



The Critical Issue of Land Ownership

Violent Conflict between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan in Godey Zone, Somali Region, Ethiopia

Ayele Gebre-Mariam

NCCR North-South Dialogue, no. 11

2007

dialogue

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The NCCR North-South (Research Partnerships for Mitigating Syndromes of Global Change) is one of twenty National Centres of Competence in Research established by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF). It is implemented by the SNSF and co-funded by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), and the participating institutions in Switzerland. The NCCR North-South carries out disciplinary, interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary research on issues relating to sustainable development in developing and transition countries as well as in Switzerland.

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Citation

Ayele Gebre-Mariam. 2007. *The Critical Issue of Land Ownership. Violent Conflict between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan in Godey Zone, Somali Region, Ethiopia*. NCCR North-South Dialogue 11. Bern, Switzerland: NCCR North-South.

Editing

Theodore Wachs (NCCR North-South Management Centre, CDE)

Cover photos

Land enclosure in Adadley district, Ethiopia. (Photos by Ayele Gebre-Mariam)

Distribution

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Abbreviations

CSA	Central Statistical Authority
EPRDF	Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front
ESDL	Ethiopian Somali Democratic League
IAR	Institute of Agricultural Research
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
ONLF	Ogaden National Liberation Front
OWDA	Ogaden Welfare Development Association
OWS	Ogaden Welfare Society
RRC	Relief and Rehabilitation Commission
SCF-UK	Save the Children Fund UK
SERP	South-eastern Rangeland Project
SODAF	Somali Democratic Alliance Force
SPDP	Somali People’s Democratic Party
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WSDP	Western Somali Democratic Party
WSLF	Western Somali Liberation Front

Glossary

<i>awraja</i>	Pre-1991 administrative unit (province or sub-region)
<i>birsoobis</i>	<i>Prosopis juliflora</i>
<i>chat</i>	Mildly narcotic leaf produced in the Ethiopian highlands
<i>deghier</i>	Black-headed Somali sheep, also known as Berbera Blackhead
<i>dayr</i>	Short rainy season in the Somali lowlands
<i>gu</i>	Long rainy season in the Somali lowlands
<i>ha</i>	Hectar
<i>haud</i>	Grazing area stretching from Jijiga along the Somali border
<i>jilib</i>	Smallest clan lineage level
<i>jilaal</i>	Long dry season in the Somali lowlands
<i>guurti</i>	Council of elders
<i>hagga</i>	Short dry season in the Somali lowlands
<i>kebele</i>	Lowest administrative unit, sub-location
<i>keremta</i>	Long and heavy summer rains in the highlands
<i>ql</i>	Quintal
<i>teff</i>	Cereal crop produced in the Ethiopian highlands
<i>ugas(es)</i>	Title of traditional Somali elder
<i>wereda</i>	District
<i>yarad</i>	Dowry payment
<i>xeer</i>	Somali customary law and contracts

1 Introduction

1.1 The Somali region

The Somali region occupies a large geographical area in the eastern and southeastern part of Ethiopia. It lies between 4° 11' degree N latitude and 48° E longitude. The area of the region is estimated to be 340,000 km². It is bounded by Kenya and Somalia to the south, the Republic of Djibouti and the Afar region to the north, Somalia to the east and southeast, and Oromiya region to the west. The Somali region is divided into 9 administrative zones and 53 *weredas* (2005) and is located in the arid and semi-arid agro-ecological and climatic zone. Its altitude ranges from 400 m in the southeast to about 1000 m in the north. In some hilly areas the maximum elevation goes up to 1600 m.

Rainfall in the region is low, erratic and unreliable. The northern part encompassing Jigjiga and its surroundings gets the *keremta* rain from July to September and the rest of rains during *gu*, from March to April. The south and southeastern part of the region receives rainfall during the *dayr* season from October to November and *gu* season from March to April. The temperature ranges from 20-45° C and the average annual rainfall is 300-500 mm. Low relative humidity and little cloud cover is observed in the region. Evaporation is twenty times higher than rainfall in some places in the region. The region receives insufficient rainfall and frequently faces droughts that cause shortages of food and water for humans and livestock.

According to CSA data in the 1997 census, the population of the region is estimated at 3,439,860, of which 85.7% live in rural areas while the remaining 14.36% live in urban areas. The population is projected to reach 4.8 million in 2010. About 92% of the population of the Somali region is estimated to be illiterate. Of the literate population 28% are urban dwellers. The corresponding figure for the rural areas is 4.6%. The region has poorly developed socio-economic services and infrastructure in terms of schools, health facilities, transport and communication, water supply and marketing services. As a whole, the region has been neglected and lags behind in social and economic development. The highest student enrolment ratio is 11.8% for primary level, 7.7% for junior high school level, and 5.5% for senior secondary school level. The region is poorly served in terms of health services and below the national average, which is 61%. Communicable diseases and malnutrition are widespread.

Most people in the region are pastoralists and agro-pastoralists and livestock is the main source of livelihood. The major livestock species raised include cattle, sheep, goats and camels. In areas at lower altitudes and with lower moisture content camels, sheep and goats are the dominant livestock species, while in the relatively higher altitudes cattle raising is the most dominant type of livestock farming. Livestock is the backbone of the economy in the region and about 85% of the Somali population depends on livestock products for its livelihood. Crop production is also practiced in the region and important farming zones include Godey, Jigjiga, Liben and Afder. The urban economy is dominated by trade. The most important drainage systems of the

region are the Wabi Shebelle, Genale and Dawa rivers. The region is characterised by the presence of dry basins such as the Ogaden and Aysha plains.

Past droughts have claimed the lives of large numbers of livestock and resulted in repeated crop failures. There are also occasions when no crop is harvested due to a total lack of rain. This drought cycle is reported to repeat once every two to three years (Ayele Gebre-Mariam & Tadesse Haile 1990). The major droughts of the past three decades were known as *lafaad*, (1972-74), *dabadheer* (1984-85), *hurgufa* (1994) and *shaqadha/dabagunud* (1999-2000). Due to prolonged drought periods, forests are devastated for construction and to obtain charcoal, and livestock losses have been incurred. The majority of the region's population is composed of Somali-speaking pastoralists who are divided into different inter-related clans, each occupying its own territories. Fighting between these groups takes place over grazing resources and water points. Many of the clan territories stretch across the international boundary into Somalia and the same groups live on both sides of the border, which has facilitated trade and services in the region (Ayele Gebre-Mariam 2004).

1.2 The Ogaden

The Ogaden¹ is a huge rangeland in Eastern Ethiopia and is the favoured grazing land in the Somali regional state and in the wider region. There is some extensive open grassland in the area often associated with cultivation. It is also the major livestock production centre in the region. Pastoralism extends far northwards and westwards into the foothills of the highland massif, increasingly tending towards agropastoralism. The proper Ogaden excludes the semi-agricultural areas of Jigjiga and beyond, but includes the minority clans such as the Isaaq living in the area and entering it seasonally. Isaaq clans mainly utilize the *haud*.

The Ogaden proper is 240,000 km². The rangeland is not ecologically homogeneous. The Ogaden is a plateau, which falls from 1,500 m in the northwest to about 300 m at the southern limits, including the Wabi Shebelle basin. The higher altitude areas between 1400 and 1600 m are characterised as semi-arid, receiving as much as 500-600 mm of rainfall annually. More typically in the Ogaden, the average annual rainfall is 350 mm and less. The landscape consists of dense shrubland, bush grassland and bare hills. The soils are calcisol, gypisol, regosol, and vertisol and fluvisol and are marginal for crop production. The Ogaden has no growing period from rainfall and irrigation is only for crop production.

Apart from Somali minority groups inhabiting the Ogaden, the other minority groups practice flood recession irrigated agriculture along the Wabi Shebelle, Genale, Weib and tributaries of these rivers. The minority groups include Rer Barre, Woredubbe, Shebelle, Gurantee and Gerimaro (Ayele Gebre-Mariam & Tadesse Haile 1990). Minority groups such as the Boni, Yibir and Midgan live among the Somali clans and

¹ Ogaden refers primarily to the areas lying south of Jigjiga zone and is also a genealogical term of reference to the Somali Ogaadeen clan lineages.

provide products and services such as blacksmithing, leather making, artifacts, etc. (Ayele Gebre-Mariam 1976).

The dominant tree species identified in the Ogaden are *tamarix aphylla*, *calotropis procera*, *parkinsonia aculeate*, *balanites aegyptica*, *dodonaea angustifolia*, *rumex neurosus*, acacia species, and *combretum molle* (MOA 2000).

The main mode of production in the Ogaden is agro-pastoralism. Crops such as maize and sorghum are mainly grown using rain-fed agriculture. Cultivation using flood recession and water pumped from the Wabi Shebelle River is practiced by some agro-pastoralists. The area is known for camel and small stock rather than cattle. But there are large herds of cattle in the region. Small livestock, especially black-head sheep, are exported to the Middle East. The Somali goat breed is referred to as *deghier*, and has a white colour and large body.

The link to Somalia is critical for the Ogaden, as livestock are exported through Somalia and manufactured goods (clothing, food items such as pasta, sugar, rice, tea locally consumed) come through the Somali ports of Berbera (Somaliland), Bossaso (Puntland), Mogadishu and Kismayo (southern Somalia). The Ogaden's centre of attraction for trade is Mogadishu rather than Addis Abeba. The trade routes between the Ethiopian highlands and Somali lowlands facilitate the flow of *chat* and *teff* in the Ogaden.

The estimated total area suitable for irrigation in the Wabi Shebelle basin is 345,000 ha. This consists of about 12% of the total irrigable land in the country (Imperial Ethiopian Government 1973). Of this, 265,000 ha is classified as class 1, described as very suitable for irrigation. The remaining 90,000 ha are classified as moderately suitable for irrigation. According to the Ministry of Water Resources, 113,000 ha of land is suitable for development with irrigation from the Genale River (WRTDA 1987). The same study also identified about 50,000 ha of irrigable land in the lower Weib basin.

The Wabi Shebelle, Weib and Genale rivers are the major water sources for irrigation development in the Ogaden. The area is criss-crossed by the Wabi Shebelle River and by other seasonal rivers such as the Fafan, Jarar, Dakata and Erer to the west. The eastern Horn stands out as a great plain separate from this river complex. Water is the main constraint in the development of irrigation in the Ogaden. Thus only 40% of the suitable irrigation land can be developed due to water constraints. The agro-pastoralists use several techniques to harvest water. Harvesting of run-off river water, floods from the Wabi Shebelle and other rivers, pumping water, and use of the riverbed of the Wabi Shebelle River for cultivation during its low flow are used to cultivate crops.

The Ogaden has a potential of about 142 billion m³ of natural gas, which consists of about 71% of the total estimated natural gas in the country. A detailed study in the Calub area revealed a potential of 30 billion m³ of existing natural gas for exploration (MOME 1986). Geological surveys and exploration activities undertaken so far by the

Ministry of Water Resources have not indicated the presence of oil for commercial exploitation in the Ogaden.

The Ogaden is endowed with plant species, which produce gum arabic, *olibanum*, myrrh and *opponex*. It has been estimated that the Ogaden has the potential to produce 11,250 ql of gum arabic and a total of 46,000 ql of gum *olibanum*, myrrh and *opponex* annually (Ayele Gebre-Mariam & Tadesse Haile 1990). In Afder in the south of the Somali region, salt is exploited for commercial purposes. The same study revealed potential for the exploitation of 15,000 ql of salt per month in Afder (Ayele Gebre-Mariam & Tadesse Haile 1990). The modern agricultural sector accounts for a negligible portion of overall agriculture in the Ogaden, which has been operating in different forms since 1966. Since the late 1980s modern agriculture has been concentrated around the Godey state farm, which has a net irrigation land of about 2548 ha. The farm was managed by the Gode State Farm under the auspices of the then Awash Agricultural Development Corporation. Cotton is the major crop cultivated, followed by maize.

The interdependencies between the Ogaden and the Chercher highlands, the Bale highlands, Dire Dawa, and neighbouring Somalia are crucial for understanding the production system in the Ogaden. Symbiotic and competitive relations are observed between the Ogaden and the highland production system. On the one hand, symbiotic relations are exhibited in terms of economic and social relations and exchange relations between economic niches. On the other hand, competition for grazing between the Ogaden and pastoralists in Somalia and the highland farmers appears to have an overriding effect on the rangeland, causing ecological degradation. The highlanders and sub-highlanders send their animals into the lowlands in search of pasture during the dry season. The rangeland also serves as a source of fuelwood for the highlands and towns and thus forests have been denuded as a result of extraction of the forest resources. This takes place on the boundary between Harar and Bale highlands and the Ogaden.

1.3 The Godey zone

The Godey zone is 105,000 km² and is located on the Ogaden plateau (in geographical terms) but within the Somali region (in political/administrative terms), and has a population of 353,551 according to the population census of 2001. 95% of Godey zone consists of grazing land. Godey is one of the nine administrative zones of the Somali Regional State of Ethiopia and it comprises the seven districts Godey (until 1995 the regional capital), Denan, Adadley, Kelafo, East Imi, Mustahil, and Ferfer. Six of the seven districts are located along the banks of the Wabi Shebelle River that crosses into neighbouring Somalia. 40-50% of the population depends upon irrigation, 25-30% on agro-pastoralism, and 20-30% on pastoralism, and less than 1% on urban service activities. Godey is characterised by an “extensive flat to gently sloping topography” that accounts for about 94% of the zone’s total area (IPS 2000). The length of the crop-growing period ranges from 0-75 days (IPS 2000). The soil types in Godey zone include *xerosols*, *solonchaks*, *yemosols*, *lithosols*, *vertisols*, *arenosols* and

fluvisols. The dominant soil is *calcic xerosols*. The soil is ideal for livestock rearing rather than crop cultivation.

An estimated 56% of the total area of the zone is occupied by grazing land consisting of open grassland, bush and shrub grass land and wooded grassland, while 33% is occupied by wood land, shrub land and bush land. The remaining area is utilised for crop farming (Ayele Gebre-Mariam & Tadesse Haile 1990). Godey has two rainy seasons accompanied by two long dry seasons. The main rainy season called *gu* lasts from March to May and the short dry season known as *hagga* from June to August. *Hagga* is followed by the short *dayr* rains between September and November and the long dry season *jilaal* from December to March. The mean annual rainfall based on Godey data is about 300 mm. The zone has a potential evaporation rate of 3100 mm per year. The average precipitation varies from 0 mm in the dry months of July and August to 110 mm in April during the main rainy season.

