

LOCAL POTENTIAL FOR PEACE: TRANS-ETHNIC CROSS-CUTTING TIES AMONG THE DAASANACH AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

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The Daasanach have fought with neighbouring pastoral peoples intermittently for a long time. Nevertheless, many Daasanach have various friendly relations with them. When a war ends, members of the two groups voluntarily visit each other's land and make friendships and kinship relations with each other. In this paper, I describe such trans-ethnic cross-cutting ties and examine why such individual ties have persisted until today. I then clarify how they relate to inter-ethnic war and peace, and argue that cross-cutting ties have the potential for peace-building.

Introduction

Inter-ethnic conflicts have existed among pastoralists in the border area of Ethiopia, Kenya, and Sudan for a long time. Although many studies have focused on inter-ethnic conflicts in this area (e.g., Fukui & Turton (eds.) 1979; Fukui & Markakis (eds.) 1994), few² have examined indigenous practices of maintaining and making peace.³

In an area where anthropological research has traditionally been conducted, today, external actors have been intervening in "local" issues, with the aim of mitigating conflict and maintaining peace. The Ethiopian and Kenyan Governments, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and local NGOs are examples here.⁴ However, intervention without an understanding of the local logic of war and peace will bring only confusion to the area. Abbink (2000a), for example, showed that the reconciliation meeting among Suri, Dizi and Me'en in the southwestern Ethiopia failed because of the ignorance of local norms by government officials. Richards (2005: 19) recently

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² One exception is *Bury the Spear* (dir. Ivo Strecker and Alula Pankhurst, 2003), a film about the peace ceremony in Arboreland. See also Strecker (1994).

³ This tendency corresponds to the anthropological research on war and peace in general (Goldschmidt 1994: 110; Fry 2006: xiii).

⁴ The IGAD began the Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) project in the border area in 2003. In 2006, local NGOs, the Ethiopian Pastoralists Research and Development Association (EPRaDA) and the Riam Riam Turkana, began a collaborative project to mitigate conflicts among the Daasanach, the Nyangatom, and the Turkana. For more on outside interventions, see Sagawa (2007).

pointed out that it is important for the anthropological research on war and peace to emphasize the “local potential for spontaneous peace.” Researchers need to make discreet efforts to examine this potential so that outside interventions exert positive influences on local communities, or, at least, does not exert negative influences.

Aside from conflict studies, previous research has shown various trans-ethnic cross-cutting ties in this area (e.g., Sobania 1980; Ayalew 1997; Tadesse 2005; Matsuda in press). In his pioneering work, Sobania (1980) clarified trans-ethnic bond partnerships and the important roles they played in inter-ethnic trade around eastern Lake Turkana region in the middle and late 19th century. However, few studies have examined how these ties relate to war and the peace-making process. Instead, some researchers have implied that amicable and flexible relations among members of different ethnic groups have been replaced by hostile and inflexible relations because of the encroachment and domination by colonial powers, which began in the late 19th century (e.g., Sobania 1980: 224–294; Lamphear 1993: 101; Broch-Due 2005: 7-9). However, my research in 2006 indicates that the Daasanach have kept many cross-cutting ties until now.

There are two different arguments on how cross-cutting ties relate to conflict. Gluckman (1956) discussed that human beings belong to a particular group with shared customs and are in a state of antagonistic relation with other groups because of particular allegiances. At the same time, they make amicable webs of ties with members of other groups through, for example, co-residence and inter-marriage. Gluckman suggested that those social relations which cut across group boundaries, or cross-cutting ties (cf. Schlee, 1997), are intended to prevent the escalation of conflict and resolve it when it arises so that total social order is preserved.⁵

In contrast, Harrison (1993) emphasized that cross-cutting ties do not so much mitigate conflict as cause it. Among the Avatip of Papua New Guinea, daily mutual visits between members of different villages form various cross-cutting ties. Such visits and ties make a boundary between villages as independent polities obscure. Violent conflict “is a mechanism for creating discrete groups through the attempted negation of their pre-existing interrelations” (Harrison 1993: 18; see also Clastres 1980).⁶

My point is that both of these arguments do not need to be treated as an either–or choice. As

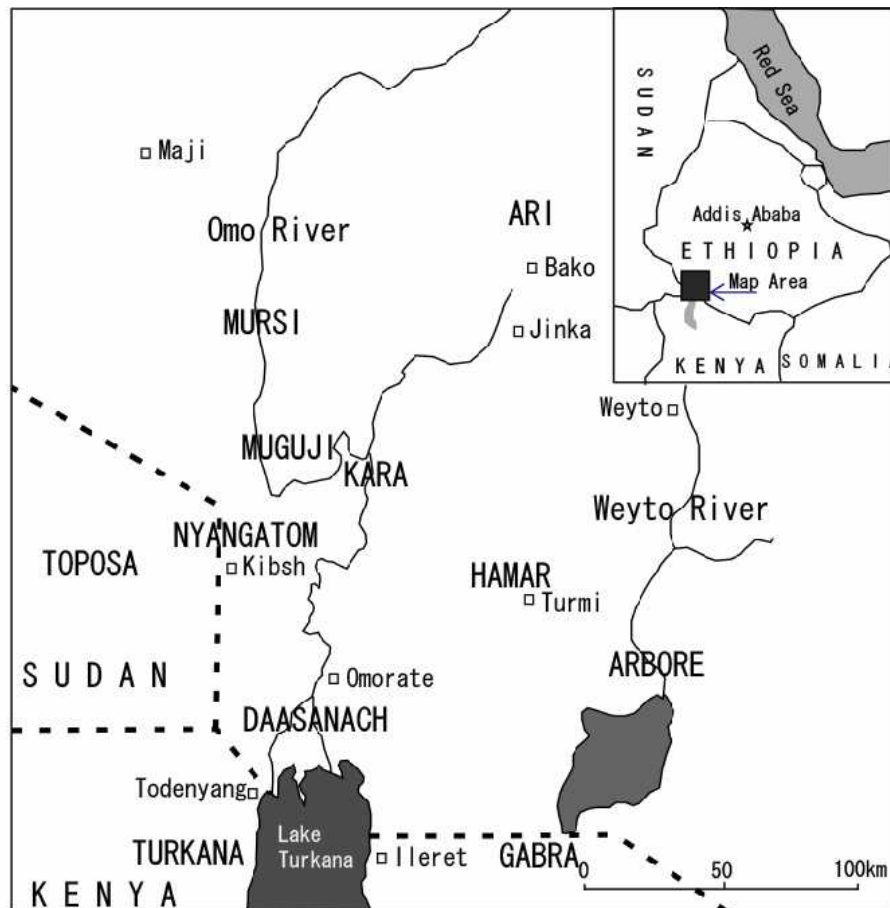
⁵ Following Gluckman, Bates (1983) analyzed cross-cutting ties as a contributing factor to mitigate conflicts from the point of view of prisoners’ dilemmas. There are many criticisms of Gluckman’s discussion, especially on his equilibrium model (e.g., Balandier 1970).

