

Christian-Muslim Narratives and their Dialogue for Sustainable Peace and Development in the Oromia Region, Ethiopia

Abraham Hailu Weldu¹
John Bosco Kiingati²

¹abrahamhailu2020@gmail.com (+254795836879)

²kingatijb@yahoo.com (+254732848781)

¹<https://orcid.org/0009-0002-1390-5549>

²<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7304-9740>

^{1,2}Tangaza University, Kenya

ABSTRACT

This article is written as part of PhD research, which sought to understand the narratives of the Christian-Muslim relationship towards the dialogue that leads to sustainable peace and development in Oromia, Ethiopia. The research's purpose was to find out whether the existing narratives of Christian-Muslim relationships obstruct or enhance dialogue that could affect sustainable peace and development in Oromia. The research method utilised by the research was qualitative research approaches, particularly the narrative approach. The research used the snowball sampling technique. The Inter-Group Theory guided the research. The target population was the whole population of Addis Ababa in 2022: 5,005,524. The sample size was 12 persons from different walks of life. The research employed interview guides for the interviews and focus group guides for focus group discussion to collect data. The collected data was analysed using narratedata analysis. The research findings indicate that today, in Ethiopia, particularly in the Oromia region, the positive narratives of Christian-Muslim peaceful co-existence are stronger than the negative ones of grievances and feelings of revenge. Hence, although the stakeholders need to address the existing injustices and the deep-seated grievances of Christian-Muslim relationships, the study concludes that those deficits of justice and grievances are not at the level of endangering the Christian-Muslim dialogue. Therefore, the research recommends that all the stakeholders of sustainable peace and development, particularly the Christian and Muslim leaders, the government and the civil society leaders need to bank on the positive narratives and collaborate to address the root causes of conflicts and poverty, which can derail the dialogue which guarantees continuity.

Keywords: Christian-Muslim Dialogue, Ethiopia, Narratives, Positive and Negative Narratives, Root Causes of Conflict, Stakeholders

I. INTRODUCTION

Narrative inquiry presents the coherent stories that human beings make from everyday life (Murray, 2018). In the narrative inquiry, the study assumes that human beings can express their lives' significant, strong and painful events through stories. Therefore, narrative data deals with the long-lived experiences of people expressed in storytelling. It underlines the importance of giving voice to the chronological events that mark their lives, their families, and their religious or ethnic groups. Creswell (2007), defining narrative, emphasises the importance of spoken or written texts, which give an account of events or actions that are chronologically connected. In other words, the narrative approach gives special consideration to a history narrated by individuals.

Globally, the Christian-Muslim historical relationships have exhibited both negative and positive narratives. The narratives started during the period of Prophet Muhammed in the 7th century when an intense Islamic violent expansion began. Within a short period, Islam spread to Asia, Europe, and Africa (Haghnava, 2013). When Muslims conquered the Iberian Peninsula by force (Irwin, 2019), Christians of Europe were shocked and reacted through severe and violent actions. In Spain, Queen Elisabeth and Prince Ferdinand of Aragon gave the Muslims an ultimatum to either leave Spain or be converted to Christianity (Irwin, 2019). In contemporary times, the Christian-Muslim relationship in the United States has been marred by conflict and the terror attacks of September 11th 2001 (Boediman, 2019). These incidents and wars have continued to provoke negative narratives among Christians and Muslims alike.

Regionally, the military conquest of Northern Africa in the 7th Century by Muslims generated many negative narratives in the minds of the Christians (Hays, 2018). During the forceful conquest, Muslims used harsh and systematic reduction and extinction of Christian communities (Boediman, 2019). On their part, Muslims have negative narratives about Christians, too. In Africa, Muslim narratives relate Christianity to African nations' painful colonial history (Tan, 2017). They argue that most of the present fundamentalist groups rose as reactions to the unfair and unjust treatment of their Christian or non-Christian leaders, who were too close to the Western governments

(Iheanacho, 2016). Globally, despite the negatives, there have been positive narratives emanating from Christian-Muslim relations. For instance, Christians recognise and respect the Medina Charter, which was signed in 722 (Embong et al., 2020). Also, Muslims are known for their great scientific discoveries when Europe was in the medieval Dark Age (Jain, 2010). In addition, many agreements and alliances were signed and kept during the Crusade era. This allowed both communities to share sacred spaces, commercial dealings, and exchanges of science and other essential ideas (Mourad, 2018).

In West and North Africa, Islamic religion is the most prominent instrument of liberation against colonial forces (Krause, 2021). On their part, Muslims are people of a trade by tradition (Cartwright, 2019). Muslims also acknowledge that Christians in Africa introduced education, hospitals, and expertise in conflict resolution, bringing peace and development (Shaib, 2020).

Among the things which obstruct the Christian-Muslim dialogue in Ethiopia is the harsh treatment of Muslims, particularly the Oromo Muslims, and by the Christian kings. In the history of Ethiopia, Emperors Tewodros the II (1855-1868) and Yohannis the IV (1872-1989) promulgated decrees for the mass conversion of Muslims in the 19th Century (Abbink, 2011). These tragic events negatively challenged the Christian-Muslim dialogue and continue to do so today.

Within this leadership, there are negative narratives in the Oromia region, where reciprocal biases, both by the Christians accusing Oromos of being inclined to Islam and Muslims accusing the Amharas and Tigrrians of inclining to Christianity, are present (Ostebo, 2008). This means that for Christians, the Oromos pose an Islamic challenge, whereas for Muslims, Amharas and the Tigrrians represent the oppressive Christian regimes of Ethiopia. Furthermore, from a Christian perspective, Muslims were allegedly accused of aligning with the colonial powers (Ahmed, 2006; Ostebo, 2014). These challenges pose suspicion, reducing the fruits of Christian-Muslim dialogue.

Another incidence is when Christians were haunted by the narratives of Imam Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim Al-Gazi, locally known as Ahmed Gagn (1506 – 1543). Imam Ahmed brutally conquered three-quarters of Ethiopia. Also, there is a Muslim narrative about Emperor Menelik. He was Christian, and Muslim narratives argue that Emperor Menelik, in the name of Abyssinia, expanded the Amhara domination and Christianity domination simultaneously (Horo, 2020).