Generally, the area has moisture deficits throughout the year. The pastoral areas of Godey zone are more prone to drought than most other parts of the Somali region. Temperatures vary from 19°C to 36°C, sometimes reaching 40°C. The mean temperature is 28° C. In Godey zone, the mean maximum temperature is 38° C and the mean minimum temperature is 18° C. The highest mean temperatures prevail from February to March. The relative humidity in Godey, which is at the centre of the lower valley, is 55%. The mean daily sunshine hours in Godey are highest between June and September, ranging from 4-6 m per second. Open pan evaporation is greatest from June to September due to strong winds. Records at Godey show an average of 11 mm/day during these months (Ayele Gebre-Mariam & Tadesse Haile 1990).

An estimated 80% of the zone's inhabitants are rural pastoralists and agro-pastoralists; an exception applies to Kelafo and Mustahil *weredas*, where sedentary farmers of Bantu descent (Rer Barre) dominate. The Rer Barre, who are associated with Hawiye in Godey zone, occupy the downstream Wabi Shebelle and Juba rivers in southern Somalia. The *Shebelle* are a minority group practicing flood recession irrigated agriculture along the Wabi Shebelle in the Imi *wereda*. Drinking water for human and animal consumption mostly originates from the Wabi Shebelle River.

The rain-fed and cultivated land in Godey represents 5% of the total or 5,250 km². Only 20% of Godey zone consists of arable land currently under cultivation, most of it under irrigation along the Wabi Shebelle River (SCF-UK 2001c). As in other parts of the Somali Regional State, land is collectively owned and managed by the sub-clan lineages occupying the territory. Shortage of good farmland has been reported in areas of flood-recession cultivation in proximity to the riverbanks. SCF-UK reports that "the dependency on stream cultivation means constraints on the amount of land they can use; extra land can be used in areas not fed by streams, which carries increased risk of crop failure due to inadequate rain. This is likely to be a problem for the future when existing farms are sub-divided for the families of the current generation of sons" (SCF-UK 2001c). Godey zone was struck by a severe drought in 1999/2000 that caused massive human and animal loss. The zone was among the hardest-hit areas within the Somali region and most pastoralists in the zone claim to have lost between

70% and 90% of their cattle (Guinand 2000). The 1999/2000 drought is locally known as the *odeykawayn*, i.e. literally “bigger than the oldest person”, meaning “worse than even the oldest person can remember” (SCF-UK 2001c).

According to IPS (2000), the livestock population of Godey zone includes 402,000 cattle, 1,004,000 sheep, 636,000 goats, 8,000 donkeys and 14,000 camels. The riverine population practices irrigated agriculture using water pumps and flood recession farming. In Godey zone uncontrolled flood recession takes place every three years when the river level is higher than normal and the land without canals is flooded. The livestock from Ogaden is mostly sold on markets in Somalia rather than in Ethiopia. Manufactured and food items from the Middle and Far East make their way to the Ogaden and its environs. The means of exchange is the Somali shilling, which is the de facto currency of the area. During the field research (March 2005), the Somali shilling equivalent of 300,000 Birr was burnt by government security agents in Kelafo (50 Ethiopian cents is equivalent 1000 shillings) because the community does not use Ethiopian Birr. The researcher was at Kelafo a day after this incident took place. No reaction was observed from the community or individuals at that time.

1.4 Godey Wereda

The climate of the *wereda* is arid to semi-arid marked by drought, seasonal variations and an average rainfall between 150-250 mm. Godey *wereda* is bounded by Imi *wereda* to the north, Kelafo *wereda* to the south, Adadley *wereda* to the west and Denan *wereda* to the east. The altitude of Godey *wereda* is 260 m. The mean temperature is 28° C with minimum and maximum temperatures of 22° C and 35° C respectively. The mean annual rainfall is about 200 mm distributed in two rainy seasons *gu* (April-June) and *dayr* (October to December). The natural vegetation in the *wereda* is a mixture of deciduous bushland and shrubland with different species. The farming system is pastoralism and agro-pastoralism. Increasingly, destitute agro-pastoralists are becoming settled farmers. They are mostly returnees from Somalia who came back to Somali region after the collapse of the Siyaad Barre regime, while others are local livestock-poor households.

According to CSA (1994), the population of Godey *wereda* is 45,755 persons excluding the Godey town population. The estimated population of Godey *wereda* in percent, in its riverine, agro-pastoral, pastoral and urban settings is 30, 40, 25 and 5% respectively (SCF-UK 2001a). The clans living in Godey *wereda* consist mainly of Abdalla Tolomogge, Rer Mohammed, Bah Gerri, Awdak and Abdille. Godey *wereda* has an estimated cattle population of 352,000: 244,350 sheep, 135,000 goats and 45,000 camels and equines together (SCF-UK 2001b). The ecosystem of the *wereda* is fragile and subject to intensive grazing, and intense destruction of trees for fuelwood and construction material. The area is highly denuded and exposed to soil and wind erosion. This phenomenon of environmental deterioration was observed even during the early 1990s (Ayele Gebre-Mariam & Tadesse Haile 1990).

1.5 Adadley Wereda

Adadley is one of the *weredas* of Godey zone situated in the Ogaden basin. East Imi in the north, Kelafo in the south, Godey in the east and Hargele *weredas* in the west form the boundaries of Adadley *wereda*. According to SCF-UK (2001a), the *wereda* has a population of 46,661 persons. The clans in Adadley *wereda* are Awlihan, Abdille, Makahil, Harti, Sherif, Shekash and Lelkede. 10% depend on riverine cultivation, 28% are agro-pastoralists, 60% are pastoralists, and 2% are urban dwellers (SCF-UK 2001a). The *wereda* was established in 1964 with headquarters at Gereblow. Traces of the village/settlement are not seen nowadays. In 1991, after the collapse of the Siyaad Barre regime, the Awlihan returnees established Bohol Hagere as the new capital of the *wereda*.

2 Methodology and Resource Use Conflicts

2.1 Data collection

The Ogaden Welfare Development Association (OWDA), a local NGO, facilitated the implementation of this study by providing the researcher with a letter of introduction to the Godey zone administration to enable him to carry out the study. About 90 persons were interviewed by the author, consisting of elders, youth, women, agro-pastoralists and pastoralists. The data for the study were collected in the month of March 2005. Both salaried elders (*guurti*) and bush elders were interviewed as key informants. Other persons interviewed were carrying out routine activities such as tending livestock, farming, and relaxing in teas shops. The *wereda* and deputy *wereda* administrators of Adadley and Godey were consulted as well. Regional parliamentarian representatives of the Awlihan and the Abdalla Tolomogge in Jigjiga participated actively in discussions of the issue of conflict between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan with the researcher. Other parliamentarians and *ugas* from the nearby clans were also consulted. Discussions were also held with the *ugas* of Abdalla Tolomogge in Addis Abeba.

Mohammed Nur Hassen from the Abdalla clan assisted the author in translating from Somali into English and was engaged from March 8-30, 2005. Among the difficulties encountered when traveling through Godey *wereda* was the security situation to the north and east of Godey town. There was a security search in Godey town for two days during which the researcher was unable to leave the town.

Both published and unpublished documents were consulted prior to and after the study. While in the field, the main tool used was focus group discussions on the basis of a checklist prepared by Hagmann (2005). Teashops and *wereda* offices served as discussion sites. The participants consisted of men, members of the council of elders (*guurti*), bush elders, salaried elders, and heads of subclans and lineages, and women. A minimum of one to a maximum of 12 men participated in the informal discussions. In the bigger crowds, there were usually between one and three active participants. Others intervened whenever they felt like contributing to the theme under discussion. Discussions with two to four elders held in their homes were common. After long hours of discussion, the participants asked for money to buy *chat*. Informal discussions were held with agro-pastoralists on the crop fields and among pastoralists in teashops. These discussions were lively and open.

2.2 Assumptions and hypotheses

The Horn of Africa is home for pastoralists and agro-pastoralists and is characterised by conflicts associated with natural resources. Some conflicts are caused by raiding livestock, which is the case for Ethiopian, Kenyan, Sudanese and Ugandan pastoralists and agro-pastoralists. The second type of conflict is violent and involves the killing of people in disputes over control of natural resources. This second type of conflict is the

main focus of the present research. Processes of cooperation and exchange prevail amidst violent conflicts. Three working hypotheses that guided the research (Hagmann 2004) are examined. They include:

- Hypothesis 1: Conflict transformation is enabled by the inclusion and participation of stakeholders who are not directly involved in violent disputes over natural resources.
- Hypothesis 2: The integration of customary and modern procedures and institutions for conflict and resource management is an effective conflict transformation strategy.
- Hypothesis 3: Violent multiple resource user conflicts are settled through the exchange of differentiated bundles of property rights for diverse users in space and time.

Some scholars claim that the growing scarcity of resources has increased the frequency and intensity of violence among pastoralists and agro-pastoralists in the arid and semi-arid areas over the last decade. This scarcity has been compounded by state interventions in agricultural production, nationalisation of rangelands, sedentarisation of nomadic populations, privatisation of land, break-down of customary governance, and the availability of cheap firearms (Abbink 2000, Abdi Umar 1997, Lane & Moorehead 1996 and Mkutu 2001). The author will consider this theoretical framework with some modifications.

What has effectively been observed in the study area is the sedentarisation of nomadic populations, some privatisation of land, a break-down of customary governance, and the availability of cheap firearms. State intervention in agricultural production has taken place but was discontinued. Yet nationalisation of the rangelands has not taken place in the Somali region. Resources are becoming scarce due to increasing human population pressure and livestock populations. The human population requires more resources in terms of food, health and social services, while the growing livestock population requires more veterinary drugs and better services. But these increases have not been matched by an expansion of services, and this exacerbates conflicts.

The conflict between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan is mainly over land resources. The conflict takes place in Adadley *wereda* where both clans claim land ownership. Before 1974, conflicts between the two clans revolved around livestock raiding. After 1974, owing to a scarcity of resources and migration of the Awlihan from El Berdey (Somalia) into the Wabi Shebelle basin, the conflict turned into a land issue, became violent, and resulted in the deaths of several people from both groups. The Ethiopian government used to operate a research station for crops, vegetables and fruits under its agricultural programme in Godey. The government also managed the state farms that were established on pastoralist land following the resettlement of destitute highland farmers in the Godey area. Land claims cause conflict between the Awlihan, who are predominantly pastoralists, and the Abdalla Tolomogge, who are predominantly agro-pastoralists. Few Awlihan agro-pastoralists aspire to have farmland and few Abdalla Tolomogge want to engage in multi-species pastoralism.

Prior to the 1990s, the conflict revolved around camel looting for dowry payment (*yarad*) and building up a herd to make a viable household. The conflict is exacerbated by high population pressure on multiple resources among both the Awlihan and the Abdalla Tolomogge.

The introduction of human and livestock health services has increased the human and livestock populations respectively. Multiple user conflicts are related to chronic forms of poverty in conjunction with a process of commodification and integration into national and global market economics (Blench 2001). Pastoral resources are depleted due to the need for firewood, building material, livestock feed, roof thatching, crop growing and intrusion by outsiders, such as Abdalla Tolomogge and Awlihan townspeople and other Ogaden clans and highlanders.

2.3 Structure of the report

Chapter 3 of the study looks at the political and institutional setting of Godey and Adadley *weredas*. Chapter 4 examines the pastoral economy and agro-pastoral system. Chapter 5 examines how past droughts and floods have affected the Awlihan and the Abdalla Tolomogge. The kinship structure and territory claim of both clans is depicted in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 looks at natural resources such as grazing/browsing, water, and how the two clans use them. Chapter 8 depicts the traditional social structure, which governs the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan. In Chapter 9, the symbiotic and cooperative relations of the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan are examined, including blood payment modalities and the external factors that ignite conflict between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan. The last chapter advances a number of concluding remarks and recommendations.

3 Political and Institutional Setting

3.1 Background

In the past, but less so today, the political agenda of the Ogaden was secession with the aim of forming a greater Somalia with ethnic Somalis in Somalia, Djibouti and Kenya. The Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF), with the support of the Somali government, fought two wars with the Ethiopian government in 1964 and 1977-78. After the downfall of the Derg, the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) took power in 1991 and established a federal structure in Ethiopia. The Somali-inhabited territory was called Somali regional state, or region 5. Each clan produced its own political party at the beginning of the 1990s. Later on, the kinship-based parties merged into the predominant Somali People's Democratic Party (SPDP). Since 1994 the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) has operated as a rebel group in some zones of the region. It seeks liberation from Ethiopia in order to set up an independent state of Ogadenia.

Prior to the establishment of Godey as a *wereda* in 1964, Godey and Adadley *weredas* were under Kelafo administration. The Aden Abdalla and Barer Saad lineages of the Abdalla Tolomogge then had good relations with the Awlihan, except for a few incidents of looting of livestock between 1900 and 1947. Godey was only established after the bridge on the Wabi Shebelle River had been built. The Imperial Ministry of the Interior established a farm for drought victims west of the Wabi Shebelle River. An airport was also built. This infrastructure made Godey an *awraja* centre during that period.

Some informants claim that Godey and Adadley *weredas* were formed at the same time. Godey *wereda* encompasses the eastern part of the Wabi Shebelle River and Adadley the western part of the river. The capital of Godey *wereda* was Godey and the capital of Adadley was Gereblow in the 1960s. There is no trace of the town of Gereblow today. Some informants speak of two or three houses then covered with corrugated sheet metal. Other Abdalla Tolomogge informants say that the area currently belonging to Adadley *wereda* was part of Godey *wereda* and that there was no Adadley *wereda* as such.

After the collapse of the Siyaad Barre regime there was an exodus of Ethiopian Somali returnees from the Tolomogge and the Awlihan to Godey area. The returnees had initially fled to Somalia after the Ethio-Somali conflict of 1977-78. Upon their return to Ethiopia many returnees lived in shelters along the banks of the Wabi Shebelle River at the beginning of the 1990s. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), NGOs and the then government Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC) supplied relief food to the internally displaced people. After some time it became impossible for the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan to live in the same camps. There was frequent fierce fighting over trivial matters. The inherent cause was the land that the Abdalla Tolomogge were cultivating. The *ugas* of Abdalla Tolomogge, Abdi Rahman Muhumed Kane, who was heading the Peace and Reconciliation Committee of Godey *wereda* at that time, proposed to move the

Awlihan west of the Wabi Shebelle River to Bohol Hagere in 1991. UNHCR appreciated the idea, as its work had often been hampered. Lineage groups of Abdalla Tolomogge, such as the Aden Abdalla, Barer Saad, Mohammed Asse and Seleban, wrote a letter to the Godey zone administration to facilitate the establishment of Adadley as a *wereda* centre for the Awlihan. The transfer of Awlihan returnees into Bohol Hagere eventually led to the establishment of Adadley *wereda*. The regional government recognised Adadley as one of the seven districts of Godey zone in 1998.