⁶ Turton (1992, 1994) and Abbink (2000b) applied Harrison’s model to the inter-ethnic relations of Mursi and Suri. See also Simonse & Kurimoto (1998) on the applicability of his model to the inter-ethnic relations in northeastern Africa

Simmel (1955: 13.15-16) examined, both conflict and cooperation are “a form of sociation” and “society ...is the result of both categories of interaction.” Cross-cutting ties have aspects that both prevent or mitigate and cause or elevate conflict, depending on the local situation (cf. Knauff 1990: 277). It is important to analyze how they relate to the dynamic process of war and peace by observing actual interactions among ethnic groups⁷ and find out their potentials and limits for peace-building.

The Daasanach, who speak an East Cushitic language, live in the lower Omo Valley and along the northern shore of Lake Turkana.⁸ Six ethnic groups live around them (Figure 1). The Kara and the Arbore are “our people” (*gaal kunno*) and keep amicable relations with the Daasanach. The Turkana, the Nyangatom, the Hamar, and the Gabra, whose subsistence depends mainly on pastoralism, are *kiz*⁹ (sing. *kijich*) or “enemy groups” that have fought with the Daasanach intermittently for more than half a century.

Figure 1. The Daasanach and their neighboring groups



⁷ Schlee (1997, 2004) examined the relation between cross-cutting ties and inter-ethnic conflicts between the Gabra and the Rendille. While his focus is cross-cutting ties at the clan level, my focus is at the individual level.

⁸ I conducted fieldwork in their village and town for six months in 2006.

⁹ In the Daasanach, there is no sub-category of “enemy” such as “an eternal enemy” and “a temporal enemy” as there is among the Mela (Fukui 1994).

DAASANACH: ethnic group name. Omorate: town name.

The main weapon used during violent conflicts with *kiz*¹⁰ is the rifle, and 48.5% of Daasanach adult men (n = 163) have rifles, mainly Kalashnikovs, in 2006. I asked 174 adult men about their experiences during the time of battle; 67.2% raided *kiz* livestock and 18.4% killed member(s) of *kiz* in previous violent conflicts. Nevertheless, many Daasanach have various friendly relations not only with *gaal kunno*, but also with *kiz*. When a war ends, members of the two groups voluntarily visit each other's land and make friendships and kinship relations with each other.

In this paper, I describe the trans-ethnic cross-cutting ties, such as co-residence, trade, friendship, and kinship, which the Daasanach have with members of other ethnic groups. Next, I examine why such individual ties have persisted until today. I then clarify how they relate to inter-ethnic war and peace, and argue that cross-cutting ties have the potential for peace-building. Before defining and describing the various kinds of cross-cutting ties, I briefly outline the social organization and subsistence activities of the Daasanach.

The Daasanach

According to the 1994 Census (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia 1996), the population of the Daasanach in Ethiopia was about 32,000. This figure does not include, however, the thousands of Daasanach living in northwestern Kenya.

The Daasanach consist of eight territorial groups (*en*) which are roughly co-resident groups that conduct many rituals together (Figure 1). Generally speaking, a person interacts mainly with members of other neighboring ethnic groups close to his/her territorial group. The Inkabelo, the largest group of Daasanach, live in the center of Daasanachland along both sides of the Omo River and its delta with three small groups, namely the Oro, the Kuoro, and the Riele. They are adjacent to the Turkana, the Nyangatom, and the Hamar. The Randal and the Elele reside in the northwestern corner of Daasanachland and mainly interact with the Turkana, the Nyangatom, and the Kara. The Inkoria, who live in southeastern Daasanachland, along the northeastern shore of Lake Turkana, are neighbors with the Gabra and the Hamar. The Ngaritchland is to the north of Inkorialand and adjacent to the Hamar.

¹⁰ In the Daasanach language, the words that correspond to collective violent conflict with *kiz* are *sulla* and *osu*. Their objectives are to kill *kiz* and raid their livestock. *Sulla* is an opportunistic foray by three to twenty youths without a clear-cut strategy. *Osu* is a more organized and larger-scale violent attack in which at least 100 men, including youths and middle-aged men, participate. For more on violent conflicts, see Sagawa (forthcoming).

Evidence from Almagor (1972), Sobania (1980), and my research on their oral traditions shows that many of the territorial groups had immigrated from various directions to their present place of residence. As they encountered difficulties, such as violent conflicts and famines in their previous living place, they moved close to the Omo River and formed “Daasanach society.” For example, the Inkabelo, the Inkoria, and the Oro lived in the place called Ger or Gerio, maybe around Kerio River on the southwestern side of Lake Turkana, with Nyube, or Pokot. When the Turkana or the Kuoro¹¹ attacked them in the early 19th century (Sobania, 1980: 64), the Nyube escaped to the south or present-day Pokotland, and the Inkabelo, the Inkoria, and the Oro escaped to the north or present-day Daasanachland.

The Randal and the Kuoro originated from the Rendille and the Samburu of northwestern Kenya. They moved to Daasanachland because of natural disasters in the last two decades of the 19th century (Sobania, 1980: 132-223). The Daasanach recognize these historical processes and classify the Pokot, the Rendille, and the Samburu as “our people,” although there are no daily mutual visits between them at the present time.

All Daasanach men belong to a generation-set (*haari*). They conduct an initiation ceremony to join the generation-set when they are around 15 to 20 years old and their social status moves from boy (*nyigeny*) to adolescent (*kabana*). Soon after the initiation, men begin to marry, and most of them get married in their twenties. Girls marry around 15 to 20 years old. When their first daughter is around ten years old, her parents participate in the *dimi* ceremony. After *dimi*, they come to be recognized as social elders (*karsich*). Generally, adult men, namely *kabana* and *karsich*, visit the lands of other ethnic groups for fighting and peaceful purposes. Women and children spend most of their time in and around their village (Sagawa 2006).

Their main subsistence activities are flood-retreat cultivation, pastoralism, and fishing.¹² The Omo River floods approximately in July each year. The floodwater brings fertile soils from the Ethiopian highlands and improves the productivity of the land. When the water begins to retreat, people sow sorghum and then harvest it in the dry season. The first harvest occurs around December, and the second around February. According to my research, in one Inkabelo household, self-produced

¹¹ Sobania (1980:62-64) wrote that the attacker was the Turkana. One account of oral history collected by Carr (1977: 309-311) showed that the attacker was “Koro.” I also collected a few oral histories that were similar to that of Carr’s. See also Lamphear (1988: 31-33).

¹² The degree of dependence on each activity is different among territorial groups. Broadly speaking, the Inkabelo, the Oro, the Kuoro, and the Ngaritch depend mainly on cultivation and pastoralism. The Elele and the Riele depend mainly on cultivation and fishing. The Inkoria and the Randal depend heavily on pastoralism. Carr (1977: 157-231) and Almagor (1978: 36-64) described their subsistence activities in detail.

sorghum consisted of 68.8% of their meals in May and 38.1% in August, the dry season. Although the annual rainfall is approximately 400 mm, the flooding enables the Daasanach to produce abundant and stable crops as compared to neighboring pastoral groups such as the Turkana. This characteristic of subsistence economy influences the trans-ethnic cross-cutting ties.

