The Impact of Spatial Injustice on Ethnic Conflict in Ethiopia

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Abstract

Inequality and its increasing process is one of the obsessions of politicians and researchers of politics domain all around the world. In political geography terminology the issue is called spatial injustice. In fact, the main focus of spatial justice is identifying and expounding the political, economic and social factors and processes paving the way for injustice and also its consequences. African States affected by imposed and optional factors have the most multiethnic diversity and have also experienced most and dangerous ethnic conflicts in the world. Ethiopia is one of the African States which have experienced long range of ethnic conflicts. This paper using descriptive-analytic method is intended to expound the role-playing of spatial justice in the formation and continuation of ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia. In fact, the main question of the article is, what effect has spatial injustice had on ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia? The research findings show that ethnic conflicts affected by spatial injustice are categorized into two main categories: first, organized and continuous conflicts which are prevalent in Shinaiel and Afdar of Somali region in East of Ethiopia, Central State and OLF conflicts in Oromo and ARDUF conflicts with Ethiopian state; second, ethnic and tribal conflicts which are visible in different regions of Ethiopia.

Keywords: Ethnicity, Inequality, Spatial Injustice, Ethnic Conflict, Ethiopia.

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1. Introduction

In today's world, economic and social inequalities are visible as a developing and pervasive phenomenon (Lees,2010:1). The manifestations of inequalities can be measured in different individual, collective and spatial-place forms (Raghfar and et.al,2011:242). One of the main obsessions of the today's world which requires more attention of scientists in different domains and also politicians is spatial and place inequalities and its developing process. Every developed or undeveloped society shows more or less common landscapes of inequality in social life situation (Tahmasebi and et.al,2011:81). Justice and injustice emphasize on geographic or spatial facets of [in] equality, and as a starting point justice is fair distribution of resources creating power, wealth and opportunity. Spatial injustice is not helpful in characterizing being fair or unfair of a special event, but it addresses the dynamics of social, spatial, economic and political institutions in order to investigate their effects on production and reproduction of justice and injustice. The most important foundation of spatial injustice is the inequality of participation in power, which leads to inequality in access to opportunities (Ghaderi Hajat and et al,2022:2).

The theoretical approach of this article is spatial justice and its impact on ethnic relations and actions. Since spatial justice can be traced at the micro and macro levels, one of the most important areas in which this theoretical approach can be applied is the analysis of ethnic relations from interaction to conflict. This approach is a good framework for understanding relationships. Because this approach can be used in three aspects: structural, distributive and integrated. In the structural approach, most of the roots of spatial justice and injustice are considered, and in the distributive approach, how to distribute the empowering values of society, especially development indicators, is considered. Finally, in the combined framework, both previous approaches can be used simultaneously.

Ethnic and identity conflicts as one of the prevalent and violent conflicts in the world are affected by different factors. Rapid environmental degradation, violence against living creatures, militarism, and promotion of violent ideologies are the main consequences of this ominous phenomenon in 21th century. Kumar (1994), Oslo Peace Research Institute researcher put that although the end of the Cold War have helped to remove some forms of violence like nuclear wars among the powers, but it also increased in internal conflicts such as ethnic conflicts.

Modernization and in particular industrial modernization based on national economic growth results in imbalanced development and its continuation and deepening. Other facets of modernization such as spread of information and communication, book riding and social mobility along with depended deprivations result in ethnic awareness which can be controversial. Modernization can increase in ethnic conflicts due to internal contradictions in imbalanced development and increase in ethnic awareness (Maghsoudi, 1998:136).

Ethnicity and its effects on social, economic, political and security affairs are so essential in proper understating and analyzing African States issues. African States affected by imposed or optional factors have the most diverse ethnic societies in the world and have also experienced most and dangerous ethnic conflicts in the world. Ethnic conflicts are more tense and sharp in Africa, because ethnic diversity is along with different factors such as lack of effective central authority, improper use of military forces, militarism and arms accessibility and also weakness in spatial injustice.

Ethiopia is a landlocked country at the East of Africa called Horn of Africa Region with 1127126 km2 (Milkias,2011:3), 112 million population (United Nations,2019:14) and has more than 100 ethnic groups (Gillespie,2003:71). Ethiopia is one of the African States that have experienced different intra-state conflicts such ethnic and tribal conflicts, religious, border and territorial conflicts. Among 8 conflicts occurred in Ethiopia, 4 of them were related to ethnic and tribal conflicts or among ethnic groups and the central state (Mirzaei Tabar,2017:276-283). In recent years, conflicts in Somalia region, ARDUF conflicts with the state, OLF conflicts with the state (Mirzaei Tabar,2017:361-361), conflicts in Southeast and Southwest of Ethiopia and conflicts between Oromiya and Somali region in Ethiopia have been affected by ethnic discrimination factors and lack of or weakness in establishing spatial justice (Mirzaei Tabar,2017:368). By investigating ethnics' spatial distribution and also their relations in Ethiopia, this paper is intended to address the effects of these relations from view point of justice and lack of or weakness in spatial justice in production of violence and conflict.

2.Materials and Methods

The research is qualitative in its method, and the data gathering procedure is based on library findings. Data analysis is done qualitatively. This paper

intended to expound on the role-playing of spatial justice in the formation and continuation of ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia.