3.2 Kebeles

Before the local elections of 2004 all three former *wereda* administrators of Adadley were from the Abdalla Tolomogge, while the respective vice administrators were from the Awlihan. There have been frequent changes of the *wereda* and *kebele* administrative officials. In Adadley *wereda* the Awlihan and Abdalla Tolomogge each have five election sites recognised by the regional government. An election site consists of three to five *kebeles*. Only agricultural settlements are considered as a *kebele*. In the 2004 elections one of the Abdalla Tolomogge and five of the Awlihan inhabited *kebeles* participated in the election. As a result, the *wereda* parliament consisted of seven Abdalla Tolomogge members and 35 Awlihan representatives. The four Abdalla Tolomogge *kebeles* did not vote, as they were refused the post of *wereda* administrator. They claim to be the majority in the *wereda*. Since the February 2004 elections, the speaker of the *wereda* parliament is Abdalla Tolomogge and the vice-speaker Awlihan. The *wereda* administrator is Awlihan and the vice-administrator Abdalla Tolomogge. One salaried elder at zonal level represents Adadley *wereda*, and one elder each represents the other six *weredas* of Godey zone. Two Abdalla Tolomogge and Awlihan salaried elders at *wereda* level represent Adadley *wereda*. At regional level, two Awlihan and one Abdalla Tolomogge parliamentarian represent Adadley *wereda*. At federal level Adadley *wereda* has no representation. The Awlihan also inhabit Hagere, Bare, Hargele, Dollo Ado and Imi *weredas* of the Somali region and thus have two parliamentarians at federal level; Ahmed Ugas Fatule and Kamil Jamma, represent the Awlihan. On the other hand one federal parliamentarian who is also Ethiopia's Ambassador to Yemen, Abdi Dollal Mohammed, represents the Abdalla Tolomogge. The members of parliament are chosen by the EPRDF-friendly SPDP and not by the people. In the August 2005 national and regional elections, the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan had 15 and 16 election sites respectively.

3.3 Federal military

There is a huge federal army presence in the Somali region and also in Godey town, but not in Adadley *wereda*. With few exceptions, military personnel stationed in the Somali region consist of soldiers originating from other parts of the country. Apart from maintaining security in the region, the federal military works in close cooperation with regional, zonal and district officials and is also involved in containing, and to some degree resolving, clan conflicts.

3.4 Political parties

The existing political parties within the Somali Region are the ruling SPDP and opposition parties such as *Dilwabe*, Western Somali Democratic Party (WSDP, *Somali Galbed*) and Somali Democratic Alliance Force (SODAF). SPDP is the dominant party affiliated with the EPRDF. *Dilwabe* was formed after the 2003 elections. *Somali Galbed* has its constituency around Jigjiga, Kebre Dehar and Wardheer. Agitation along political lines is not strong and party mobilisation is weak. An elder in Godey stated that the SPDP and ONLF are *controbank* (involved in the issuing cheques/money, meaning mismanagement of funds) and *controbandiro* (working against the Ethiopian flag). The opposition parties are weak. Their voices are often ignored and undermined. They are known only by name at the Godey zone level. The SPDP was formed in 1998 through a merger between the Ethiopian Somali Democratic League (ESDL) and the moderate faction of the ONLF.² At the *wereda* level it is difficult to clearly distinguish the roles of members of the party, administration, and parliament (see also Lister 2000). Even worse, with the exception of the party and parliament, these institutions hardly function. Even the regional parliament at Jigjiga rarely convened meetings in 2005.

3.5 Ethnic federalism

With the government policy of devolution of power to the *weredas* during *hagga* in 2004, Adadley *wereda* was not fortunate. Staff for most district offices are not in place, except for three experts in the education office. The *wereda* agriculture and health office is without staff. The office structure has been built but is not staffed. This is attributed to low technical and human resources at regional level and the unavailability of social infrastructure in the *wereda*. The set-up of regional states in Ethiopia on the basis of ethnically defined political representation has helped the Awlihan to establish their own *wereda*, Adadley. However, because of the violent conflict between the two clans, development has been elusive. The people are not sure as to when the next conflict will take place. Even the yearly budget disbursed to the *wereda* is shared among the cabinet members of both clans.

² As a result of dissatisfaction with the merger some ONLF members went to the bush and started guerrilla warfare blocking roads in Fiq, Deghabur, Kebre Dahar, Warder and Godey zones.

4 The Pastoral Economy and the Agro-pastoral System

4.1 The pastoral economy

The Awlihan are predominantly pastoralists engaged in camel and goat husbandry, while the Abdalla Tolomogge are mainly agro-pastoralists who keep cattle and small livestock and practice flood recession agriculture, pump irrigation, and rain-fed farming. The pastoralist Awlihan and Abdalla Tolomogge keep two kinds of herds: milking animals and dry or non-lactating animals. The milking animals consist of cows, small stock, and camels. Women and children keep these animals within easy proximity of their camp. In most cases, each individual household keeps milking animals. Usually livestock travels about five to eight km to water points every other day. Donkeys are replacing camels for fetching water; donkey carts are used to fetch water and carry roof thatching, firewood and grass for people living in settlements and *wereda* centres. Farmlands around the settlements are irrigated by pumps and rain. Teashops and stores are found around these settlements. Figure 3 shows a schematic diagram of the settlements of the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan.

Adults keep the non-milking animals in distant pasture areas for about six months. Groups of households move together for security reasons. They can move to settlement sites if good pasture is available. The adults feed on the milk from the animals they tend. The chance of the herdsmen getting food grain is small, as they are in inaccessible areas. The herdsmen do not have access to food aid unless they visit settlements. Within the Awlihan and the Abdalla Tolomogge, there are pure pastoralist communities who stay for about two to three months in a specific locality before moving with their animals to the next encampment, which may involve about half a day of travel. These groups of people can keep milking and non-milking animals together. The non-milking animals may be 100 km away from their temporary encampment.

Both the Awlihan and the Abdalla Tolomogge have dry and wet season grazing areas. The dry season grazing areas are situated along the banks of the Wabi Shebelle River and places further away from the river, while the wet season grazing areas are the plains, hills, hinterlands and catchments (see Figure 3). The dry season grazing areas serve as grazing resources in times of drought. In severe cases of drought, the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan move to wherever it rains. Movement with their animals to Fiq and Afder zones is common. Access to the Wabi Shebelle River is allowed for any group except where there are irrigation schemes. After crops are harvested, access is allowed. Even though wet and dry season grazing are designated, access varies from year to year, depending on rainfall, relations between clans, livestock diseases and other factors.

Stockowners claim that the number of livestock species kept on the range is decreasing by comparison with the past 20-30 years due to frequent droughts. Even milk yield is decreasing by comparison with the past. According to informants, edible

fruits and bushes used by people and livestock are yielding less these days. The yield from natural gum is declining as well. Some livestock experts argue that the livestock population should be increasing as a result of interventions in livestock health. What is significant is the human population increase due to the availability of improved human health services. Population growth absorbs the increasing livestock population and thus livestock ownership per household is minimal. The household heads continue to bequeath their animals to their sons, and the sons in turn share animal resources with their own sons at a later stage.

Because of frequent drought, pastoralists replace cattle and sheep with more resistant camels and goats. A Somali proverb states that “when the last cattle die, the first camel starts to die” (“*marka saca u danbeeya dhinto yuu neefka geela u horeeya dhintaa*”). The Adadley *wereda* is covered with bush and shrub and even *prosopis juliflora* has begun to invade the rangeland. The expansion of *prosopis* may reduce the amount of grazing land available for livestock and crop farming in the future. People may be forced to move away from areas where trees have grown.

4.2 The agro–pastoral system

4.2.1 The Godey farm and settlement

The Godey Agricultural Development Project was established by the then Ministry of Interior of the Imperial Ethiopian Government in 1966. In 1971 the project was taken over by the Institute of Agricultural Research (IAR). The IAR developed 150 ha for experiments and after satisfactory trials settled 70 pastoralists on 140 ha of land. In 1976 as a result of the catastrophic drought, about 1000 Somali households from Abdalla Tolomogge were settled on 1080 ha of land suitable for irrigation. Because of the Ethio-Somali war of 1977-78, the entire development programme was discontinued. At the end of the second quarter of 1981, the project was under the supervision of the council of ministers of the *Derg* regime, which resettled people from drought-affected areas of highland Wollo and Tigray. Subsequently, 3000 farmers were resettled in Godey at four settlement sites, namely Korah, Jarar, Fafan, and Welmal. Later on, the settlements were turned into producer cooperatives. At the beginning of 1982, the RRC took over Godey agricultural settlement. Settlers started growing maize as a major crop and other crops such as cowpeas, fruits and vegetables. The site of the Godey state farm is currently in Adadley *wereda*, but the state farm no longer functions effectively.

The settlement project continued up to 1989 and was taken over by the Ministry of State Farms Development and officially named Godey State Farm on July 8, 1989. As a result of this move and forced resettlement, many of the highland settlers fled the area, while those who stayed behind were turned into labourers for the state farm (Ayele Gebre-Mariam & Tadesse Haile 1990). After the take-over of the government by the EPRDF in 1991, the Abdalla Tolomogge told the new government that they wanted what they considered their land back from the highland settlers and state farm. The settlers were urged by the *wereda* administration to hand over the land to Abdalla Tolomogge. The agro-pastoralist Abdalla Tolomogge began farming on the resettler’s farms and some of the former state farms and continued until 2001. The manager of

the state farms and agro-pastoralist farms started sending motor pumps and pipes to Somalia under the pretext of maintenance; none of them were returned, and the state farm's infrastructure was thereby dismantled. A total of 12 high-powered motor pumps disappeared in Somalia. Even trees planted for firewood and shade by the previous resettlement were devastated by the Abdalla Tolomogge. Now one sees traces of damaged canals and broken pipes here and there. This is a typical example of a development situation in Ethiopia when governments change. The incumbent governments do not build on or try to modify the past but start from scratch. In this way resources are wasted and lessons are not learnt.

The abandoned state farms and the ex-resettlement farms are now covered with alien bush called *galiile* or *booco*. The bush is not consumed by livestock and has no use. Some *prosopis juli flora* (in Somali known as *birsoobis*, literally "when the stem is cut it sprouts with shoots") is observed on the abandoned farms. Kelafo town and the surrounding farms are invaded by *prosopis* and it is from Kelafo that the species has spread out. Since the Somali regional government was set up, a regional government farm of 752 ha has been in operation in west Godey, located 60 km from Godey town in a different locality than the previous farms. In the irrigation scheme, the crops grown by the Regional Irrigation Bureau are maize and beans, vegetables such as onions, beetroot, carrot, cabbage and tomato, and fruits such as papaya, mango and guava.

4.2.2 Agro-pastoralist farms

The Abdalla Tolomogge began small-scale rain-fed farming as early as the 1930s. Flood recession agriculture also started during this period. Irrigation using pumps was introduced by the then Ministry of Interior after the severe drought in 1972-74. The Awlihan started farming at a later stage than the Abdalla Tolomogge. The latter have irrigated farms using pumps and sometimes flood water from the east and west side of the Wabi Shebelle River. On the western side of the Wabi Shebelle River the Abdalla Tolomogge have farms stretching from Kerker to Awro in Adadley *wereda*, while the Awlihan have farms stretching from Hidilole to the Kelafo border in Adadley *wereda*. In Godey *wereda* the Abdalla Tolomogge own farms from Gode West to the Kelafo border (see Figure 3). The Abdalla Tolomogge own about 70 pumps, mostly with one piston, while the Awlihan have 23 pumps in both Godey and Adadley *weredas*. The total land irrigated is estimated to be 1500 ha. A pump with one piston serves about 30-40 farmers, each farmer cultivating 0.5 ha. In Adadley *wereda* the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan possess about 30 pumps and 23 pumps respectively, which are privately and collectively owned. The prices of a water pump with one piston, two pistons and four pistons are 9,000, 15,000 and 25,000 birr respectively, and pumps are trucked as contraband goods from Somalia.

The crops cultivated by both clans along the Wabi Shebelle River are maize, vegetables such as peppers, tomatoes and carrots, and fruits such as mango, pawpaw, guava, banana and lemon. In the hinterland sorghum and maize are cultivated using the flood of seasonal rivers or by digging small channels from the streams to the crop production areas. A limited amount of vegetables is produced.

The main activities of an agro-pastoralist household include herding, watering of animals, farming, domestic chores and supervision of all activities. At the age of five, male and female members of a household begin tending kids and lambs with grownup children. At a later age the male and female children help their fathers and mothers. Besides herding and farm work, children and women collect gum arabic, *gum olibanum*, *oppoponex* and myrrh for sale. The males are the supervisors of all activities such as herding, watering, farm work, etc. Neither males nor females over 60 years of age perform work, except for rare supervisory responsibilities.

Entrepreneurs rent pumps to farmers and receive 50 birr for watering one-half ha of maize at one time. The maize has to be watered four times before it can be harvested. Fruits and vegetables are watered weekly, and the charge is less than that for maize. Abdalla Tolomogge and Awlihan farmers form cooperatives, locally referred to as *iskasheto* to collectively use water pumps that belong to individual investors. The capacity of most of the pumps is one piston. Spare parts for pumps are easily available in Godey town. The spare parts and the water pumps are mainly brought from Somalia as contraband items.

Table 1: Crop calendar

Crops	Planting Period	Harvesting Period
Maize	end of March	June
Sorghum	end of March	June
Peas	<i>gu</i>	<i>hagga</i>
Cotton	December	June
Sesame	March	May
Vegetables	any time	any time
Fruits	any time	any time

Source: Author's field survey, 2005.

Most vegetables are planted in April and harvested in September. Vegetables are harvested two to four times a year. Fruits such as mango and lemon are planted at any time of the year. Young maize shoots are mostly sold for townspeople to be used as livestock feed. Some farmers sell maize stalks when their water pumps break down and also for immediate cash needs. The stalks are used for livestock feed. Four pieces of maize plant shoots one or two meters long are sold for between fifty cents and one birr. The average farm per household is between 0.5 ha and 1 ha.

Table 2: Crop yield

Crop Type	Yields in qls/ha
Maize	30-40
Sorghum	25
Peas	25
Tomato	20-30
Pepper	20-30
Mango	25

Source: author's field survey, 2005.

Tomatoes, peppers and fruits are grown as cash crops and maize is grown to meet household needs. The crop residue is used for grazing livestock. Livestock dung is not used as fertiliser on the farms nor fuelwood, as it is in the highlands of Ethiopia. Pests such as *guudiye*, *malabay*, *dihire* and *mudsat* attack crops such as maize, beans, sorghum and vegetables. These pest attacks result in low and reduced crop yields, especially cereals such as maize, sorghum and peas, and vegetables such as peppers and tomatoes.