Persistence of Trans-Ethnic Cross-Cutting Ties

Co-residence

Co-residence means that members who belong to different ethnic groups live together in one village, usually, but not only, in a livestock camp. According to the Daasanach, there is no clear-cut territorial boundary with neighboring ethnic groups. In their language, the word that corresponds to boundary is *gaar*. For example, after the floodwaters retreat, they draw a line, or *gaar*, with a stick to divide the land among each household. *Gaar* can also refer to a certain wood and a temporal river that marks the border between villages and to stones that mark the border between Ethiopia and Kenya. In short, *gaar* refers to physical objects used to mark a territorial boundary. The territorial boundary is also the social boundary. For example, a person should not enter another's cultivation land without the cultivator's permission. If a person enters without it, people will suspect that he/she has brought bad magic to the land to spoil the harvest.

In contrast, although people said that "A is our land and B is Turkana's land," by referring to certain place names, there are no specific objects which demarcate boundaries between neighboring ethnic groups. The land between "our land" and "their land" is called *dieto* and is mainly used for grazing. In *dieto*, members who belong to different ethnic groups make livestock camps and use water and pasture space together, so I refer to *dieto* as co-resident land.¹³

The Daasanach live together with members of other ethnic groups in *dieto* from approximately April to September. When the rainy season begins in April, they move to higher ground away from the Omo River in search of better grazing land, and their livestock camps are then closer to neighboring groups' camps. The members of both groups often meet at the watering place. At that time, they cut and hold up leaves or branches (*neeti mur*). Instead of turning their rifles on *kiz*, they hold up leaves to show their willingness to exist peacefully and share resources. The Daasanach explained that this is a common custom with neighboring ethnic groups.

As they meet face-to-face at the watering place every day, they cultivate good relations and one

¹³ Soga (2007) described sharing practices of water resources between the Gabra and the Boorana in detail.

group introduces the other group to their camp and entertains them with food and coffee. The group that was entertained reciprocates. One group then moves to another group's campsite and they live together as neighbors (*ollo*). They herd together, although their kraals remain different. Co-residence in *dieto* continues until September, when the floodwaters retreat and the Daasanach return to around the Omo River.

Trade

The Daasanach have trade relations with the six ethnic groups listed above. People come and go to each village to exchange goods. To clarify the type and the frequency of trade the Daasanach engaged in with other ethnic groups, I asked members of 50 households whether they had household goods from other ethnic groups. Of these 50 households, 34 had traded items; 19 households had a cooking pot, 16 had a butter container, 16 had a milk container, 11 had a cowhide, and so on (Table 1). I also asked 50 women whether they wore adornments obtained from other ethnic groups. Of these 50 women, 41 women did; 34 women wore a beaded bracelet, 13 wore an armband or anklet made from iron, 9 wore an armband or anklet made from aluminum, and so on (Table 2). The Daasanach can produce most of items in Table 1 and Table 2 by themselves,¹⁴ but their supply is not enough and/or their quality is lower than ones made by other ethnic groups.

50 households and 50 women owned a total of 164 goods and adornments. They received the items from the Turkana (72%), the Kara (12%), the Hamar (12%), the Nyangatom (2%), and other ethnic groups (2%). There are two reasons why the percentage of Turkana's goods was high. The first reason is that my research site was close to Turkana land.¹⁵ People told me that those living near another ethnic groups' land may have higher quantities of their goods. The second reason is, people explained to me, that the Turkana have more goods for trading than other peoples, because they have more small livestock so that they can produce more livestock skins, they are more skillful so that they can make high-quality items such as milk containers, and they can easily get items such as pans supplied only from Kenyan side.

Most exchanges occur via barter and cash transactions are still rare even now. For example, the Daasanach mainly trade agricultural products such as sorghum, tobacco, and calabash with the Turkana for small livestock, in addition to the goods and adornments mentioned above. There is roughly fixed exchange rate of trade as shown in Table 3. Since the Turkana must depend their crop

¹⁴ One exception is cooking pot. The Daasanach do not have techniques to make it.

¹⁵ Of 50 households and women, 29 belong to the Inkabelo territorial group, 12 belong to the Randal, 4 belong to the Kuoro, 2 belong to the Elele, 2 belong to the Oro, 1 belongs to the Riele.

Table 1. Household good from other ethnic groups

good	Turkana	Hamar	Kara	others ¹⁾	total
cooking pot		8	10	1	19
butter container	16				16
milk container	16				16
cowhide	6	5			11
small livestock skin	7	2			9
milk-butter container	8				8
knife	2	2			4
pan sold in Kenya	4				4
spear	2			1	3
other goods	5				5
total	66	17	10	2	95

¹⁾ 1 Ari, 1 Toposa.

Table 2. Woman's adornment from other ethnic groups

adornment	Turkana	Kara	Nyangatom	Hamar	others ¹⁾	total
beaded bracelet	33		2		1	36
armlet and anklet from iron	6	8	1	1		16
armlet and anklet from	8			1		9
other adornments	5	1	1		1	8
total	52	9	4	2	2	69

¹⁾ 1 Arbore, 1 Toposa

Table 3. Example of exchange rate between the Daasanach and the Turkana

From Daasanach to Turkana	From Turkana to Daasanach
3 calabash cups of sorghum	1 male lamb or kid
1 big calabash for butter making	1 male lamb or kid
4 calabash cups of sorghum	1 female lamb or kid
1 bigger calabash for butter making	1 female lamb or kid
1 male calf	6-7 small livestock
1 female calf or 1 ox	12-13 small livestock
3 calabash cups of sorghum	1 cowhide
20-30 tobacco ¹⁾	1 cowhide
2 small calabash cups of sorghum	1 small livestock skin
10 tobacco	1 small livestock skin
to fill in milk container with sorghum	1 milk container
to fill in milk container with tobacco	1 milk container
1 calabash for butter making	1 milk container
to fill in butter container with sorghum	1 butter container
5-10 tobacco	1 butter container
2-5 cups (for 1kg) of sorghum	1 beaded bracelet
4-10 tobacco	1 beaded bracelet
1 big calabash for butter making	1 beaded bracelet
1 calabash cup of sorghum	4 iron armetlets
100 tobacco	iron armetlets for one arm
1 cup (for 750mm) of sorghum	1 ostrich feather

¹⁾ Tobacco is a round shape and about five centimeters in diameter

production only on uncertain and unstable rain-fed cultivation (Gulliver 1951), they come to Daasanachland to obtain crops harvested in the floodplain, especially during the dry season. This ecological difference is one that promotes trans-ethnic trade.

Table 4. Inflow route of rifle

time	Highlanders ¹⁾	Arbore	Nyangatom	others	total
1950s	7	1			8
1960s	12	6	1	2	21
1970s	10	19	1	2	32
1980s		24	1	5	30
1990s	6	70	1		77
2000s		22	9	2	33
total	35	142	13	11	201

¹⁾From the 1950s to the 1970s, traders came from Maji or Daasanach went to around Maji. In the 1990s, traders lived in Omorate and they transacted there.