3.Theoretical Principles and Framework
3-1. Literature Review
Sarah Vaughan (2003) in her PhD thesis entitled "Ethnicity and Power in Ethiopia" at the university of Edinburg investigated the causes of identifying ethnicity as a basis of state building in Ethiopia and the evolutions in politicization of ethnicity and ethnic identity before and after the establishment of ethnic federalism in 1991. She characterized the past heritage, resources, history and the created causes following historical events and the experiences related to perception of ethnicity and power in Ethiopia.

Christophe Van der Beken (2007) in an article entitled "Ethiopia: Constitutional Protection of Ethnic Minorities at the Regional Level" investigated the capacity of federal structure of Ethiopia to include ethnic diversity and adjustment of ethnic conflicts. He concluded that establishment of federal structure was essential for Ethiopia; none of Ethiopian regions are homogenous, ethnically and there is ethnic diversity, so he analyzed regional mechanism to evaluate the capacity of Ethiopian state structure to realize ethnic solidarity (Der Beken,2007:105-151).

Bezawit Beyene (2011) in an article entitled "Ethnicity, Ethnic Conflicts, and Secessionism in Ethiopian Politics" investigated ethnic diversity and its role in ethnic competition and conflict in Ethiopia. He put that each political groups and state after coming to power has put its power on ethnicity which has caused in ethnic competition and conflict in Ethiopia, and also, he investigated the current dynamics in the paths of conflicts and separatism based on ethnicism in Ethiopia, and proposed some suggestions to promote the state situation.

Tigist Kebede Feyissa (2014) in his Master thesis at the University of Tromso entitled "Conflicts among Pastoralists in the Borana Area of Southern Ethiopia: The case of Borana and Garri" investigated conflicts among pastoralists in the Borana Area of Southern Ethiopia with focusing at Borana and Garri people in order to evaluate essential factors in creation, development and evolution of the conflicts between the two groups from 1990. By studying political and historical evolution of Ethiopia in relation with conflict among pastoralists' societies, he analyzed the conflict benefiting from national discourse on ethnicity and local realities. The

author knew historical, political and economic factors as driving factors of violent conflicts and argued that these conflicts are in relation with autonomy and land ownership issues, because the new state's constitution saw ethnics groups equal with civil divisions.

3-2. Theories on Politicization of Ethnicity

There are different theories about politicization of ethnicity and some of theories are presented below regarding the article main focus on the relation between spatial justice/injustice and ethnic conflicts:

Table (1): Theories on Politicization of Ethnicity

Title of Theory	The Main Proposition
Internal Colonialism Theory	The existence of ethnic gaps is reflection of imperialistic dominance of an ethnic group on other groups that are promoted by bureaucratic and state institutions (Ahmadi, 1997: 66).
Rational Choice Theory	Cost and benefit measurements have an important role in ethnic conflicts among majority and minority groups.
External Interventions Theory	This theory emphasizes on foreign interventions and in particular global powers interventions in other states' affairs and their role in increase in ethnic issues and ethnic conflicts to political uses in line with their own interests.
Competition Over Resources Theory	Competition among different groups over power, wealth, honor and etc. is the main cause of the ethnic conflict.
Relative Deprivation Theory	Relative deprivation of ethnic groups causes ethnic unrests and conflicts between minority and majority.
Modernization Theory and Increase in Ethnic Awareness	This approach emphasizes on the increasing process of ethnic crises and cultural identification, and knows increase in communications as a basis for ethnic and cultural awareness and finally ethnic unrests.
Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict	Based on this theory, nationalism not only emanates from ethnic awareness and sense of exclusion and inclination to independency, but also is powerful sense of belonging to ethnic identity and sees others as rival, enemy and neural and paves the way for ethnic conflicts and ethnicism.
Milton Icemen Theory	The state promotes ethnic consolidation and its politicization, because it is the main institution in characterizing the values inside the society.

(**Source**: Talebi and karimzade,2018:72. with some modifications)

3-3. Conflict and Ethnic and Tribal Conflicts
Conflict is a process started from perception opposition on vital and key interests and issues from micro to macro and from personal to state levels and it is promoted due to continuation and unsettlement among the parties and it is developed and find vast facets and results in violence and causalities (Mirzaei Tabar,2017:34-35). Since, ecological and social factors are the fundamental origin of the formation of tribalism (Kaviani Rad and et al,2021:151). Ethnic conflict is a type of conflict in which at least interests of one of the parties are defined in an ethnic framework, exclusively and the front is confrontation based on ethnic differences. Namely, one of the parties claim that its different ethnic identity is the cause of lack of realization of its interest, lack of equal rights and lack of access to the claims. In other words, in ethnic conflict as a type of group conflict, at least one of the parties seeks the causes and solutions based on real or perceptional ethnic discriminatory divisions (Cordell and Wolf,2014:16). Some knows ethnic conflict as offensive or defensive reaction of an ethnic group against other ethnic group that one of the parties has the control of power and its goal is realization of ethnic cultural, political and economic interests. Based on this definition, the ethnic conflicts in which the states are not effective in that conflict and conflicts which the states do not have ethnic basis, are not included in ethnic oppositions (Pakseresht,2008:44). One of the prerequisites of ethnic conflict emergence is existence of an ethnic society living inside of the state. Because ethnic conflict is based on ethnics' competition over political power and authority and it is essentially in relation with the state's entity. From other hand, ethnic conflict requires situation in which one of the ethnic groups feel discrimination and exclusion. This situation can be sense of grievance against power distribution among ethnic groups forming the state or sense of discrimination. If there is no possibility of settlement of the problem in the political or legal frameworks or there is sense of lack of possibility of reform, it possibly will lead to violent conflict (De Nevers,1993:32).
Based on the definition of conflict and ethnic conflict presented above, in a scaling from the stages leading to the ethnic conflict, the main level of conflict includes "soft conflict" with the index of competition over interest and power resources; "semi-hard conflict" with the indexes of claiming, share- claiming and civil protests; and "hard conflict" with the indexes of ethnic clashes and fights and armed conflict (Talebi and Karimizade,