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The research recognises that globally, there is Christian-Muslim dialogue within the bigger frame of interreligious dialogue. 2017, according to Pew Research Centre statistics (Pew Research Centre, 2017), Muslims were at 1.8 and Christians at 2.3 billion, which is 7.3 per cent of the total population. Together, they are more than half of the world's population. In Ethiopia, Christians and Muslims are the two biggest religions. Hence, both globally and nationally, the dialogue between Christians and Muslims is paramount. If the biggest religions both globally and on the level of Ethiopia, focus on the dialogue proactively, sustainable peace and development will be a reality for creating a better world. An exploration of the varied narratives in this article involving Christians and Muslims in Ethiopia revealed both positive and negative discourse. From the background, we have observed that there were continued appeals to focus on positive narratives that elucidated Christians and Muslims in Ethiopia standing soldier-to-soldier in authentic dialogue to defeat their common enemies- poverty and injustice in the Oromia Region of Ethiopia.

Up-to-date, however, there are insurgencies of negative narratives in the Oromia region, where reciprocal biases, both by the Christians accusing Oromos of being inclined to Islam and Muslims accusing the Amharas and Tigrrians of inclining to Christianity (Ostebo, 2008). This means that for Christians, the Oromos pose an Islamic challenge, whereas for Muslims, Amharas and the Tigrrians represent the oppressive Christian regimes of Ethiopia. Furthermore, from a Christian perspective, Muslims were allegedly accused of aligning with the colonial powers (Ahmed, 2006; Ostebo, 2014). Also, there is a Muslim narrative about Emperor Menelik. He was Christian, and Muslim narratives argue that Emperor Menelik, in the name of Abyssinia, expanded the Amhara domination and Christianity domination simultaneously (Horo, 2020).

While there are positive narratives involving the Christians and Muslims in Ethiopia, the negative narratives pose challenges to their peaceful co-existence, thus negatively affecting the peace of Ethiopia. From the negative narratives, mutual suspicions and intergroup exclusions, reducing the gains of Christian-Muslim dialogue keeps threatening sustainable peace. The grievances emanating from the negative narratives hardly illustrate the level of dangers posed to the country's peace and development, in contrast to the benefits to be gained by the positive narratives. There was no identified literature that focused on the effect of narratives in Ethiopia on the sustainable peace and development of the Muslims and Christians in the Oromia region. Therefore, this article sought to explore whether the Christian-Muslim narratives positively or negatively affect the Christian-Muslim dialogue in the light of sustainable peace and development in Oromia.

1.2 Research Objective

To explore the effect of Christian-Muslim narratives on dialogue in the process of sustainable peace and development in Oromia, Ethiopia.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Theoretical Review

Globally, there are several narratives in the history of Christian-Muslim relationships. The narratives started with the period of Prophet Muhammed in the 7th century and were characterised by an intense Islamic expansion (Haghnava, 2013). Christians narrate that the forceful invasion of Islam was one of the first causes of conflict between Christians and Muslims. Islam's religious and territorial expansion exacerbated the conflict when Islam continued expanding rapidly to traditionally Christian territories in Southern Europe (Smith, 2015). To date, Christians narrate how shocking it was for them when Muslims conquered the Iberian Peninsula and stayed for more than seven centuries (711-1492) (Irwin, 2019). Christians perceive this narrative of Islamic territorial expansion as negatively affecting the efforts of Christian-Muslim dialogue.

Muslims also have narratives that obstruct the Christian-Muslim dialogue. As Islam was expanding rapidly to the West, to Palestine, Southeast Europe and North Africa, Christians used every method they saw as beneficial to halt Muslim expansion (Smith, 2015). For instance, the Christian Queen Elisabeth and Prince Ferdinand of Aragon gave the Muslims a choice: either leave Spain altogether or be converted to Christianity. Most left behind their historic property and loved ones who converted to Christianity (Irwin, 2019). Although some pretended that they were converted, they secretly practised their Islam faith until Phillip the III allegedly committed ruthless religious cleansing of Muslims (Tremlett, 2017). This incident and its narratives still haunt Muslims up-to-date. For instance, the Barcelona attack in 2017 by ISIS was to restore Spain, especially Al Andalus, the centre of the Umayyad Caliphate in Europe of the Middle Ages, to Muslims (Woolf, 2017).

Another Muslim narrative about the Christians is the Crusades that took place from 1095 to 1492; they felt bitter about how Christian civil and religious leaders waged war against them, especially in Palestine and South-Eastern Europe. Muslims perceive the event as a Christians' overreaction and claim Palestine exclusively, while it belonged to Jews, Christians and Muslims (Kiboi, 2017). They narrate that even today, there is a degree of continuity in anti-Islamic rhetoric and attitudes in the people and governments of the West (AbuKhalil, 2016). Muslims also add another narrative that the consequence of Muslims' apparent lagging behind Western innovations and scientific progress is due to the colonial brutality of Western governments and Christian religious leaders (Mohamed & Baqutayan, 2011, p. 24).

Similarly, Muslims feel deeply outraged by Islamophobia, which still harasses them for the simple fact of belonging to Islam. Today, Muslims argue that in the West, Islamophobia, instead of being subsided, tends to be a continuum of anti-Muslim sentiments throughout history (Olowo, 2021). They remember the tragic Islamophobia event in New Zealand on March 15, 2019, where a non-Muslim man killed 50 worshipping Muslim women, children, and men in cold blood (Poynting, 2020). That is why some Salafist Islamic groups in the world perceive the West as "evil" and immoral, so the West has to be destroyed and replaced by Islam (Eveslage, 2013). According to them (Salafi Islamic groups), Al Qaida, Taliban, ISIS, and other Islamist groups are the concrete expressions of the negative narratives in many Muslims' hearts.

Globally, there are also positive narratives in Christianity and Islam that enhance Christian-Muslim dialogue. The following concrete narratives are worth visiting. First, Christians recognise and respect the Medina Charter (Embong et al., 2020). The charter was written and ratified between the Muslims, the predominant inhabitants of Medina and several other minority inhabitants: the Jews, Christians, and other traditional religion adherents. The main objective of the Medina Charter was to achieve peace, unity and protection for the minority groups. The signatories were Muslims led by the Prophet himself and several other groups of non-Muslims. Hence, according to Muslim understanding, the Medina Charter gives a basis for the relationship between Muslims and other residents of a country or town in Islamic countries. The charter was signed in 722 (Embong et al., 2020).

Another positive narrative is about Islam's great scientific discoveries and growth that occurred when Europe was in the medieval Dark Age. Then, the scientific innovation centres of Islam were Baghdad in Iraq, Cairo, Damascus and Cordoba in South Spain. In addition, they recovered and developed modern science from ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, Greece, India and China (Jain, 2010).

