants over a period of 30 days. Each team visited one of the two clusters (Karamoja and Somali) visiting every woreda in the cluster. A selection of kebeles within each woreda was also visited depending on logistical and security considerations. Key informant interviews were conducted with stakeholders including woreda and zonal officials, the Ministry of Federal Affairs, and relevant CSOs. Focal group discussions were held with local peace committees as well as with other stakeholders including elders, women, and youth. Interviews were also held with CEWERU field monitors and other relevant individuals such as former administrators and peace committee members.

Focal group discussions used semi-structured interview questions developed to probe the four focus areas. The varying nature of local peace committees within and between each cluster necessitated ad hoc questions and significant deviation from the interview script.

Analysis occurred after the fieldwork component and a follow-up data collection period of 1 week was conducted in January 2013 to test the preliminary findings and recommendations. A draft of the report was circulated among stakeholders prior to the validation workshop to enable early feedback. A validation workshop was held on January 18th, 2013 with stakeholders including CEWERU members and representatives of international and national organizations. The results of this workshop were included in the final report and recommendations.

Total Focal Group Discussions:32	Total Woredas Visited: 10
Karamoja Focal Group Discussions: 16	Karamoja Woredas Visited: 4
Somali Focal Group Discussions: 16	Somali Woredas Visited: 6

**the conflict
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2.4 Background

This study covered IGAD CEWARN's two Ethiopian clusters, Somali and Karamoja. There are major demographic differences between the clusters as well as within the clusters. Thus, the conflict landscape between and within clusters varies with demographic, geographic, and cultural nuances.

2.41 Somali Cluster

IGAD's Somali cluster lies within two Ethiopian regional states: Oromia and Somali. This cluster is characterized by an arid and semi-arid landscape with agro-pastoralism as the principle method of subsistence. The presence of intra- and inter-clan, interethnic, and cross-border conflicts, along with immense refugee camps and a shared border with Kenya and Somalia create a complex conflict landscape.

Borena Zone, Oromia Region

There are 4 woreda in the Oromia region of CEWARN's Ethiopian Somali cluster. They include Dillo, Dire, Miyo, and Moyale. Dillo, Dire, and Miyo are primarily rural woredas. Moyale is unique in that it is a large town and woreda along the Ethiopian/Kenyan border administered by both Oromia and Somali regions containing a significant population of both ethnic groups. The Oromia region of the cluster shares borders with Kenya to the south and SNNPR to the west and Somali region to the east.

The Oromo have a clan structure, consisting primarily of the Gebra and Borena within the study area. The majority of the population follows traditional religious beliefs, though Islam has a significant presence (CSA, 2007). In Moyale, however, Islam has a slight majority with a significant minority following traditional belief structures.

Conflict Landscape of Borena Zone, Oromia Region

In Oromia, the traditional structure of the Gada is still in place. The Gada is a traditional institution that governs society and is used to resolve conflicts (Legesse, 1973). It employs a generation-grading system where sons follow the generation grading of their fathers in passing through fixed responsibilities in each grade. Prominent male elders wield significant social control over male youth.

The majority of conflict is inter-clan between members of the Borena of Ethiopia and Gebra of Ethiopia/Kenya. However, in the past several years the conflict situation has dramatically improved in Dillo, Dire, and Miyo woredas, largely due to the Maikona Declaration in which formal compensation for offenses was instituted, as well as a continuing local peace committee presence. There has been a recent deterioration of conditions between the Borena of Dillo and Gebra of Kenya and the border is presently closed due to unresolved issues of compensation payment. Neighboring Teltele woreda increases the conflict potential in this region because individuals cross Dillo enroute to Kenya where they may engage in conflict. The Maikona Declaration has not been implemented in Teltele woreda and they do not have IGAD supported peace committees, though CEWERU is presently establishing peace committees in this woreda.

The conflict in Moyale involves members of the Borena, Geri, and Gebra. It is highly politicized and primarily over land jurisdiction and there has been a recent deterioration of relations between the Borena and Geri. Currently residents are in a state of apprehension over future outbreaks of violence, which threaten regional stability due to movements of displaced persons.

Liben Zone, Somali Region

The Somali region of the study area includes 2 woredas, Moyale and Dolo Ado. These woredas are primarily composed of members of the Geri and Digodia clans of the Somali ethnic group. Dolo Ado is also unique in that it contains a minority of members of numerous different Somali clans beyond the Geri and Digodia. Moyale borders Kenya to the south and is jointly administrated by the Oromia region and split between the Oromia and Somali peoples. Dolo Ado contains a large refugee camp of displaced persons from Somalia and abuts the Mendera triangle where Ethiopia, Somalia and Kenya share a border. Islam is the dominant religion in the region followed by a small minority of Christians in the region.

Conflict Landscape of Liben Zone, Somali Region

Similar to the Oromo, the Somalis also maintain a traditional structure called the Heer, which is a governance system by male community members, headed by a clan leader, and employed for conflict resolution (Woodward, 2003). In the Somali region the primary conflicts are inter-clan between the Degodia and Geri. Conflicts take the form of revenge killings, and may be triggered because of resource competition over pasture and water and desire for revenge from previous aggrievements. The conflict in the Somali woredas also involves a cross-border component because of their adjacency to the Kenyan and Somali border. In Moyale the conflict is highly politicized and primarily over land jurisdiction with the situation having recently deteriorated with residents living in fear of an escalation of violence.

WOREDA	REGIONAL STATE	INTRA- AND INTER-CLAN CONFLICT	NOTES
Dillo	Oromia	Borena (Ethiopia) and Gebra (Kenya)	Recently increased and border currently closed
Dire	Oromia	Borena (Ethiopia) and Gebra (Kenya)	No major incidents of violent conflict in several years
Miyo	Oromia	Borena (Ethiopia) and Gebra (Kenya)	No major violent pastoral conflict for several years
Moyale	Oromia	Borena, Geri, and Gebra	Highly politicized and largely over land jurisdiction
Moyale	Somali	Borena, Geri, and Gebra	Highly politicized and largely over land jurisdiction
Dolo Ado	Somali	Degodia and Geri	Sporadic incidents over access to resources

2.42 Karamoja Cluster.

The Ethiopian Karamoja cluster lies within the South Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State (SNNPR). SNNPR is the most diverse region in Ethiopia, composed of 56 nations and ethnic groups speaking 54 languages. Within the SNNPR, the Karamoja cluster is contained within two zones: Bench-Maji and South Omo Zone.

Bench-Maji Zone, SNNPR

The Bench-Maji Zone lies along the western edge of the country bordering South Sudan in the west, Gambela to the north, Kafe zone to the east, and South Omo Zone to the South. Bench-Maji Zone contains 11 woredas, two of which are in the study region: Surma and Bero. Bero woreda is almost entirely enclosed by the Surma woreda and shares a small stretch of border with Gambela Zone. Bero has an estimated population of 35,000 (unpublished data), the majority of which are small-scale farmers from the Dizi people and migrant laborers employed in the gold-mining regions as well as a small agro-pastoral Suri minority. Bero woreda is divided into 11 kebeles¹, 4 of which are predominantly inhabited by gold-miners while the remaining 7 kebeles are primarily composed of subsistence farmers. The Dizi maintain a traditional structure of elders which wields significant social control utilizing traditional institutions for conflict resolution.

Surma woreda is principally inhabited by the agro-pastoral Surma (also called Suri), numbering approximately 30,000 (unpublished data). It is bordered by the Bero, Maji, and Nyangatom woredas as well as South Sudan in the west. It consists of 22 kebeles², only 15 of which have any infrastructure, and 6 police stations. Many of the kebeles are only reachable by foot, some requiring walks of 3 or 4 days. Due to changing pasture availability, many Surma live outside the kebele structure and may change residence based on livestock mobility patterns. In the past two decades, the Surma have experienced diminished authority of traditional institutions and practices resulting in loss of social control by the elders. They also face challenges resulting from resettlement and large-scale agricultural operations occurring in their traditional grasslands. Conflicts are both internal and external, the majority of which are conducted by male youth. Internal conflicts include revenge killings, marriage conflicts, and cattle theft. External conflicts primarily involve the Dizi of Bero and Maji and include cattle raiding, banditry, and revenge killings. Cross-border conflict is currently minimal.

¹ Kebele numbers have obtained from IGAD CEWARN Field Monitors as census data (CSA, 2007) does not reflect the most recent kebele number.

² Kebele number obtained from woreda police head.

Conflict Landscape Bench-Maji Zone, SNNPR

Conflict in Bero woreda consists of both internal and external conflicts. Intra-ethnic (Dizi-Dizi) conflicts arise principally from marriage disputes and quarrels that escalate into violence. Customary conflict resolution mechanisms alongside rule of law sanctions are respected for internal conflicts. External conflicts are primarily with the Surma people whose woreda almost entirely encloses Bero woreda. Conflicts between the Dizi and Surma appear to be the result of a long history of grievances, cattle raiding, revenge killings, and a Surma culture of heroism. Traditional Dizi conflict resolution mechanisms are respected by the Dizi for external conflict with the Surma. However, the large and rapidly expanding gold mining area creates an additional conflict point resulting from a large migrant population, rampant alcohol abuse and lack of respect for Dizi customary conflict resolution mechanisms and peace agreements. The conflict here is primarily between migrant Ethiopians and Dizi, and the Surma. It is characterized by small-scale tit-for-tat violence that then escalates into widespread violence.

Surma woreda has both severe internal and external conflicts, the majority of which are conducted by male youth. Internal conflicts include revenge killings, marriage conflicts, and cattle theft. The prevalence of alcohol, and light arms contribute to spontaneous killings at public gatherings such as donga (traditional stick fighting). Customary conflict resolution mechanisms are no longer effective at deescalating or preventing violence. Rule of law sanctions are not locally respected, contributing to revenge killings in cases where aggressors are punished by rule of law sanctions without paying traditional compensation for their offenses. External conflicts primarily involve the Dizi of Bero and Maji and include cattle raiding, banditry along roads, and revenge killings with occasional outbreaks of widespread violence. There are intermittent outbreaks of violence with the Nyangatom, however, these have been sporadic and rare since a peace agreement was signed between the two groups. Cross-border conflict is currently minimal but cross-border travel contributes to an inflow of light arms.

South Omo Zone, SNNPR

The South Omo Zone shares borders with Kenya in the south and South Sudan in the southwest. It also borders the Bench-Maji Zone in the west as well as Kaficho, Basketo, Gama Gofa, and Borena Zones and the Konso Woreda. The population of 577,673 (CSA, 2007) is largely rural with only 7.5 percent living in urban areas. It contains eight woredas, two of which are in the Karamoja cluster—Dassenech and Nyangatom.

The Dassenech woreda borders Kenya and the Turkana people to the south, Nyangatom woreda to the northwest, and the Hamar to the northeast. The woreda has an estimated population of over 51,000 (CSA, 2007), the majority of whom are agro-pastoral Dassenech. The woreda contains 40 kebeles³ with Omorate town as the administrative center. The woreda is split by the Omo River, currently crossable only by local boat or ferry. Because of the lack of an efficient river crossing, access to the western part of Dassenech is difficult. There is a significant population of Dassenech peoples inhabiting northern Kenya creating an additional cross-border element. The Dassenech in Ethiopia primarily reside in kebeles and transhumance patterns are minimal. Dassenech elders continue to wield significant social control, though the cross-border composition of the population combined with rampant alcoholism, shared fishing grounds, and proximity to the Turkana create significant conflict stressors.

Nyangatom woreda is inhabited principally by the agro-pastoral Nyangatom numbering over 17,000 (CSA 2007), though it also includes a small population of Kwegu agriculturalists. It has 20 kebeles⁴, 9 of which are located in the Kibish border region with the Turkana, with an additional kebele north of Kibish also bordering the Turkana. The administrative town of Kangaten lies at the extreme edge of Nyangatom woreda along the Omo River. In addition to bordering the Turkana, Nyangatom also borders the Kara, Mursi, Surma, Hamar, Toposa, and Dassenech peoples. Although there is a developed kebele system with a rapidly expanding infrastructure, many of the Nyangatom may live outside kebeles, either residing in cattle camps and following transhumance patterns or residing part of the year around Naita, South Sudan.

³ Kebele number obtained from Dassenech Field Monitor.

⁴ Kebele number obtained from Nyangatom Field Monitor.

There is a significant population of Nyangatom inhabiting South Sudan and closely allied with the Toposa peoples, creating a cross-border residence component to the Nyangatom. The Nyangatom maintain a traditional structure of elders and senior generations who wield significant social control. Though the Nyangatom primarily practice traditional religion there are a significant number of Protestants in Kangaten and a growing number throughout the woreda. Currently vehicle access to Nyangatom is either by use of a ferry at Omorate or by a lengthy and difficult road from Surma Kibish, making access to the region difficult.