5 Livelihoods and Socio–economics

Godey *wereda* and the *weredas* adjacent to it including Adadley are frequently affected by drought. Compared to other *weredas*, Godey and its environs are situated in a lowland basin. The major droughts that have hit Ethiopia have been felt mostly in Godey and its neighbouring districts.

5.1 Drought

The major droughts of the last three decades include:

- *lafaad* (1972-74), literally meaning “white bones”
- *dabadheer* (1984-1985), meaning “extreme”
- *hurgufa* (1994)
- *shanaqadha / dabagunud* (1999-2000)

Let us examine the impact of these droughts on individual pastoralists.

Case 1:

An elder named Sirar Harad from the Fik Muuse lineage of Abdalla Tolomogge clan is now 71 years old. He owns 0.5 ha of farmland used for maize cultivation. He also cultivates tomato, pepper and pawpaw. His children at Digino locality help him to cultivate crops. Maize and the vegetables are used for home consumption. He has three wives and 19 children living in the outskirts of Godey town. Some of his children are married. He lives from the income he gets from his children selling water and firewood using donkey carts. Most of his children attend school and two have joined the police force. The elder is a member of the Godey wereda parliament. He had 140 cattle during lafaad, but at the end of the drought he had 60 cattle remaining. During dabagunud, Sirar had 100 cattle and 200 sheep and goats. At the end of the drought he was left with two female cattle only. In 2005 he had five cattle and did not aspire to build up his herd. He even sold one cow after the last drought. He aspires to build his assets with sheep and goats.

Case 2:

During *dabadheer* an elder called Omar Ali used to have 100 sheep and goats and 40 cattle, and now has only seven goats remaining. During *dabagunu* Omar had 157 sheep and goats and 30 cattle. After the drought he was left with 80 sheep and goats and six cattle. Now his children are working for NGOs and support him as well.

Case 3:

Hule Saladid is aged 62 and used to have 50 cattle and 30 sheep and goats before the *dabagunud* drought, and is now with only two cattle.

These examples demonstrate that the pastoralists are vulnerable to drought and their lives are at stake. The assets they build up in livestock are decimated by drought. They are obliged to rebuild their herds again and again. An alternative is the gradual introduction of better farming practices and selling livestock before drought. The latter has been a problem for cultural reasons, as pastoralists value livestock and do not sell when they ought to. Most pastoralists usually wait until the animal dies. Pastoralists should sell as soon as they observe that the animal's weight is deteriorating, otherwise they will be left with nothing but livestock carcasses if the drought continues.

Except for the 1999-2000 drought, both livestock and people perished in past droughts. During *dabagunud* several hundred animals perished, especially cattle and sheep. The drought-coping mechanisms of pastoralists include moving to Somalia in search of jobs and looking for menial jobs in the vicinity. The most destitute Abdalla Tolomogge and Awlihan households were able to move as far as Belet Weyn, Luq and Huddur in neighbouring Somalia. The other alternative available is food aid provided to the drought-affected communities. Food aid is distributed after the drought has been publicised internationally, often by showing dying children on television screens. International organisations such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the World Food Programme (WFP) and NGOs such as the Ogaden Welfare Society (OWS) or OWDA provided food aid in Godey and Adadley districts. The government closed down OWS in 2002. Prior to this, the government had been involved in restocking after the drought of 1972-74. The first RRC restocking programme, currently the Disaster Preparedness and Prevention Bureau (DPPB), started in Godey. Restocking focused mainly on the provision of sheep and goats from the adjacent highlands.

Besides livestock and agricultural production, collecting and selling firewood and selling charcoal, roof thatching material, building material and water are other economic activities important for the livelihood of clan members. Poor and destitute households collect firewood and grass for livestock feed at least 20-30 km from Godey town. Roofing material and charcoal are collected 30 and 60 km away from Godey town. The charcoal producers come from all clan lineages and stay at the production sites for one week. The natural environment around Godey town has been degraded as a result of intensive use of the area for grazing, fuelwood production and deforestation for the production of construction material. During the study period a barrel of water was sold for 30 birr, and donkey cart of firewood and roof thatching material was sold for 100 birr and 150 birr respectively. A sack of charcoal was sold for 10 birr. Fetching firewood and roof thatching material takes about two walking days for a round trip. Women are mostly involved in retail trade of food items and clothing. The Awlihan are mostly involved in the collection and sale of gums such as myrrh, *olibanum* and *oppoponex*. They market salt collected from Afder *wereda* inhabited by the Awlihan. All Somali groups including Rer Barre and highlanders are involved in the marketing of these commodities.

After the 2000 drought the alternative for pastoralists was to shift to farming, and farming areas have increased as a consequence. The pastoralists clearly recognise the devastating effects that previous droughts had on their livelihoods. Support from the government and NGOs to enhance agricultural production has not been significant.

Government development agents are not present, and the agro-pastoralists are eager to make a living by their own efforts. Other sources of income such as selling firewood, water and house construction material have intensified and these items are not available within easy proximity of Godey town. The capital city of Adadley *wereda* Hagere is situated 20 km from Godey town, and even there firewood is not within easy reach of the village.

The arrival of the returnees from Somalia after the collapse of the Siyaad Barre regime in 1991 has resulted in resource use competition between the Awlihan and Abdalla Tolomogge clans who had mostly stayed in the Ogaden after the Ethio-Somali war of 1977-78. More Awlihan than Abdalla Tolomogge had moved to Somalia. Both Awlihan and Abdalla Tolomogge returned to Godey at the beginning of the 1990s after the collapse of the Siyaad Barre regime. Trees and bushes around Godey town and along the Wabi Shebelle River were cut for construction and fuelwood and the area is now denuded of trees. Inhabitants of the settlements in Adadley and Godey *weredas* collect firewood within 10-15 minutes' walking distance, and river water at 20-30 minutes walking distance for a one-way trip. Water and firewood are brought home on the backs of women.

Mainly *teff* and *chat* are imported from the highlands into Godey and Adadley *weredas*. *Chat* is consumed primarily by Somalis and *teff* by highlanders. The bulk of the manufactured goods – clothing, canned foods, and even soft drinks pass through the Somali ports and emanate from the Middle and Far East. Traces of roofing material are not visible around Godey town. A promising trend is the export of sesame to Jigjiga and Dire Dawa by air. Agro-pastoralists are keen to grow sesame but their knowledge is limited.

The Abdalla Tolomogge had begun to establish land enclosures in the 1980s, and the Awlihan in the 1990s. Enclosures for livestock feed and for farming are found around both Awlihan and Abdalla Tolomogge settlements. This practice of increasing individual ownership of land is contrary to the traditional communal use of the land. The grass grown in the enclosures is cut and sold in markets or used as livestock feed. The enclosures are turned into farmland and are becoming common throughout Godey zone. There are enclosures for grazing or for grass production as opposed to cultivation.

5.2 Floods

Floods mostly affect the low-lying areas of Imi, Kelafo and Mustahil. Godey is also affected by floods caused by heavy rainfall in the highlands of Ethiopia.

The most significant floods in Godey in the past four decades include:

- *hidigsayley*:1965
- *soogudud*: 1966
- *kabahay*: 1978
- 2000: Immediately after the drought of 2000, several hundred animals were washed away by the Wabi Shebelle River.
- *dawdle*: In 2003 about 100 animals and 119 people were washed away
- In April 2005 Godey was one of the worst affected areas and many parts of the region remained cut off. About 30,000 persons were surrounded by floodwaters and 2000 camels and 4000 shoats werewashed away by floods. According to some people this was the worst flood in 40 years (*The Ethiopian Herald*, April 30, 2005).

Floods occurred every year before the 1960s. Animal and human losses resulting from floods occur all along the Wabi Shebelle River, from Imi in the west to Mustahili in the east. The tail of the flood does not touch Ferfer, as it is situated on higher ground.

6 Kinship Structure and Territory

Both Awlihan and Abdalla Tolomogge inhabit Adadley *wereda* while Godey *wereda* is inhabited by Abdalla Tolomogge (and other clans) only, but not by the Awlihan. The Abdalla Tolomogge are composed of 10 main lineages, namely Barer Saad, Aden Abdalla, Mahad Abdalla, Golaade, Ashantilis, Mohammed Abdalla, Seleban Abdalla, Abdi Abdalla, Rer Kassim and Hassen Aden (See Figure 2). The Awlihan lineage predominant in Adadley *wereda* is the Wafete. The Wafete sub-lineages are Geeldon, Yusuf, Mumin, Bah Nab Daw Wadil and Geddid (See Figure 1) The rest of the Awlihan lineages, which include Rer Afgab, Aden Kare, Hawis, Rer Ali and Sonkat, inhabit Afder zone and Hargele, Bare, Cherati, Imi, and Dollo Bay (see Figures 1 and 2). The numerically smaller clans that live within Awlihan territory are the Harti, Sharif, Abdille, Makahil and Lelkase. These smaller groups do not claim land but use the grazing and water resources of the Awlihan and live under their protection.

Urban land around Godey town and the Hagere settlement belongs to the respective municipality and is sold for birr 5.50 to 7.50 per m². The local municipalities sell land for building to prospective house builders. Sometimes the Barer Saad lineage of the Abdalla Tolomogge sells land around Godey town. The actual land inhabited by the Abdalla Tolomogge in Adadley *wereda* is situated along the western bank of the Wabi Shebelle River (*wabiga badhtanka*), stretching from Keke to Awro and the areas north of the Godey bridge and the Hagere-Hargele road as far as close to Imi *wereda*, which includes localities such as Al Bereket. The Wafete (Awlihan) inhabit areas stretching from Hidilole to as far south as the Kelafo border and areas west of Bohol Hagere as far as the border to Bare and Hargele *weredas*. The Abdalla Tolomogge claim the whole Adadley *wereda* and beyond as far as Kohle, 80 km from the Godey bridge on the Godey-Hargele road. The Wafete claim territory stretching from the western part of the middle of the Wabi Shebelle River to the boundary with the Rer Afgab (Awlihan).

Some Bah Gerri informants³ said that the Hawiye from Huddur (Somalia) had pushed the Awlihan northwards, as a result of which the Awlihan lost their grazing land and water points. The Awlihan in turn started to occupy Abdalla Tolomogge territory. Pastoralists normally move between wet- and dry-season grazing areas, and if they have access to wells, they settle there and after some time they claim the land. Some of the elders interviewed assume that the Awlihan are intruders into Abdalla Tolomogge homeland. An Abdalla Tolomogge elder said, “*Gel jire markuu furin helo ayuu furin labad daydayaa*” meaning, “when the camel boy gets one bread he asks for more”. Another elder said, “*Nin boqol doonaya iyo nin diidan farag weyn baa udhexeeya*” meaning “one provides 100 camels to another and the other rejects”. These two expressions illustrate the difficulty of resolving the issue of land ownership between the two clans.

³ Similarly, the Rahnwein in Wajid and Huddur (Somalia) are fighting against the Awlihan in the same locality over the Rabdhure wells situated on the border with Somalia. Between February and March 2005 about 18 Awlihan and 22 Rahnwein were killed in related disputes.

Let us examine the role that the lineage groups play when conflict takes place. For example, if a member of Aden Goal, belonging to Barer Saad lineage of Abdalla Tolomogge, kills a Rer Gedey (a person still belonging to Barer Saad), all the lineage groups of Aden Goal contribute blood money, which is about 100 camels or the equivalent in other livestock species. If a member of Fok Musa, belonging to Aden Goal, kills a person belonging to Aden Goal of Barer Saad lineage, Fok Musa and the rest from Harun, Umer Digod, Boho, and Ibrahim will contribute most of the animals. When the magnitude of the conflict increases, then all Barer Saad and Aden Abdalla will fight each other. If a member of Farah Geldoon kills a Rer Gedey member of Abdalla Tolomogge, the Geldoon consisting of Farah, Jama, Alamagan and Aden will contribute most of the animals supported by all five lineages of Wafete, which include, Yusuf, Mumin, Geldoon, Bah Nab Daw Wadil and Gediid. If it is a full-scale war then all Awlihan will contribute animals for blood money payment.

The territory under dispute is the whole Adadley *wereda* that is claimed by both clans. Each clan wants the other to move out of the *wereda*. The disputes that take place between Abdalla Tolomogge and Awlihan have resulted in the deaths of 93 people from both groups since 1947. The major issue at stake is land ownership. The conflicts were traditionally geared towards camel looting and later turned into disputing claims over land ownership beginning in 1947. After 1947 the Awlihan started pushing into Abdalla Tolomogge territory as a result of being pushed by the Hawiye from Huddur region of neighbouring Somalia. During these conflicts the degree of involvement of both groups varied from little lineage involvement in the fight to masses of people from both clans.

Based on the genealogical chart among the Wafete (Awlihan), Kamas could marry Khayr. Among the Abdalla Tolomogge, Aden Goal could marry Rer Gedey (see Figures 1 and 2). Intermarriage is practiced between Abdalla Tolomogge and Awlihan as well. Awlihan marry other clans and so do Abdalla Tolomogge. Both Abdalla Tolomogge and Awlihan do not marry and get married to minority groups, such as Rer Barre. There is only a cultural taboo against marrying Christians.

7 Natural Resources and Their Uses

The clan is the basis of the political organisation in the Somali region. Each clan has its own grazing area covered with grassland, bush, and shrubland, and the corresponding lineages have their own specific areas within easy proximity. The clan grazing area is accessible for all clan members and even outsiders upon request. Such requests occur when a group or an individual pastoralist faces problems such as drought, epidemics, conflict, etc. in his locality.

Decline in the availability of fodder for browsing and grazing has been observed by the Awlihan and Abdalla Tolomogge pastoralists ever since the 1972-74 drought. The respondents were asked to explain the percentage decrease or increase based on 100. What came out clearly is a great reduction in the availability of most important grass and browsing species (see also Jama Sugule & Walker 1998). Some grass and browsing species are on the verge of extinction and a few others are no longer available. Despite the decline in the availability of grass and browsing species, livestock numbers have increased because of animal health interventions by the government and NGOs. Vaccination is done regularly and some of the major diseases such as rinderpest have been eradicated. Drugs are nowadays available as contraband items from Somalia. But the milk and meat yields from livestock have decreased.

Table 3: Reduction in browse availability

Name of Plant in Somali	Perceived Change in Availability
<i>madheedh</i>	- 60%
<i>dhuur</i>	NA
<i>kabhan</i>	- 60%
<i>manyo</i>	- 80%
<i>hagar</i>	- 80%
<i>midhayo</i>	- 80%
<i>hadi</i>	- 95%
<i>adad geri</i>	- 95%
<i>aws</i>	- 60%
<i>go</i>	- 95%
<i>yamarug</i>	- 95%
<i>sifaar</i>	- 40%
<i>kaali</i>	- 20%

Source: author's field survey, 2005.