Both Christians and Muslims agree that even during those dark periods of Crusade and mutual hatred accompanied by expulsions, there were narratives that indicated positive signs of Christian-Muslim co-existence. For instance, during the Crusade, they narrate that many agreements and alliances were signed to share sacred spaces, commercial dealings, exchanges of science, and other important ideas (Mourad, 2018).

In Africa, despite the positive co-existence, polarisation between Christians and Muslims is still abundant.

Some narratives are more recent, while others stem from past and colonial history. In recent times, some of the negative Christian narratives about Muslims have been highlighted regarding Nigeria with *Boko Haram*, Somalia with *Al Shabab*, and the Muslim Brothers of Egypt and Sudan are known. Other small but very influential groups function in Chad, the Central African Republic and in Mali. Singling out Mali, it shocked the world when many historical and sacred places and even monuments of traditional Islam were demolished. These include many historical religious sites (Iheanacho, 2016). These groups and their negative narratives challenge the Christian-Muslim dialogue in the areas.

In addition, Muslims' negative narratives connecting Christianity to a painful colonial history in Africa are significant. They argue that colonial leaders brought Christianity to pacify the African populations. Religion was meant to cover their brutal self-centred agendas and systems that robbed Africa of her rich cultures and resources (Tan, 2017).

On the part of Christians, there are positive narratives about Muslims in Africa in relation to the long struggle to free nations from colonial power. In West and North Africa, Islam Religion was the most prominent instrument of liberation against the colonial forces. An example could be taken from the rebellions in the Batna region in Algeria led by Ahmed Ben Bella, a freedom fighter in 1954. Ben Bella founded the National Liberation Front (FLN) and strongly supported Pan-Africanism with Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. Similarly, another Muslim leader in Niger, Mohammed Kaocen (1880– 1919), led a rebellion known as the Kaocen. He was from the Tuareg Ethnic group who rebelled against the French colonial powers, which led to the country's freedom (Krause, 2021).

Another element that is significant in relation to the narratives is trade. Trade connects both Muslims and Christians. Muslims, by tradition, are people of trade. Prophet Muhammad himself was a merchant. Muslims have picked the tradition of trade from their founder and expanded it to China, Europe, and other parts of Africa. UNESCO supports the idea stipulating that Islam is born in the commercial community of Mecca in Saudi Arabia by a Merchant religious leader, Prophet Muhammad (Cartwright, 2019). Islam encourages involvement in fair trade and commerce. Muslims believe that when a person in the business engages in honesty and in ways that do not contradict the command of Allah, they are rewarded by Allah, leading towards success. Hence, Muslims championed trade in Africa. As a result, Christian and traditional as well as civil society leaders recognise the expertise of Islam in making business agreements. This fame and expertise in business have become part of the narratives that enhance dialogue within various societal sectors, including Christians.

Muslims also have positive narratives about Christians in Africa. For example, Christians have contributed significantly to introducing education and hospitals to Africa. Also, Christians have enhanced formal peace negotiations. For instance, there was a successful event in both Sudanese and South Sudanese history, where the Christian religious leaders were instrumental in achieving the Addis Ababa Agreement. It was signed on the 27th of February 1972. The agreement stopped 17 years of civil war in Sudan. Due to the agreement, the civil war stopped for ten years (1972-1983). It was organised primarily by the Sudan Council of Churches, the World Council of Churches, and the African Council of Churches, supported by the Ethiopian government (Shaib, 2020).

Looking at Ethiopia, there are positive narratives that uphold the peaceful co-existence between Christians and Muslims. The first outstanding story is about Prophet Muhammad sending his followers when they threatened extinction in the 7th century. The Christian king warmly welcomed and protected the refugees sent to Abyssinia, the modern Northern part of Ethiopia (Ahmed, 2006). Another scholar adds a related narrative about Prophet Muhammad reminding those "Muslims" to leave the Ethiopians alone as long as they don't bother you'- implying co-existence and respect for the Ethiopian emperor's positive role in maintaining the original Islamic community" (Abbink, 2014, p. 268).

On the other hand, when we look at the history of Ethiopia, the Christian-Muslim narratives are mirrored in the tragic events associated with Ethiopian Emperors. The Emperors Tewodros the II (1855- 1868) and Yohannis the IV (1872-1889) announced mass conversions of Muslims in the 19th Century (Abbink, 2011). The fear of Emperor Tewodros triggered the harsh measures against the Wollo Oromo, who were mostly Muslims. He suspected that one day, they would seize power and convert the entire empire to Islam, prompting him to cause unforgettable suffering against Muslims. He amputated limbs and executed Oromo Muslims of Wollo in thousands (Balcha, 2005). Similarly, Emperor Yohannis concentrated on the mass conversion of the Muslims. Those who refused were killed or sent to exile. These tragic events still carry venom, which challenges the Christian-Muslim dialogue.

The Ethiopian empires that had made Orthodox Christianity the national religion undermined the equality of religions and even the existence of other religions, despite their historical and numerical significant presence. Ethiopia was considered a Christian Island. All these narratives affect the Christian-Muslim relationship negatively. An international scholar, an expert on the socio-religious context of Ethiopia, wrote recently about how Christianity and Muslims have used ethnicity and religion for political and economic interests:

These devastating episodes were motivated by calls to supreme religious identity and authority (of Islam) but always intermingled with territorial, economic and political power motives. Both expanding Christianity...and Islamic conversions created a landscape of tension and competition between different

ethnic and religious communities that consolidated societal pluralism. (Abbink, 2020, p. 200)

There are also narratives enhancing Christian-Muslim dialogue in the country. In Ethiopia, it is customary for Christians and Muslims to show solidarity when one group or individual from another group faces calamities or holds a festive of any kind. In addition, national and international scholars have recognised the tradition of the longstanding peaceful co-existence of the Ethiopians. Ostebo (2008) argues that the narratives of the longstanding and accepted religious plurality and the tradition of peaceful co-existence must have contributed to avoiding religion-based conflict among Christians and Muslims of Ethiopia. Also, Ahmed (2006) confirms the idea that the occasional tensions, competitions, and misunderstandings between Christians and Muslims cannot remove the tradition of tolerance and shared sentiments of peace and collaboration. Similarly, Abbink (2011) speaks about the Ethiopian accommodative interreligious relationship.

When we look at the Christian-Muslim narratives from a local (Oromia) perspective, there is an indigenous group that is religious, socio-political and democratic. This group is among the systems of the Oromo people and is called Abba Gada. The group is friendly to both Christians and Muslims (Debele, 2017). Christians and Muslims can be part of the Abba Gada system without abandoning their religions. Christians and Muslims having this experience generate narratives of mutually built unions under the umbrella of Abba Gada Christians and Muslims. They easily engage in Christian-Muslim dialogue.