Conflict Landscape South Omo Zone, SNNPR

Dassenech conflict is both internal and external with the majority of incidents involving the Turkana or Nyangatom peoples. The Turkana are pastoralists inhabiting the northern area of Kenya, creating a cross-border component to the conflict. Cattle raiding and revenge killings that escalate into large-scale violence are the main manifestations of conflict, though the conflict with the Turkana has also involved large-scale violence. The presence of shared fishing areas and valuable nets creates conflict triggers between Turkana and Dassenech. These consequently contribute to the formation of unpopulated buffer areas between the ethnic groups. Among the Nyangatom conflicts are largely external involving the Turkana, Daasanach, and Kara, though there is also a recent history of periodic conflict with Surma, Mursi, and Hamar. These conflicts are primarily tit-for-tat cattle raids and revenge killings. The conflict with the Kara also involves a dispute resulting from the demarcation of the Nyangatom woreda and the loss of traditional Kara farming land on the west bank of the Omo River.

Internal conflicts are largely insignificant, usually involving marriage disputes, and resolved through traditional mechanisms involving members of senior generations. The conflict with the Turkana involves several cross-border issues because the Turkana reside directly adjacent to Nyangatom across the Kibish River on former Nyangatom territory in the north of the Ilemi Triangle. Turkana raiders may also receive support from the Kenya forces stationed at the Kibish Police Post. Raids here may involve members of the Toposa tribe and Nyangatom residing in South Sudan. The inclusion of these actors represents a significant challenge at cross-border peace initiatives between Turkana and Nyangatom. The development of large agricultural projects along the banks of the Omo also threatens to increase resource pressure creating further conflict.

GROUP NAME	INTERNAL CONFLICTS	CURRENT EXTERNAL CONFLICTS	RESOLVED CONFLICTS
DIZI	DIZI-DIZI CONFLICT PRESENT BUT MINIMAL	SURMA	N/A
SURMA	SURMA-SURMA	DIZI, NYANGATOM MINIMALLY	TOPOSA, NYANGATOM
DASSENECH	NEGLIGIBLE	TURKANA, NYANGATOM	HAMAR, TOPOSA
NYANGATOM	NEGLIGIBLE	TURKANA, KARA, SURMA MINIMALLY	HAMAR, MURSI, BODI

Local Peace Committees in an International and Domestic Context

Photo © Kanja Orens



3

3.0 Local Peace Committees in an International and Domestic Context

3.1 Peace Committees in an International Context

There is no single comprehensive definition for peace committees but they are generally bodies that operate at a subnational level with the mandate of encouraging and/or participating in conflict resolution.

Local peace committees form an important structure in peace processes and initiatives globally and have numerous designations including, “peace advisory committees” and “peace and development committees”. There is no single comprehensive definition for peace committees but they are generally bodies that operate at a subnational level with the mandate of encouraging and/or participating in conflict resolution. Similarly, other useful definitions include “a conflict mitigation and peace building structure that integrates traditional and modern conflict interventions to address intra- and intertribal tensions and conflicts” as well as “a group of people whose broad job is to define parameters for peace” (Adan and Pkalya, 2006:13).

All definitions seem to share the quality that peace committees are an inclusive body composed of relevant stakeholders and ideally includes “all participants, emphasizes dialogue, promotes mutual understanding, builds trust and creates constructive problem solving and joint action to prevent violence” (Odendaal, 2010:7). Their inclusive structure gives them access and legitimacy to discuss peace that other structures or organizations may not have.

Peace committees have successfully contributed to conflict transformation in many international contexts. In South Africa, peace committees on national, regional, and local levels were formed in the early 1990’s as part of the National Peace Accord. The national and regional peace committees were far less effective than the local peace committees, and “this peace infrastructure contributed substantively to containing the spiral of violence occurring at that time. While the LPCs were unable to prevent all

the violent incidents, it is widely agreed that the situation would have been far graver if they had not existed” (van Tongeran, 2011:47). In Nicaragua, peace committees were crucial in facilitating local peace agreements and for the reintegration of contra-guerillas and are credited with bridging a “critical gap between the Government’s effort to stop violence in Nicaragua during and after the war” (Odendaal, 2010:33). In Kenya, peace committees began in the early 1990’s by a group of women in Wajir district who met to discuss the underlying causes of conflict (Adan and Pkalya, 2006). This ultimately led to the formation of a formal structure “the Wajir Peace and Development Committee” that included governmental representatives, religious leaders, CSO’s, elders, and security officers. This model eventually led to a national decision to form committees in all districts (Adan and Pkalya, 2006). Peace committees have also had some success in contributing to peace in Nepal, Macedonia, and Northern Ireland (Odendaal, 2010).

Peace committees may be formally recognized and incorporated into a national peace architecture. In these cases, they may receive their mandates through legislation or governmental bodies as well as receive material and logistical support from state organizations or CSOs. For example, formal peace committees were initiated through governmental action in both South Africa and Nepal. In South Africa peace committees were formally established as part of their National Peace Accord, while in Nepal they developed out of the Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction. Peace committees may also be informal bodies primarily composed of citizen stakeholders that address specific conflicts and issues, such as those first formed in Wajir district, northern Kenya (Adan and Pkalya, 2006). Informal committees such as these can have a large role in peace processes. For instance, the informal peace committees in Wajir district were instrumental in the larger adoption of peace committees through Kenya (Adan and Pkalya, 2006). Informal peace committees such as these may not be recognized by governments and may exist alongside formal peace committees or other structures.

Peace committees may adopt any of several different approaches to conflict management depending on their mandate. In some cases they may be primarily engaged in creating dialogue and conflict mediation. In other cases, they may make recommendations for conflict resolution, including recommending sanctions. In these cases, they may utilize traditional conflict resolution mechanisms. For instance, in northern Kenya peace committees use an approach and methodology that is “modeled on the customary institutions of conflict management of the communities in question” (Adan and Pkalya, 2006:8). In other cases they may make recommendations for rule of sanction or employ a hybrid of rule of law and customary institutions.

The composition of peace committees varies according to the particular region and mandate, though they generally include the primary stakeholders to conflict and may or may not include civil society organizations as members. At a minimum a local peace committee “needs to be composed of local organizations or movements relevant to the local peace process, and LPC memberships needs to be decided by local people” (Odendaal, 2010:19). In instances where conflict crosses national border or other political or cultural boundaries, peace committees may exist at a local level and include members of only one conflict-afflicted group.

The ideal composition of peace committee membership can be problematic. For instance, while the inclusion of marginalized groups such as women may promote justice and equity, in some instances it may not improve the effectiveness of peace committees, while in others their inclusion may be necessary for effective conflict resolution. In many pastoral societies where traditional institutions for conflict resolution are dominated by male elders, local peace committees may not be respected because the inclusion of women, youth, or government officials is not consistent with cultural values (Adan and Pkalya, 2006:31). For instance, “NGOs operating in Kenya required that women and youth be included in LPCs. This weakened the committees’ ability to resolve conflict because it created confusion over traditional roles” (Odendaal, 2010: 21). In other situations, such as Nepal, where the conflict was due in part to the marginalization of women, “if the LPC was to succeed, it was vital to include them” (Odendaal, 2010: 21). Odendaal (2010) suggests

local peacebuilding should be owned and managed as much as possible by local communities themselves. ... [I]t is preferable to leave the selection of true peacemakers at the local level (i.e. not to prescribe from the top or outside) because it is more likely to produce legitimate and respected members. The key is that the LPCs should have the right to determine their own composition; yet it should ideally be as inclusive as possible” (Odendaal, 2010:21). This is consistent with the Ethiopian guidelines where peace committees at the kebele level are filled by kebele administration and the other positions selected by community members.

Across contexts peace committees face many similar challenges. Formal peace committees have usually been established with large amounts of external support. In northern Kenya, for example, extensive external support resulted in numerous parallel peace committees, making it unclear which peace committees had community legitimacy. At the same time, “external support is a potential threat to local ownership” (Odendaal, 2010:18) because funding agencies may advance their own agenda. Many peace committees include government actors. While the government is frequently a stakeholder in conflicts, the inclusion of government representatives as peace committee members threatens to undermine the legitimacy peace committees have and may risk LPCs advancing the government’s agenda rather than the local communities’ (Adan and Pkalya, 2006). The lack of enforcement mechanisms or inability to issue formal sanctions can be problematic for peace committees, especially if it makes recommendations that are then ignored (see Adan and Pkalya, 2006). However, the lack of power that peace committees have can be offset by the peace committee “seeking consensus and using it as the guiding authority in implementing decisions” (Odendaal, 2010:22).

3.2 Peace Committees in Ethiopia

Ethiopia has a recent history of local peace committees, with many of the first peace committees established after 2004. Although Ethiopia contains informal, unrecognized peace committees, in 2009 many local peace committees were integrated into CEWERU. LPCs may exist at several administrative levels ranging from regional states, zones, woredas, and kebeles. Joint-woreda or cross-border committees may also exist alongside woreda and kebele peace committees.

Although Ethiopia contains informal, unrecognized peace committees, in 2009 many local peace committees were integrated into CEWERU.

Civil society organizations and CEWARN have had a prominent role in the establishment of peace committees. In the Karamoja cluster, Mercy Corps initiated the first peace committees in Surma and Bero woredas. However, their original structure has been recently changed to more closely parallel the CEWERU structure. In Dassenech, EPaRDA was primarily responsible for the establishment and training of peace committees, while in Nyangatom Ethiopian CEWERU with the support of AEPDA originally established peace committees in the Kibish region. The local administration has recently reinforced these LPCs by establishing additional committees as well as forming LPCs in all kebeles. The situation is similar for the Somali cluster with Ethiopian CEWERU and CSOs such as CARE playing a vital role in the establishment of peace committees and OPA providing some current support and contributing to establishing peace committees in non-CEWARN areas such as Teltele woreda.

However, the current CSO landscape has drastically changed as a result of Ethiopian legislation from 2009 that restricts the ability of CSO's to support peace committees. As a result, peace committees across both clusters are now largely independent of CSO support creating immense challenges for their continued functioning.

The Domestic Landscape for Local Peace Committees

Photo © Kalja Ghene

4



4.0 The Domestic Landscape for Local Peace Committees

4.1 National Framework for Conflict Transformation

When the Ethiopian Federal Constitution was adopted in 1995, the new federal state model was charged with the ambitious task of “[bringing] about a solution to the age-old crisis of the Ethiopian state and society characterized by conflicts” (Kefale, 2004:52). The idea of redrawing regional borders along major ethnic lines and vesting regions with a degree of autonomy is in itself a conflict management measure. However, in a country with more than 80 ethnic groups with endemic ethnic tensions both within and between regional states, the constitution is only a first step toward solving disputes between ethnic groups and addressing cross-border conflicts.

Presently, Ethiopia lacks a comprehensive conflict prevention and transformation strategy, which would create synergies between government sectors and advance a systematic approach toward sustainable peace. The House of Federations, representing the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia, is entrusted with the task of interpreting the constitution and to finding solutions to disputes that may arise between regional states. However, the House has not yet developed its full capacity for conflict management and is restricted by the constitutional framework to resolve only the conflicts that emerge between regional states.

Nevertheless, some crucial steps have been made towards a nationwide approach. In 2009, the Ministry of Federal Affairs developed the Conflict Prevention and Resolution Strategy (2009). This is the first step away from a reactive approach and towards systematic conflict management. Instead of solely addressing the symptoms of conflict, the approach strives to identify and address the root causes of conflicts.

The existing Conflict Prevention and Resolution Strategy builds on three pillars for sustainable peace. The first pillar involves developing a culture of peace that promotes tolerance and non-violent communication. Measures to support this approach are awareness-raising and trainings among youth, women and peace groups. The second pillar of the strategy is to establish a strong early warning and early response system. Currently, the Ministry of Federal Affairs is coordinating the national early warning mechanism⁵ which includes data collection, analysis, and linkages to the relevant bodies for response purposes. The third pillar of the strategy is to address conflicts at an early stage, identify, and deal with root causes as well as provide remedies to victims of conflict.

Under the provisions of the strategy, the Ministry of Federal Affairs commits itself to support local peace structures for their contribution to conflict prevention and management. In 2004 of the Ethiopian Calendar, the ministry identified 32 woredas⁶ to receive support for their local peace committees. Upon the request of the region, MoFA can allocate an officer on an expert level to support the region's peace committees.