The other important good, which the Daasanach rely on the outside world to supply, is the rifle. I asked 163 adult men when and from which ethnic group they obtained their rifles (Table 4). From the 1950s to the 1960s, they bought them mainly from *Uchumba* (Highlander) traders from Maji, the garrison town which is to about 150 km north of Daasanachland (Figure 1). The main supply route changed in the middle 1960s, when the Daasanach killed many Turkana in the “Nalibagor War” and the Ethiopian Government strictly controlled the supply of rifles from Maji. In addition, relations between the Daasanach and the Nyangatom worsened in the 1970s¹⁶ and the trade route from Maji was completely cut off. As a result, the supply from Arbore traders increased. From the 1980s to the 2000s, 82.9% of rifles (n = 140) bought by the Daasanach were supplied by Arbore traders. In most cases, they exchanged cattle for rifles.

Friendship

Co-residence and trade are “one-time-only” encounters. After the floodwater starts to retreat or the exchange is completed, both members return to “our land.” Because their lives are semi-nomadic, there may not be another opportunity to meet again. A person forms a friendship (*beel*; pl. *beelem*) with someone, whom he meets during the time of trade or co-residence and is compatible with or is helped by, to make their relation continual. When they form a friendship, they gather at one person’s house and drink coffee together, saying “We have become friends, blessings to us.” Occasionally

¹⁶The reason was that the Daasanach killed a few hundred Nyangatom at Nakwa village in the “Nyibilyaga War” (circa 1972) which Tornay referred to in his paper (Tornay 1979: 111).

they slaughter a small livestock and eat its meat together, hanging its celiac fat (*muor*) around each other's necks. After this, they often give goods.

I asked 169 adult men¹⁷ whether they have friend(s) belonging to other ethnic groups. 71% had them, with the number of friends totaling 384, an average of 2.3 per capita (Table 5). People across all age had them.¹⁸ I also asked the men which ethnic groups their friends belonged to (Table 6). Generally speaking, a person has more friends who belong to the ethnic group that is neighboring with his territorial group (Figure 1). For example, the Randal who live mainly on west side of the Omo River had many friendships with the Nyangatom and the Turkana, but few with the Hamar and not with the Gabra. In contrast, most friendships of the Inkoria who live mainly on east side of the Omo River were with the Arbore, the Hamar, and the Gabra.

Table 5. Number of friends according to the age

age	number of informants	number of friends										average per capita	informants who have friend(s) [%]		
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9			10	
10s	25	13	7	1	2	1	1							1	48
20s	32	8	11	7	3	2		1						1.5	75
30s	36	13	8	7	3	2	2					1		1.7	63.9
40s	27	5	3	3	4	3	6	1		1		1		3.5	81.5
50s	24	5	3	3	5	1	2	1	1	1	1	1		3.3	79.2
60s	13	3		1	3	2	1	2		1				3.4	76.9
70s	12	2	1	2	4		3							2.7	83.3
total	169	49	33	24	24	11	15	5	1	3	1	3		2.3	71

Table 6. Number of friends according to territorial group

territorial group	ethnic group							total
	Turkana	Nyangatom	Hamar	Gabra	Kara	Arbore	others	
Inkabelo (79) ¹⁾	42	35	16	3	23	38		157
Inkoria (33)	6	4	15	12		25	19	81
Randal (29)	28	46	2		5	1	2	84
Elele (10)	3	14	3		6	1	1	28
Kuoro (8)	13	5			1			19
Riele (5)	2	2	1		1	2		8
Oro (4)						1		1
Ngaritch (1)			4			2		6
total(169)	94	106	41	15	36	70	22	384

¹⁾ Number in brackets is number of informants.

¹⁷ Women rarely go to other ethnic groups' land by themselves. When a husband's friend comes to their house, it is his wife who entertains his friend (Sagawa, 2006), and she often becomes friends with him. When her husband visits his friend, she and her children often follow him.

¹⁸ As illustrated in Table 5, as informants become younger, the number of friend decreases. This reflects the general tendency of forming friendship; as a person grows up, he forms more friendships.

Figure 2. Opportuniy of forming friendship

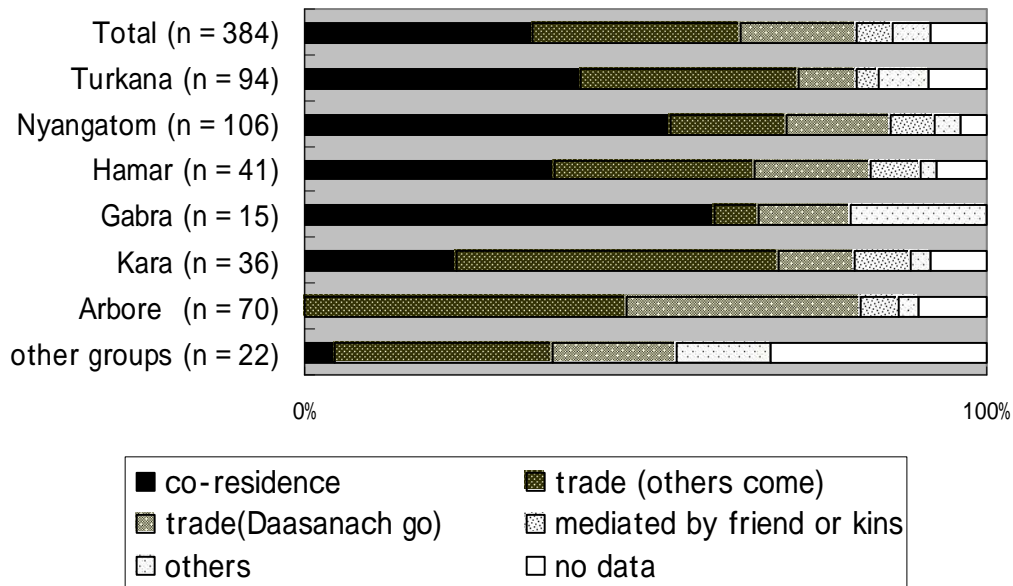


Figure 2 shows the opportunity of forming friendships, and Table 7 shows what goods friends gave and took. The Arbore, who are active traders in this area, do not live adjacent to the Daasanach, so most friendships have been formed through trade. When the Daasanach went to Arboreland to buy rifles, or the Arbore came to Daasanachland to sell rifles, they made friendships. The Daasanach often gave their Arbore friend goods which they obtained from Kenyan side such as sheet for cloth. The Arbore might sell them to Highlanders.¹⁹

The other five ethnic groups live adjacent to the Daasanach, so co-residence was also an important opportunity to form friendships.²⁰ The Daasanach often gave the Turkana and the Hamar, whose crop production depends on unstable rain-fed cultivation (Gulliver 1951; Strecker 1976), agricultural products such as sorghum. The Turkana and the Hamar, on the other hand, gave the Daasanach mainly small livestock. In contrast, the Daasanach, the Nyangatom, and the Kara, who depend on stable flood-retreat cultivation (Tornay 1981; Matsuda 1996; Petros 2000), gave each other mainly sorghum and small livestock. The gifts that each group gives to their friends also reflect the ecological differences.²¹

¹⁹ See also Ayalew (1997: 162-165) on the relationship between the Daasanach and the Arbore.