This section has given both the positive and the negative narratives involving Christians and Muslims. It discusses narratives from the global and regional fora and different historical times. In the end, it brings to light the narratives of Ethiopia. The current study seeks to address how positive narratives can be adopted toward sustainable peace and development in Ethiopia, particularly in Oromia.

2.2 Empirical Review

2.2.1 History of Christian-Muslim Dialogue and Its Narratives in Oromia

In his empirical study, Stewart (2009) argues that most conflicts arise from nationalistic and political grounds rather than religious or ethnic perspectives. According to the author, religion neither has a significant influential role in conflict-making nor in solving it. Contrary to the position of Stewart (2009), in their empirical study, Silvestri and Mayall (2015) found that religion remains fluid, affecting peace and development both directly and indirectly. Hence, they argue that it is important to understand how much religion affects peace and development in a specific context. The authors, therefore, argued that studying religion's context and history is crucial.

Similarly, in his empirical studies, Baatsen (2017) adds that understanding the Christian-Muslim conflict by studying the history of Christian-Muslim relations is paramount. The ideas of Silvestri and Mayall, together with Baatsen, could be summarised as follows: the historical context of the conflict regarding the religions involved enables understanding and solving the conflict, giving way to peace and development.

By implication, studying the context of religions and history includes studying the existing positive and negative narratives of the religion involved. In the context and history of Ethiopia, particularly Oromia, the current study agrees with the three authors (Baatsen, 2017; Silvestri & Mayall, 2015) mentioned. There are plenty of negative and positive narratives in relation to Ethiopia's Christian-Muslim context. These narratives mark their history and influence their current co-existence and, by extension, the sustainable peace efforts in Ethiopia. This article presents findings from empirical research that sought, among other objectives, to weigh the power of the existing historical narratives in the light of the Christian-Muslim dialogue. In its quest, the study also sought to realise the level of sustainable peace and development in the Oromia Region of Ethiopia based on these narratives.

III. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

The study employs a qualitative research method that underlines the importance of a unique situation of the place, the participants, and the target population in their natural context (Creswell, 2013). Several scholars (Creswell, 2013; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011) on qualitative research argue that qualitative research goes deep into the context to explore, understand and interpret the meaning of social phenomena. Hence, the current qualitative research has listened to the experiences and the voices of Christians and Muslims in Oromia, particularly the research participants in Addis Ababa.

In the context of Ethiopia, especially the Oromia Region, many Muslims have deep feelings of anger for the past years of oppression under the Christian kings. Also, Christians who are a minority in the Oromia region fear being targeted as objects of revenge. Qualitative research gave heed to those real threats and historical injustices in the context.

3.2 Narrative Approach

There are five qualitative research approaches: narrative research, case studies, grounded theory, phenomenology, and participatory action research (Butina, 2015; Creswell, 2007), the current research took a narrative approach because it is primarily interested in the coherent stories that human beings make from their everyday scattered and often conflicting experiences (Murray, 2018). The study used the narrative approach under the general qualitative research method. The study used the most popular narrative data collection technique - the interviews (Murray, 2018).

3.3 Locations

Since there have been confrontations between the government and the allegedly Muslim extremists in Addis Ababa for quite a long period (Abbink, 2014), the research chose Addis Ababa. Also, there has been a question about the city's ownership: To whom does Addis Ababa belong? To the Oromia Regional Government or the Federal Government? In addition, the region is cosmopolitan: Oromo and other ethnic groups, as well as Christians and Muslims from all over the country. As it is shown in Figure 1, there is also a contested issue regarding the city expansion plan of the previous and partially the present ruling party. Therefore, the current study recognises Addis Ababa as capable of demonstrating sufficiently the Oromia region's historical and current Ethno-political narratives.

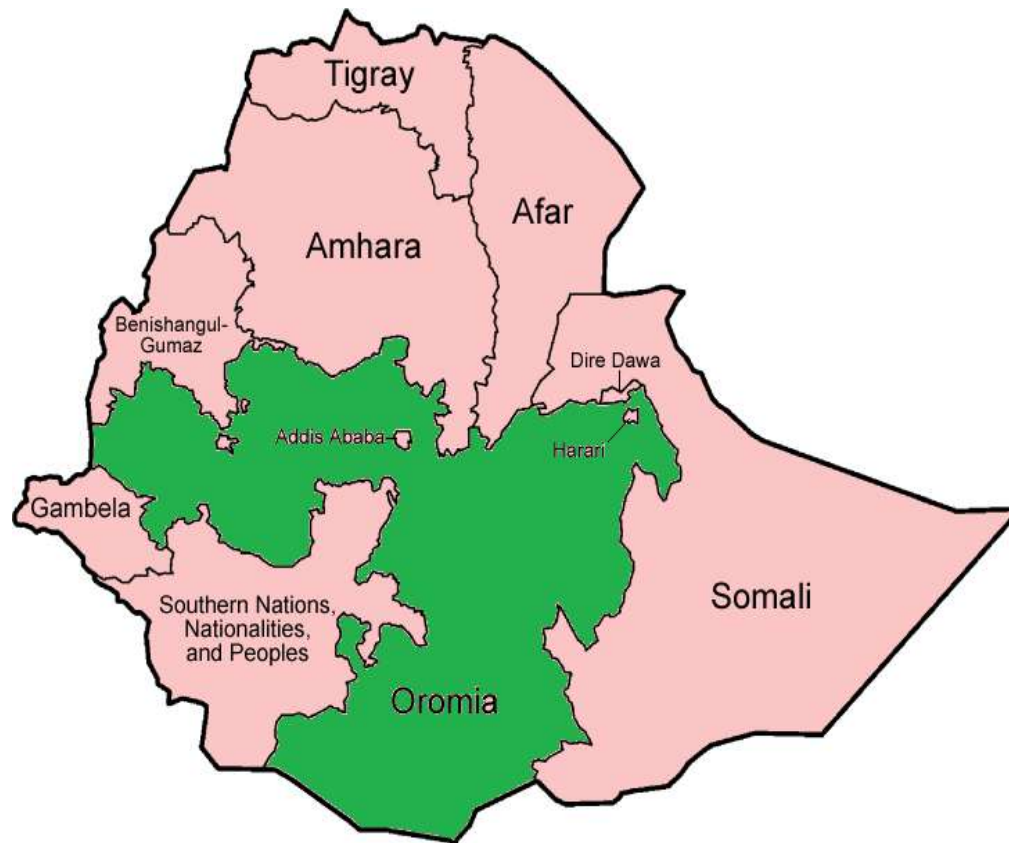


Figure 1

Map of Oromia Region of Ethiopia

Source: The Caravel Archives (2016)

3.4 Target Population

Addis Ababa has 527 square kilometers of area. Approximately the population density is 5165 individuals per square. The target population, therefore, included all the residents of Addis Ababa. Addis Ababa is in the Oromia region. According to the World Population Review, in 2021, the population of Addis Ababa was 5,005,524 (World Population Review, 2022). There are many ethnic groups and religious denominations. With these inclusions, it is worth putting the statistics into context. According to the latest census, which took place in 2007, the population of Ethiopia was 73.7 million (Abbink, 2011). Also, Oromia is the biggest and most populated region in the entire country. The census found out that by then, it had a population of 27,158,818. By now, though there are no specified statistics, it is evident that Oromia has increased tremendously.