4.2 Regional Frameworks

The woredas assessed in this study belong to three of the nine regional states in Ethiopia: Oromia, Somali and SNNPR Regional State. While the national framework is relevant for all regional states, the autonomous nature of the regions enables them to develop additional frameworks to deal with conflicts. Since conflict transformation frameworks are only at an early stage on the federal level, the regional states have yet to fully embark on the task to develop their own framework. Among the three regional states included in the study area, only SNNPR has a conflict resolution strategy tailored to its particular regional conflict landscape, whereas Oromia and Somali have no additional frameworks.

⁵ Ethiopia has two early warning early response systems. The Ministry of Federal Affairs coordinates the national system that collects data from kebele, woreda, zone and regions following a bottom-to-top cascade approach. In parallel is the IGAD CEWARN system that collects data through field monitors on the woreda level who share the information directly to the analysis unit at IAG. Notwithstanding, there is an inter-linkage between the two systems as IGAD CEWARN feeds their results to the MoFA on a bimonthly basis as input for consideration at the highest political level.

⁶ In the two IGAD CEWARN clusters, MoFA is supporting local peace committees in Beru and Moyale Woreda.

In the case of SNNPR, the Council of Nationalities⁷ developed the Strategy for Conflict Resolution in 2011⁸. The Strategy offers several measures for conflict resolution including working with youth, the inclusion of women in peace bodies, peace education, strengthening of social organizations, and the correlation of development and peace efforts. At the same time, it also seeks to improve organizational structures, including “to organize peace committees that support zonal, woreda or kebele levels” and to monitor their work by following up “...the tasks of peace committees in different hierarchies whether they act according to their functions” (Strategy for Conflict Resolution, 2011:47).

Additionally, SNNPR Bureau of Security and Administration adopted the peace committee manual from the Ministry of Federal Affairs. The manual defines the composition and mandate of local peace committees from the national and regional level down to the zonal, woreda, and kebele level. It allows for sub-kebele committees and joint peace committees on any of the levels if the need arises. In this regional state, the federal commitment to support and develop local peace structures is reinforced within a regional framework.

4.3 The Role of IGAD CEWARN and CEWERU

IGAD CEWARN constitutes an important element of the African peace architecture and has been operational in Ethiopia since 2003. With its regional early warning and early response mechanism, it sets a standard for other regions of the continent that still need to develop their early warning early response mechanisms. Working towards peaceful settlements of disputes and responding to potential or actual violent conflicts in the IGAD region, IGAD acknowledges the importance of local peace committees.

⁷ According to Polhemus (2004:194), “the Regional Councils are clearly multifunctional ... Conflict management, whether conflict prevention or conflict transformation, is not their only or even their main function. Nevertheless, it is clear that they have various roles to play in conflict management in the regions”.

⁸ The development of the SNNPR Strategy has been at large supported by the GIZ Civil Peace Service.

In Ethiopia, CEWARN's support to local peace committees is gradually increasing through the Rapid Response Fund, by establishing peace clubs, community gatherings, emergency peace meetings, and trainings, as well as through material support such as laptops and motorbikes for field monitors.

In Ethiopia IGAD CEWARN⁹ does not operate nationwide but focuses on two areas, the Karamoja cluster (cross-border areas to Kenya and South Sudan) and the Somali cluster (cross-border areas to Kenya and Somalia). It concentrates on pastoralist and cross-border conflicts between ethnic groups along the borders with South Sudan, Kenya and Somalia. Local peace committees are vital sources of information and crucial for implementing early response measures. In Ethiopia, CEWARN's support to local peace committees is gradually increasing through the Rapid Response Fund, by establishing peace clubs, community gatherings, emergency peace meetings, and trainings, as well as through material support such as laptops and motorbikes for field monitors.

In all IGAD member states, CEWERU is the national conflict early warning and response unit. The Ethiopian CEWERU includes the CEWERU unit in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the national steering committee¹⁰, and the woreda- and kebele-level peace committees. In 2009, an operational guideline was adopted for CEWERU with frameworks for all its structural entities including local peace committees. This guideline provides the first official framework for local peace committees and shifted their status from informal to formal bodies.

The Ethiopian CEWERU (2009) guideline vests the woreda and kebele local peace committees with a broad spectrum of engagement. Woreda peace committees provide both rapid and long-term responses and foster cross-border cooperation, while the kebele peace committees help to formulate response strategies, implement peace agreements, and act as key early warning informants. The guideline also touches upon their composition, electoral proceedings, and defines the regularity of their meetings:

⁹ IGAD's Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) was established with a Protocol signed by Member States in Khartoum, Sudan, in 2002. The member states agreed to focus on pastoral and cross-border conflict, although CEWARN is mandated to monitor a broad range of conflicts. The type of conflicts and area of engagement is a part of bilateral negotiations between IGAD and the respected government.

¹⁰ The Ethiopian National Steering Committee is composed of members from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Federal Affairs, The Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, National Intelligence and Security Agency, Federal Police, House of People's Representatives (Federal Parliament), National Research Institute, representatives of the Civil Society, and regional governments. Currently, the Steering Committee convenes once a year, although the founding documents foresee a quarterly assembly.

Duties and responsibilities of Woreda Peace Committee

- *In consultation with the local level peace committees, the Woreda level peace committee shall provide rapid response to resolve conflicts.*
- *Shall formulate medium and long-term responses in consultation with the CEWERU Head and the National Steering Committee, and implement it in collaboration with the local level peace committee.*
- *Shall establish a coordination and sustainable cooperation framework with similar CEWERU organs of neighboring countries.*
- *Shall educate communities and create awareness in conflict resolution and prevention.*
- *Both the Woreda and Kebele level peace committees, in collaboration with the CEWERU Head and the National Steering Committee, would formulate capacity building programs needed for enhancing their capacities.*
- *Shall collaborate with field monitors, provide and receive information.*
- *Shall endeavor for the recovery and return of looted livestock and other properties in collaboration with local level peace committees.*
- *The Woreda Level Peace Committee shall be chaired by the Woreda Administrator while the head of the security and justice bureau shall be the deputy chairman and secretary of the committee.*
- *The Woreda Peace Committee shall hold its regular meeting during the first week of the month. In case of emergency extra ordinary meetings shall be called as deemed necessary.*

The Ethiopian CEWERU Operational Guidelines No. 001/2001 (2009)

According to the Guidelines, woreda and kebele local peace committees are to closely cooperate and complement each other. In order for kebele peace committee to successfully fulfill their tasks the woreda must ensure support, especially through the security and justice sector.

Duties and responsibilities of Kebele (local) Level Peace Committee

- *Shall constitute all sectors of the society in the process of their establishment and functioning.*
- *Shall inform early warning information to the field monitors as well as the Woreda level committees immediately.*
- *Shall formulate response strategies to existing conflicts or potential ones in collaboration with the Woreda Peace Committee.*
- *Shall provide education to communities and create awareness in conflict management and resolution.*
- *Shall attend in peace meetings and represent the locality, in coordination with the Woreda Peace Committee, and vigorously implement all agreements reached in those meetings.*
- *Shall endeavor for the return of all looted livestock and other properties through participating in the committees, and ensures that culprits and criminals are brought to justice.*
- *The chairperson of the local peace committee shall represent the committee in the Woreda Peace Committee. The representative shall have equal voting rights like other members of the Woreda Peace Committee.*
- *The members of the peace committee will elect their leadership (Chairperson, its deputy and the secretary) in an open and democratic way.*
- *The local level peace committee shall meet once every week.*
- *The chairperson of the peace committee can call an extraordinary meeting as deemed necessary.*

4.4 The Role of Civil Society in Conflict Transformation

Role of CSOs in Conflict Transformation

Globally, civil society is gaining recognition by state and international actors for their contributions to peace. After the Cold War era, it has become unimaginable to achieve sustainable peace without civil actors. The involvement of CSOs is widely welcomed in conflict prevention, management, and resolution, particularly due to the close relationship between the CSOs and their communities, as well as CSOs' understanding of the needs on the ground and ability to implement conflict management and resolution plans.

In Ethiopia, international organizations and national civil society organizations have had a crucial role in establishing local peace committees. Until the adoption of the Conflict Prevention and Resolution Strategy in 2009, the Ethiopian state had a reactionary approach to resolving conflicts – dealing with the consequences rather than preventing outbreaks of violence. In this respect, CSOs have been a step ahead, realizing that sustainable peace demands a different approach, such as the continuity of peace dialogues between violent events. In addition, international organizations have supported various peace efforts such as trainings, forums, peace clubs, peace radios, and peace committees.

Legal Limitations of CSOs

In 2009, the Ethiopian government adopted the Charities and Societies Proclamation (Proclamation No. 621/2009), which has had a considerably negative impact on civil engagement in conflict transformation. According to the Proclamation, CSOs receiving more than ten per cent of their funding from foreign sources cannot engage in the advancement of human and democratic rights, the promotion of the equality of nations, nationalities, people, gender, and religions, the promotion of disabilities and children's rights, the promotion of conflict resolution or reconciliation, or the promotion of the efficiency of the justice and law enforcement services¹¹.

¹¹ Article 14, Proclamation No. 621/2009.

Existing CSOs struggled after the adoption of this proclamation, as most were partly or fully dependent on external donors. For civil actors, working on conflict became virtually impossible. The legislature allows exceptions only in two cases. First, if the CSOs operate only in one region and do not have members from other regions, and second, an exemption can be made for international or foreign organizations operating in Ethiopia on a bilateral agreement ¹².

Local CSOs working on peace in Somali and Karamoja Clusters

In Karamoja cluster, CSOs are no longer substantially involved in conflict transformation. In 2009¹³, there were four CSOs operating in conflict prevention, management, and resolution; three years later only one organization remains in this field with downscaled capacity.

CSOs played a pivotal role in establishing peace committees. According to Mersha (2009) they provided not only trainings, but also consultative workshops with local leaders and the community on conflict prevention and management. CSOs initiated peace talks and dialogues between different communities and introduced cultural festivals that helped communities to learn about each other to develop a culture of peace.

Similarly, in the Somali cluster, organizations supporting conflict transformation have terminated their projects as a result of the CSO law. Organizations such as SOS Sahel, Mercy Corps and CARE Ethiopia were involved in capacity building for peace as well as facilitating peace forums. Peace agreements such as the Negele declaration that brokered peace between the Guji, Geri, Borena and Gebra, would probably not have been achieved without the support of those organizations. The CSO Law has been cited as the major factor for the termination of their support to peace processes.

¹² As can be concluded from Article 3, Proclamation No. 621/2009.

¹³ In 2009, 4 out of 15 registered CSOs operated in conflict prevention, management and resolution programs. According to Mersha (2009) these were: Ethiopian Pastoralist Research and Development Association (EPARDA), Pact Ethiopia, Mercy Corps, Oxfam GB (mainly as funding agency) and Atwoyksi-Ekisi Pastoralist Development Association (AEPDA).

The Oromia Pastoralists Association, an Oromia CSO with Oromia membership only, falls under the exemption of the CSO law, and therefore continues to support local peace committees. Their engagement is increasing due to the CSO vacuum in peace supporting activities, but a single CSO cannot meet the demand for peace support throughout the regional state. However, peace dividends can be created through engagement of CSOs in livelihoods support. For example, ACORD has been indirectly contributing to peace through common resource utilization dialogues in Dire and Miyo woreda. The part of Somali cluster in the Somali Regional State receives no support in conflict transformation from civil society actors.



Findings and Analysis

Photo © Katja Glenc

5

5.0 Findings and Analysis

5.1 Composition, Structure, and Mandate

The aim of this focus area was to evaluate whether the composition, structure, and mandate of LPCs are sufficient to address nascent and ongoing conflicts. In cases where these are inadequate, research addressed how the composition, structure, and mandate might be improved, both within the constraints of regional guidelines, and with consideration for traditional institutions and customs.

LPCs may be over-representative of administrative personnel and would benefit by increased inclusion of traditional stakeholders and important persons.

Peace committees have been established in all woredas in both clusters, though there are significant differences between woredas as to the activity of LPCs ranging from highly active to dormant. There is substantial variation between woredas as to whether they contain kebele peace committees. In general kebele peace committees appear to meet irregularly at best.

5.1.1 Karamoja Cluster

In the Karamoja cluster, peace committees have been established in all woredas, though in some instances they appear to exist only nominally. These structures generally conform to the guidelines adopted by SNNPR and the Ethiopian CEWERU guideline. At the woreda level they include the chief administrator along with other local administrators and representatives for women and youth, and a selection of elders or other important persons. Females and youth are represented minimally at the woreda level though they generally have a more significant representation at the kebele level. Composition of woreda LPCs may be over-representative of administrative personnel and would benefit by increased inclusion of traditional stakeholders and important persons. Kebele peace committees are more inclusive of traditional actors and females.