Table 4: Reduction in grass availability

Name of Plant in Somali	Perceived Change in Availability
<i>garawle</i>	- 80%
<i>dhikil</i>	- 50%
<i>jarbei</i>	- 40%
<i>lihiin</i>	- 90%
<i>dareemo</i>	- 85%
<i>dihie</i>	NA
<i>gagabo</i>	- 90%
<i>bile</i>	- 90%
<i>dayo</i>	- 90%

Source: Author's field survey, 2005.

To quantify change in the availability of grass and browsing species, informants were asked to describe change in availability in terms of percentage increase or decrease based on 100. The most important palatable grass and browsing species were considered.

Land enclosures made with thorn fences are mostly found around towns and settlements. In Godey *wereda* about 100 households have enclosures in one or two localities. The first enclosures were established in the 1980s and there was a tremendous growth of enclosures after 1990. A few enclosures also prevail in Adadley *wereda*, especially in the vicinity of Bohol Hagere. The enclosed areas are individually owned and used to grow crops. Rarely cut grass is fed to livestock from the enclosures. As compared with the surrounding areas, the enclosures are endowed with tall grasses and lush bush. It is common to see farmland in enclosures. The enclosures are used for grazing livestock directly during months of feed shortage. Grass is also moved and fed to livestock or even sold in Hagere and Godey towns. In regard to agricultural land, a member of a clan may cultivate land belonging to his clan provided it has not been farmed previously. Permission is required from the first person that initiated the farming.

Watering points are available in the form of streams and seasonal rivers in the wet season and wells and the Wabi Shebelle River in the dry season. In the same manner the clan inhabiting the area controls access to water points such as streams and rivers. Non-clan members have to ask permission to get water. Wells belong to the lineage groups who dig them. But clan members have access and non-clan members will also be allowed access. Any user can access the Wabi Shebelle River. The crossing of a river implies moving animals over cultivated land to reach a river. Animals sometimes destroy the cultivated land by trampling the crops. River crossings are made by users as cultivation is a relatively new phenomenon and very little of the area is used for irrigation.

In Adadley *wereda* there are 40 wells (*cell*) and 4 cisterns. ICRC and OWS have rehabilitated one and 3 wells respectively. The wells are 0.5 to 5 m deep. In Godey

wereda there are 29 wells, of which 2 have been rehabilitated by OWDA and 3 built by ICRC after 2000. An additional 2 were built by the South-Eastern Rangeland Project (SERP) in the 1990s. In most cases the water from the wells is salty, especially from the wells towards Denan *wereda*. The informants in Adadley *wereda* declined to tell the researcher the number of water points owned by Awlihan in the *wereda* as they considered this a sensitive issue.

In Godey and Adadley *weredas* water is not a constraint for livestock production. The main constraint is grass and browsing species. The water points are not closely situated in most cases. Livestock have to be trekked long distances to water points. The amount of cultivable land under pump irrigation is insignificant and the potential is untapped. Informants state that rainfall has been decreasing for the last two decades, which has a negative effect on the environment. Land that used to be covered with grass is giving way to bush and shrubland. Palatable bushes are encroached by unpalatable species. The Abdalla Tolomogge and Awlihan have their own clan land with wet and dry season grazing areas, water points and farmland. Each clan allows the other to use its grazing land, water points, and farmland upon request, even if the two clans are in conflict with each other. Amidst the violent conflict, there is a process of cooperation and symbiosis.

8 Relations Between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan

8.1 Current practices of customary law (*Xeer*)

The traditional Somali law called *xeer* governs the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan⁴. The *xeer* penalises individuals or groups for inflicting any damage or harm. The penalty depends on the degree of damage caused. Let us examine some of the modalities of *xeer* that prevail in Godey and Adadley *weredas*.

If fighting (beating) takes place between two persons and one is injured on the hand, leg or other body part, the first step to be taken is treating the wound with medicine and food at the expense of the culprit. The wrongdoer gives two camels, one for the injured and another slaughtered for the elders arbitrating the dispute. If two brothers from the same family fight each other, an animal, be it a fat camel or cattle or small stock belonging to the wrongdoer, will be slaughtered for the arbitrating elders who number between 2 and 10. The wrongdoer and the injured share the meat together. Another possible penalty is that the wrongdoer is tied by a rope and beaten with a stick while the injured observes the act. If a person touches the breast of a girl, the penalty is one gun to the girl's family. One incident related to touching the breast of a girl resulted in a fight where 17 Abdalla Tolomogge were killed. This happened many years ago. If a person rapes a girl, he has to pay 3 she-camels 3 to 4 years of age as a penalty to the girl's family. If an individual insults another person, the penalty is birr 500 or the equivalent in Somali Shillings. A head of sheep or goat is slaughtered for the elders belonging to both groups arbitrating the conflict. A small sum of money is returned to the culprit as well. Religious abuse (insulting one's religion) is a very sensitive issue. The culprit is taken to *sharia* court and is obliged to pay birr 100-300 to the victim. Similarly, in the case someone has insulted one's mother, the elders from both families pay a penalty of birr 100-300.

Conflicts are a frequent phenomenon and are usually contained and managed within the cultural set-up. After elders resolve a conflict, they appear in the *wereda* court and inform the court members about conflict resolution modalities and the case is recorded accordingly. All major cases managed by elders are documented in writing by the courts. The *diya* (blood compensation) regulation for killing is dealt with in Chapter 10. Unlike other parts of the Somali region, there is no *xeer* preventing the cutting of trees. Even gallery forest along the Wabi Shebelle River is thus devastated.

⁴ At El Bereket, also called Higilo, a woman was trying to beat a man with a stick. She was throwing stones into a tea shop where the author was holding a focus group discussion (March 2005). The man she was after was a participant in the focus group. Some adults struggled to stop her from approaching the man. What had happened was that the man had beaten her son and broken his tooth. Compensation had to be paid in terms of a two year old heifer. The guilty and the victim both belong to the Rer Godey lineage of Barer Saad secondary lineage of Abdalla Tolomogge. The compensation to be paid is small as both belong to minor lineage/*jilib*.

8.2 Relations between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan: Symbiosis and cooperation

Relations between Abdalla Tolomogge and Awlihan are initially explained in terms of cooperation and symbiosis.⁵ Except during times of intense conflict, which usually takes place for only a few days, cooperation between the Awlihan and the Abdalla Tolomogge continues. They depend on each other for livelihood and existence, and exchange relations animate cooperation. The Awlihan sell their produce such as livestock and livestock-based products, salt and gum to the Abdalla Tolomogge. The Abdalla Tolomogge in turn sell these products to consumers and traders. These resources are available in Awlihan areas such as Bare, Hargele and Cherati *weredas*. The han also sell firewood, grass for livestock feed, and roof thatching material to the Abdalla Tolomogge and other clans in Godey town. On the other hand, the Abdalla Tolomogge sell manufactured goods, shoes, grain, *chat*, and consumer goods (sugar, tea) to the Awlihan, which they get from Somalia and the Ethiopian highlands. Hagere village is newly established and requires services from Godey town. Let us examine a case study, which gives an impression of the historical symbiosis between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan.

Case 4:

Ahmed Aden, aged 78, belongs to the Mohammed Abdalla lineage of Abdalla Tolomogge and has two wives. He has four children from his first wife and five children from his second wife. At Agewein, south of Godey town, he cultivates 0.5 ha of land using irrigation, together with some Wafete lineage group members. In terms of livestock he owns two cattle and 100 shoats. Since his brother is aged he expects his uncle to marry his wives after his death. To marry his first wife he paid a bride price (*yarad*)⁶ of 7 cattle and 100 sheep and goats and only 6 cattle for his second wife. Mohammed's lineage group has not been in conflict with the Wafete. It has a history of living together with the Awlihan.

When any of the clans move to other territory beyond what is currently occupied, the migrants ask permission for grazing and water and they are granted access even if relations between them are tense. The only precondition is that the permission is temporary.

Marriage is practiced between some lineages of Abdalla Tolomogge and the Wafete among the Awlihan. The Mahad Abdalla of the Abdalla Tolomogge lineage marry the Wafete and vice versa. Rer Wa'ays of Wafete marry Rer Gedey of Abdalla Tolomogge and vice versa. An elder named Kelile Abdi reiterated that the Wafete and Abdalla Tolomogge are brothers and live together in settlements. Another Abdalla Tolomogge elder remarked that when the 1986 conflict took place between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan, "the adults you see here lost their fathers during

⁵ The Hawiye in Kelafo buy pumps from Somalia and Rer Bare provide the land and both benefit from growing crops. This symbiotic relation, but not equal relation, is also ascertained when the Owdak chased the Rer Bare from Kelafo during the EPRDF takeover. With support from the Hawiye, the Rer Bare managed to get back their land

⁶ The *yarad* varies from clan to clan and through time a case is recorded where some one paid 100 shoats, 10 camels and one rifle. The *yarad* among Awlihan is currently 10 cattle, 5 camels and one rifle.

the Biyoloo war. But a few of our lineages members have Abdalla Tolomogge wives”. He continued, saying, “We want to live in peace and harmony”. Among other dwellers traders belonging to Abdalla Tolomogge, Abdille, Bah Gerri, Awlihan etc. inhabit Godey town. The Awlihan traders in Godey town are always in contact with Abdalla Tolomogge traders and community members and thus bridge the gap between Abdalla Tolomogge and Awlihan clans. During the Ethio-Somali wars of 1962-63 and 1977-78, the Abdalla Tolomogge and Awlihan joined hands to fight the Ethiopian army. This behaviour is consistent with the segmentary character of the Somali clans and the process of fusion and fission between and among the clan lineages.

8.3 Relations between the Awlihan and the Abdalla Tolomogge: Land conflict

Between approximately 1900 and 1947 several incidents of conflict involving Abdalla Tolomogge and Awlihan took place. They were caused by the looting of livestock, especially camels. Elders from both groups can recall some of the conflicts that evolved at a small scale. Camel looting has been common among the Ogaden clans such as the Mohammed Zuber, Bah Gerri and Rer Isaak. Apart from the conflict between Abdalla Tolomogge and Awlihan, conflicts also take place between the Abdalla Tolomogge clan lineages⁷.

The following section concentrates on and recounts the major land conflict between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan. In 1947 at a place called Ane, north of Godey town, there was a conflict between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan, and one person from the Wa'ays of the Awlihan was killed. During the same year the Wabi Shebelle River was flooded and the plain (*banka*) was filled with water and the Abdalla had cultivated maize using the flood recession. The Awlihan wanted to put this land under their control. At Bokol Bar an incident took place in which 4 Abdalla Tolomogge belonging to the Aden Abdalla and two Awlihan belonging to the Wa'ays were killed. All these killings took place in the *gu* season⁸.

In 1949 the Abdalla Tolomogge raided the Awlihan to capture some livestock at Gerba Baqaqdha in *hagga* season. In the process 14 Awlihan and another 20 Abdalla Tolomogge were killed. Several others from both groups were wounded. The government did not interfere to stop the fighting and this conflict remained unresolved. In the same year at a place called Dhanawe during *gu* season, the Abdalla Tolomogge killed 6 Awlihan and the number of deaths from both groups was thus levelled.

There was no conflict over land that informants could recall in the period between 1947 and 1986. In 1986 the Awlihan asked the Abdalla Tolomogge to move east of the Wabi Shebelle River. While negotiations between the two were ongoing, some

⁷ The conflict between Hassen Aden and Rer Kassim is the result of Rer Kassim claiming land that is cultivated by Hassen Aden. All the secondary lineages of both groups are involved in the fighting. Another case of conflict is between Abdi Abdalla and Hassen Aden over the water wells between Denna and Imi. There is no conflict recorded within the Wafete secondary lineage.

⁸ The seasons are mentioned with the aim of linking seasons and outbreak of conflict.

Awlihan grazed the crop fields of Abdalla Tolomogge. The farms were rain-fed and situated far away from the river. The Abdalla Tolomogge killed 4 persons from the Geldoon lineage (Wafete of Awlihan) in revenge and within a week another 9 persons were killed. About 100 camels, 30 sheep and goats and 3 cattle were also killed by bullets. The conflict took place at a place called Biyoolow and lasted for 3 months during which a total of 67 Awlihan and 66 Abdalla Tolomogge were killed. Scores were wounded on both sides. According to Awlihan informants, the latter chased the Abdalla Tolomogge beyond the Wabi Shebelle River. On the other hand, the Abdalla Tolomogge informants remarked that they chased the Awlihan to the hills and mountains, west of Godey. One of the Abdalla Tolomogge elders, currently advisor to the *wereda* administration, Sirar Abdi Harad, lost two sons in the 1986 fighting.

In 1991 Aden Abdalla, belonging to Abdalla Otology, killed the brother of the current Adadley *wereda* administrator who belongs to Wa'ays of the Wafete (Awlihan). The killing took place in Godey town during the *hagga* period. The Abdalla Tolomogge paid compensation for the first phase of the blood money payment, *agas* (one camel) and *kafan* (white cloth for covering the dead body), yet failed to pay the rest. The immediate cause of the conflict according to Awlihan elders was hatred at an interpersonal level. An Awlihan elder remarked "*umal yahaas loo kabo yaa biyo loo tantoomaa*" which means "the anger you have for the crocodile makes you beat the water". This means he was killed for no reason other than hate.

After the collapse of the Siyaad Barre regime, many returnees, including Awlihan and Abdalla Tolomogge, came to Godey and were provided with relief food by UNHCR and DPPC. The Awlihan and the Abdalla Tolomogge started fighting each other and the UNHCR and NGOs found it difficult to continue the provision of food to internally displaced persons. The Awlihan thought that the Abdalla Tolomogge were cultivating their land across the Wabi Shebelle River. To curb the conflict, Ugas Abdirahman of Abdalla Tolomogge moved the Awlihan to Bohol Hagere in 1995, despite protests from the elders of Abdalla Tolomogge. The *ugas* made this concession in order to stop the fighting between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan.

In 1991 the EPRDF took power in Ethiopia and the Abdalla Tolomogge claimed ownership of the land cultivated by the 3000 settlers west of the Godey bridge. The Abdalla Tolomogge claimed the land now because they did not dare to do so during the *Derg* period. The settlers were told by the *wereda* officials to move to other areas within Godey *wereda*. The settlers did not agree and left to go to their home areas. The administrator of Godey *wereda* Merrad Layle, Godey zonal administrator Dulguf Meshekoke and Ugas Abdirahman, all belonging to Abdalla Tolomogge clan, after a short meeting and swearing in the name of Allah gave the land formerly cultivated by the highland settlers to Abdalla Tolomogge in 1991. The Awlihan were not involved in this meeting and did not agree with the decision, and conflict flared up at a farming area called Godere (in *hagga* season). Two persons from the Rer Gedey lineages of Abdalla Tolomogge were wounded, one by bullet and another by stick. None were wounded from the Awlihan side. Awlihan elders claimed that they did not know who initiated the conflict and that even after asking participants of the conflict they were unable to identify the culprits.