3.5 Sampling Technique

The current research utilised the snowball sampling technique to locate the needed population of the participants. This was to minimise bias on the part of the researcher while guaranteeing the security of the participants and the researcher. Dealing with peace and security, particularly Christian-Muslim dialogue, involves security challenges; hence, the snowball sampling technique was used (Etikan, 2016).

3.6 Sample Size

Table 1

Sample Size of the Participants

Objectives	Christian Leaders	Muslim leaders	Experts	Ordinary people	Total
1	5	4	0	3	12

As indicated in Table 1, the total sample size was 12 participants from different religions, ethnic groups and professions to comprehensively understand the research on Ethiopia's Muslim-Christian history and narratives. There were seven Key Interview Informants (KIIs) and one Focus Group Discussion (FGD) for objective data collection. There were five members in the FGD. The total sample size for the research of this article was 12 participants.

3.7 Research Instruments

The research employed interview guides for the interviews and focus group guides for focus group discussion to collect data (Kothari, 2011). Both instruments had open-ended and semi-structured questions (Creswell, 2013).

3.8 Data Analysis

There are four types of data analysis in qualitative research: thematic, content, discourse, and narrative analysis, the narrative data analysis was preferred: it assisted in the analysing and evaluating the data, provided information on what the participants narrated about themselves and about the subject under study (Hammond, 2019). Also, prominent narratives that emerged were picked up to get to the findings of the research.

IV. FINDINGS & DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Response Rate

During data analysis of narrative data, the essential narratives are picked to get to the narrative research findings (Murray, 2018). Therefore, the research chose four central narratives to answer the research question. The research question asked: What are the Christian-Muslim narratives that could affect their dialogue negatively or positively in the process of sustainable peace and development in the Oromia region of Ethiopia?

4.2 Findings

4.2.1 Christian King Welcomed Muslim Refugees

As per the research findings, the most famous narrative based on the Christian-Muslim relationship in Ethiopia is the story about the Muslim refugees sent by Prophet Muhammad (PUH) from Saud Arabia to Habesha, Ethiopia, to a Christian King known as Al Negashi. Several participants highlighted different aspects of the narrative. According to a participant, the Prophet told the refugees that they would find a leader who respects human rights when they go to Ethiopia and is a righteous man with whom everybody is warmly welcomed. Ali expressed the narrative as follows:

History witnessed that peace be upon him Prophet Muhammad told them while sending Muslims to Ethiopia 'go to Ethiopia where there is a leader who respects human rights, righteousness and accepts with grace whoever comes and stays with him whether refugees or others' and accordingly the refugees came to Ethiopia and found a warm welcome. (Ali, April 7, 2020)

According to a Christian participant, the way the Muslim refugees were warmly welcomed and accepted by the Christian king is considered one of the most remarkable historical facts. The participant said:

Muslim followers and leaders have historically been welcomed by Ethiopia ... It is said that Muslim followers have been received by the Christian king with great respect and hospitality. This is a great example of a symbol of love. It means without any difference in religion. Christianity and Islam religion followers are still living in peace and which is a great ground and goal for dialogue. (Susan, May 2, 2020)

Husein also explained that the neighbourly love shown to the Muslim refugees was not only by welcome but also when their countrymen followed them to punish and retake them to SA, the king protected them. Hence, mutual protection has been the sign of genuine love at the root of the Christian-Muslim relationship (Husein, May 21, 2020).

In the story, Prophet Muhammad trusted that King Negashi was a just man who did not treat anybody unjustly in his kingdom, whether Christians or Muslims, so he dared to send his followers (Safieddine, 2016). To the point, Farah said: "This was said by Prophet Muhammed himself who said these words, 'go to Habesha land.' There is a King who is very ... just and ... kind" (Farah, April 25, 2020). A mutual appreciation of the values of different religions allows us to engage in dialogue more proactively:

To respect your neighbours whether it's Muslim or non-Muslim. So, when we see those eh... Qur'an sayings and what have been there in time of Negashi, our religion appreciate that our togetherness, our social life eh... whether it is with Muslims or non-Muslim community. I think those help much... to live together. (Fadil, June 8, 2020)

When this kind of positive encouragement and guideline comes from the Prophet himself, Stephen recommended that all the followers of Islam have to obey for the sake of their faith and for the needed peace in the Oromia region. "The thing which comes from the Prophet, for instance, is, it makes it values because he's an authentic person... And anyone listens to him, and he is the first who established the religion... So, that by itself creates something important" (Stephen, April 15, 2020). This narrative has been the foundational story for Christian-Muslim dialogue. John shared about the narrative:

Christians and Muslims... are equally proud of that history because it is the first eh... collaboration or dialogue in action or action dialogue. Because when Muslims were persecuted from their part, by their own people, the Ethiopian king received them and gave them protection even when they attacked them. So, the king protected them until the end. (John, April 10, 2020)

A Muslim participant from Oromia argued that peaceful co-existence became part of Oromia's culture and the rest of Ethiopia. This helps them achieve sustainable peace and peaceful interactions today. A female participant from Oromia explained how the peaceful co-existence of Christians and Muslims is beneficial:

Christians and Muslims in the same neighbourhood, living in the same compound. Just we follow our religions, but we live as a community... We run our social life together. Our children play together. We, along with our children, we have Christian friends. As you said, we used to fast with each other; we do that... for example, I have a friend who is a Christian friend. They fast with me for the month of Ramadan. I fast with them. (Amira, May 21, 2020)

A Christian participant reiterated how the same story of the welcoming of the exiled Muslim from Saudi Arabia became instrumental for the Interreligious Council of Ethiopia (IRCE) with the following words:

I am learning a lot from them IRCE. So, everywhere, whether in Oromia region or everywhere... You know the story of ... the first Hijira to Ethiopia eh... which has been very, very positive... and constructive a model for Christian-Muslim ... dialogue and Christian-Muslim relations... from the beginning. (Moses, May 10, 2020)

4.2.2 Christian Kings Oppress Muslims and Oromos

Starting from the 4th century up to the end of the Christian emperors and kings' period in 1974, Christianity was the state religion officially or non-officially. Christianity provided the political ideology for the system. Muslims who arrived two centuries after Christianity attempted to offer an alternative religious background to the system, but the Christian kings and religious leaders did not trust them, so they did not accept them. According to several participants, although the first Christian kings welcomed and protected Muslim refugees sent by the Prophet, later on, the Christian kings oppressed Muslims. The Christian kings did not consider the Muslim nationals but expatriates and refugees who were granted the favour of being welcomed. They were considered guests and Christians as hosts.