The majority of conflicts are between woredas or across national borders and woreda peace committees have a sufficient mandate to address current conflicts. Kebele peace committees, however, generally have an inadequate mandate to address conflicts and primarily focus on internal conflict. In all cases except Nyangatom, woreda peace committees meet irregularly and only on an ad hoc basis. Regularity of meetings and continuity of membership at the woreda level is hindered by the high turnover in administrative staff at the woreda level.

Kebele peace committees are not effectively integrated into woreda peace structures and in all cases there is a lack of integration between peace efforts at the kebele and woreda level and the zonal and regional structures. In all cases there are significant logistic and administrative difficulties. The remote location and lack of infrastructure hinder the capacity of LPCs. At the same time, the absence of CSOs or other organizations to act as secretariat for LPCs presents a significant challenge to increased LPC activity. The lack of active joint-woreda and cross-border peace committees hinders timely resolution of nascent conflicts.

Woreda Findings

Bero Woreda

Peace committees are established on the woreda and kebele level. Kebele peace committees are divided into four clusters in order to address area specific conflicts and facilitate exchange between kebeles. Peace structures with Surma woreda, such as a joint-woreda peace committee or even informal exchange between community focal persons, are not in place.

Bero woreda peace committee is functioning, but lacks regularity of meetings and consistency of composition. In October 2012, community members to the LPC reported that the last meeting took place 6 months ago. However, in previous Ethiopian calendar year, the woreda peace committee met in total six times. The woreda LPC meets on an ad hoc basis at the invitation of the chief administrator and in close exchange with community elders. While the majority of elders on the woreda and kebele peace committees have held their positions since the committees' inception, the positions for local administration on the LPC have a high turnover, and consequently lack of commitment and knowledge.

Kebele peace committees primarily focus on internal conflict including conflicts between urban and rural population, marriage disputes, thefts, killings. Elders reported that the unresolved issues at the kebele level are transferred on the agenda of the woreda peace committee. Kebele peace committees generally do not address inter-woreda Suri-Dizi conflict as inter-ethnic conflicts are addressed at the woreda level.

Surma Woreda

Though the woreda peace committee has been formally established, for all practical purposes it is non-operational and as of November 2012 had yet to meet under their new structure. LPCs were first established in 2004 by Mercy Corps. They were restructured in 2011 to consist of a woreda peace committee with 15 members, 7 of whom are permanent including the woreda head, police head, peace and security, justice, women's association, and youth bureau representative. The woreda peace committee also consists of local elders, an Orthodox and Muslim leader, and 1 female elder. However, the woreda peace committee has yet to meet under this structure. Their mandate, structure, and composition is set by the Zonal government and is consistent with the Peace Committee Manual, issued by MoFA and adopted by SNNPR Bureau of Administration and Security.

In mid-2012, the Surma administration formed kebele peace committees in 19 of their 22 kebeles. However, these appear to be non-operational and have only been implemented in one kebele. Kebele peace committees consist of 7 members including the kebele chairman, a youth member, the kebele education head, a female member, and elders. In both kebele and woreda peace committees, non-permanent members are selected by the administration. Members are not compensated for their participation and there is no current secretariat. When woreda peace committee meetings were called under their previous structure, it required great difficulty to obtain the participation of member elders in outlying kebeles because of the lack of infrastructure. With the current woreda peace committee this may affect the composition and effectiveness of the woreda peace committee.

Dassenech Woreda

Recently Ethiopian CEWERU through AEPEDA set up a woreda peace committee consisting of 24 members but it does not appear to have met and members are unaware of its composition. However, relevant persons may meet on an ad hoc basis. Kebele peace committees were initially set-up by EPaRDa, who functioned as secretariat and provided significant support. However, EPaRDA ceased supporting peace committees in Dassenech woreda several years ago. In general, kebele peace committees have 8-10 members, of which at least two are women. These kebele peace committees meet only on an ad hoc basis, if at all, though there appears to be significant interest in their revitalization. Some kebele peace committee members meet according to need in cases of emerging conflict but there are no longer regular meetings that include all kebele full members. The Ethiopian CEWERU through AEPEDA recently established a kebele peace committee consisting of 23 members. However, it does not appear to have met and is non-operational.

The mandate of kebele peace committees is to deal with internal conflicts, such as domestic disputes, though they may discuss external conflicts with Turkana, Nyangatom and Hamar. For internal disputes, they can only resolve minor conflicts such as domestic conflict or theft. When more serious disputes occur, such as those that result in the loss of human life, kebele peace committees refer them to the local administration. The woreda peace committee can address cross-border and inter-woreda conflicts. However, there does not appear to be a permanent cross-border or joint-woreda peace committee. At present peace meetings occur on the invitation of the government and usually on an ad hoc basis for acute disputes between communities.

Nyangatom Woreda

The Nyangatom woreda administration is actively engaged in the peace process, especially with the Turkana and Daasanach. The woreda peace committee was established in 2008 and is currently using the regional structure with a composition including the chief administrator, the police, security and peace, militia, women and children's affairs, youth representative, and 10 representatives from kebeles. It meets twice a month and on an ad hoc basis if the need arises.

Kebele peace committees have been established in the Kibish region by both CEWARN and the local government. For most kebeles in Kibish, CEWARN and locally established peace committees exist in parallel, though in several kebeles the two peace committees have been merged. Members are selected by the administration with the approval of community members. The local administration has also established peace committees in other kebeles that include 10 members, including 1 youth representative, 2-3 females, and elders. Although kebeles have established peace committees, and community members have knowledge of the peace committee members, kebele peace committee members appear to primarily be engaged in attending irregular peace meetings with other groups. They do not have a mandate to engage in conflict resolution on their own or meet outside of peace meetings arranged by the government or CSOs. Further, some of the members of the kebele peace committees appear to no longer be living in the kebeles they represent.

At the time of writing, the local administration is involved in talks with the Turkana and Toposa to arrange a cross-border peace committee involving these three groups, though there is no present joint-woreda or cross-border peace committee.

KARAMOJA CLUSTER: LPC COMPOSITION, STRUCTURE MANDATE

	Woreda LPC Composition & Regularity of Meetings	Mandate	Kebele LPC Composition & Regularity of Meetings	Mandate
Bero	15 members; high membership turnover Irregular; ad hoc; up to 6 times a year	Addresses intra-ethnic conflicts and unresolved conflicts from kebele level	Established in all kebeles; 7 members, women, youth and elders included Weekly	Local disputes; marriage disputes cattle raiding, thefts and killings
Surma	15 members; high membership turnover Has yet to have a meeting since revitalized	n/a	Established in 19 out of 22 kebeles, but not operational Not active	n/a
Dassenech	Established with 24+ members. Non-operation and has yet to have a formal meeting.	n/a	On average 8-10 members Ad hoc, low frequency of meetings	Local disputes; marriage disputes cattle raiding, thefts
Nyangatom	16 members (administration and 10 kebele representatives) Bi-monthly and additionally on ad hoc bas	Cross-border and inter-woreda conflicts	Double system: CEWARN LPC (2 members/kebele) and CEWERU (10 members / kebele); members of the first are usually integrated in CEWERU LPC Do not actively meet	Selected members represent kebele and woreda in peace meetings

5.1.2 Somali Cluster

Both the Oromia and Somali regions lack a regional conflict prevention and resolution strategy. This hinders LPC integration with CEWERU. In practice, woreda peace committees have been formed using the Ethiopian CEWERU Operational Guidelines No. 001/2001 (2009) by Ethiopian CEWERU as a blueprint and include the administrator, the peace and security office head, elders, religious leaders, women and youth. The involvement of civil society representatives and other stakeholders is nonexistent.

in some cases woreda peace committees have focused efforts more on government concerns such as OLF activity than the traditional concerns of the prevention of conflicts caused by resource use and cross-border issues.

While peace committees are operational to varying degrees in the Oromia and Somali region, in some cases woreda peace committees have focused efforts more on government concerns such as OLF activity than the traditional concerns of the prevention of conflicts caused by resource use and cross-border issues. In general, among the Oromia woreda, kebele peace committees are active and responsible for the majority of conflict prevention and resolution and there is a visible presence of elders and female participation. Some of the woredas have an alternative kebele peace committee structure, where target kebeles select 2-4 members that meet with the other kebele peace committee members and together this forms the kebele peace committee. Woreda peace committees have been established in Moyale Oromia and Somali regions but they do not appear to be active or to support kebele peace committees. There is a lack of permanent joint-woreda and cross-border peace committees throughout the cluster, though at the kebele level there are more regular informal cross-border meetings. Teltele woreda in Oromia region is a significant contributor to the conflict landscape but it is only since 2013 that CEWARN included the woreda into its Somali cluster. Presently, CEWARN through OPA is structuring peace committees in Teltele.

Woreda Findings

Dillo Woreda

Peace committees have been established at the woreda level consistent with CEWERU guidelines. Meetings are monthly and occur with a counterpart Kenyan committee. These primarily serve as an opportunity to discuss security concerns and resource issues resulting from shared pasture and water points. Peace committees have been formed in six out of eleven kebeles, which constitute the border kebeles with Kenya. Each kebele peace committee has two members. Members from each kebele peace committee meet regularly with the other kebele peace committee representatives. Formal female participation is minimal. However, females do attend the kebele peace committee meetings and actively contribute. These meetings primarily concern sharing conflict indicators and other relevant information. There are occasional cross-border meetings with Kenyan counterparts but these do not appear to occur regularly. Kebele peace committees are mandated to address cross-border conflict and most conflicts are resolved at the kebele level. Conflicts that cannot be resolved at the kebele level are then passed to the woreda peace committee. The lack of peace committees in Teletele woreda increases the conflict likelihood in Dillo woreda.

Dire Woreda

A woreda peace committee conforming to CEWERU guidelines has been established. However, it does not appear to meet regularly and has had no meetings in the previous year. This may be due to a dramatically improved conflict landscape over the past three years. Kebele peace committees have been formed in four of sixteen kebeles, including all those in conflict prone areas. These kebele peace committees have four members each that meet weekly with the other kebele peace committee members for a total of 16 members. There is also a cross-border kebele peace committee consisting of seven members from the kebele peace committee that meets every other week with Kenyan counterparts, alternating meetings between Kenya and Ethiopia. The kebele peace committee appears to be actively functioning and includes the participation of women and youth focusing on the prevention of conflict. Kebele peace committees appear to have a sufficient mandate and to be the primary agents involved in conflict resolution and prevention.

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A woreda peace committee conforming to CEWERU guidelines has been established. However, it does not appear to meet regularly and has had no meetings in the previous year. This may be due to a dramatically improved conflict landscape over the past three years. Kebele peace committees have been formed in four of sixteen kebeles, including all those in conflict prone areas. These kebele peace committees have four members each that meet weekly with the other kebele peace committee members for a total of 16 members. There is also a cross-border kebele peace committee consisting of seven members from the kebele peace committee that meets every other week with Kenyan counterparts, alternating meetings between Kenya and Ethiopia. The kebele peace committee appears to be actively functioning and includes the participation of women and youth focusing on the prevention of conflict. Kebele peace committees appear to have a sufficient mandate and to be the primary agents involved in conflict resolution and prevention.

Miyo Woreda

A woreda peace committee has been established mirroring CEWERU guidelines and meets quarterly as well as on an ad hoc basis. However, woreda peace and security administration appear more concerned with governmental security concerns than with engaging in pastoralist conflict resolution and prevention. Kebele peace committees have been established in 5 of the 17 kebeles along the Kenyan border and include 9-12 members each. The woreda has plans to expand kebele peace committees to include two more kebeles along the border. Kebele peace committees have an integral role in conflict prevention and are credited the reduction in cross-border conflict over the past three years. Although kebele peace committees have a sufficient mandate, woreda and zonal support to resolve concerns over shared rangeland management with the Gebra in Kenya would contribute to further conflict prevention. There does not appear to be a regular cross-border peace committee and the last formal cross-border peace committee meeting occurred approximately one year ago.

Moyale Woreda (Oromia)

A woreda peace committee meeting CEWERU guidelines was established but is not active. Woreda administration does not appear to provide support to kebele peace committees. Peace committees in ten of twenty kebeles have been established but the level of activity could not be confirmed¹⁴. Although in at least one kebele (Dembi), the peace committee appears to meet regularly. In addition to including kebele administration, it also includes 2 female representatives, 2 elders, and 1 youth member. There does not appear to be a cross-border peace committee with Kenyan counterparts or joint-woreda peace committee with Somali region of Moyale.