2018:80). Two levels would be added to these levels as follows: "mental level" with the index of deprivation and historical tyranny; and "verbal conflict" with the indexes of personal and group contraversy. Each ethnic conflict can be categorized into these 5 levels regardless its location.

Table (2): The levels and Indexes of Ethnic Conflict

Level of Conflict	Indexes of Conflict
Mental Level	Deprivation and Historical tyranny
Verbal Conflict	Personal and Group Contraversy
Soft Conflict	Competition over Interest and Power Resources
Semi-Hard Conflict	Claiming, Share- Claiming and Civil Protests
Hard Conflict	Ethnic Clashes and Fights and Armed Conflict

(**Source:** Talebi and karimzade,2018:80. with Some Modifications)

3-4. Justice and Weakness in or Lack of Spatial Justice

Justice and weakness in or lack of justice emphasizes on geographic or spatial facets of this issue and as a starting point justice is fair distribution of resources creating power, wealth and opportunity. Spatial injustice approach is not helpful in characterizing being fair or unfair of a special event, but it addresses the dynamics of social, spatial, economic and political institutions in order to investigate their effects on production and reproduction of justice and injustice. In fact, spatial justice main focus is characterizing political, economic and social processes and factors which results in weakness in justice or injustice as their final form and outcome.

The term "spatial justice" has not been used much until the last few decades and even today, geographers and planners are trying to prevent the use of the spatial attribute to seek justice and democracy in contemporary societies. Fundamentally, the spatial justice is either ignored or engulfed in other relevant concepts such as territorial justice, environmental justice and urban inequality (Soja,2009:1).

According to Soja Spatial justice is the point of intersection of space and social justice that addresses the spatial or geographical aspects of justice. Spatial justice includes the fair distribution of valuable resources and opportunities in the community and can be considered as result and process (Chapman,2007:4).

Spatial justice is best understood as an analytic lens that illuminates the ways in which "space" - a term denoting the location of things relative to each other – participates in the formation of justice claims. Spatial justice is

a concept already deployed in geography and urban planning, yet it is most frequently understood as a normative evaluation: that any particular space is just or unjust (Williams,2018:6).

Spatial injustice can be seen as imbalanced distribution of opportunities, facilities and power in the space. Spatial injustice means unfair distribution of opportunities, facilities and power in the space. Spatial inequalities can be inequalities among city and rural, small and big cities, deprived and wealthy regions. Spatial inequalities cause space not be used, optimally and lack of optimal use of space paves the way for poverty promotion in some regions, weakening national and society solidarity, lack of optimal and voluntarily allocation of human resources and in particular specialized human resources in the regions, irregular immigrations and lack of optimal distribution of population in the space. In general, spatial inequality increases in the possibility of poverty, unemployment, marginalization, immigration and injustice. Also, inequality causes damages to national integrity and suspension in public development. Injustice and unequal distribution of social achievements deepen class gaps, weaken national will and try and activity and increase in physiological damages of the society. So, human sense and perception of spatial justice dominant on life environment affect different facets of life and his/her behaviors and transactions (Ghaderi Hajat and Aftabi,2019:99).

3-5. Weakness or Lack of Spatial Justice and Emergence of Conflict

From view point of political geography, if spatial inequality is formed among the different regions of a state and it is institutionalized as dominant pattern of the relations, sense of marginalization and poverty is increased among citizens of the different regions and the situation is prepared for the emergence of divergent forces. So, taking unfair policies in different scales ranging from local to global bring weakness in or lack of spatial justice and its main characteristic is lack of optimal access of all citizens to opportunities, political-executive power, wealth and national benefits in different arenas which result in the formation of imbalanced pattern of power distribution and inequality. Formation of imbalanced pattern of power distribution, progress and development is centralized and contradictions are promoted and spatial justice is formed as a decisive result of the above process. By institutionalizing weakness in or lack of spatial justice internal gaps are blurred and objective and subjective distances among geographic space's citizens are increased; this results in increase in

discontents and protests potential against the status quo and threatens the state. Existence of gaps and inequalities in development bring discontents and unrests which undermine national solidarity, because citizens of inhegemonious geographic regions do not benefit from change in local and regional loyalty to national loyalty. So, it is hard to obey national solidarity. Then, it can be claimed that space and regions spatial behavior is natural reactions of the regions to the policies taken by planning and policy making system. The model (1) shows this issue:
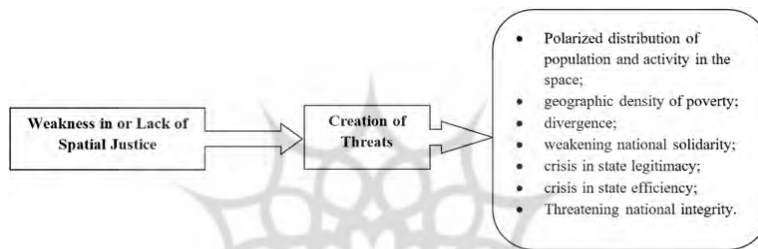