²⁰ The Gabra were excluded from the following description because of the small sample size. On the relationship between the Daasanach and the Kara, see also Felix (in this volume).

²¹ Gift goods, as indicated in Table 7, also reflect various characteristics of each ethnic group such as a bullet by the Nyangatom who can get it easily through their ally, the Toposa, and cash by the

Table 7. Main gift good between friends

Tuakana				Nyangatom			
From Daasanach to Turkana		From Turkana to Daasanach		From Daasanach to Nyangatom		From Nyangatom to Daasanach	
gift good	number	gift good	number	gift good	number	gift good	number
sorghum	65	small livestock	54	cattle	18	small livestock	30
tobacco	31	ostrich feather	5	small livestock	12	bullet	19
calabash cup	27	red oche	5	tobacco	12	cattle	4
calabash for butter making	15	cattle	4	<i>arake</i> (Ethiopian alcohol)	9	ox bell	4
beans	14	donkey	3	donkey	9	spear	2
cattle	6	sheet (for cloth)	2	sorghum	9	ostrich feather	2
small livestock	6	leopard skin	2	beaded bracelet	5	cowhide	2
calabash ladle	5	others	8	bullet	4	leopard skin	2
cloth	3	total	83	coffee husk	4	sorghum	2
donkey	2			sheet (for cloth)	4	others	13
<i>arake</i> (Ethiopian alcohol)	2			calabash cup	2	total	80
others	3			cloth	2		
total	179			cash	2		
				others	9		
				total	101		

Hamar				Gabra			
From Daasanach to Hamar		From Hamar to Daasanach		From Daasanach to Gabra		From Gabra to Daasanach	
gift good	number	gift good	number	gift good	number	gift good	number
sorghum	25	small livestock	24	bullet	2	small livestock	5
cattle	3	cowhide	6	small livestock	2	others	3
small livestock	3	small livestock skin	2	donkey	2	total	8
donkey	2	cooking pot	2	others	2		
others	8	reap hook	2	total	8		
total	41	others	7				
		total	43				

Kara				Arbore			
From Daasanach to Kara		From Kara to Daasanach		From Daasanach to Arbore		From Arbore to Daasanach	
gift good	number	gift good	number	gift good	number	gift good	number
small livestock	9	cooking pot	16	sheet (for cloth)	12	cash (Ethiopian birr)	16
sorghum	5	sorghum	7	cattle	10	ostrich feather	16
butter	4	small livestock	4	beads	8	bullet	6
coffee husk	2	coffee husk	3	donkey	7	beads	5
bullet	2	giraffe hair	3	cloth (from Kenya)	6	belt	4
calabash for butter making	2	tobacco	3	small livestock	4	sheet (for cloth)	3
others	10	axe	3	bullet	4	cattle	2
total	34	knife	3	cash (Ethiopian birr)	3	others	7
		honey	2	storage box	2	total	59
		others	9	giraffe hair	2		
		total	53	others	5		
				合計	63		

An important characteristic of gift giving (*siicho*) between friends is that, unlike trade, it is not a “one-time-only” transaction. Of 384 friendships, there were 278 friendships in which something was given by someone in the process of making and maintaining the friendship. Of these 278 friendships, 75.2% of initial-gift givers had already received a counter-gift. In many cases, initial-gift and counter-gift had not made at the same time. Reciprocity had accomplished mutual visits over time. It is probable that the remaining 24.8% of the initial-gift givers who had not yet received a counter-gift will receive a visit from the recipient and take a counter-gift in the future.

Even if the counter-gift had been done, or mutual gifts had already been done at the same time, most of transactions were not “equivalent exchanges.” For example, the Daasanach trade 1 ox for 12

Arbore who are active traders.

small livestock with other ethnic groups. Table 8 shows which goods were reciprocated for the 1 ox gift from the Daasanach between friends. Most of the counter-gifts did not correspond to the exchange rate of trade and the Daasanach had “a loss” in most cases. In trade, non-delayed transactions through fixed exchange rate result in symmetrical and “one-time-only” relations. In contrast, asymmetrical and continual relations resulted from such transactions mediated by the time and/or non-equivalent exchange characterize trans-ethnic friendships.

Table 8. Counter-gift to 1 ox

from Daasanach	from other groups
1 ox	10 bullets and 1 SL ¹⁾
	4 SL and 1 spear
	5 SL
	1 ox bell
	3 SL
	3 SL
	100 bullets
	1 donkey and 10 SL
	4 SL and 1 spear
	9 SL

¹⁾ SL: small livestock

As friends visit mutually over time, they may intensify their relationship in two ways. One way is that sons continue the fathers’ friendship. Another way is through a “friendship of naming” (*lilmatch meeto*).²² Parents of a newborn hold a naming ceremony 2–3 days following the birth of a child. The parents select a naming parent, not only from the Daasanach, but also member of other ethnic groups, to choose the child’s name. Of 384 friendships with members of other ethnic groups, 5.5 % were “friendships of naming.” Friendships passed on from fathers or created through naming become more intimate than normal friendships. For example, when a friend’s daughter marries, his partner can receive a part of her bridewealth, and vice versa.²³

Kinship

There are two types of kinship relations which the Daasanach have with members of other ethnic groups, namely marriage and adoption (*hosom*). I interviewed 170 adult men²⁴ to determine whether

²² See Almagor (1978: 119-121) on the friendship of naming between Daasanach.

²³ Felix (in this volume) pointed out that friends among the Kara, the Hamar, and the Arbore also give their name to their partner’s children. He also showed that friends receive a bridewealth when their partner’s daughter gets married.

²⁴ 79 men belong to the Inkabelo territorial group, 32 belong to the Inkoria, 30 belong to the Randal, 10 belong to the Elele, 8 belong to the Kuoro, 5 belong to the Oro, 5 belong to the Riele, and 1

they had close relatives²⁵ who either married a woman from another ethnic group or who were adopted from other ethnic groups. Of these, 41.8% had a relative who married a woman from other ethnic groups (Table 9), and 17.6% had relatives who were adopted from other ethnic groups (Table 10).²⁶ For example, four of my informants married women from other ethnic groups and two of my informants were born in Turkana land, and were adopted by the Daasanach when they were boys.