Moyale Woreda (Somali)

A woreda peace committee consisting of 14 members was formed 4 years ago. However, it does not appear to be operational. It appears as if conflicts are mediated by woreda administration who may involve elders as needed. The existence of peace committees in kebeles beside Chemoq could not be confirmed. Chemoq kebele has a recently established peace committee to address inter-klan and resource based conflicts. They engage in informal communication with the kebele peace committees in Moyale. However, formal joint-woreda or cross-border peace committees do not appear to exist.

Dolo Ado Woreda

The original woreda peace committee was replaced by a committee consisting of seven members including 3 elders and 4 administration staff persons. In practice, elders are not called for assistance, and the peace and security office and the militia serve the purpose of the committee. There have been peace and security committees established in 16 kebeles. Significantly, these committees lack participation by women, youth, and elders and as such, do not serve as functional peace committees.

¹⁴ According to an interview, the woreda and kebele peace committees had been active but were disbanded by the government in the aftermath of large scale conflict incidents that occurred in July 2012 when peace structures including local administration officials were implicated either in fomenting the conflict or for being complicit.

SOMALI CLUSTER: LPC COMPOSITION, STRUCTURE MANDATE

	Woreda LPC Composition & Regularity of Meetings	Mandate	Kebele LPC Composition & Regularity of Meetings	Mandate
Dillo	Established; 12 members Monthly	Cross-border conflict	Established for 6 kebeles on border with Kenya – 2 members per kebele Monthly	Cross-border conflict including thefts, resource use; early warning and prevention
Dire	Established; 14 members Ad hoc; last meeting more than a year ago	Cross-border conflict	Established for 5 kebeles on border with Kenya – 4 members per kebele; cross border LPC with 7 members Regular, also with cross-border counterpart	Cross border conflict – thefts, resource use; early warning and prevention
Miyo	11 members, administrative and civil society members On a quarterly basis	Cross-border conflict, resource conflicts, thefts, killings	Established in 5 out of 17 kebeles; 9-12 members per kebele committee Weekly	Resource conflicts, thefts, killings – cross border; focus on prevention
Moyale (O)	Established	Resource and political conflicts	Established	Use of resources, theft, revenge, prevention of conflicts, deforestation
Moyale (S)	Replaced by Peace and Security committee	n/a	Established In inception phase	In inception phase
Dolo Ado	Replaced with administrative committee	n/a	Established Monthly	Resources, theft; awareness raising

5.2 Early Warning and Early Response

The purpose of an early warning and early response mechanism is to detect conflicts at an early stage and respond to them appropriately. Two different early warning and early response mechanisms are in place within the study area. First is the early warning system established by the Ministry of Federal Affairs in which kebele police posts report to woreda security. This information is then passed from the zone and region, to the Federal government where it is gathered and analyzed in the Situation Room of the Ministry of Federal Affairs. The second system, employed by IGAD CEWARN, deploys field monitors in each woreda who send incident reports to the analyst team at Inter Africa Group¹⁵ in Addis Ababa.

Local peace committees, ideally, would be a primary source of information for both systems. Instead, local peace structures have serious shortcomings and only in select cases contribute substantially to the early warning. The lack of regular kebele peace committee meetings and communication between kebele peace committees and woreda administration and field monitors creates a significant gap in the EWER mechanism. Even if kebele peace committees have relevant information, there is limited potential for this information to enter the EWER chain. In woredas where local peace committees do share information with woreda administration and field monitors, there is a much clearer understanding of conflicts on the woreda level as well as among stakeholders in Addis Ababa.

Communities in the study area generally feel that the response mechanism has failed them. Interventions by the state, inter-governmental actors and/or civil society organizations are perceived as too slow and limited. This is largely due to poor or nonexistent communication channels, a rudimentary security sector, and lack of political will on the woreda and zonal level to address ethnic conflicts. Because the response system is only starting to develop in border areas and the civil society is too weak to carry out implementation, the response mechanism cannot meet the demand on the ground.

¹⁵ Inter Africa Group (IAG) serves as national research institute of IGAD CEWARN Ethiopia.

5.2.1 Karamoja Cluster

In this cluster, bordering Kenya and South Sudan, the rudimentary infrastructure puts limits on the early warning and early response mechanism. In some areas, especially in Surma woreda, the kebele infrastructure is virtually nonexistent. The poor communication network and inadequate road infrastructure and transport create obstacles to information sharing. In pastoral areas, for conflict-sensitive information to reach the woreda, individuals have to carry the news on foot to administrative towns with no remuneration for their efforts.

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After a journey of several days, the information that reaches woreda officials is often dated, with conflict having escalated giving little to no room for conflict prevention. Consequently, early response was often reported to be belated, inadequate or even not provided. However, among the communities the will to share the information with the local administration is present. An effective early response and support for peace committees would provide additional motivation to ensure the information flow between the outlying areas of Ethiopia and woreda administrative centers.

Woreda Findings

Bero Woreda

The kebele peace committees have a close relationship with the security organs in the kebele. Conflict early warning information is shared with the police, security and justice offices. Elders, who wield significant power on kebele peace committees, foster regular information exchange with the local administration. In addition, local peace committees meet with the administration to predict seasons of high- and low-conflict occurrence.

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Local peace committees on the kebele level are the first to respond to conflict. As their members reported, they react to the first signs of conflict by mediating between parties in a dispute. The kebele committee is empowered to address internal disputes between Dizi, but not interethnic conflict with the Surma. Overall, the kebele peace committees are engaged in early response and try to prevent escalation when the first signs of conflict arise. Further, conflict resolution does not occur without the peace committee, as its members play key roles in cultural peace ceremonies¹⁶. The lack of regular exchange between the four gold mining kebeles and the woreda peace and security office creates significant difficulties for effect EWER in these kebeles. The close relationship between peace committees, woreda administration, and the field monitor creates significant early warning potential. Early response efforts are hindered by a lack of infrastructure and resources.

Surma Woreda

Presently, there is little participation in early warning. There is infrequent mobile network and kebeles do not have rapid communication ability between woreda administration and EREW focal persons. The lack of roads and transport hinders regular exchange between kebele and woreda. The lack of trained personnel, especially police and militia, presents further difficulties for early response. In cases of Surma cattle raids against the Toposa¹⁷, the police occasionally return stolen cattle to the South-Sudanese side of the border. Without kebele peace committees and a strong security sector, there is no entity with sufficient capacity to respond to conflict incidents.

¹⁶ See the Bayi Agreement example in the Approach to Conflict Transformation chapter.

¹⁷ Toposa is an ethnic group living in Eastern Equatoria, South Sudan.

“We want peace, we do not want our children to die. If my older son, who already has an AK-47, goes to war, I do not want my younger son, who is in the bush with cows to get hurt for revenge of actions of my older son. So I go to the peace committee and tell them to stop my older son.”

A Dassenech woman, a member of Hado kebele LPC, November 2012

In cases of internal dispute between members of the Dassenech community, it is the local peace committee members that intervene. For example, if a woman is domestically abused by her husband, the wife’s family would normally obtain revenge through violence. In order to prevent the escalation of domestic violence into an inter-family conflict, members of the peace committee try to mediate between husband and wife. Similarly, in the event of killings, peace committee members try to prevent acts of vengeance. However, due to the lack of transport and communication infrastructure information may not reach the woreda administration and field monitor in a timely manner. The woreda also lacks the capacity to engage in significant early response efforts.

Nyangatom Woreda

There is a basic capacity for early warning and early response in most of the woreda. The police and militia are established in many of the woreda’s kebeles and elders are committed to peace. With the woreda peace committee meeting regularly with kebele representatives and elders frequently traveling between the administrative town and kebeles, the capacity for information exchange is present. However, a lack of operational mobile network outside of the woreda administrative town Kangaten, infrequent transport, and lack of radios hinders effective early warning. For Nyangatom residing in remote areas of the Tirga and Naita¹⁸ regions well outside of the kebele structure sharing early warning information presents significant difficulties. With no regular transport to the area, the capacity for early warning is not in place. There is some capacity for early response from the administration, however, efforts are hindered by a lack of resources primarily including poor transportation infrastructure.

¹⁸ The South Sudan side of the Naita area has a small government post. This presents some opportunity for EW/ER engagement of the Naita region.

KARAMOJA CLUSTER: EARLY WARNING AND EARLY RESPONSE

	EWER Capacity of LPC	Linkage to MoFA & IGAD EWER	Challenges	Potentials
Bero	Strong: Elders as leaders and information holders	Strong: close relationship between kebele peace committees and EWER focal point	Poor network coverage, difficult access to gold-mining kebeles (weak communication)	Improved communication capacity would increase EW flow and response potential
Surma	Weak: breakdown of the traditional institutions, non-operational kebele peace committees	None	Overall insufficient road infrastructure, no communication network	Effective EWER would decrease number of conflicts
Dassenech	Strong: elders share EW on the village level	Weak: especially on the West side of the Omo River	Poor network and road infrastructure,	Improved communication capacity would increase EW flow and response potential
Nyangatom	Strong: elders share EW on the village level	Medium: kebele LPC members meet with woreda LPC	No network outside of woreda capital, poor infrastructure.	Improved communication capacity would increase EW flow and response potential

5.2.2 Somali Cluster

In the Somali cluster, the early warning mechanisms encounters a delay in obtaining conflict sensitive information from the community. Apart from militia, in most cases the kebele peace committees do not have a security sector counterpart on the ground. There is an absence of police posts along the Kenyan border. In some cases, it may take two days for information to reach the woreda administration.

In places with established and functioning kebele peace committees, early response is channeled through them. They respond to conflict signs swiftly by travelling to the area of the incident, sharing information with bordering kebeles and investing in immediate efforts for reconciliation. If the kebele peace committees successfully resolve an incident, a report is conveyed to the woreda administration.

Woreda Findings

Dillo Woreda

On the kebele level, peace committee members have no government EWER counterpart. With no police posts and no radio stations on the Ethio-Kenyan border, information has to be sent via messenger. The local peace committee members usually vest someone with the task, or they themselves undertake a two-day journey on foot to the woreda administrative town. The IGAD CEWARN field monitor receives information mainly from elders on the woreda peace committee, but there is poor information sharing between woreda administration officials on the committee and the field monitor¹⁹.

In case of violence or theft, local peace committee members and militia work closely together. While militia members are sent to follow tracks after an incident, peace committee members organize a response that includes sharing the information with the Kenyan committee. The Maikona Declaration is the established protocol for conflict resolution. If kebele capacity is insufficient for effective resolution, they relay the information to the woreda level in request for a response.

¹⁹ The Dillo Field Monitor is also a member of the woreda peace committee.

Dire Woreda

Individual local peace committee members share information with the IGAD field monitor and with the woreda administration. The woreda enjoys relative peace, therefore, the woreda peace committee currently does not convene regular sessions and consequently, there is little exchange of early warning information between the woreda committee and EWER focal points. Peace and Security Office periodically delegates outreach officers to the kebele level in order to assess the security situation on the ground with special focus on OLF movements. Traders in the woreda are also key informants of the national early warning.

In kebeles bordering Kenya, the peace committees established regular information exchange with their Kenyan counterparts. They assemble on a weekly to bi-weekly basis to address issues promptly and sustain a good relationship. In addition, at water points with significant conflict potential, elders from both sides of the border are assigned to ensure peaceful use of water resources. In response to conflict, the Maikona Declaration is generally respected.

Miyo Woreda

The MoFA early warning mechanism follows reporting from kebele to woreda with a peace and security officer allocated for every kebele on the border with Kenya. Not peace committees as a whole, rather selected elders are consulted and asked to assist the administration. The IGAD field monitor is in close exchange with the Peace and Security Officer on the woreda level.

With access to the Kenyan mobile network the early warning information is relayed to the woreda Peace and Security. Together with the IGAD field monitor, the affected kebele is visited and local peace committee members organized for a meeting with the Kenyan counterpart. Jointly, a response action is designed and implemented. Occasionally, ACORD supports cross-border peace meetings.

Moyale Woreda (Oromia)

Early warning information is relayed between the kebele peace committee members and the community. Broad mobile network coverage in the woreda enables timely information sharing. However, no official channels for early warning between the kebele peace committees and MoFA EWER have been established. Currently, the position of the IGAD field monitor is vacant.

Moyale Woreda (Somali)

As there is no functioning woreda peace committee, the early warning mechanism loses a potential information-giving body. The institution of elders wields strong social power and may possess early warning information. A customary system is in place based on traditional institution of elders. However, the official early warning mechanisms seem to have failed to link with traditional institutions.