Figure (1): Model Reflections of Weakness in or Lack of Spatial Justice

Seperation has a systematic and process-based nature that can be categorized into the following statements :
1. perception of exclusion and social-political isolation;
2. sense of being secondary citizenship in human ethnic group and structure;
3. development of political ideology among ethnic group;
4. creation and development of public awareness of that sense by cultural elites like poets, musicians, artists and laying the groundwork for the formation of political ideology;
5. development of trusteeship of the political players and increase in coordination in political ideology and intra group solidarity ;
6. formation of political action (conflict) by political and cultural elites of minority group with central state and national majority group;
7. development of conflict and change in power balance in favor of a separatist group;
8. Establishment of a new political space as a state (like South Sudan) (Hafeznia,2014).

4.Results

4-1. Human Geography of Ethnic Groups in Ethiopia

There are about more than 100 ethnic groups in Ethiopia (Gillespie,2003: 71). The state has recognized 64 ethnic groups that the main groups are as follows:

1. Oromo ethnic group who are the main settlers of central regions of the country and live in Amhara, Banishangoul-Gomouz, Oromia and Somalia. Oromo is the main ethnic group of Ethiopia sharing up to 34.5 percent of the population, but do not have political power (Marine Corps Intelligence Activity,2014:45-46). The people of this ethnic group are Orthodox Christian and Muslim, equally (Gillespie,2003:72).

2. Amhara ethnic group which share of 12 percent of the population living in Northwest of Ethiopia and in Addis Ababa, Afar, Amhara, Banishangoul-Gomouz, Dir daveh, Gambola, Oromia, Tigray and SNNP who have the political authority. Political authority of Amhara has caused Ahmahara language to be official in Ethiopia and has caused separatist movements to be formed by Oromo ethnic group (Marine Corps Intelligence Activity,2014:45-46).

3. Somali ethnic group who lives in low-height regions of Southeast (Gillespie,2003:71) and in Dir Daveh, Oromia and Somali. It share of 6.2 percent of the population and are Muslim, mainly (Marine Corps Intelligence Activity,2014:45-46).

4. Tigray ethnic group sharing of 12-15 percent of the Ethiopia population lives in Northern elevated territories (Gillespie,2003:72) and are mainly settled in Addis Ababa and Tigray (Marine Corps Intelligence Activity,2014:46). Based on 2007 statistics, 96.7 percent of the population is Christian and 2.9 percent is Muslim (Milkias,2011206-207).

5. Sidama ethnic group with 3 million people lives in Oromia and SNNP regions.

6. Guragie ethnic group with 1.9 million people lives in Addis Ababa, Oromia and SNNP regions.

7. Welaita ethnic group with 1.7 million people lives in Oromia and SNNP regions (Marine Corps Intelligence Activity,2014:46).

8. Afar ethnic group who is a small ethnic group, but it is important ethnic group, because they are located at the area between Red Sea and the elevations that some part of the region received semi-independence

before 1974 revolution. Based on the 2007 statistics, Muslims share of 98 percent of the Afar population (Milkias,2011:216).

9. Saho ethnic group who are Muslim, mainly and lives in Tigray region. Some people are also Orthodox Christian affected by Tigray culture.

10. Agaw ethnic group who lives in some regions of Gujam in the west to the Tigray in the north (Milkias,2011:218).

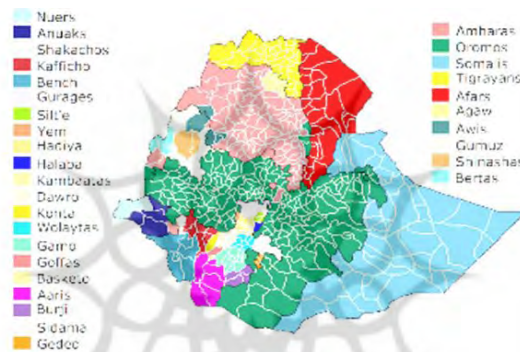For more details distribution of Ethnic Groups in Ethiopia can be show in figure (2).