Table 9. Near kin who married woman from other ethnic groups

generation	number	relation with informant
same generation	8	W5, BW3
one older generation	27	M4, FW8, FBW14, MBW1
two older generation	47	FM18, MM9, FFW14, MFW3, FFBW3
three older generation	3	FFM2, MFM1
total	85	

Table 10. Near kin who were adopted from other ethnic groups

generation	number	relation with informant
same generation	10	Ego2, FS4, FD1, FBS1, FBD1, MBD1
one older generation	18	F1, WF1, FFS6, FFD9, MFD1
two older generation	6	FF5, MF1
three older generation	2	FFF2
one younger generation	5	S2, D1, BS1, MSD1
total	41	

The main opportunity to marry as shown in Table 11 occurs when members of different ethnic groups live together in co-residence. A second opportunity occurs when members of other ethnic groups, especially the Turkana, move to the floodplain during times of drought to ask the Daasanach for help.²⁷ One Daasanach man said that “As we see each other every day in the village, we become intimate. If she is beautiful, it is enough (to marry). Whether she is a Daasanach or *kiz* does not matter.” Like friendships, trans-ethnic marriages ensure continual mutual visits because, when the new couple’s daughter marries, their relatives share her bridewealth.

Adoption most commonly occurs during times of drought, as well as, during times of war, when

belongs to Ngaritch.

²⁵ In this context, close relatives almost refer to a man’s brothers, sisters and their children, his parents and grandparents, his parent’s brothers, sisters and their children.

²⁶ Data on how often the Daasanach have married or were adopted by other ethnic groups is not available.

²⁷ Carr (1977: 181) wrote that “Turkana men (sometimes with their wives and children) or boys who have left their tribal lands during times of famine and have entered Dasanetch lands as refugees also may serve as another source of herding labor in return for shelter and food. In 1970, there were at least 250 Turkana among the Dasanetch...”.

individuals may be abducted (Table 12). Adoption can also occur when someone escapes from his/her original community. The latter can be linked to the direct and/or indirect violence from community members. For instance, Turkana's four children whose parents did not feed them during times of severe drought escaped to Daasanachland by themselves. One Turkana widow who was deprived of her livestock by her late husband's brothers and could not live also escaped to Daasanachland. They were adopted by Daasanach.

Table 11. Opportunity of marriage

ethnic group	co-residence	drought	abduction in war ¹⁾	others	no data	total
Turkana	22	19	4	8	3	56
Nyangatom	7	1			3	11
Hamar	2	1	2			5
Gabra			2	1		3
Arbore				1		1
others ²⁾	3	1		4	1	9
合計	34	22	8	14	7	85

¹⁾ Marriage with a woman who was abducted in previous war and was adopted by other Daasanach.

²⁾ 4 Samburu, 3 Omo Mulre, 2 Mursi.

Table 12. Opportunity of adoption

ethnic group	drought	abduction in war	escape from community	others	no data	total
Turkana	10	8	7	1		26
Nyangatom	2					2
Hamar			1			1
Gabra		2		1	1	4
Arbore	2					2
others ¹⁾	1	2	1	1	1	6
total	15	12	9	3	2	41

¹⁾ 2 Borana, 2 Mursi, 1 Didinga, 1 Elmorro.

Members of other ethnic groups who are adopted by the Daasanach are initially treated as workers (*gede*). Men usually engage in herding and women engage in “domestic” works such as fetching water and collecting firewood. Once an adopted man comes to be recognized as a trustworthy person, he is allowed to participate in the initiation ceremony and join his generation set as “a son” of the Daasanach who adopts him. He then follows the respective *rite de passage*, such as circumcision and *dimi* ceremony, for “becoming Daasanach.” Strictly speaking, an adopted man is not recognized as

“a true Daasanach.” However, if he conducts *dimi* ceremony, his children are “a true Daasanach.”²⁸ There is no initiation ceremony for women. When she marries a Daasanach man, she comes to be recognized as “Daasanach’s wife.” Once an adopted woman get married, her “parents” and their kin take her bridewealth.

Why Have Cross-Cutting Ties Persisted?

Economic Interdependence

The Daasanach have various individual cross-cutting ties, not only with *gaal kunno*, but also with *kiz*. These ties have contributed to people’s survival in an uncertain environment. Different ethnic groups share water and pasture space without making clearly defined boundaries. Groups that experience stable harvests trade or give crops for livestock with neighboring ethnic groups with unstable crop production. When droughts occur, women and children move to the floodplain and “become Daasanach” through marriage or adoption. They have constructed and maintained an indigenous network of food security through the trans-ethnic movement of residences, goods, and members. In addition, amicable trans-ethnic communication provides an opportunity for the “socially weak” to escape from invisible violence in the community and a place where they can rebuild their lives. The Daasanach have accepted ecological-economic and social “refugees” from neighboring ethnic groups into their community.

Amicable relations have not been unilaterally replaced by hostile relations as previous studies have implied.²⁹ As shown in Table 5, not only elders, but also youths, have friendship(s) with *kiz*. As shown in Table 9 and Table 10, many members of the same generation with my informants have kinship relation(s) with *kiz*. Although the group-level migrations, like those of the Randal and the Kuoro from northwestern Kenya, have, as far as I know, not occurred since the state encroachment in the late 19th century, amicable communication beyond ethnic boundaries continues today at an individual level.

Researchers’ tacit assumptions may misrepresent the realities on the ground. One assumption has been that government-imposed national-borders and so-called “tribal zones” inevitably diminish mutual visits and friendly relations among neighboring ethnic groups. For example, it is implied that inter-ethnic conflicts among the Daasanach, the Nyangatom, and the Turkana have occurred as a

²⁸ See also Sobania (1980: 210).

²⁹ Matusda (in press) also showed that bond-partnership among Muguji and neighboring peoples have persisted in 1989.

result of herding prohibitions in the Ilemi area around Mt Labur by colonial powers (Almagor 1974, referred to in Tornay 1979; Mburu, 2003). However, according to my research among the Daasanach, it was explained that herding in the Ilemi area continued even after the prohibition, and they cooperated with the Turkana by merging their herds to make them less noticeable to colonial officers. In this respect, people rather intensified cooperation with *kiz* in order to resist arbitrary boundary making by the government.

Another assumption is that as towns and markets are established by the government and large amounts of goods are introduced from the outside world, trans-ethnic transactions will come to an end. This is partly true. According to Sobania (1980), during the 19th century, the main goods that the Daasanach received from other ethnic groups were iron ware, coffee beans, and cooking pots. At the present day, blacksmith techniques have been adopted in Daasanachland and Daasanach blacksmiths can now make their own ironware. Coffee beans were already replaced by coffee husks that have been sold in the town since 1980s. Cooking pots are being rapidly replaced by pans which Highlanders supply.

On the other hand, people use goods from the outside world to exchange or give within the trans-ethnic friendly network. For example, the Daasanach often exchange Ethiopian alcohol (*arake*) with the Turkana for pans and beads that are sold only in Kenya. The establishment of towns and the introduction of goods from outside markets have partly replaced existing trans-ethnic transactions, yet have stimulated the network at the same time. Although the way of cooperation and the goods which people transact have been affected by outside influences, the economic significance of cross-cutting ties has persisted.

Strong Inclination for Social Interaction with Others

However, this persistence cannot be explained only in terms of economic factor. If it was the only factor at work, they would just trade goods to get resources which are scarce in their own community and herd livestock together to adapt to an uncertain environment. There would be no need to form asymmetrical and continual relations. Nevertheless, people often entertain and give *kiz* an initial gift without demanding any immediate return. For example, a Daasanach gave more than 100 kg of sorghum to a Turkana suffering the drought and whom he met for the first time.