Dolo Ado Woreda

The elders are the backbone of the early warning. Information from the community is relayed to the Peace and Security Office. Functioning mobile network facilitates swift information flow and enables timely response. Kebele peace committees are vital in addressing conflict incidents, but also for conflict prevention.

SOMALI CLUSTER: EARLY WARNING AND EARLY RESPONSE

	EWER Capacity of LPC	Linkage to MoFA & IGAD EWER	Challenges	Potentials
Dillo	Strong: kebele peace committee members are vested to share information	Medium; exchange between the woreda committees and EWER focal point	Low mobile network capacity, none at border areas. Lack of transportation and poor road infrastructure	Improved communication capacity would increase EW flow and response potential
Dire	Strong: kebele elders and women are holders of EW information	Medium; kebele peace committee does not share regularly with EWER focal points	Transportation problems and gaps in mobile network coverage	Closer exchange with kebele LPC would facilitate conflict prevention
Miyo	Strong: kebele peace committee members are sensitive to first signs of conflict	Medium; peace and security officers on kebele level; direct contact established with the Kenyan peace committee.	Lack of transport hinders early response.	Exchange with woreda would improve the EWER mechanism.
Moyale (O)	Strong on the kebele level	Weak; also lack of IGAD Field Monitor	Communication with woreda	Establishing link between woreda and kebele committees
Moyale (S)	Strong: kebele committees and elders are holders of EW information	Weak; especially on the response side	Lack of woreda committee	Strengthening of woreda link to kebele committees; link to traditional institutions
Dolo Ado	Strong on the kebele level	Established	Lack of woreda committee	Establishing link between woreda and kebele committees

5.3 Approach to Conflict Transformation

Generally within the study area, customary approaches to conflict transformation are locally respected, with a single notable exception²⁰. Customary institutions, especially among the Somali cluster, tend to be male-biased, with little role for females or youths, although females may have prominent roles in conflict resolution ceremonies. Ritual leaders or notable elders have important roles in both conflict initiation and resolution. As a general rule, these individuals are excluded from kebele peace committees, either because they live outside the kebele system or they do not have a requisite kebele administrative position for peace committee membership.

In some areas, there may be unfamiliarity with or lack of respect for rule of law approaches among the general populace. Lack of transparency in rule of law sanctions can create the perception of unequal dispensation of justice and contribute to revenge violence. In other areas, customary approaches to conflict resolution may be misunderstood or underappreciated by local administration due to a cultural gap between the local administration and communities.

In both clusters, local peace committees generally employ a mixture of customary conflict resolution mechanisms along with modern judicial approaches. The degree to which one method is favored varies between woredas and with the nature of the conflict. In all cases, conflict resolution would benefit by the strengthening of customary institutions of conflict resolution and with increased confidence in transparent, fair judicial proceedings.

In most cases, few LPC members have received conflict mediation training either from a CSO or government. This is in part because of the absence of functioning CSO's in the study areas. In most cases where trainings have been provided, they occurred several years ago.

²⁰ *Surma Woreda*

5.3.1 Karamoja Cluster

Generally local peace committees utilize customary conflict resolution mechanisms alongside rule of law. However, the extent to which customary institutions are employed depends on the woreda and nature of conflict. Likewise, the degree to which rule of law sanctions are respected varies between woredas and conflicts. In most woredas, traditional institutions such as elders and ritual leaders continue to maintain significant social control enabling customary conflict resolution mechanisms to have increased effectiveness. However, they appear to be underemployed in conflict resolution, especially for inter-ethnic conflict that crosses woreda or national borders. Between woredas, there are varying degrees to which LPC members have had conflict resolution or mediation training. In all cases, the most recent trainings were at least 2 years ago and in some instances may have been 4 or 6 years ago. Peace committees have had an important role in peace meetings and agreements, especially between the Dassenech and Nyangatom, and the Nyangatom and Turkana.

In most woredas, traditional institutions such as elders and ritual leaders continue to maintain significant social control enabling customary conflict resolution mechanisms to have increased effectiveness.

There are significant challenges to increased effectiveness of traditional and modern conflict resolution mechanisms. Despite a variety of customary institutions between ethnic groups in the Karamoja cluster, the underlying similarities and importance of ritual elders create an opportunity for them to be effectively employed between groups. However, efforts are hindered by a lack of infrastructure, transport, and CSO's to conduct conflict resolution and mediation trainings. At the same time, the proliferation of small-arms and ammunition, alongside the encroachment of large-scale agricultural development, cattle-markets, and widespread alcohol abuse threaten to further erode the strength and effectiveness of customary institutions.

Customary compensation for intra-group killing is for the killer to provide one female daughter for marriage and to pay the approximate number of cows required for dowry payment. For inter-group deaths that occur with the Dizi, customary payment is for the Dizi to give 1 female daughter for marriage or a large number of cattle. However, even after these customary payments have been made, blood revenge is sometimes sought.

Rule of law is generally not respected. In cases of Surma-Surma killing, the offender is targeted for revenge after their release or the offender's family is harassed while the offender serves their sentence.

Currently, very few of the woreda and kebele LPC members have had conflict management training. Due to the lack of infrastructure and compensation, few prominent elders participate in LPCs further hindering the effectiveness of customary or modern sanctions.

Dassenech Woreda

For internal disputes, the kebele peace committee employs customary community practices. Some members of committee, but not the LPC as a whole, regularly intervene in localized community disputes. Resolution follows the traditional methods including a ceremony to reconcile disputed parties. In case of grave breaches, such as killings, the woreda applies sanctions according to Ethiopian law alongside of customary institutions. In external disputes, peace meetings are organized by local governments who set the agenda. Selected LPC members are brought to the meetings as participants. However, this assessment did not provide enough information to infer the communities' role in peace discussions. Peace committees were important in the adoption of some peace agreements, such as the Nyangatom-Dassenech agreement, that guides conflict resolution.

The woreda peace committee employs a mix of traditional and modern conflict resolution mechanisms to resolve intergroup conflicts

Nyangatom Woreda

In Nyangatom, customary mechanisms have a large role in managing internal conflicts and deescalating pressures to engage in external conflict. The Nyangatom maintain a strong structure of elders and senior generations that have effective control over youth. As a result, they are frequently able to diffuse conflicts before they escalate. Current intra-group conflicts are resolved by traditional mechanisms involving members of senior generations. The woreda peace committee employs a mix of traditional and modern conflict resolution mechanisms to resolve intergroup conflicts, though there is a belief that the traditional mechanisms are no longer effective at resolving conflict between groups. Though many LPC members have been to peace meetings, very few have had any conflict management training. In addition, the lack of kebele peace committees that meet regularly hinder conflict prevention and resolution.

KARAMOJA CLUSTER: APPROACH TO CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

	Customary Approach	Rule of Law and Security Sector	Role of LPC	Potentials
Bero	In place; Established peace ceremonies, ceremony leaders, and existing peace agreements; innovative approach (see Bayi Peace Ceremony)	Respected; Applied next to customary approach	Resolves conflicts independently, prevention of conflict escalation	Innovative approaches for conflict resolution
Surma	Ineffective; diminishing strength of customary institutions and elders	Ineffective; statutory sanctions do not reconcile conflicting parties	n/a; LPCs are non-operational	Exploring options of youth and women peace initiatives
Dassenech	In place; effective for internal disputes; established ceremonies	Respected; Applied next to customary approach	Resolve minor conflict independently; prevention of conflict escalation	Encouraging customary conflict resolution and peace education
Nyangatom	In place; effective for internal disputes, sometimes applied for external conflicts	Respected	Deescalating conflicts, conflict prevention	Reaffirming and encouraging customary conflict resolution

5.3.2 Somali Cluster

Among the Oromia woredas, the Maikona agreement has been vital to the improved relationships in the cluster, especially among the Borena and Gebra. It fuses the traditional concept of compensation for theft and injury with fixed compensatory amounts. Individuals appear to have wide knowledge and respect for it. After compensation is provided, individuals may face rule of law sanctions depending on the nature of the offense. In cases of minor conflict, customary institutions alone may be enough for effective resolution. In some circumstances, customary institutions may face limitations in their ability to resolve interethnic conflict because the Somali and Oromo employ different institutions, although their structural similarities provide a common-ground creating the potential for effective employment in conflict resolution. Customary institutions also face severe limitations in Moyale where the conflict is politicized and involves claims of land jurisdiction between the Somali and Oromo.

customary institutions may face limitations in their ability to resolve interethnic conflict because the Somali and Oromo employ different institutions, although their structural similarities provide a common-ground creating the potential for effective employment in conflict resolution.

Woreda Findings

Dillo Woreda

Dillo woreda is a signatory to the Maikona Declaration, which requires offenders to provide compensation in cases of theft, injury, or death. Individuals then face rule of law sanctions after providing compensation, though many individuals feel that compensation alone should be sufficient and rule of law sanctions are unfair. Kebele peace committees appear to have an important role in preventing and resolving conflicts. This is primarily by monitoring conflict indicators and ensuring adherence to the Maikona Declaration. Several woreda peace committee members have received recent conflict resolution training. These individuals were then tasked with sharing this information with members of kebele peace committees.

Because the Maikona Declaration has not been implemented in Teltele woreda, it creates problems for Dillo woreda because individuals from Telete cross Dillo enroute to Kenya where they may engage in conflict. Conflict resolution efforts are also hindered in cases where evidence indicates one party participated in a theft or killing, and then that party refuses to pay compensation according to the Maikona Declaration.

Dire Woreda

Most potential conflicts are addressed by the kebele peace committee, which view themselves as responsible for maintaining peace. The Maiknoa Declaration has been an essential part of this, requiring compensation in cases of theft, injury, or death. Regular meetings between Kenyan and Ethiopian kebele peace committees have also been an essential part of this improvement. There have been efforts to change rhetoric to prevent conflict. Whereas previously, they might have said “a Boreana killed a Gebra” or “a Gebra killed a Borena”, now they simply say “a bad man killed someone” not mentioning the name of the ethnic groups involved so as to mitigate the desire for revenge against a specific ethnic group. Dire woreda also employs a unique arrangement with the Gebra of Kenya. When Gebra from Kenya come to graze or water in Ethiopia, they are given access to pasture and water. When Borena from Dire go to Kenya for pasture and water, they are also given access. This is to ensure that both sides have sufficient access to resources and to prevent problems between the two groups.

Miyo Woreda

Both customary institutions and rule of law sanctions for conflict resolution are employed in internal and cross-border conflict. If formal rule of law methods are unable to create resolution, cases may be transferred to the local peace committee that may be able to issue sanctions contributing to conflict resolution. For instance, witnesses that are unable or unwilling to present at formal rule of law proceedings may be able or willing to participate in customary institutions contributing to conflict resolution.

Moyale Woreda (Oromia)

Customary institutions are heavily favored as a means to resolve conflict and have been used with some success with both intra- and inter-clan conflicts. Formal sanctions have been incorporated into customary institutions through peace agreement that determined compensation amounts for murder and theft. However, local peace committees have not been able to effectively participate in resolving the competing claims to the jurisdiction of region 4 and 5 in Moyale by both the Oromo and Somali. This is in part because peace committee members are viewed as partisan in the debate. This leaves room for formal methods such as mediation by the Federal government or other parties to resolve the conflict.

Moyale Woreda (Somali)

The local peace committee plays a prominent role in resolving small-scale conflicts like theft and individual deaths due to violence. They employ customary institutions for intra-clan conflict. However, customary institutions appear inadequate for some of the wide-spread violence that has plagued the area. Disputes with the Oromo of Moyale over the jurisdiction of region 4 and 5 is believed to be beyond the purview of LPCs and customary institutions. In this case, there is an expanded role for rule of law and the intervention of the Federal Government or other parties.

Dolo Ado Woreda

Dolo Ado is unique because of the presence of numerous Somali clans. This presents an opportunity for increased effectiveness of LPCs. For instance, in some cases of inter-clan conflict between two clans, a third clan has effectively acted as mediator to the conflict. However, conflict at the woreda level is usually resolved through rule of law sanctions. This may be due to poor communication between elders and the local administration. Effective conflict resolution would be promoted through better communication between the local administration and traditional institutions and the employment of a hybrid of customary and modern methods.