Figure (2): Map Nationality/Ethnicity Map of Ethiopia
(**Source**: https://www.reddit.com/r/MapPorn/comments/gfbc5m/nationalityethnicity_map of Ethiopia/)

4-2. Ethnic and Tribal Conflicts in Ethiopia
4-2-1. Organized and Continued Conflicts
4-2-1-1. Conflicts in Shinaiel and Afdar Areas of Somali Region in East of Ethiopia
Shinaiel is one of the 9 areas in Somali region that is located at the northeast of Ethiopia and northwest of Somali (Ferew,2008:18). In 2009, this region faced with conflict among Aysa and farmer pastoralists of the region of Hawiya over choosing Mulu city as an administrative center of Mieso-Mulu. Mulu is located at the Hawiya region. Aysa access to the animal's market were limited which lasted until 2010 (Catley and Iyasu,2010:50-51). From 1990 the most popular conflicts in Shiinaiel have been as follows: ethnic and tribal conflicts between pastoralists ethnics of Afar with Aysa; conflict between pastoralists ethnic group of Aysa with farmer- pastoralist ethnic group of Gedabursi; conflict between pastoralists ethnic group of Hawiya with Aysa; conflict between Afar ethnic group with farmer- pastoralist ethnic group of Oromo; conflict between Aysa and Oromo; conflict between

Hawiya and Oromo; conflict between Aysa and Gedabursi; intra-ethnic conflict in Gedabursi and intra-ethnic conflict in Aysa ethnic group. Also, the most important conflicts in Afdar region are as follows: ethnic conflict between Degodia and Gerrire pastoralists; conflict between Hawiya and Oromo farmer- pastoralist ethnic groups; conflict between farmer-pastoralist ethnic groups of Magarre and Dhaweed from ethnic of Oromo; conflict between farmer- pastoralist ethnic group of Sheikash and pastoralist ethnic group of Ogaden; conflict between farmer- pastoralist ethnic group of Duube and pastoralist ethnic group of Afgab; conflict between pastoralist ethnic groups of Afgab and Garumarre; conflict between Afgab and farmer-pastoralist ethnic group of Gerrire and conflict between Afgab and Dhaweed (Richards and Bekele,2011:27-32).

4-2-1-2. Conflict between Ethiopian State and Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) in Oromo Region
OLF claims autonomous for Oromiya as vast Oromiya region and independence from Ethiopia. This group declared its existence in 1973. From 1973 OLF has tried to get independence for the region of Oromo ethnic group and separation from Ethiopia and has had armed operations against Ethiopian state. The most important of these occurred in 1994-1995 and from 1998 until 2008.

4-2-1-3. Conflict between Afar Revolutionary Democratic Unity Front and Ethiopian State
Afar ethnic group is a pastoralist and nomad which is scattered in border regions of Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somali and Eritrea. Their tries to defend their rights in Ethiopia back to the 1975. This ethnic group believes that their rights are violated and ARDUF is a try to realize their rights (Petrini,2010: 10). ARDUF was established in 1993 united three groups including Afar Revolutionary Democratic Unity Union, Afar Ummatah Demokrasiyyoh Focca (AUDF) and Afar Revolutionary Forces (Shinn and Ofcansky,2013: 27). The main root of the formation of ARDUF was separation of Eritrea from Ethiopia which caused Afar ethnic group to be divided that caused in grievances for this ethnic group (Tronvoll,1999:1050). This front is intended to unite Afar ethnic group under a flag, independence (Shinn and Ofcansky, 2013:27) and creation of a state with the presence of Afar ethnic group who is in conflict with Ethiopian state to reach this goal (Tronvoll,1999:1050). This front did some operations against Ethiopian state after separation of Eritrea from Ethiopia that 1996 operations were the most important among them (Petrini,2010:10). In 2003, this front converted to as part of a political group namely United Ethiopian Democratic Forces (Shinn and Ofcansky,

2013:27). In recent years, ARDUF armed operations against Ethiopian state have continued.

4-2-1-4. Conflict between the Tigray Region and the Ethiopian federal government

Abiy ahmed's 2018 rapprochement with Eritrean President Isaias Afwerki, for which Ethiopia's leader received the Nobel Peace Prize the following year, also became a source of anger for Tigray's leaders. They came to see the rapprochement between Addis Ababa and Asmara as primarily an alliance against the TPLF, largely based on Isaias' history of hostility toward them. Indeed, the Tigray leadership had led Ethiopia during the 1998-2000 war between the two nations over issues relating to Eritrean independence, economic and trade policies and territorial disputes. With no resolution of the underlying tensions in sight, the prime minister's Abiy decision in 2019 to merge regional ruling parties into a single, unitary one further strained his relations with the TPLF. Eight of the country's governing parties – that is, all except the TPLF – joined to establish the Prosperity Party. The TPLF's refusal to sign up grew partly out of fears that the merger would dilute Tigray's autonomy, but it cost the party its share of federal power. After TPLF representatives became the sole opposition bloc in the national parliament, federal authorities moved to rid the central government of remaining officials nominated by the party (International Crisis Group (ICG),2021:9-10). Ethiopia's parliamentary elections scheduled for August 2020 were postponed due to the outbreak of the COVID-19, according to an official announcement by the Ethiopian National Electoral Board (Reuters,31 March 2020). After that, the Ethiopian National Electoral Board announced that the parliamentary elections will be held on June 5, 2021 (Reuters,25 December 2020). Tigray's regional leaders held an election in September 2020 in defiance of that decision, in which the governing the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) won all seats, and the result was subsequently declared null and void by the country's parliament. This and other factors led to several months of war between the Tigray Region and the Ethiopian federal government, which left significant financial and human losses (Melesse,19 November 2020).