“Long-term economic rationality” or “insurance for the unpredictable future” cannot explain this

practice,³⁰ because, when he gave the gift, he did not have any reliable information on this Turkana person; whether he is trustworthy to come back to make a counter-gift, he is rich enough to make a counter-gift which is worth the value of initial-gift, and so on. In addition, if a war were to break out with the Turkana, mutual visits would be suspended and he would not receive a counter-gift.

We can explain this practice as one closely linked to peoples' strong inclination for face-to-face interactions with others as an individual. As Strecker (2005) pointed out on the Hamar, the Daasanach also have strong interests and knowledge about other ethnic groups, even about *kiz*, and like to talk about them. They told me about their knowledge of other ethnic groups such as their languages, place names, hair style and fashion, material culture, name of territorial groups, generation sets and clans, and so on. People often discussed their plans to visit neighboring group's land for trade and visiting friend. Such interest in others is reflected in their face-to-face interactions with others. When members of other ethnic groups oppressed by drought and violence visit Daasanachland, the Daasanach do not exclude them, bringing up the matter of group attributes as the "enemy" (cf. Kawai 2004; Ohta 2005), or treat them just as "business contacts," but they firstly accept them with hospitality and use the chance meeting to form individual continual relations.

Such interactions are supported by something like "our consciousness" among the Daasanach and neighboring ethnic groups, especially in terms of comparisons with Highlanders. Most of the Daasanach, except those engaged in government jobs, do not have a friend and a kin with Highlanders, because, they say, "If we become friends, Highlanders just stay in town, so that every time I must go to his house. And when I do not take milk or butter as a gift, he does not supply me even with coffee. The Highlander's stomach is rotten (*geer Uchumba modo*; meaning stingy)."³¹

In contrast, one Daasanach man told me that both the Daasanach and neighboring ethnic groups are people who "give cowhide (*rokode siis*)" to others. In the evening, people spread cowhide in front of the house, and they drink coffee, eat supper, enjoy talking, and sleep on it. "People who give cowhide" means people who have good hospitality and supply generously others with coffee, meals, and a place to sleep. The person who is entertained would say to the host, "You should come to my village with your wife to eat my livestock's meat." Such hospitality and mutual visits engender a strong feeling of trust and enable them to form continual and equal relations. Trans-ethnic cross-cutting ties have been stimulated and maintained not only by the economic interdependence but also

³⁰ Tadesse (2005) discussed that friendship with the member of another ethnic group is an economic investment for the future. I cannot agree with such an explanation which reduces people's hospitality and generosity to just "undeclared calculation" (Bourdieu, 1990). See also Felix (in this volume).

³¹ See also Almagor (1986) on relations between the Daasanach and Highlanders in the 1960s.

by their strong inclination for social interactions with others.

How Do Cross-Cutting Ties Relate to War and Peace

Cross-Cutting Ties and War

How then do these cross-cutting ties relate to war and peace? First, problems that stem from mutual visits might trigger conflict between individuals and it escalates into inter-ethnic war (*osu*). When the Daasanach live together with members of other ethnic groups or go to their lands to trade or visit friends, there are some cases in which a Daasanach was killed by *kiz* or vice versa. The Daasanach explained that these killings are a major contributing factor to war.

For example, the cause of the “Terle War” (circa 1950) occurred when the Daasanach and the Nyangatom lived together in Nakwa village. Terle, a Daasanach youth, killed an elderly Nyangatom woman. The “Ai I-Artulkach War” (circa 1987) with the Hamar occurred when Nyaira, a Daasanach middle-aged man, was killed by a Hamar man as he went to Hamarland to buy a small livestock skin. The “Kute War” (circa 1957) broke out when Kute, a famous Daasanach elder, visited his Turkana friend in Lomiana village and was killed by his friend. These killers were often youths who hungered for praise from community members as “a brave man (*maa nyare*) who killed *kiz*.”

After such conflicts between individuals,³² both groups returned to each “our land” from *dieto*, made a symbolic boundary (*ginya*) with *kiz* by sorcery (*muor*), and war happened. The Daasanach often explained about the cause of wars passively, for instance, “God gave us war” or “Turkana come to attack us and compel us to fight.” Even though many people wish for amicable interactions with *kiz*, co-residence and mutual visits give hot-blooded youths opportunities to kill *kiz*, and the slain member’s group start large-scale wars for revenge. People who wish for amicable interactions inevitably get involved in war, regardless of their intentions.

In addition, the existence of cross-cutting ties does not strongly influence the men’s decision whether they go to battle or not. Most of the Daasanach who have friend(s) with *kiz* told me that to raid their friend’s livestock is not a bad thing (*adab*) at all. When they kill other Daasanach or “our people,” the Kara, the Arbore, the Toposa, the Rendille, the Samburu, the Pokot, and the Somali, they have *nyogich* or have sinned. It is said that “the person who has *nyogich*“ (*maa nyogich gaa*) will inevitably die because his/her belly will swell and spill (*geer gaa jieme, geer okodie*) by itself.

³² There are also cases that trivial quarrels among youths and little troubles concerning grazing land in co-resident land escalated into inter-ethnic war.

In contrast, when they kill a member of *kiz*, even a deceased person is their friend (though, many informants said, “I do not want to kill my friend”), they have no *nyogich* if they will conduct proper rituals for purification after killing. When they, the Daasanach explained to me, kill a member of *kiz* who has kinship relations with them through trans-ethnic marriage or adoption, they have *nyogich*. However, even such persons go to war. They should be careful not to kill people, shooting the rifle only to the sky for intimidation, and should only engage in raiding livestock.

The “Ai I-Shuomoi War” between the Daasanach and the Turkana (circa 2000), one of the biggest wars in these ten years, is a revealing example. It was said that about 200 people died or were wounded in this war. Of 174 adult men informants, 43 men participated in this war. Among them, 12 men had friend(s) and 14 had kinship relation(s) with the Turkana. Even two men whose mothers were born in Turkana and were married to Daasanach men went to the war and raided Turkana livestock. One said, “Even if the livestock I raided are my *au* (mother’s brother’s) livestock, no *adab*. Why? Because they are *kiz* livestock.”³³

Cross-Cutting Ties and Peace

On the other hand, there are cases in which cross-cutting ties contributed to the alleviation of conflicts. In the “Terle War,” Nyangatom youths tried to attack the Daasanach who lived together soon after they had heard that Terle had killed a Nyangatom woman. Then, Lugute, a Nyangatom elder, persuaded the youth not to immediately attack the Daasanach, saying, “I have a good Daasanach friend. I gave his baby my name, Lugute, and they live here now. You should not kill my people.” The youths accepted his word and postponed their attack until the next day. In the meantime, the Daasanach moved to the south with their livestock, and only one herd was raided in the next day’s attack. Because one elder had an intimate friendship with a Daasanach, the war remained on a minimal scale.