The Muslims were not Ethiopians but Muslims from Arab or Muslim countries in Ethiopia. This bias cost Muslims a lot of discrimination and an unequal share of socio-political power. Even when the Muslims became a significant number, they were not recognised as defining members with the right to participate in the government's executive power. Although Muslims were a considerable number in the country, their existence was not consistently recognised. Richard expressed the grievance of Muslims in this regard as follows:

I think the grievance is that Ethiopia has been considered the land of Christians for quite a long time. Without even recognising the existence of the Muslim community. That was a bad history that has to be corrected. That's... what I feel as a citizen. In the presence of a large number of Muslim communities, we used to say 'land of Christians'. (Richard, April 27, 2020)

Similarly, Muslim female participant Fatima shared: "I hope our elites in the future will call this history (a bad history), and we will learn from the bad side, and we will call it bad side and take the good side for the future Ethiopia" (Fatima, April 21, 2020). As a participant said: "The Christian Kings were saying to us Muslims are Arabs, so they have to go to Mecca" (Amira, May 21, 2020). These discriminative were linked to religion and to ethnicity:

the imperial regime of Ethiopia also used particularly, the Orthodox Church or Orthodox Christianity as the main ideological force to ... conquer the minds of the conquered people and

... to be Christian was almost to be an Amhara, at the time. So, you are to change your names, and you're to... eh... have eh... a Christian name, you have to ... whatever the Church orders, the regime orders ... And, you have to act like Amhara- that is considered, to act as a civilised. (Gutama, April 27, 2020)

Historically, Muslims think Christianity has exploited them; they have been seen as second-class citizens (Frank, April 29, 2020). Therefore, many Muslims in Oromia look at the Christian religion as the religion of oppression and dominance. Fatima, a Muslim participant, said, "So Muslims in Oromia sometimes looked at the [Christian] religion as the religion of the oppressor; the religion of the dominant" (Fatima, April 21, 2020).

However, Farah said that today, something is being done to solve the problem at the Interreligious Council of Ethiopia level. Although they faced some confrontations from the representatives of the Churches, the council has acknowledged the existing disparity between Muslim and Christian history in the present historical books. Therefore, they agreed to introduce the narrative about Prophet Muhammad, peace upon him, and his followers coming from Saudi Arabia as a refugee to Ethiopia in the country's history. The words of this expert were as follows:

So, these I think in recent times... not more than ten years, history is becoming known and known by the different historians trying to write about Negashi and Islamic history. Eh... So now it is to some extent become known, and even the Church by itself try to recognise. (Farah, April 25, 2020)

These narratives continue to present the tensions between Christians and Muslims in Ethiopia. The findings are thus pointing toward the need for Christian-Muslim dialogue. Both sides need to be on good terms so that they can collaborate for sustainable peace and development.

4.2.3 Battle between Imam Ibrahim and Christian Kings

The narrative about Imam Ibrahim, traditionally known as Ahmed Gagn, and Christian kings is another episode that started in the 16th century and still haunts many Muslims, particularly Christians (Abbink, 2011). It was a bitter ethno-religious battle starting in Oromia and raging for more than ten years throughout the country. The Christians and Muslims killed each other. A Muslim leader, Fatima, narrated how the people still remember the many atrocities committed by Muslims and Christians. She stated that there is still "Ye Ahmed Dingay", which means the 'stone of Ahmed' where Ahmed Gagn (Imam Ibrahim) was killing Christians and others who refused to convert to Islam, and Christians were also retaliating (Fatima, April 21, 2020).

Many educated people and some ordinary Christians and Muslims vividly remember the event and narrate it, explaining when Imam Ibrahim was getting the upper hand, and the Christians were losing ground, there was the maximum suffering of Christians in the history of Ethiopia at the hands of Muslims. Jason stated:

Churches were burnt down, Monks were killed, and Christians were persecuted, and all the bad things were done there at that time. All the churches were burnt down, Christians were converted by force, and then the Kings were running from one mountain to the other mountain. And then almost for the 15 years, all the disasters we have witnessed that time. And then, that was the darkest spot between Christian and Muslim relationships. (Jason, April 26, 2020)

This participant calls this period "the darkest spot between" Christians and Muslims in the country's history. David, another expert on the consequences of ethno-religious conflicts, described how Ahmed Gagn in the Name of Islam and Oromo committed atrocities, though contested by the Oromo historians today:

Although there are many Oromos who dispute that history, if you go back into history and following the Garg Ahmed's demise, the Oromo movement from the south to the North and destruction and atrocities the Oromos did to all other people; beginning from Southern Ethiopia all the way to Tigray and even... to this day in some of those areas people talk about the Oromo Brutality that happened during that time? (David, May 23, 2020)

This was an ethno-religious war. Oromos used Islam, and vice versa; Christians used Amhara, and Amharas used Christianity to fight a bitter and long war. Indeed, it was the darkest period of the Christian-Muslim relationship in Ethiopia. This period has had a negative influence on the Christian-Muslim to date. During Imam Ibrahim and the Christian Kings' battle, both Muslim and Christian leaders used religion and the ethnic divide to expand their power. And they have required conversions to their religions forcefully. John described the situation as follows:

You know in Ethiopia, political leaders, kings or chiefs, always used religion to expand their political powers. Ahmed Gargn used Muslims, and king Yohanis also pushed Muslims and attacked and mobilised Christians and other Christian kings also used Christianity as the source of power. (John, April 10, 2020)

Today, Christian alienation is intense in Oromia due to the above historical narratives. The participants also narrated how the local government in Oromia failed to protect the Christians from the Muslim extremists, but they also added pressure and harassment. Some Muslims condemn Christians' attacks, but generally, enough is not being done by the religious leaders and the government. The suffering of Christians in the hands of Muslims has its roots in the period of Imam Ibrahim and Christian kings. Therefore, the participants reiterated that honest Christian-Muslim

dialogue is more urgent than ever in the Oromia region.