SOMALI CLUSTER: APPROACH TO CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

	Customary Approach	Rule of Law and Security Sector	Role of LPC	Potentials
Dillo	In place; Maikona declaration	Respected; militia on kebele level	The LPC facilitates interplay between both systems	The Maikona Declaration needs to be reaffirmed between Kenyan and Ethiopian side
Dire	In place; Maikona declaration	Respected; state law is in place	The LPC is a bridge between the two systems	The existing peace agreements are respected and effective – continuation of regular exchange
Miyo	In place, but weak; generally follows Maikona declaration	Respected	The LPC utilizes both approaches	Promotion of customary approach for prevention of major conflicts
Moyale (O)	In place; following the Negele agreement	Respected; interventions of the security sector	The LPCs are weakening and often hand inter-clan disputes to the state	Reinforcement of customary practices through revitalizations of existing agreements
Moyale (S)	In place; following the Negele agreement	Respected; interventions of the security sector	The LPCs are weakening and often hand inter-clan disputes to the state	Revitalizations of existing agreements in order to reaffirm customary practice
Dollo Ado	In place; traditional heer system	Respected;	Resort to customary approach	Revitalization of existing agreement in order to reaffirm customary practice

5.4 Gender and Peace Actors

Women may have a large role in conflict and make important contributions to peace efforts. Although cases of women actively engaging in violent conflict as combatants are rare, their role in creating an atmosphere of conflict is common among ethnic groups in the Karamoja and Somali clusters²¹. In order for sustainable peace to be achieved, women's roles in contributing to conflict and its resolution need to be recognized, and women included in peace structures²².

In all areas of the survey, women were members of the local peace committees. However, their numbers vary, from only one female on the committee to up to fifty percent. While female participation is more visible on the kebele level, their numbers fall short on woreda peace committees. Reasons are manifold: lower education levels, lesser representation in the local administration, cultural norms that treats conflict as a domain of men and household obligations.

Membership on the peace committees is changing women's perceptions of conflict and peace. Trainings gave them an opportunity to analyze their contribution to conflict. "Before our men go on a raid or revenge, we have to bless them, so we give them beads. When they come back, we give them welcoming beads," explained a female Dassenech member of the local peace committee. "But now, I cannot give beads, I cannot bless my sons to go to conflict, because I am on the peace committee." Membership on peace committees in combination with peace trainings raises awareness of factors contributing to conflict and builds a sense of individual responsibility for the group's security.

²¹ For instance, McCabe (2004) gives an example of observing Turkana men and women in an urban setting as the 'enemy' Pokot walked by. Women started to provoke men, asking who is going to kill him, mocking the alleged bravery of the men. "Impressing and pleasing women, not just acquiring livestock, provide strong incentive to participate in raids." (McCabe 2004:98)

²² The broader international community already acknowledges the role of women in peacebuilding. Two groundbreaking UN documents, UN SC Res. 1325 and UN SC Res. 1820, support global efforts to give women a more recognizable role in peace processes. Following the UN Security Council resolutions, international and national peace practitioners in conflict and post-conflict settings share awareness of women's inclusion as part of a comprehensive approach to sustainable peace.

5.4.1 Karamoja Cluster

Female engagement on local peace committees in Karamoja cluster differs from woreda to woreda. Major differences emerge with the participation of women between Bero woreda and the Dassenech, Nyangatom, and Surma woredas. In Bero, women are members of the kebele peace committees but are vastly underrepresented in the latter woredas. Often they are not part of peace delegations to neighboring woredas.

Woreda Findings

Bero Woreda

The woreda peace committee has three female representatives, all nominated due to their functions in the local administration. On the kebele level, women constitute almost half of all members to the committee. However, they do not hold committee chair positions, through which they would be advanced them to woreda peace committee.

“Women need peace, because they lose most in conflict,” explained one of the women of kebele LPC in Bero woreda. “If we are many (women) on the peace committee, we can discuss our issues.” The Dizi women in Bero woreda stated that they would add development and health issues on the agenda of the committee. In this woreda, women had a clear vision of what it takes to achieve peace—from strengthening the kebele structure and capacity building to the regional control of small arms. The majority of interviewed women received training on conflict transformation more than once.

Surma Woreda

The woreda peace committee includes three women from the local administration and one female elder. Despite their presence on the woreda level, women and youth are underrepresented on the kebele level. Overall, it is difficult to evaluate women's roles on the peace committees, as the peace committee structure at both kebele and woreda level is largely non-operational. The diminishing strength of traditional institutions has decreased the effectiveness of elders at resolving conflicts. Investing in local peace committees that would reflect societal structures, with the inclusion of women and youth, may strengthen their internal peace-making capacity.

Dassenech Woreda

Women had a strong presence on EParDA established kebele peace committees, constituting roughly quarter to half of all peace committee members. However, on the recently established non-operational CEWARN peace committees there is only a single woman on the kebele and woreda peace committees.

The interviewed women were aware of their role in conflict, but also clear about gender-specific ways of contributing to peace. Women can also detect signs of potential conflict. "If my child has not been home and the gun is not home, I know they went to conflict," explained a peace committee member in Bubua kebele. "If a man is wearing an arm bracelet and a jerry can, we know where he is going." Second, women have an important role in resolving disputes with the community. As local peace committee members they mediate in marriage and domestic disputes. At large, women contribute to conflict prevention and escalation of intra-group conflicts.

Nyangatom Woreda

Women hold up to one fourth of the seats on the kebele peace committee. On the woreda level, there is one woman representative in the peace committee. However, at this point a deficient inclusion of important ritual leaders in peace processes is perhaps a larger issue. This is in part because they may not hold positions in the kebele structure, or because they may live in the Naita region, a remote area of Nyangatom with no kebele structure.

KARAMOJA CLUSTER: GENDER AND PEACE ACTORS

	Women on woreda LPC	Women on kebele LPC	Women's Role in Conflict Transformation	Peace Education	Potentials
Bero	3 out of 15 members	Constitute up to half of the LPC	Active members of the LPC; Mediators	Some trained, but would need targeted training	Women peace discussion groups on kebele level and women initiatives with Summa
Surma	4 out of 15 members; however committee is non-operational	Low numbers (1-2) in few existing LPCs	Not influential	Only few women received trainings; would need targeted trainings of women and youth	Peace initiatives and trainings to critically address role of women in conflict and potentials for resolution
Dassenech	1 female member on woreda committee	A quarter to a half of all members were women on EPARDA committee.	Active members of LPC; mediators; contribution to EWER	Only few women received trainings; would need targeted trainings of women and youth	Inclusion of women in peace delegations
Nyangatom	1 out of 16 members	Up to one fourth of all members are women	Not influential	Trainings would need to target women; only few individuals received education in peace	Inclusion of women in LPC and peace delegations

5.4.2 Somali Cluster

Overall, in the Somali cluster women have been recognized as peace actors. They are included in local peace committees from woreda to kebele level and have a presence in cross-border committees. Within the cluster, differences between the Somali (Liben Zone) and Oromia (Borena Zone) have been observed. In Oromia, women are important peace actors although they do not achieve equal representation on the peace committees. On the Somali side, women are generally excluded from peace processes.

On the other hand, women also contribute to conflict. Across the cluster, interlocutors reported that women create an atmosphere ripe for violence by coercing men to fulfill their perceived cultural obligations, such as participation in conflict. Inflammatory language and songs of conflict are used to pressure men to conflict. However, as the awareness for women's contribution to conflict grows, so does the understanding of necessity for women to participate in peace efforts.

Woreda Findings

Dillo Woreda

On the woreda level, women constitute a third of all members. Reportedly, they are vocal members and contribute to the conflict resolution. However, on the kebele level, women were not selected as members of the peace committee. Out of 12 members of kebele peace committee, none are women. Nevertheless, according to the IGAD field monitor²³, they voluntarily join the peace meeting to share their ideas.

The Woreda Women's Affairs Officer initiated a peace education program that reaches all kebeles. Awareness raising targets women inspecting their role in conflict and peace, but also explores opportunities to change culturally embedded gender roles. In example, women are encouraged to turn the song of conflict to songs of peace.

²³ The IGAD Cewarn Field Monitor in Dillo is female.

Dire Woreda

Women have ambivalent roles with respect to conflict. It is recognized that they may fuel violence, and have a role in the de-escalation of conflicts. On the woreda level, there is only one woman on the peace committee due to her position in the woreda administration. On the kebele level, three out of 16 members are women. However, their presence is regarded important as they have the ability to mobilize youth and pass information among other women. In a cross-border peace committee, women have two representatives out of total 7 members.

Miyo Woreda

On the woreda peace committee, only one of the 11 members is a female and this is due to her position in the woreda administration in the capacity of Women's Affairs Officer. On the kebele level, women constitute up to one fourth of all members. Their presence on the peace committee is valued due to women's community mobilization capacity, especially because they are able to reach the youth.

Through trainings, there is a greater understanding for the role of gender in conflict. Awareness has been created that women have a significant role in conflict by promoting raids and revenge acts. Men reported that the cultural expectations to prove themselves in violent acts are large, and they may be branded as cowards if they do not participate in conflict. In order to reflect the role of women in conflict, the woreda assigned women to be part of the resolution mechanism to gradually change attitudes towards conflict.

Moyale Woreda (Oromia)

At the woreda level, women are not included in the peace committee structure. On the kebele level, they do have a presence and include two members. The role of women in fuelling conflict is visible through songs and inflammatory language. Reportedly, Borena women sometimes encourage men to participate in conflict with statements as "we are going to replace our braids by a scarf and join the Geri". Songs, transmitted by women, encouraging men to participate in conflict are embedded in the culture:

*The coward went home
The hero fights nailing down
The mother of the coward is hiding
The wise fights with words*

Moyale Woreda (Somali)

With weak peace structures in the woreda, the potential for women as peace actors cannot be fully explored. However, the role of the Geri women is changing from provocation for conflict to peace efforts through poems. For instance, Nureya Mohammed's poem on peace reads as follows:

*Peace is good
In the absence of peace we are bankrupt
During conflict they steal each others' asset
During conflict they steal each others' guns
They use those guns to destroy the other
Only people with peace can think of development*

Dolo Ado Woreda

With the woreda peace committee not functioning and with only one female representative on the kebele peace committee, women have the potential to make a large contribution to peace efforts. The inclusion of women in peace committees may assist in resolving conflicts that may not otherwise appear on the agenda of LPCs, such as conflicts resulting from rape, or family disputes conflicts.

SOMALI CLUSTER: GENDER AND PEACE ACTORS

	Women on woreda LPC	Women on kebele LPC	Women's Role in Conflict Transformation	Peace Education	Potentials
Dillo	3 out of 12 members	None though some informally attend meetings	Females make active Contributions to conflict resolution	Through Women's Affairs Office	Women as peace actors, include women on kebele peace committees
Dire	1 out of 14 members	3 out of 16 members	Female LPC members important for sharing information with women and youth	Some received trainings	Empowering women through peace education
Miyo	1 out of 11 members	2-4 women per committee	Providing early warning information, contributing to resolution	Some received trainings	Empowering women through peace education
Moyale (O)	none	Minimum	Provide early warning information and contribute to conflict resolution	Need for gender specific training	Inclusion of women in LPCs
Moyale (S)	n/a	Minimum	Changing from conflict triggers to peace actors	Some received	Inclusion of women in LPCs
Dollo Ado	n/a	Minimum; 1-2 females	Gender specific agenda setting	Some received	Inclusion of women in LPCs

Recommendations

Photo © Kaija Ojamaa



6

6.0 Recommendations

Local peace committees in both clusters face significant challenges. The lack of supporting organizations, poor infrastructure, inadequate support from and integration with zonal and regional governments, and the dearth of joint-woreda and cross-border peace committees all present obstacles to the improved functioning of peace committees. However, with targeted support and strategic allocation of resources there is ample room for peace committees to increase their capacity within the existing national framework.

with targeted support and strategic allocation of resources there is ample room for peace committees to increase their capacity within the existing national framework.

Recommendations fall into one of the four core focus areas. In most instances, cross-cluster similarities generate a consistent set of recommendations across both clusters. Cluster- and woreda-specific recommendations are addressed separately in Appendix 1.

6.1 Composition, Structure and Mandate

Conflict prevention and resolution strategies, where existing, are usually adequate. However, regional and zonal strategies should be developed in cases where they are non-existent. A LPC focal person should be implemented in all woredas in both clusters. Efforts should be made to reactivate inactive peace committees and to provide adequate compensation to LPC members. There is a large need for joint-woreda and cross-border peace committees.

1. Establish LPC focal person or expand IGAD CEWARN Field Monitor Duties

Across both clusters, the largest impediment to functioning LPCs is the absence of secretariats. LPC focal persons, a full time position, that function as secretariats should be established in all woredas. This may be accomplished by expanding the duties of the IGAD CEWARN field monitors such that they fulfill the duties of the LPC focal person. Because of the lack of transportation and infrastructure, LPC focal persons should be assigned a motorbike and computer solely for their use for LPC activities. LPC focal persons should be mandated to attend regular woreda peace committee meetings. They should also receive proper training in documentation, conflict management, and be tasked with organizing and reporting on regular woreda and kebele peace committee meetings.