Subsequently, traditional elders from the two sides, Godey *wereda* officials, Godey zone officials and members of the federal military sat together for several days to resolve the conflict. The Awlihan paid compensation for the one person wounded by gunshot, the equivalent to the cost of one camel. Compensation for the person wounded by stick was not paid. The land issue was not discussed. As soon as government officials are involved in resolving land disputes, they tell people that land belongs to the government and that local communities can claim usufruct user rights only. The participants were only eager to look at the immediate cause of the conflict.

During this period Abdalla Tolomogge and Awlihan refugees were fighting each other in Huddur, Somalia. The militias of Abdalla Tolomogge killed 12 Awlihan and the Awlihan killed 12 Abdalla Tolomogge. Clan leaders and elders in Mogadishu initiated mediation and consultation, and an agreement was reached between the two clans to live together in peace. Between 1991 and 2003 conditions remained tense between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan, but there was no significant fighting elders could recall.

In 2003, Abdalla Tolomogge at a place known as Higilo in Adadley *wereda* killed two persons belonging to Bah Nab Daw Wadad of Wafete (Awlihan). Another person was also wounded by a person from Rer Gedey lineage of Barer Saad (Abdalla Tolomogge). The military played the role of peacekeepers and placed themselves between the two clans. Many people were arrested and the soldiers captured animals for some time until security was restored. Peace negotiations were carried out for nine days. The immediate cause of the conflict was a quarrel between individuals over a piece of farmland. To identify the killers, witnesses swore by the holy Quran. The aggrieved party and the killer swear in the presence of elders before embarking on conflict resolution process. They ask Allah to lead them in the right direction and help them pass the right verdict.

The pressure from the *wereda* administration, zonal officials and the federal military forced the Abdalla Tolomogge to pay blood compensation within 60 days. The *ugases* of the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan were involved in the negotiations. Five salaried elders (*lateliye*) and 5 other bush elders from the Abdalla Tolomogge and one salaried elder and 5 other bush elders from the Awlihan participated in the meeting. In this emergency situation, the Abdalla Tolomogge mobilised their resources and bought 200 four-year-old camels from the Godey market and handed them over as blood money compensation. The Abdalla Tolomogge had to make an announcement to other clans to bring their camels to the Godey market for sale. Camels were bought from Godey market at birr 1500 per camel. The close Waya'as families of Bah Nab Daw Wadad received 60 camels and the remaining 140 were shared among the members of the 4 Wafete lineages. The Awlihan elders received one gun each. The traditional procedure of blood money payment was not followed fully as the government officials were actively involved in the conflict resolution process. The government officials including the military gave more weight to modern conflict resolution mechanisms. The military has a lot of weight in these meetings and emphasis is thus given to formal government structures rather than traditional institutions. All parties signed the compensation agreement including elders from both groups, the injured, guilty, *wereda* officials, zonal officials and federal military. The

president of the region was on another mission and was invited to attend the closing meeting (see Annex 1).

8.4 Details of blood money compensation

Among the lineages of the Awlihan, when blood money is paid for murder a total of 44 camels are paid for a man and 22 camels for a woman. The blood money is 100 camels when Awlihan kill non-Awlihan. The payment of blood money also depends on the season. Payment in the dry season or drought period may be difficult due to the difficulty of collecting compensation from the concerned parties. If the livestock are in poor condition and the number of animals to be paid is high, payment is deferred to a later period. The procedures for payment are as follows:

Among the Awlihan:

Agas: one fat male or female camel

Kafan: white cloth to cover the dead body, a rifle and Birr 500. After these steps are taken, the following are paid:

Rafise: 11 female camels of 6-7 years of age

Warantiirs: 24 camels 4 years of age

Magdheer: 8 male or female camels

The payment is made in camels or its equivalent. The exchange rate is as follows (1 camel = 3 cattle, 1 camel = 40 shoats, 1 cattle = 20 shoats).

Let us see how the blood money to be paid is distributed among the lineage members. If a member of the Awlihan from the lineage of Bah Nab Daw Wadad kills someone outside his clan, the payment modalities are as follows: 30 camels are contributed by close family members, 40 camels by Gawsoole, and 20 camels by Waays and 10 camels by the 4 lineages of the Awlihan which include Geeldoon, Mumin, Yusuf and Gediid. Elders arbitrating conflicts also receive animals. If the number of deaths is great, then camels are collected from all clan members.

Within Abdalla Tolomogge:

A camel is slaughtered for the elders arbitrating the dispute.

Agas: one big male or female camel

Kafan: birr 500

Rafise: 10 camels (formerly milking camels) of any age

Magdheer: 90 camels four years of age

The duration of payment depends on the quality of available grazing and ranges from one to 12 months between the first and the last phase of blood payment. In the case of Abdalla Tolomogge the blood money is 100 camels for a man and 50 camels for a woman. Sometimes a woman is given to the other party instead of 50 camels in order to create an alliance through intermarriage between the groups in dispute.

What came out clearly from the conflicts between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan (1947-2003) was that blood money was not paid as the tradition requires and conflicts were not resolved. Other Ogaden clan lineages such as Makahil, Abdille and Rer Isaak have tried to bring the Awlihan and the Abdalla Tolomogge together to peacefully discuss their conflict, but they failed to do so. Thus retaliation followed upon retaliation between the Awlihan and the Abdalla Tolomogge. The Awlihan still claim blood money for the deceased brother of the current administrator of Adadley *wereda*. Now the Awlihan intend to raise this issue with the elders of Abdalla Tolomogge, *wereda* officials, zonal officials and federal military.

Other clan members such as Bah Gerri refer to the Awlihan, both those in Ethiopia and those in neighbouring Somalia, as more pastoralist, aggressive and hostile than the Abdalla Tolomogge and accuse them of encroaching on other territories in search of water and grazing. The agro-pastoralist Abdalla Tolomogge are more inclined to settle permanently and to engage in agro-pastoralism. Pastoralists like the Awlihan move with their animals to long-distance pastures, browsing and water points, and establish semi-permanent settlements. Even then they push further to have better grazing and water points. This movement is typical of nomadic Somalis' predatory expansion. In the course of the movement, they encroach on the territory of other clans such as Abdalla Tolomogge, which results in confrontation and conflict. Pastoralists such as the Awlihan often encroach on an area first and later claim that the land belongs to them. Nowadays one observes Somali pastoralists pushing the Arsi, Borena, Afar and Oromos into the Harar highlands. Unless the conflict between Abdalla Tolomogge and Awlihan is resolved, a bloody war is inevitable between the two contesting groups when there is a change in government and an institutional vacuum occurs.

Other oral sources state that the Ogaden group (Rer Abdille, Rer Isaak, Awilhan and Abdalla Tolomogge) inhabited the area between Korahe, Deghabur and Warder. As a result of population pressure over resources, the Awilhan were pushed by Rer Abdille to the west crossing of the Abdalla Tolomogge territory; and in turn, the Awilhan pushed the Degodia clan to the west and occupied the Degodia land, the land currently claimed by the Awilhan. In later years, the Abdalla Tolomogge pushed the Awilhan further west as far as Kohle but the Awilhan gained back their territory in due course. This case illustrates the constant fighting and taking over of others' territories, with corresponding bloodshed between the different groups, including Abdalla Tolomogge and Awilhan.

The conflicts between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan took place mostly in *hagga* and to a certain extent in *gu* season. The conflicts did not take place in stress periods like the *jilaal* season. Women and children under 18 were not involved and were not attacked during the conflicts between the Awlihan and the Abdalla Tolomogge. An exceptional case was during the Biyoolow war in 1986 when many lives were lost and women and children from both clans were killed.

The *wereda* administration consults the elders on issues of conflict but not always. Elders often reiterate “*Nin yar in tuu geed ke boodo ayuu talona keboodas*”, meaning “as a young man is able to jump over a tree, he may miss good opportunities for a solution”. Elders tend to think that the young people take quick action without considering the experienced elders. Finally, in regard to the role of government offices in conflict resolution, the *wereda* and zonal officials exacerbate the conflicts, as has been the case in Godey and Adadley *weredas*. The Godey zonal officials are mostly drawn from Abdalla Tolomogge, but include a number of other clan representatives from each of the zone’s *weredas*. The Godey *wereda* officials are Abdalla Tolomogge only, while the Adadley *wereda* officials are both from the Awlihan and the Abdalla Tolomogge.

8.5 External factors exacerbating conflicts

External factors, which influence the above-described conflict, include insecurity, civil war in Somalia, federal intervention and clannishness. The ONLF, which draws support from the Mohammed Zuber, Bah Gerri, Makahil and Otology clans excluding the Awlihan, operates in Fiq, Korahe, Warder, Deghabur and Godey zones, especially in Denan and Imi *weredas*. The movement of outsiders (non-Somali, also sometimes non-Ogadeni, for example Isaaq) in these zones is hampered. Some Al-Ittihad groups (Islamic fundamentalists) seem to operate in Fiq zone and the security situation has been deteriorating recently. The two movements are creating instability in the region and thus the flow of traffic and goods between Godey, Hagere and Jigjiga is hampered unless military convoys escort trucks.

Since 1991 neighbouring Somalia has been without a central government and instability has resulted in arms proliferation and a flourishing contraband trade in the Somali region of Ethiopia. Insurgent groups such as ONLF and Al-Ittihad have acquired their training in Somalia and infiltrated into Ethiopia. Political disorder in Somalia increased the availability of automatic weapons and as a consequence AK-47 rifles are abundantly available in the Somali region. Many Abdalla Tolomogge are actively involved in the ONLF but comparatively few Awlihan are. EPRDF cadres in the government structure indirectly control the regional administration. The representatives of the regional government in most cases have not provided solutions or have not taken action on pertinent issues in the Somali region.

“Clannishness” is predominant in the Somali region and results in competition over scarce resources and civil service positions. The locations where public infrastructure is built in Somali region are determined mostly by where the president of the region comes from. A case in point is the hospital in Cherati or the boarding school in Shekosh. High officials at regional level who facilitated the establishment of the infrastructure represented these two districts. Hargele, where the hospital was built, is situated in an inaccessible location without facilities such as water or electricity. Some elders say that a start should have been made to establish a health centre. Shekosh is a *wereda* with no facilities such as road, water or electricity. From a development perspective it is necessary to establish criteria for using the regional budget rather than sharing it on a clan basis.

9 Concluding Remarks and Recommendations

9.1 Concluding remarks

Abdalla Tolomogge and Awlihan elders have tried to mediate the conflict between the two groups by shuttling between Bohol Hagere and Godey. Some of the author's key informants were involved in the conflict as mediators. Awlihan elders say that the Abdalla Tolomogge should move to the eastern side of the Wabi Shebelle River and that they should return their land to the Awlihan. They also state that the Abdalla Tolomogge can use their land but cannot claim ownership over it. A final meeting between the two groups was concluded with a prayer. The Abdalla Tolomogge say they want to share land resources with the Awlihan and have more decision-making power at Adadley wereda level and live together with the Awlihan. On the other hand, the deputy wereda administrator of Godey, regional Awlihan members of parliament and regional Abdalla Tolomogge parliament members reiterated that the two clans should live in peace and harmony. They all stressed that there is no alternative to peaceful co-existence.

The following section briefly recapitulates the major findings of this study:

- Godey, Adadley and the surrounding *weredas* are more often devastated by drought than other *weredas* in the Somali region. The name Godey means “lowland” by comparison with the surrounding areas.
- With the introduction of land enclosures in the 1990s, Adadley *wereda* and the surrounding *weredas* started to transform their communal grazing land into semi-private land holdings. In the long run this may erode the use of communal grazing land in a society where land is communally owned and livestock individually owned.
- The environment has been made vulnerable and fragile due to the exploitation of natural resources for firewood and building material. The returnees from Somalia have damaged natural resources and the environment. There is no traditional *xeer* that protects the environment.
- Elders aggravate conflicts and beat drums. Ordinary pastoralists are not much worried about whom the land belongs to as long as they have access to grazing, farmland and water. The role of the *wereda* administrators is similar to elders who prefer turmoil in order to create recognition for themselves, thereby staying in power longer. The Abdalla Tolomogge and Awlihan elders and *wereda* administrators want to live in peace. Members of Barer Saad and Aden Abdalla of Abdalla Tolomogge are always saying, “let us live in peace with the Awlihan”. They seem to cherish good relations with the Awlihan.

- The blood money compensation was not paid after the conflicts and thus conflict continued to escalate between the Awlihan and the Abdalla Tolomogge. The blood money is 100 camels for both Abdalla Tolomogge and Awlihan when they have violent conflicts with outsiders. Withing the lineages of the Awlihan, the blood money is 44 camels and of the Abdalla Tolomogge it is 100 camels.
- The Awlihan have a more pastoralist lifestyle than the Abdalla Tolomogge and encroach on other's territories in search of water and grazing. The more agro-pastoralist Abdalla Tolomogge are inclined to settle in permanent settlements to practice agro-pastoralism.
- Pastoralists like the Awlihan move with their animals to long-distance pastures, and browsing and water points, and establish semi-permanent settlements. In the course of this movement, they encroach on the territory of other clans such as the Abdalla Tolomogge, which results in confrontation and violent conflict. Nowadays one observes Somali pastoralists pushing the Arsi, Borena, Afar and Oromos into the Harar highlands.
- The conflicts between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan from 1947-2003 took place mostly in *hagga* season and to a certain extent in *gu* season. The conflicts did not take place in stress periods like the long dry season (*jilaal*).
- Women and children under 18 years of age were not involved in past conflicts between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan. An exceptional case was the Biyoolow war of 1986, when all members of the household including women and children less than 18 years of age from both clans were affected by the fighting.
- The Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan have their own clan land with wet- and dry-season grazing areas, water points and farmland. Each clan allows the other to use its grazing land, water points and farmland upon request, even if the two clans are in conflict. Amidst the violent conflict, there is a process of cooperation and symbiosis.
- The Awlihan practice predatory expansion and have encroached on Abdalla Tolomogge land since the 1990s. The Awlihan formerly inhabited the area known as El Berdey in Somalia. When the Hawiye from Somalia pushed them northwards, they in return pushed the Abdalla Tolomogge. The Awlihan ended up on what was formerly Abdalla Tolomogge land. In the same way the Gerri, Merrihan and Degodia took over what is known as Borena land and pushed the Borena into the highlands. The Abdalla Tolomogge encountered a similar fate.
- Ethnic federalism enticed the Awlihan to form a new *wereda*, Adadley, and thus to gain a better political position in Godey zone than before. But Adadley is still not fully controlled by the Awlihan, as they have to share power with the Abdalla Tolomogge. There is disagreement between the two on power sharing in the district.