4-2-1-5. Ethnic and Tribal Conflicts in Different Regions of Ethiopia

Ethnic and tribal conflicts are prevalent in the majority of Ethiopian regions. But, the most important of them are as follows: conflict between Dasench groups with Turkana ethnic group in southwest of Ethiopia (Gebre and et al,

2005:20); conflict between ethnic group of Bertha and immigrant people in Asossa region in the west of Ethiopia bordering with South Sudan (Kenaw,2013:55-56); violent ethnic conflict between Afar and Aysa (Teferi, 2012:68); conflict between Afar and Ahmara ethnic groups in Kevot and Semourobi-gelalo regions (Alemu,2013:118) and conflict of Afar ethnic group in Amibara and Middle Awash (Kassa,2001:151) in east of Ethiopia and conflict between Oromiya and Somali regions in Ethiopia over Moyale city bordering with Kenya (Adegehe,2009:183).
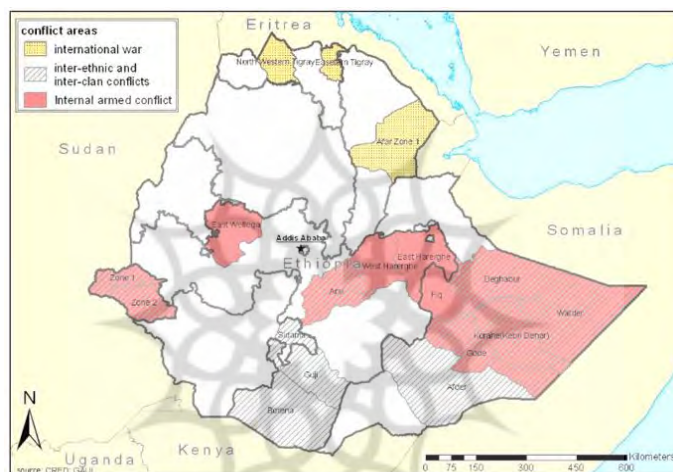

Figure (3): Map Conflict Areas in Ethiopia at Province level

5.Discussion
5-1. Spatial Injustice and Ethnic and Tribal Conflicts in Ethiopia
In shinaiel in Somali region of Ethiopia, conflict over political issues and also vindictiveness is one of the causes of the conflict between pastoralist ethnic group of Hawiya and Aysa and vindictiveness is also one of the causes of the conflict between Afar and Oromo farmer- pastoralist ethnic group (Richards and Bekele,2011:28). This sense of vindictiveness is resulted from discontents from the state functions and sense of violation of the rights. One of the causes of the conflict in the conflict of Misso-Mulu Vereda region in this area is being at the periphery of pastoralist regions in Ethiopia and lack of support of pastoralists by the state to settle the conflicts, land ownership and receiving proper services (Catley and Iyasu, 2010:48).
In Oromo region, one of the causes of the conflict between OLF and the

state roots in sense of exclusion by Oromo ethnic group as the biggest ethnic group in Ethiopia. This ethnic group claims their rights and fair attention regarding their big share in the state population (Beyene,2011:45). Oromo people emphasizes that they have been under tyranny and have not been received their rights; so, a separatist movement is formed among this ethnic group (Marine Corps Intelligence Activity,2014:45). From 1973, OLF has protested inequality and injustice in receiving their cultural, political and economic rights and has fought for political independency of Oromo as their living place (Beyene,2011:45). The establishment of this front is a collective try to reach political rights, human dignity and equality (Hassen,2009:32). In Ethiopia contemporary history, Amhara ethnic group have had the political authority, this is in a way that Oromo ethnic group have been the main opponent. Donald Levine characterized new history of Ethiopia as "Amhara thesis", "Oromo antithesis" and "Ethiopia synthesis" (Záhořík, 2011:94). Ethiopia was under control of the crown until 1974, and military coup d'état by Haylie Solasi and overthrown of the crown and establishment of a new state increased in hopes for democracy, justice and compensatition for past mistakes. Most of Oromo people thought that this evolution will bring justice in Ethiopia (Hassen,2009:32).

In the conflicts between ARDUF with the state, nationalism is a main factor which connects three parts of Afar people divided into three regions in Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti in the horn of Africa. Afar nationalism has been developed in reaction to sense of injustice behavior of politicians of the states in which Afar people are settled. In Ethiopia, afar people and territory have been under the state control and their local resources have been extracted by the state. In some periods, afar people have been excluded from any political participation. In Ethiopia, afar nationalists and also the public protest their division into different parts and see their utopia as establishment of an independent state with the presence of Afar people. ARDUF as a nationalist group insists on that coasts of Red Sea in Afar region (in Eritrea) and internal sections of Afar (in Ethiopia) should be merged. Sultan Ali Mirah, spiritual and classic leader of Afar, put that Afar border is the sea (Berhe and Adaye,2007:2-3). Afar people fights for reuniting of the people of this ethnic group, independence of their region and protection of their identity against other ethnic groups like Somali and Aysa (Yasin,2008:44).