4.2.4 Christian-Muslim Solidarity against External Enemies

In most of Ethiopian history, Christians and Muslims worked for the common good. Although some elements worked contrary, they fought together against their enemies, particularly those who wanted to colonise Ethiopia, such as Italy and England and Muslim countries, Turkey, Egypt, Yemen, and Somalia.

During the time of... Turkish... I mean, during the time of [the] British invasion, ... they were all fighting against it together... I mean ...when it comes to national issues, there is no difference between the Muslim and Christians (Jason, April 26, 2020)

Christians and Muslims sometimes disagreed with each other, but they fought as one regarding external powers attacking or jeopardising the country's unity. Several participants repeated the same understanding as follows: Farah said:

Even when we come to the Eastern part, when Somalia invaded Ethiopia, all Christians and Muslims come together and fight that the invaders. So... where there is a need for peace and freedom, all Ethiopians, Christians and Muslims always stand together (Farah, April 25, 2020)

It does not surprise us to see them fighting with each other sometimes, but Ethiopians always fought the external enemy shoulder to shoulder (John, April 10, 2020).

4.3 Discussions

The first research question sought to know the role of Christian-Muslim narratives in enhancing sustainable peace and development in Oromia, Ethiopia. The research understood that if there is an effective dialogue based on positive narratives among the Christians and Muslims, who constitute more than 90% of the population of Ethiopia, there will be sustainable peace and development in Oromia as well as the entire of Ethiopia.

The summary of the findings of the research question presents the following points: today, in Ethiopia, particularly in the Oromia region, the narratives of Christian-Muslim peaceful co-existence are stronger than the narratives of grievances and feelings of revenge. Hence, the data suggested that although there are some deficits of justice and deep-seated grievances in Muslim and Christian relationships, the narrative study concludes that the deficits of justice and deep-seated grievances are not at the level of endangering the dialogue. They are not to the degree of jeopardising the future Christian-Muslim dialogue and collaboration.

However, on the one side, there was the presence of deep-seated grievances among Christians and Muslims over the atrocities and alienations committed by Christian kings against Muslim and Oromo communities. On the other, Imam Ibrahim's soldiers were brutal in the 16th century and the recent feelings of fear, expulsion, and burning of the churches and other Christian properties. These two issues should be tackled effectively by the key stakeholders of sustainable peace and development: Christians, Muslims, Abba Gada, and the government. This second part will be discussed in the key stakeholders' section.

4.3.1 Discussion on the Long-Lived Experience of Peaceful Co-Existence

The research sought to know how the narratives of historical Christian-Muslim relationships in Oromia and Ethiopia positively or negatively affect the Christian-Muslim dialogue. It was found that the narratives were mainly positive. There are not necessarily to obstruct dialogue. Moreover, they are instrumental in enhancing the Christian-Muslim dialogue that leads toward peace and development.

Among the narratives, one of the milestones for peaceful Christian co-existence is the narrative of Prophet Muhammad sending his followers from Mecca to Abyssinia. There is also the narrative of the Christian king welcoming and protecting them warmly. As it was analysed in chapter four, the story is known and proudly shared by most Christians and Muslim participants regarding dialogue. Ali, a Muslim participant, said: "the refugees came to Ethiopia and found a warm welcome" (Ali, April 7, 2020); a Catholic participant explained in the story how both Christians and Muslims "are equally proud of" the narrative (John, April 10, 2020); a protestant pastor reiterating the same sentiment about the story calling it "very, very positive ... and constructive [,] a model for Christian-Muslim ... dialogue and Christian-Muslim relations... from the beginning" (Moses, May 10, 2020); and a Christian female participant added "This is a great example of a symbol of love. It means without any difference in religion. Christianity and Islam followers are still living in peace, which is a great ground and goal for dialogue" (Susan, May 2, 2020).

The literature review also confirms the claim of the research findings, which argued that Christians and Muslims demonstrate solidarity during both joys and calamities. For instance, when Christians or Muslims in specific areas face natural or manmade calamities or hold a festive of any kind, they share without religious discrimination. In the literature review, Ostebo (2008) explains that the tradition of the longstanding peaceful co-existence among Christians and Muslims is well established. He adds that in the country, the narratives of the longstanding and

accepted religious plurality and the tradition of peaceful co-existence must have contributed to avoiding religion-based conflict among Christians and Muslims of Ethiopia. Temporary tensions and competition among Christians and Muslims cannot remove the tradition of tolerance and shared sentiments of peace and collaboration.

This argument by Ostebo is in line with the experience of a Muslim participant who said that although they follow their own religion, they live peacefully with Christians as a community and are good neighbours and friends, fasting and feasting together (Amira, May 21, 2020). The argument of one of the participants speaking on the line of Amira brings a similar concept of peaceful co-existence of Christians and Muslims in Ethiopia, including Oromia, regardless of the various governments' attempts to divide them and the undeniable ethnoreligious differences (David, May 23, 2020).

The theoretical literature review further confirmed the tradition of solidarity between Christians and Muslims, as explained by Amira (May 21, 2020) and David (May 23, 2020). Furthermore, Ahmed (2006) explained that history's occasional tensions, competitions, and misunderstandings between Christians and Muslims could not remove the tradition of tolerance and shared sentiments of peace and collaboration in Ethiopia. Abbink (2011) also argued that the Ethiopian accommodative interreligious relationship is an asset for Christian-Muslim dialogue. These concepts of mutual tolerance and collaboration that the literature review confirmed were stated by two Christians and one Muslim participant in the sections of the findings explaining that when it comes to national issues, there is no difference between Muslims and Christians (Jason, April 26, 2020).

Another Christian participant added that it does not surprise him to see some fighting among each other, but Ethiopians always fought the external enemy shoulder to shoulder (John, April 10, 2020). Farah, a Muslim participant, added a similar concept that most Ethiopians share: "Even when we come to the Eastern part when Somalia invaded Ethiopia, all Christians and Muslims come together and fight the invaders. So ... where there is a need for peace and freedom, all Ethiopians, Christians and Muslims always stand together" (Farah, April 25, 2020). The literature review section supported this general understanding of peaceful co-existence found in the research findings.