- The *wereda* sector offices are below capacity, below what is proposed under the current decentralisation programme in terms of staff and resources. The community is not receiving technical services in agriculture, human and livestock health, water, etc., by contrast with Godey *wereda*, and thus conflict is inevitable.
- A census was been carried out to inform the population on the basis of a demographically based power sharing arrangement between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan. Both groups complain of not being fairly represented at the *wereda* and higher administrative levels.

9.2 Discussion of hypotheses

On the basis of the author's assessment, the validity of the three hypotheses presented in chapter 2.2 is as follows:

Hypothesis 1: *Conflict transformation is enabled through the inclusion and participation of stakeholders who are not directly involved in violent disputes over natural resources.*

The hypothesis holds true for the case study. Conflicts between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan were not resolved or even contained prior to the involvement of different stakeholders (*wereda*, zone, federal military). The rudimentary conflict resolution mechanism in place balanced the number of deaths on both sides. With the involvement of different stakeholders, blood money was paid to the families of the deceased, lineage groups and clans for the first time in the history of the conflict between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan. This happened in 2003 when the Abdalla Tolomogge had to pay blood compensation numbering 200 camels for the killing of two members of the Awlihan. The involvement of elders, the military, district and zonal administrators was instrumental in the conflict resolution.

Hypothesis 2: *The integration of customary and modern procedures and institutions for conflict and resource management is an effective conflict transformation strategy.*

This hypothesis holds true for the case study with regard to conflict management. The state procedures only facilitated the blood money payment in a kind of emergency situation with shorter periods than normal. Except for forcing the Abdalla Tolomogge to pay in the traditional way, the land issue was not addressed and discussed. Only the traditional conflict resolution mechanism in terms of blood money payment is enforced.

Hypothesis 3: *Violent multiple resource user conflicts are settled through the exchange of differentiated bundles of property rights for diverse users in space and time.*

This hypothesis is not relevant to the case study where resource disputes are not resolved on the basis of differentiated bundles of property rights, but rather by dividing land among disputants. The core issue of the conflict between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan, which revolves primarily around the ownership of land and political

positions in the administrative structure on a secondary level, has not been resolved. The latter seems partly resolved as both groups are represented at *wereda* and regional parliament level. The land ownership issue has not been discussed.

9.3 Recommendations

- Training should be conducted in conflict management and resolution for elders, *wereda* and zonal officials involved in conflict resolution. The idea is to inject new conflict resolution mechanisms into old practices and thus to pave the way for the future. Avenues for the harmonisation of traditional and modern conflict resolution mechanisms should be explored.
- Farming technology and skills for farmers need to be enhanced. There should be effective extension services to give farmers a basic knowledge of crop production. The market infrastructure needs to be developed and different water harvesting technologies should be introduced.
- Community soil and water conservation should be enhanced in order to reduce soil erosion and environmental degradation.
- Introduction of agro-forestry activities is indispensable in Adadley *wereda* and Godey zone in general, in order to reduce the distance townspeople travel to fetch firewood and building material as well as to rehabilitate the environment.
- Awareness should be built among the community so that farmers are able to control pests and diseases that curtail crop production.
- Training is required for community-based animal health workers and mobile human health workers. A lot of effort is required in order for mobile health and education services to work. Agro-pastoralists need to be exposed to extension education.
- There is a need to organise a workshop for elders, *wereda* administrators, and *wereda* cabinet members to discuss the burning issue of land ownership and power sharing arrangements and to come up with solutions. The president and vice president of the region may participate in this meeting provided they do not belong to any of the two clans. The meeting should be held in Bohol Hagere. This approach may be better than simply taking decisions at zonal or regional levels. The idea behind this workshop is to create harmony between the clans so that they live in peace and share the water and land resources.
- In view of more appropriate power-sharing arrangements, a population census should be carried out in Adadley *wereda* by an external, neutral body. The proportions for representation could be determined by the results of such a census.
- A Somali proverb states: “*Hal boliya nerig halala medelesso*”. If a camel is bad (*haram*) its offspring will be the same. The gist of the matter is that if the problem is not resolved now the future may be bleak.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Translation of the Conflict Resolution Agreement between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan, followed by a Transcription of the Original Agreement (in Somali)

Somali Regional State

To whom it may concern

Sub-peace agreement

The conflict was between the two brothers Abdalla Tolomogge and Awlihan. As a result of the conflict, many people lost their lives, rights, democracy, and their development was impaired. In the process the lives of innocent people were lost and property was destroyed.

During this conflict two persons were killed from Wafate/Awlihan and the killers were Barer Saad/Abdalla Tolomogge. The elders on both sides agreed to resolve the conflict. The elders of both clans, the Godey zonal administration, and the federal military were involved in mediating the conflict and agreed on the following:

Points of agreements

The points of agreement are as follows:

1. Both lineages should solve the problem peacefully.
2. The Awlihan side should receive their blood money for the two members killed.
3. The Abdalla Tolomogge should pay the blood money as soon as possible.

How to pay the blood money

1. For each dead body 100 4-year-old female camels should be paid.
2. The *rafise* should be paid within 10 days and the rest of the blood money in 30 days, starting from 28/10/96 (Eth. calendar).
3. The lineage group who lost the two people should forget what happened to their people and should receive their blood money peacefully.
4. The killers of the Abdalla Tolomogge must pay the blood money within 30 days.

Resolution passed

The zonal administration, representatives of the military and the regional Bureau agreed on the following:

1. The agreement should be implemented within the time frame set up.
2. Any side that violates the agreement will pay a penalty of Birr 50,000.
3. The government must make sure that the agreement is fulfilled.
4. Starting from this, the blood money for a person killed from either side is 100 camels 4 years of age for a man or 50 for a woman.

Outcome of the agreement

1. Based on the points discussed above, both clans have taken the responsibility for security of the area/*wereda*.
2. Even though it has been difficult for the Abdalla Tolomogge side to pay the blood money, 200 camels 4 years of age were finally mobilised for payment.

Conclusion of the agreement

The elders of the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan have agreed on the following:

1. Both the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan should work for peace and security of the *wereda*
2. From now onwards, the blood money payment is 100 camels for a man killed and should be paid in two months' time.
3. Starting now, in addition to blood money, there will be a financial penalty of Birr 50,000.
4. For any clansmen engaged in instigating insecurity or stealing animals from each another, the penalty is birr 10,000.
5. In order to maintain peace, the agreement should be maintained and all outstanding issues should be handled peacefully and according to democratic principles.

**Abdalla Tolomogge elders who signed the peace agreement
(Full names + Signatures):**

1. Sheikh Roble Abdullahi.....
2. Mohammed Oman Shakul.....
3. Hudle Ba'ad Yusuf.....
4. Andi OwBile Jire.....
5. Sanweyne Muhumed Ahmed.....
6. Mohammed Hassan Falug.....
7. Sheikh Abdullahi Dakane.....
8. Mohammed Hassan Nur.....
9. Diriye Abdi Badul.....
10. Mohammed Abdi Ali.....
11. Haji Ahmed Soyan.....

**Awlihan elders who signed the peace agreements
(Full names + Signatures):**

1. Hassan Ghedi Hashi.....
2. Hussen Gaamey.....
3. Ismail Jerara Kirar.....
4. Mohammed Jerar Farah.....
5. Mohammed Yerow Abdi.....
6. Nur Madle Lag.....
7. Mohammed Al Hashi.....
8. Sheikh Mohammed Rage.....
9. Sheer Yusuf Abdi Kayr.....
10. Hassen Ow Gabby Mohammed

DAWLADA DEEGAANKA SOOMAALIDA

Taariikh:
8/12/96

KU: - Cidji ay khusayso

Ujeedo: - Heshiis nabadgaliyo

Khilaafkii soo jireenka ahaa ee ku saabsanaa Degmada cadaadle una dhaxeeyay beelaha

walaalaha ah ee aagaas ku wada nool ee cabdale-tolomoge iyo cawlyahan wuxuu keenay in ay shacabku waayaan xuquuqdoodii nabad galyo, dimuqraadyad, iyo horumarba.

Dhibaatooyinkani waxay galaafteen nolasha dad aan waxba galabsan waxaana ku dhumay hanti badan.

Dhibaatooyinkaal aan soo sheegnay waxaa oogu danbeeyay geeridii naxdintalahayd allah ha unaxariis ee kutimid labadii nin ee katirsanaa beesha cawlyahan gaar ahaan beel hoosaadka **reer waafate** dilka labadaasi nina waxuu kayimid beesha cabdalle-tolomoge gaar ahaan beesha **bah reer sacad**.

Hadaba si amaanka loosugo dhibkii dhacayna loo xaliyo waxay labada beelood isla gaadheen heshiis ay kasoo shaqeeyeen odayaal dhax dhaxaad ah, ugaasyada labada beelood, goobjoogna ka ahaayeen maamulka gobolka iyo wakiiada **ciidanka fadaraalka**.

Qodobadii heshiiskan

Qodbadii heshiiskan oo labada beelood isla qaateen waxaa kamid ahaa:-

- 1- Inay labada beelood khilaafkoc nabad galya ah ku dhameeyaan
- 2- Inay beesha cawlyahan qaataan magta labadii nin ee ka dhimatay
- 3- Inay beesha cabdalle tolomoge sida oogu dhakhsaha badan waafaqsanna shuruudaha magta loo dhigay kubixiyaan magta.

Sliurutidaha magata

- 1- magtu inaynoqoto ninkasta 100 (**boqol neef oo geel dliadig ah**)oo dhamaantoo **afar jir ah**.
- 2- in magta rafisaha ah lafu bixiyoi ioban bari gudahood magta oo dhana lagu dhamaystiro modo 30 (sodon maalmood ah) oo kabilaabanaysay **28/10/96** (labaatan iyo sideedii bishii tobnaan sagaashan iyo lix)
- 3- in beesha waxlaga dilay kusabraan dhibka gaadhay si nabad galiya ahna magta uqaataan
- 4- in beesha dilku kayimid magta ku dhamays tiraan mudada loo qabtay.

Goaankii goobjoogayaasha

Go,aankii goobjoogayaashii heshiiskaas ay beeluhu wada galeen oo sidaan horayba soo sheegnay ka koobnaa odayaasha beelaha dhax dhaxaadka ah, maamulka gobolka, wakiilada ciidanka fadaraalka iyo maasuuliintii kasocotay **Xafiiska Maamulka DDS** waxay isla qaateen qodobadan ay kuxoojinayaan heshiiska ay beeluhu kala qorteen.

- 1- in heshiiskaas lagu dhaqan galiyo mudada loo qabtay
- 2- in laga qaado talaabo sharci ah oo lagu ciqaabayo ciddii heshiiskaas jabisa laguna ganaaxo hanti lacageed oo dhan 50,000 (konton kun oo Bin-)
- 3- In ay dawladu lawareegto fulinta heshiiskan
- 4- Heshiiskan iyo wixii kadanbeeya labada beelood waxaa xeer u ah wixii dil ah ee kukala yimaada dhinaca raga 100 neef oo geel dhadig ah da dooduna tahay 4jir,

Natiijada heshiiska

- 1- ayagoo kusalaynaya dhamaan qodobadaan kor kusoo xusnay Iabada beelood waxay ku guulaysteen inay amaanka sugaan kana hortagaan wixii nabad galyada khalkhal galin karay,
- 2- in kastoo dib udhacyo dhinaca wakhtiga ah yimaadeen duruufo jiray awgeed beeshii magta laga rabay oo ahayd **cabdalle tolomoge** waxay siiyeen beeshii **cawlyahan** ee Iabada nin lagadilay 200 (labo boqol oo neef oo geel dhadig ah) da dooduna tahay 4 afar sano.

Gaba gabada heshiiska

Odayaasha beelaha **cawlyahan iyo cabdalle tolomoge** waxay kama danbaystii ku heshiiyeen qodobadan:-

- 1- in labda beelood kawada shaqeeyaan sugida nabadgalyada dagmada si wada jir ahna uga hortagaan carqalad kasta oo amaanka waxyeelaynaya isku dhac qabiilna horseedi kara
- 2- in haca iyo wixii ka danbeeya ay labda qabiil xeer utahay in ay kala qaataan dilka raga mag dhan 100 (boqol neef oo geel ah) oo lagu bixinayo mudo dhan
- 3- in hada wixii kadanbeeya beeshii dil gaysata boqolka neef ee magtaah kasokow laga qaado 50,000 (kontokun oo Birr).
- 4- In beeshii latimaada falal nabad galyada wax udhimi kara sida duulaan, dakano raadsi iyo ku xadgudub hanti da guud iyo tan gaarka loo leeyahayba laga qaado ciqaab maaliyadeed oo dhan 10 (toban kun oo birr) iyo toban qori
- 5- Si loo helo xal nabad galyo oo waara heshiiskanina unoqdo mi midha dhala in waxyaalaha aan wali lagu heshiin iyo cabashooyinka jiraba lagu xaliyo (saxo) si nabad galyo ah oo dimuqraadiyad ah.

Appendix 2: Summary of the study on the two clans

The Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awilhan inhabit Adadley wereda, while Godey woreda is inhabited by the Abdalla Tolomogge and other clans. The Abdalla Tolomogge are mostly agro-pastoralists and the Awilhan are predominantly pastoralists. The Abdalla Tolomogge claim the whole Adadley woreda and beyond, as far as Kohle, 80 km from Godey Bridge on the Godey-Hargele road. The Awilhan claim the territory stretching from the western part of the middle of the Wabi Shebele River to the boundary with the Rer Afgab.

Prior to 1947, the dispute was based on camel looting. As of 1947, the dispute became violent. Many people and livestock have died since then, including women and children from both groups, due primarily to the question of land ownership, but also to the political position of the area in the administrative structure at the secondary level. Even though the two clans have been in a state of continual conflict, amidst the violence there has been a process of symbiosis. Between 1991 and 2003, elders recall, conditions were tense between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awilhan, but there was no significant fighting. What clearly came from the conflicts from 1997 to 2003 was that blood money was not paid as the tradition required it and conflicts were not resolved. Thus retaliation followed upon retaliation.