In the conflict between the Tigray Region and the Ethiopian federal government, The Tigray region has been described as 'one of the origins of Ethiopian civilization.' Its initial history dates back to King Ezana (c.AD 25-350) of the Aksumite Empire that lasted up to the tenth century. The Tigrayans argue that in spite of their significant position in Ethiopian history and civilization, their role and place in modern Ethiopian politics had been undermined by Amhara rule. It's argued that the influence and role of the Tigrayans were discontinued in modern Ethiopia due to the "Amhara-dominated state." Ever since the transfer of power from the Tigrayan King Emperor Yohannes IV to Emperor Menelik II in 1889, the Tigrayans had felt subordinate to the Amhara, a position that they refused to accept. As a result, in contemporary Ethiopia, Tigrayan political movements against the center were conceived as and carried out along 'ethno-regionalism' and 'ethno-nationalism' rather than as a class struggle. In Tigray, there had been resistance since the 1930s when Haile Selassie launched a centralized administration. However, the first organized revolt against the center, known as the 'Woyane rebellion', erupted in 1943 and was harshly suppressed by the Haile Selassie government with British air support before it posed a serious challenge. The rebellion is said to have been initiated by peasants, however, the issues that they mentioned, include opposition to: corruption, excessive tax, and appointment of non-Tigrayans as provincial administrators and court judges. This clearly indicates that the Woyane rebellion was to a certain extent a manifestation of the growing regional nationalism among the Tigrayans. On 18 February 1975, they established the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) at Dedebit in Western Tigray. The TPLF declared that Tigray nationalism was its major political goal (Abate,2007:79). Some of the causes of the conflict between Dasench and Naiagtome group with Turkana ethnic group in southwest of Ethiopia back to the shortages in development opportunities, state weakness in the regions administration and the relation between majority and minority ethnic groups (Gebre and et al,2005:20). One of the causes of the conflict between Afar and Amhara ethnics in Kevot and Semourobi-Gelalo regions in east of Ethiopia is economic poverty and underdevelopment of the regions in comparison with other regions of the country (Alemu,2013:118). In these regions, the causes of the violent conflicts between Afar and Aysa back to the discontents about use and allocation of pasture and water resources of Afar regional state (Teferi,2012:68). Development policies in Afar region

do not have the majority acceptance. They are not satisfied with inequality in enjoying from the resources and economic inequality feeds conflict with other ethnic groups (Berhe and Adaye,2007:9).

One of the causes of the conflict between Oromiya region and Somali in Ethiopia is conflict over Mouyale city bordering with Kenya. The city was recognized under the administrative region of Burana by Federal State of Ethiopia in 1992. From that time, the both regions of Oromiya and Somali claim the control of the city and surrounding areas. Conflict over the city roots in the division of ethnic identities of three tribes including Burana, Gare and Gabra that speak in Afar-Oromo language (Adegehe,2009:183). From 1992, conflict over the city has culminated by the three tribes. Then, to settle the conflict Mouyale city put under the control of Somali and Oromiya regions administrative management, simultaneously, as Somali Mouyale and Oromiya Mouyale. More important, the city was divided into two sections including eastern region of Gare (Somali) and western region of Bourana (Oromo). The asphalt road acts as an informal border dividing the two regions. Disconnection of the eastern and western regions of the city of Mouyale worsened the relations among three tribes of Bourana, Gabre and Gare and increased in conflicts (Adegehe,2009:185).

In the west of Ethiopia, one of the causes of the ethnic conflict in Asossa region is the policies taken by the state before 1991. In the region bordering with South Sudan, some of the causes of the conflict between Bertha people and immigrants who are farmer, dominantly, are rivalry over land. The root of this issue backs to the 1980 that the lands of this region distributed among people, cooperatively and immigrants owned lands. After Ethiopia 1990 evolutions and coming to power a new state, Bertha people as natives of Asossa lost their lands in favor of immigrants. This issue started a new wave of ethnic conflicts with the immigrants to take back the lands. In such a space and without delimitation of the agricultural lands, the conflicts have been continued. The state actions to divide the lands have not been effective and Bertha people have protested against inequality in land distribution and divisions (Kenaw,2013:55-57). In the past, the two groups have used of jungle resources to meet the daily needs and there were not conflicts, but with the dominance of federalist system on Ethiopia, Bertha people knows itself as the owner of the land and resources of the region and prevented immigrants to make use of jungle resources which has caused in more

conflicts (Kenaw,2013:60-61).

In Amibara and Middle Awash regions in Ethiopia, there has been conflict and competition over land and grassland among Afar ethnic group tribes. These conflicts usually occur when one of the members of a tribe intrude into the lands of other tribes. From past times, among Afar tribes it has been a custom to negotiate and to agree on common use of resources, formerly. By lowering in land sizes resulted from government actions to create state farms in large scale and privatization policies of land after 1991, the tribes' relations have been changed and every tribe have tried to protect its land and resources against the neighbors. From that time, violent conflicts among Afar tribes have been prevalent over land and territory (Kassa,2001:151-152). Evaluations done at the last of 1990 in Ethiopia showed that there are real doubts about successful holding of federalist policies in the domain of decrease in central state authority and promotion of local institutions, local states dominance on natural resources of the region and decrease in religious and collective conflicts. Ethnic and tribal conflicts have not been decreased and reaching at higher political representations in central state are subjected to the control of local managerial units and local elites make use of this to reach to the goals which increased in discontents. Also, conflict over water and land, which were settled once through agreement among the tribe's arbitration of regional and federal leaders changed in power balance and deepened discontents (International Crisis Group,2013:9). Trine Løber and Peter Worm findings showed that the authority of new political system of Ethiopia and ethnic federalism after 1991 has been key factor in violent ethnic conflicts in husbandry regions of Ethiopia. The state helped to more conflicts than peace settlement by ethnic federalism revitalization. The findings show that ethnic federalism by increase in locals' authority and decentralization policies has been the cause of the conflict among pastoralist ethnic groups and increase in competition over access to social, political and economic resources beyond natural classic resources for herding namely grasslands and water holes. Conflicts before 1991 were over natural resources, but after this date were converted to conflict over income resources (Løber and Worm,2015:41).