2. Establish joint-woreda and cross-border peace committees

In cases where conflict crosses woreda or national borders, joint-woreda and cross-border peace committees should be formed. These committees should meet regularly, no less than once every other month. LPC focal persons should be tasked as secretariats. Their composition should consist of no less than one-half citizen stakeholders.

3. Include ritual leaders and other prominent persons

In cases where conflict may have highly ritualized components, efforts should be made to include traditional leaders in the peace process, either as members of the LPC or as auxiliary observer-participants.

4. Democratize LPC selection process

The selection process for the non-permanent members of LPCs should be open to community members at large. Selection for LPC members should occur regularly, in a period of not less than once every two years.

5. Establish regional guidelines and zonal conflict strategies

In cases where regions do not have conflict prevention and resolution strategies, strategies should be developed. These should stress the community stakeholder interests of local peace committees. Zonal governments should have comprehensive conflict roadmaps that incorporate woreda peace committees.

6. Reactivate inactive peace committees; activate LPCs where they are non-existent

Inactive peace committees should be activated. Woredas without a functioning woreda peace committee should have peace committees established. Woreda peace committees that currently reflect the agenda of the local government should be restructured to reflect the citizen stakeholder agenda of its citizen members. Kebeles in conflict prone areas without peace committees should have peace committees established.

7. Expand kebele mandates

Kebele peace committee mandates should be expanded to discuss all conflicts relevant to their locality, including cross-border and inter-woreda conflicts. Kebele peace committees should be mandated to meet regularly, no less than once per month.

8. Provide compensation for peace committee members

Woreda and kebele peace committee members should be provided compensation for their participation, the amount of which is tied to the requisite time investment. This will both encourage participation and provide equitable remuneration. Both woreda and kebele peace committee members should be provided per diems for their participation in peace meetings beyond those included in their administrative duties, including for days of travel.

6.2 Early Warning and Early Response

The lack of road infrastructure and communication networks is a major impediment to an effective early warning mechanism. Unsupported peace committees in the absence of a coordinated early response necessitates development of an Early Response Strategy for both clusters.

1. Establish information exchange between EWER mechanisms and LPCs

The LPC focal person should also serve as a meeting point for EWER exchange between woreda administration and IGAD CEWARN. A weekly informal information exchange should occur.

2. Improve mobile network and set up a radio system in conflict prone areas

Where possible, the mobile network capacity should be increased. In conflict prone areas without network coverage, radio posts should be established and personnel trained in use and maintenance of radio technology.

3. Develop an Early Response Strategy

As the readiness of the communities to share conflict information with the official early warning mechanisms depends on response measures they receive, a more coordinated approach towards conflict early response is needed. Within CEWERU a cluster strategy for a comprehensive response should be created with focus on the potentials of local peace committees.

4. Train peace committee members in mediation

The strengths of the peace committees as mediators between conflicting parties should be supported and advanced through formal education in mediation. Trainings should be context sensitive and build upon customary institutions and best practices. The mediation center of SNNPR Council of Nationalities, for instance, could facilitate such efforts.

6.3 Approach to Conflict Transformation

Most of the study areas maintain customary institutions for conflict resolution, while there is significant variation in the presence of government actors and familiarity with rule of law. The majority of peace committee members have received little or no conflict resolution training.

1. Encourage customary conflict resolution mechanisms where appropriate

Efforts should be made for peace committees to employ customary conflict resolution mechanisms when culturally respected and endorsed. These may exist in parallel with rule of law sanctions. Customary peace agreements should be documented and shared with the woreda level.

2. Encourage joint-conflict resolution agreements between conflict areas

Conflict resolution agreements should be sought between conflict areas. These should specify compensation to be given in cases of theft, injury or death. They should also specify which party should provide this compensation, even in cases where the offender is not apprehended. The Maikona Declaration may provide a blueprint for future agreements. Existing peace agreements should be reexamined and community forums held where the community has the opportunity to endorse them.

3. Conflict resolution training

All woreda peace committee members should receive conflict analysis and resolution training that is context sensitive. Select kebele peace committee members, especially in conflict-prone areas, should also receive conflict analysis and resolution training. Select woreda and kebele peace committee members should receive basic conflict mediation training.

4. Cultural analysis of conflict precursors and resolution mechanisms

A formal analysis of cultural precursors to conflict, such as norms for revenge or the role of ritual leaders, should be systematically undertaken in the study area. Analysis should also examine cultural norms and rituals that promote resolution with emphasis on how to bridge interethnic differences. Prescriptive guidelines for how

these may be incorporated by LPCs should be developed.

5. Exchange visits between local peace actors

Within the two clusters and beyond, community peace actors should have the opportunity to share their conflict resolution experience with other ethnic groups. Best practices exchange visits should be promoted and organized. LPC focal persons and respected woreda and zonal governments could facilitate such an exchange.

6.4 Gender and Peace Actors

Throughout the study area, women do not have a primary role on peace committees. Local peace structures would benefit through the broader inclusion of women and youth in the peace process, especially through the creation of women's peace initiatives and targeted trainings.

1. Establish female peace initiatives

Because women are frequently excluded from formal peace arrangements and may not be allowed to participate in traditional institutions, female-led peace initiatives should be encouraged. These will allow discussions of gender sensitive conflict related topics that may not otherwise be brought to the agenda of the LPC. They will provide a forum for "women champions" to have a more significant role in peace processes.

2. Train youth and women in conflict transformation

Women and youth, members of the peace committees, should receive training in conflict transformation approaches. Trainings should be context sensitive and acknowledge customary institutions.

3. Include women in peace delegations

Female peace committee members should be included in all peace delegations. Their presence is not only important for peace dialogues, but also for implementation of peace dialogue results.

Appendix 1

1.0 Karamoja Specific Recommendations

Because many of the conflicts cross woreda and national boundaries, emphasis should be on establishing joint-woreda and cross-border peace committees. At the same time, communication infrastructure should be developed along with establishing regular communication between conflict-prone areas. Efforts should be made to incorporate female and youth participation in the peace process, particularly through female-led initiatives. The incorporation of customary approaches to conflict transformation should be encouraged.

Bero Woreda

- Bero woreda peace committee should have regularly scheduled meetings of not less than once a month.
- A permanent joint Bero-Surma peace committee should be formed to address interethnic conflicts.
- Establish daily communication between Bero and Surma woreda Peace and Security offices to share conflict indicators.
- Early warning information exchange between the gold mining kebeles and the Peace and Security office in Jeba should take place on a daily basis. These include Gesena, Gabissa, Siyali, and Shola kebeles.
- Radio posts in gold-mining areas (conflict prone areas) should be established and regularly maintained. These include Gesena, Gabissa, Siyali, and Shola kebeles.
- Women and Youth Peace Groups should be created and new ideas for local peace resolution shared with peace committees.
- A Women's Peace Initiative between Surma and Dizi women should be created and biannual gatherings facilitated.
- Trainings in conflict transformation should target especially women and youth.

Surma Woreda

- Surma woreda peace committee should be activated with meetings of not less than one per month.
- Woreda peace committee should include members from outlying conflict-prone areas.
- Permanent joint Surma-Bero and Surma-Maji peace committees should be formed to address inter-ethnic conflicts.
- Because Surma residence patterns do not fit the kebele/woreda structure, a non-kebele peace committee model should be considered in which representatives and conflict actors from various conflict-prone areas meet regularly.
- An annual peace gathering should be held involving Surma, Bero, and Maji woredas at which LPCs are reinforced and ties between LPCs of differing woredas established.
- IGAD CEWARN should fill the vacant field monitor position in the woreda.
- Early warning mechanism should be promoted through establishment of kebele peace committees.
- Trainings in early warning and early response should be provided for all peace committee members and to the woreda's security sector.
- A women peace initiative between Surma and Dizi (from Bero and Maji woreda) should be established.
- Training in conflict transformation should target women and youth.
- Efforts should be made to strengthen customary institutions and include significant ritual leaders in the peace process.

Dassenech Woreda

- Dassenech woreda peace committee should be activated with meetings of not less than one per month.
- The Dassenech woreda peace committee should be structured to reflect CEWERU guidelines, and include at a minimum two females in non-administrative capacities.
- Kebele peace committees should be reactivated with meetings of not less than one per month.
- A permanent cross-border Dassenech-Turkana peace committee should be established.
- A permanent joint-woreda peace committee with the Nyangatom should be established
- Establish daily communication between Dassenech and Nyangatom peace and security offices to share conflict indicators.
- Radio posts should be established in conflict prone areas and border areas; training in use of radio technology should be provided.
- Regular exchange between early warning actors (woreda Peace and Security and IGAD Field Monitor) should be in place.
- All peace committee members should receive training in conflict transformation.
- Female kebele peace committee members should be included in mediation trainings.

Nyangatom Woreda

- Kebele peace committees should meet regularly, not less than one per week.
- Kebele peace committees should be mandated to actively discuss cross-border and inter-woreda conflict.
- A permanent cross-border Nyangatom-Turkana peace committee should be established.
- A permanent joint-woreda peace committee with both the Dassenech and Kara (Hamar woreda) should be established.
- Establish regular cross-border communication between Kibbish, Kenya and the peace and security office in Nyangatom.
- Establish weekly communication between the Nyangatom peace and security office and Kara and Dassenech peace and security offices to share conflict indicators.
- Efforts should be made to include ritual leaders and important elders from the Naita area in the peace process.
- Radio posts should be established in conflict prone areas and border areas; training in use of radio technology should be provided.
- Regular exchange between early warning actors (woreda Peace and Security and CEWARN Field Monitor) should be established.
- Youth and women should be targeted for trainings in conflict transformation.

2.0 Somali Recommendations

Regional conflict transformation strategies should be developed. Woreda peace committees should be activated and structured to reflect citizen stakeholder interests. Transportation should be provided to cross-border peace meetings and woreda peace committees should receive financial support. Efforts should be made to encourage the increased use of customary institutions for conflict resolution.

- **Establish CEWARN supported woreda and kebele peace committees in Teltele woreda** Teltele woreda borders Dillo woreda in Oromo. Although at present Dillo has peaceful relations with their cross-border neighbors, individuals from Teltele cross Dillo en route to Kenya where they may engage in conflict. Operational woreda and kebele peace committees in Teltele would contribute to cross-border stability with Kenya.

Cluster-wide recommendations for all Somali woredas

- Develop regional guidelines for peace committees. Peace committee composition should reflect the community character of the stakeholders involved in conflicts.
- Reactivate inactive peace committees.
- Provide budgetary support to peace committees.
- Transportation should be provided for distances requiring more than a walk of one day.
- Permanent cross-border and joint-woreda peace committees should be established in all places where members of different clans or ethnic groups share woreda or national borders.
- Encourage use of customary institutions for conflict resolution
- Efforts should be made to find improved means for females to participate in the peace process.

Dillo Woreda

- Efforts should be made to improve the transparency of rule of law sanctions because of current concerns that unequally administered sanctions may promote conflict.
- Female members should be added to each kebele peace committee.
- Regular communication should occur between Peace and Security offices in Teltele woreda and Dillo woreda sharing conflict indicators.
- The Maikona Declaration should be reconfirmed between Dillo and Kenyan counterparts.

Dire Woreda

- A female peace initiative should be created. Exchange between women's initiatives in other woredas encouraged.
- Female participation should be increased on woreda and kebele level peace committees

Miyo Woreda

- Establish additional kebele peace committees, especially in Meti and Tesso kebeles.
- A female peace initiative should be created. Exchange between women's initiatives in other woredas encouraged.
- Female participation should be increased on woreda and kebele level peace committees

Moyale Woreda (Oromia)

- Reestablish woreda peace committee and establish kebele peace committees where non-existent and in conflict-prone localities.
- Woreda peace committee should include non-administrative members and engage with customary institutions.
- Woreda peace committee should provide support for kebele peace committees
- A female peace initiative should be created. Exchange between women's initiatives in other woredas encouraged.
- Female participation on the woreda and kebele peace committee should be increased.
- Joint-peace committee with Moyale (Somali) should be formed that meets no less than once per month.

Moyale Woreda (Somali)

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- Female participation on the woreda and kebele peace committee should be increased
- Joint-peace committee with Moyale (Somali) should be formed that meets no less than once per month.

Dolo Ado Woreda

- Reestablish woreda peace committee.
- Additional efforts should be made to include important elders who may not have a current role in the peace committee or process.
- Training on conflict transformation should be provided for all peace committee members.
- A female peace initiative should be created. Exchange between women's initiatives in other woredas encouraged.
- Increase female participation on woreda and kebele peace committee.

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