Cross-cutting ties are also necessary to form peace in the post-conflict situation. Battle would finish for one or two days. However, antagonistic relation between ethnic groups continues and

³³ Even though the person who have friendship(s) or kinship relation(s) with *kiz* goes to battle and kill other members of their friend’s or kin’s group, we cannot conclude that war “is a mechanism for creating discrete groups through the attempted negation of their pre-existing interrelations”(Harrison 1993: 18) or “can be seen as a common ritual language...by which groups make themselves significant to each other...as independent political entities” (Turton, 1994: 26). These explanations did not pay sufficient attention to individual decision-making processes and choices of action related to the war. I showed that, when war breaks out, Daasanach individuals are not homogeneously mobilized for war in subordination to a certain external norm and the decision to go to war or not constitutes a choice of action on the part of each individual, each of whom considers his experience in previous wars when deciding whether to participate in future wars (Sagawa forthcoming).

mutual visits remain absent. Under such “cold war” situation, individuals who have cross-cutting ties with *kiz* visit to enemy’s land for holding peace ceremony or seeing friend.

Peace ceremony is that one group visits the other group after a war ends. The host group entertains visitors and holds a peace speech meeting. On 30–31 March 2006, 19 Nyangatom visited Nyummeri, the Daasanach village, and held a peace ceremony. At that time, Daasanach who had learned the Nyangatom language through co-residence or from friends translated the conversation for the rest of the Daasanach and cared for their Nyangatom guests.

At the peace speech meeting, 29 people talked about the futility of war and the importance of peace. They frequently referenced the names of co-resident places or other groups’ members; “We lived and herded the livestock together in place X” or “I ate the livestock meat with Y’s father many times.” These testaments reminded people of the friendly relations before the war and persuaded both groups that recapturing the friendly relations would be mutually beneficial. Their orations were persuasive because, as a matter of fact, they have recovered co-residence and mutual visits every time after a war ended.

Above all, for the Daasanach, peace, or *simiti*, does not exist without cross-cutting ties. One elder talked about *simiti*.

When the rain comes and the land becomes cool, we move with livestock and live together with the Turkana. Elders talk on many issues under the shade of a tree all the day. Youths herd together under the sun and take a rest together under the shade of a tree. If the Daasanach’s herd starts to move when a Daasanach herd boy is sleeping, a Turkana boy shakes him to awake and says, ‘Your herd is moving.’ This is *simiti* [Merikile, 26th March 2006].

When I asked adult men about friendships they had with *kiz*, most of them added the following words at the end of their answers; “We have not seen each other for a long time because of wars. But if we will make *simiti*, he must visit my village, and I will slaughter my small livestock to entertain him (or I must visit his village, and he must entertain me).”

Simiti does not imply a passive condition in which there are no wars. It is a dynamic process in which people recover mutual visits, renew old friendships, and form new continual social relations. In short, *simiti* means that individuals actively engage in amicable face-to-face interactions with others irrespective of each ethnic attribute. “No war” is just one requirement for *simiti*. This notion of peace reflects their strong inclination for face-to-face interactions with others as an individual which

I pointed out above.

In fact, after the peace speech meeting with the Nyangatom, the first people who went to Nyangatomland for peaceful purposes were people who had cross-cutting ties with them. Once those individuals took the initiative to restore mutual visits, the inter-ethnic relation shifted from “no war” to *simiti*.

Conclusion

In Ethiopia, ethnic nationalism and inter-ethnic conflicts, partly inspired by ethnic federalism since 1991, have been on the rise (e.g., Ashnake 2004; Dereje 2006; Vaughan 2006). Regardless of the intentions of policy makers, the ideas and consequences of ethnic federalism, which regards an “ethnic group” as its basic unit, are, to some extent, similar to the indirect rule of the British colonial government in Kenya.³⁴ The British colonial government established “tribal zones” to curtail mutual visits and social relations among ethnic groups, partly because the colonial government regarded them as potential sources of violent conflict. A divide-and-rule policy might achieve a temporary state of “no war,” but it has also aggravated a sense of exclusivity and antagonism among ethnic groups from a long-term perspective (e.g., Sobania 1988, 1990; Matsuda 2000).

While previous studies have revealed some of the negative effects of such interventions by outside powers and the introduction of rifles on inter-ethnic relations in this area,³⁵ trans-ethnic cross-cutting ties have however persisted, and continue to play a necessary role in mitigating conflicts and restoring peace in the border area. More than anything else, peace for the Daasanach, *simiti*, cannot be fully realized without the recovery and activation of amicable trans-ethnic interactions.

In the field of conflict theory and peace studies, some scholars recently use the term “conflict transformation,” instead of “conflict resolution.” Galtung (1996) discussed that conflict itself cannot resolve, but the process of conflict can transform to the direction of peace. Igriss (2005: 195) also chose the term “conflict transformation” and described that conflict is “the unavoidable friction resulting from differences in human affairs.” At the same time, conflict “is as much at the root of progress and innovation as it is of polarization and violence, depending on how those engaged in

³⁴ Tornay (1993: 155) wrote fifteen years ago, “political projects which aim at redividing countries on purely ‘ethnic’ grounds seem to me highly questionable. One could argue that they are likely to do nothing more than encourage tribalism...”

³⁵ See Abbink (1993) and Matsuda (2002) on the negative effects from the outside world on inter-ethnic relations in this area.

conflict understand and deal with it.” Richards (2005: 18) proposed the conflict transformation approach, which re-directs “social energies deployed in war to problem-solving ventures on a cooperative basis.” They seem to appreciate Simmel (1955: 13) who recognized that conflict is “one of the most vivid interactions” and contains both positive and negative aspects. This idea enables us to consider peace, not by separation according to group attributes such as tribe and ethnic group, but through face-to-face interactions among individuals.

I have illustrated here that co-residence and mutual visits between members of different ethnic groups have in some cases resulted in conflicts and they escalated into large scale wars. Considering the conflict transformation approach, the matter for peace-building is not to negate trans-ethnic amicable interactions as “a cause of conflict/war.” We should be cautious about such a facile idea, because we know the consequences brought by divide-and-rule policy. Instead, we need to consider how to prevent the escalation from the initial small-scale conflicts at an individual level to collective violence exercised at an ethnic group level. It will be an important task for external actors to transform individual cross-cutting ties to more positive powers which prevent or mitigate collectivization of violence when face-to-face interactions among individuals bring conflict. Current and future interventions need to respect the indigenous cross-cutting ties as “local potential for spontaneous peace” and, at least, should be careful not to exact negative influences on these ties.³⁶

Acknowledgments

A version of this paper was presented at the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies at Trondheim, Norway (2-6 Jul 2007). I would like to express special thanks to the organizers of the Conference. I also express my appreciation to Professor Ohta Itaru of Kyoto University who read a version of the paper for Conference and made many useful comments, and Shauna LaTosky, who corrected my English and also made some suggestions.

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³⁶ I analyzed two peace meetings that were organized by governments and local NGOs in 2006, and examined the problems and possibilities which outside intervention could have toward peace-building in the border area (Sagawa 2007).

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