6.Conclusion
The nature of insecurity in ethnic heterogeneous structures is very basic from the perspective of crisis rooting and threats and their management. Insecurity in such structures can be studied from external, internal, external

dimension includes all those factors. Which threatens the security, cohesion and national spirit of the structure from outside the borders, and the internal dimension governs all economic, political, security, social, etc. fields, both from the ethnic, religious and linguistic group and from the ruling structure. If the geographical landscape of ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural regions in terms of development indicates a different content from the structure as a whole, it will lead to insecurity. Angstrom (2000) considers his main emphasis on the opposition of ethnic groups to gaining political power. He believes that the form of ethnic conflict is violent and its type is state conflict and the reason is to gain a valuable source of power - one of the valuable sources. Buhaug (2006) divides ethnic conflict in terms of type into governmental (conflict of one ethnic group with government) and non-governmental (conflict of one ethnic group with other ethnic groups). He believes the predominant ethnic conflicts it is a kind of government. Often, an ethnic group can achieve its other desires by seizing a valuable source of power in government. lack of or weakness in spatial justice and imbalanced distribution of important factors of "power", "wealth" and "opportunity" resulted from volitional and automatic factors in geographic space and places in its highest level can facilitate conflict and tension among human societies like among ethnic groups and tribes or among them and the states. Occurrence of this situation has systematic and process-based nature which can be depicted in the frame of below model:

**Figure (4): Model Lack of or Weakness in Spatial Justice and
Ethnic Conflict Formation**
(**Source:** Hafeznia,2014, with some modifications)

In relation with ethnic and tribal conflicts in Ethiopia, space and places faced with tension and conflict are mainly located at the regions including Somali, Oromiya and Afar in the half east of the country and also in west and southwest, sporadically. The parties engaged in the tension and conflict in these spaces are ethnics and tribes' conflict with each other and also with the central state.

The main cause of the conflict and tension in these spaces is citizens' consent about their situation and weakness in establishment of equal and fair situation in enjoying life facilities. In other words, the space's citizens know their share in enjoying important factors of "power", "wealth" and "opportunity" unfair and imbalanced and know it weak.

In Shinaiel area of Somali region, dissatisfaction from state performance, sense of rights violation and perception of political exclusion are the main causes of the ethnic conflict. In Oromo region, ethnic people of Oromo who is the biggest ethnic group in Ethiopia, sense of exclusion cause to feel the situation unfair and they know their cultural, economic and political rights violated. In Afar region, afar people protest against division of Afar into three regions in Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti in horn of Africa. In different ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia like in east, west, southwest, afar region and Somali bordering with Kenya, in Amibara and Middle Awash public dissatisfaction from state performance in the execution of the plans and lack of or weakness in of fair and balanced policies is obvious. In fact, the common principle in all of the tensions and conflicts among the ethnics or between the ethnics and the state is sense of lack of or weakness in spatial justice realization in citizens belonging to ethnics and perception of exclusion and social-political isolation and sense of being secondary citizenship in ethnic human group and structure.

At least in two cases including OLF and ARDUF conflicts with the Ethiopia state in its organized frame this issue and common characteristic has caused to form and development of political utopia among ethnic groups of Oromo and Afar and political action and solidarity of the elites by establishment of the organizations in order to separatism and separation from Ethiopia and creating new independent state. This situation has caused promotion of the conflicts and continuation of the tensions among ethnic groups and the central state.

Based on the constitution acted in 1994, Ethiopian state name is "Republic of Federal Democratic of Ethiopia". The constitution obliged the state to

administrate the country based on ethnic federalism and emphasized on "self-determination based on ethnic independent identity" (Milkias,2011: 86). But, changes in political authority and establishment of federalist system by pivotal role of ethnicity and continuation of this policy in multi ethnic society of Ethiopia have not been able to fulfill the expectations of different ethnic groups of Ethiopia, and the main result of this policy has been dissatisfaction from the state and lack of or weakness in spatial justice among citizens of different regions and finally tensions and conflicts which involved ethnic groups and the state.

7.Acknowledgments
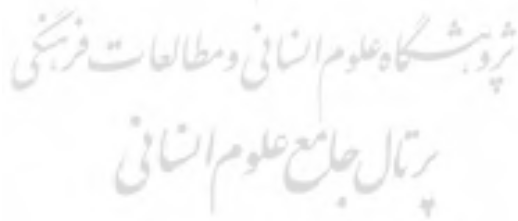
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