The Awilhan elders say that the Abdalla Tolomogge should move to the eastern side of the Wabi Shebelle river and that they should return their land to the Awilhan. They also state that the Abdalla Tolomogge can use their land but may not claim ownership over it. On the other hand, the Abdalla Tolomogge have reiterated that they want to share land resources with the Awilhan as well as have more decision-making power at Adadley woreda level; they want to live together with the Awilhan. The deputy administrator of Godey, regional parliament members of Awilhan and that of Abdalla Tolomogge reiterated that the two clans should live in peace and harmony and did not raise the issue of land ownership. A source states that historically, the Awilhan used to live in El Berdey in Somalia, bordering Ethiopia. When the Hawiye from Somalia pushed them northwards, they in turn pushed the Abdalla Tolomogge further to the north. The Awilhan thus ended in what is known as the Abdalla Tolomogge land. In the same way the Gerri, Merihan and Degodia took over what is known as Borena land and pushed the Borena into the highlands. Other sources reiterated that the Ogaden group consisting of Rer Abdille, Abdalla Tolomogge, Awilhan and Rer Isaak used to live in present Somaliland. Later on the group were inhabiting the area lying between Koraha, Deghabur and Warder, and as the population increased there was fighting over resources – especially, in this case, between Rer Abdille and Awilhan. The Awilhan were pushed and migrated towards the south west crossing the Abdalla Tolomogge land and invaded the Degodia who were occupying the present Awilhan territory; the Awilhan also pushed the Degodia to the west. Later on the Awilhan were pushed as far as Kohle by the Abdalla Tolomogge, but the Awilhan fought back at a later stage, regained the lost territory and placed the land under their control.

Even though different groups say different things, each clan or sub-clan group wants to justify to outsiders that they are the true owners of the land they currently occupy since

time immemorial, and that the other parties are intruders. The same territory with land and water resources is occupied by different groups at different times, thus making it difficult to establish ownership rights. When is an ownership right a right? Should it be for several years ago or for the present period? The study illustrates a typical example of Somali predatory expansion on a small scale.

For the future, among several options there is a need to organize workshops/seminars for elders, wereda administrators and wereda cabinet members, to discuss the burning issue of land ownership and power sharing arrangements and to come up with concrete solutions. The idea behind these workshops/seminars is to create harmony between the two clans so that they can live in peace and share the water and land resources. An appropriate power sharing arrangement based on population census should be carried out in Adadley woreda by an external and neutral body.

Appendix 3: Figures

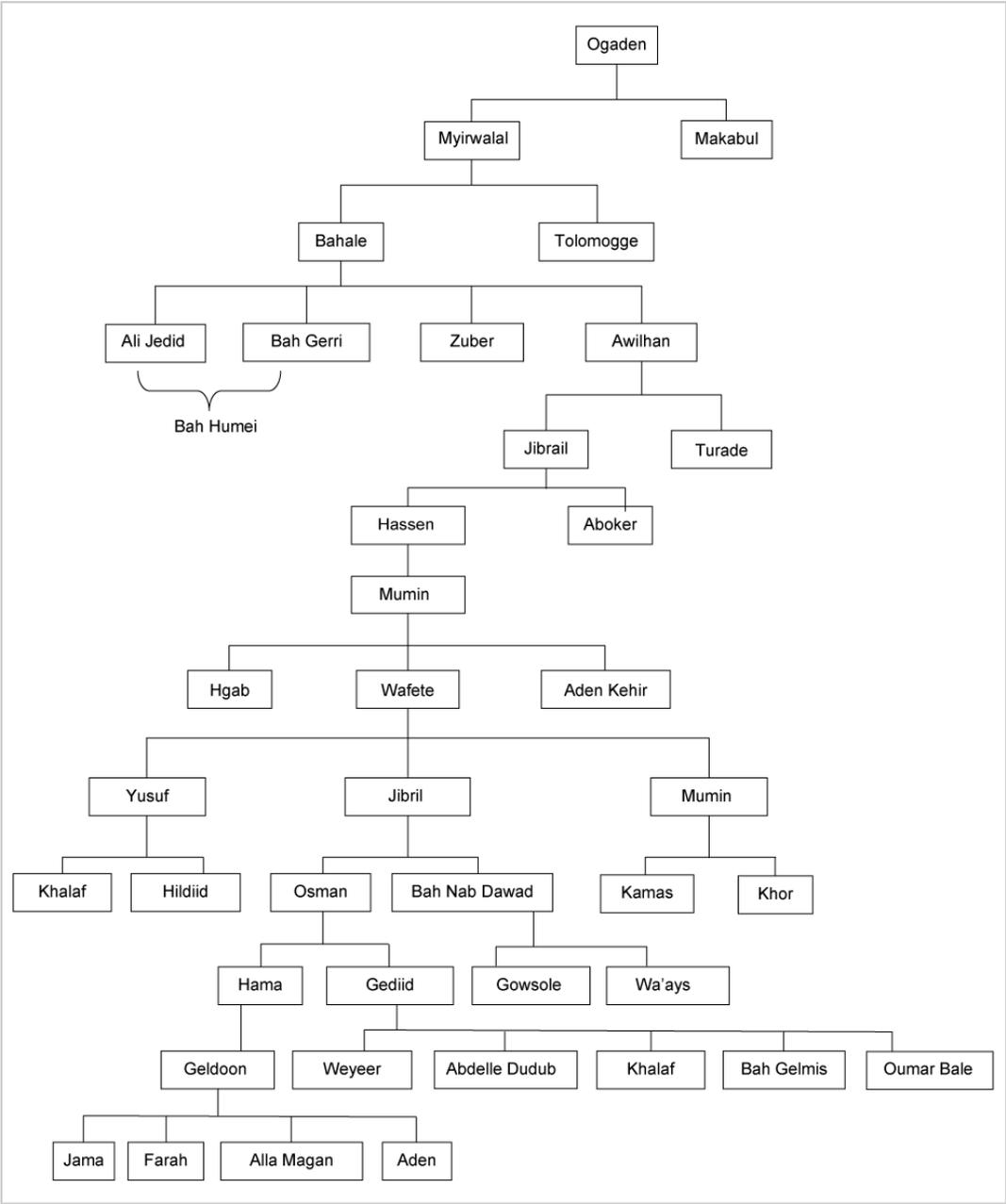


Figure 1: Clan geneology and lineages of the Awlihan.

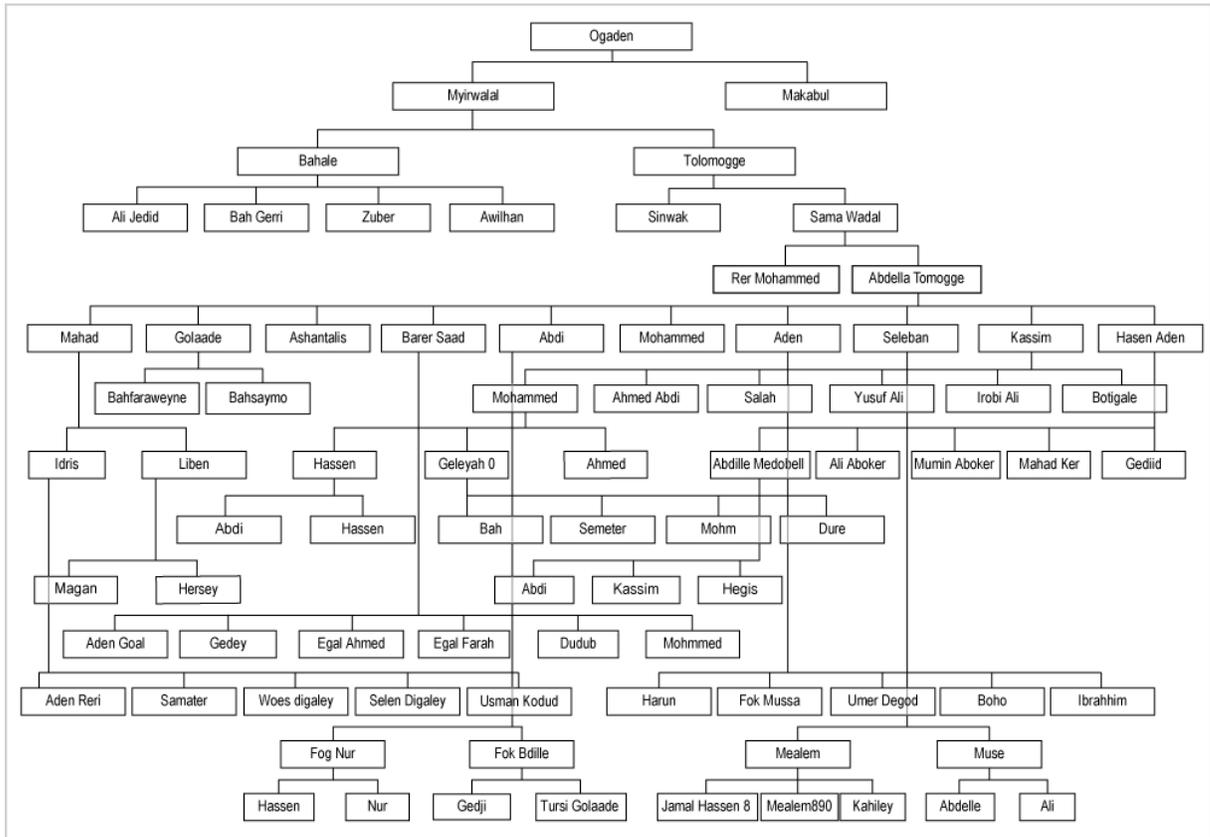
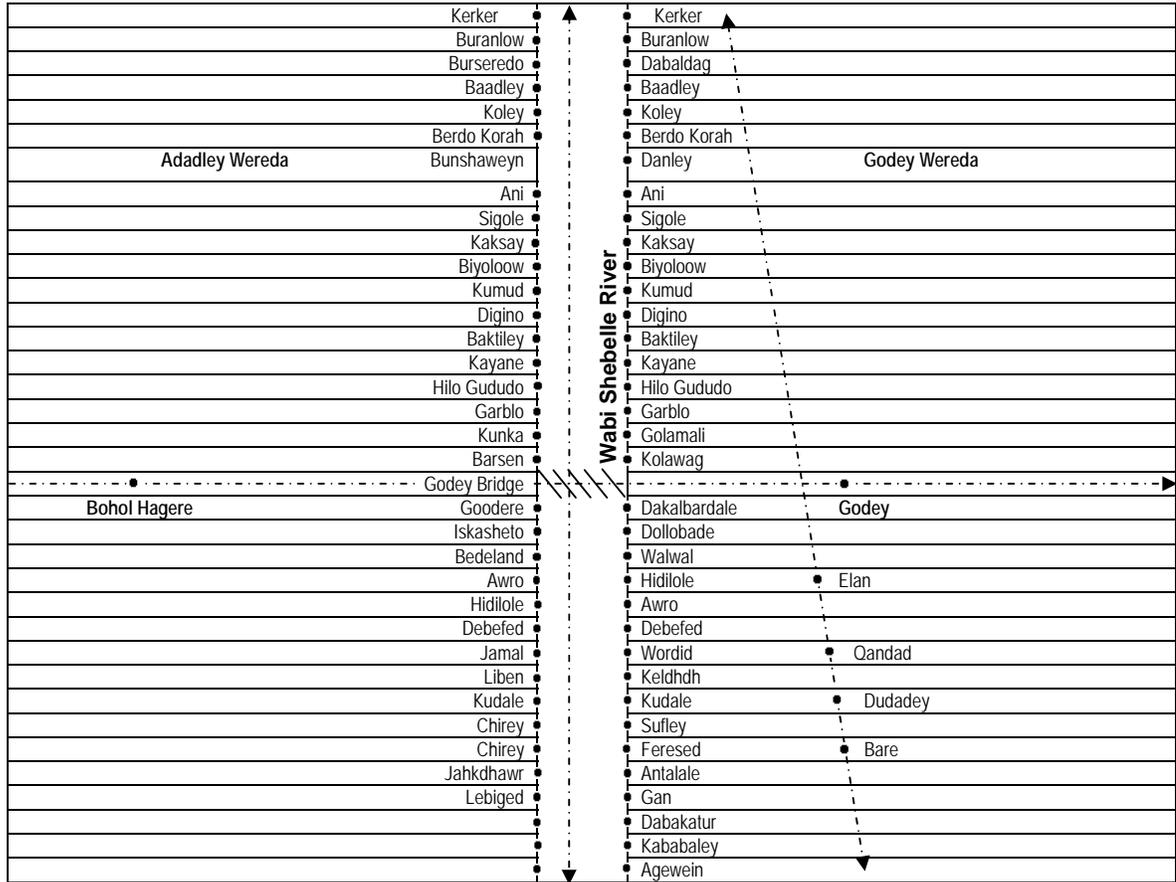


Figure 2: Clan geneology and lineages of the Abdalla Tolomogge.



NB. Adadley Wereda is situated in the west and Godey wereda to the east of the Wabi Shebelle River

Figure 3: Sketch map of settlements in Abadley and Godey Weredas.

About the Author

Ayele Gebre-Mariam holds a magister grade degree in Social Anthropology from the University of Bergen, Norway. His work experience includes research, planning, review, monitoring and evaluation of integrated rural development projects among farming, agro-pastoralist and pastoralist communities for ILRI, FAO, IGAD, NORAD, NEI, RNE AA, and international consulting firms and NGOs. He has written numerous working papers and articles in international publications on sociological and socio-economic aspects of livestock marketing, sustainable livelihoods, economic diversification, land tenure, conflict management and resolution particularly on pastoralist, agro-pastoralist and highland production systems.

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The present publication presents the results of a study that explored the conflict situation between agro-pastoralist and pastoralist clans in the Somali region in eastern and southeastern Ethiopia. The region receives insufficient rainfall and frequently faces droughts that cause shortages of food and water for humans and livestock, exacerbated by natural resource conservation and population pressure. Ownership of land and control of natural resources are unclear and contested, often leading to bloody encounters, retaliation and even annexation of other clans' land.

The study was based on three hypotheses: 1) Conflict transformation is enabled by the inclusion and participation of stakeholders who are not directly involved in violent disputes over natural resources. 2) The integration of customary and modern procedures and institutions for conflict and resource management is an effective conflict transformation strategy. 3) Violent multiple resource user conflicts are settled through the exchange of differentiated bundles of property rights for diverse users in space and time.

The first two hypotheses were confirmed, while the third was found not to be relevant to this case study: 1) Conflicts between the Abdalla Tolomogge and the Awlihan were not resolved or even contained prior to the involvement of different stakeholders (wereda, zone, federal military); involvement of government officials at different levels did not guarantee peace as such. 2) The state procedures only indirectly facilitated blood money payment as a temporary solution, but the land issue was not addressed and discussed. 3) Resource disputes are not resolved here on the basis of differentiated bundles of property rights, but may be tackled by giving use rights to disputants.

The NCCR North-South Dialogue Series presents reflections on research topics of concern to programme members throughout the world.

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