Additional secondary data supported the same concept in the findings. A scholar and expert on the Ethiopian context confirmed that both Christians and Muslims in the Horn of Africa are characterised by their tolerance and longstanding tradition of interaction (Abbink, 2020, p. 197). As was the finding regarding the unifying events in history, an Ethiopian scholar confirmed that Ethiopia, for both Christians and Muslims, has offered many chances of unifying formulas, particularly centuries-old peaceful co-existence (Girma, 2021). However, he brought nuance to the claims when he said that in the present (2020-2022) upheaval in Ethiopia, regrettably, the religious and political leaders seem not to use those unifying historical formulas and keep the unity of the citizens.

4.3.2 Discussion on the Injustices and Grievances in Oromia, Ethiopia

The main findings of the research argued that though they are less critical than Ethiopia's much-celebrated peaceful co-existence, plenty of the narratives of injustices and grievances exist in Oromia and the entire country. Unless the reality is accepted and addressed by the inclusive dialogue of the stakeholders, they might rise to an obstructing dialogue that leads to sustainable peace and development. There are signs indicating that. The Discussion starts by restating the research findings briefly about the existence of injustices and deep-seated grievances. Then, we discussed how dialogue must prioritise addressing those threats to future sustainable peace and development.

In the research findings, the participants brought grievances. For example, a participant explains the grievances regarding Christian kings at length. Although they welcomed the Muslim refugees, they always considered them expatriates, giving them the favour of welcome. Even when the Muslims became Ethiopians, they were still considered guests and Christians as hosts. He shared that Muslims felt that they were welcomed as Muslims but not their Islamic religion (Richard, April 27, 2020). The participant expressed his anger with the following words as a citizen: "I think the grievance is that Ethiopia has been considered the land of Christians for quite a long time, without even recognising the existence of the Muslim community. That was a bad history that has to be corrected" (Richard, April 27, 2020). Two other female Muslim participants added the following words: "I hope our elites in the future will call this history (a bad history), and we will learn from the bad side" (Fatima, April 21, 2020). Up to date, in some areas in Ethiopia where Muslims are a minority, they are harassed by being told, 'go to your countries; you do not belong here; you are Arabs. These words echo the words of the Christian kings, who, according to the second participant, added, "The Christian Kings were saying to us Muslims are Arabs, so they have to go to Mecca" (Amira, May 21, 2020).

The literature review section confirmed the above findings. Particularly, in the 19th Century, Emperors Tewodros II and Yohanis the IV carried out mass conversions allegedly for fear of the native Muslims having a relationship with the externally threatening Muslim nations. Those who refused would be killed or sent to exile (Abbink, 2011). Also, Emperor Tewodros carried out oppressive measures against the Wallo Oromo for fear that one day, they would cease power and convert the entire empire to Islam (Balcha, 2005).

The additional secondary data confirms the discrimination against Muslims. They were not allowed to become members of the national military for years; particularly, they were forbidden to take higher offices in the military until

the early 1990s. They were forbidden to own land because they were considered non-patriates. They were seen as 'Muslims in Ethiopia' instead of 'Ethiopian Muslims' (Abbink, 2014). Muslims were allegedly accused of collaborating with the Muslim and Christian colonial powers. Hence, it appears the Christian kings had an excuse to forbid Muslims from owning the land and taking higher ranks in the army. A scholar confirmed Muslims' painful exclusion and bitter experiences in the Christian-dominated country. He said:

Centuries with Christian dominance, a politico-cultural ideology in which Christianity constituted an important part of Ethiopianness, resulted in the positioning of the Muslim as second rate. Excluded from participating in political life, denied any representation in the form of organisations and stigmatised, the Muslims consequently withdrew from the public sphere and were left protective of their limited space. (Ostebo, 2008)

Oromia is one of the first regions where the *Salafis* took root, probably because of the reaction to these injustices. The traditional Muslim group also preferred to be silent and work in a hidden situation for fear of the possible Christian punitive measures on them. However, as we have observed in the section on the study's background, some sectors of Muslims opted to respond violently by relating to extremist *Salafi* groups in and around the country (Antegegn, 2019). Saudi Arabia also supported those groups willingly, for it had a strong aim of establishing a *Salafi* regime in Ethiopia (Erlich, 2007).

When we discuss the land narratives in the context of Ethiopia, land was considered a sign of economic and social power, especially during the feudal system, which lasted until 1974 after more than two centuries. When the Mengistu Hailemariam regime overthrew Haile Selassie, a new land reform took place. Till then, the land was in the hands of Christian landlords. Muslims were not allowed to own land because they were not considered Ethiopians, but they were renting from Christians. Consequently, Muslims lived in small, rented houses in the towns. They used half of their house to run a small business; however, when the new law of the land (1975) proclaimed that the land should be for its tillers, the Muslims got land and kept their businesses. With that new land law, the Christians lost the land, their pride of richness. In other words, Muslims lost nothing and grew faster because they gained some land as they retained their wealth in the towns. However, the narratives of the operation of Muslims of that period affects negatively the dialogue between Christians and Muslims up-to-date.

For example, research in the area shows that they are controlling the biggest and most luxurious shops in most of the country. Small shops in every village in most of the eastern towns of Oromia are owned by Muslims. When a Christian starts a business, Muslims in the area make sure that man runs bankrupt or sells the shop to a Muslim and goes back to the villages. The Muslims pay double the rent to the shop owner, making it impossible to survive with that rent and revenue. Today, even some Muslims started considering the towns their special places, and Christians only restricted the rights of owning businesses in the cities. These frictions are already causing unrest and conflict in some areas of Oromia. For instance, in 2020, some Christian properties were burned down. And Christians were killed or chased from the towns. As a result, there are some economic differences and the country's consequent deep-seated grievances and negative narratives between Muslims and Christians. Hence, the researcher argues the need for a robust, inclusive dialogue to address the narratives of grievances and injustices with government approval and support.

V. CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusions

The finding of the research question suggests that today, in Ethiopia, particularly in the Oromia region, the narratives of Christian-Muslim peaceful co-existence are stronger than the narratives of grievances and feelings of revenge. Hence, the result indicates that although there are some deficits of justice and deep-seated grievances in Muslim and Christian relationships, the narrative study concludes that the existing deficits of justice and deep-seated grievances are not at the level of endangering the dialogue. They are not to the degree of jeopardising the future Christian-Muslim dialogue and collaboration.

5.2 Recommendations

The research recommends that all the stakeholders of sustainable peace and development, particularly the Christian and Muslim leaders, the government and the civil society leaders, need to bank on the positive narratives that exist and collaborate to address the root causes of conflicts, fundamentalism and poverty which can derail the dialogue which guarantees the continuity.

REFERENCES

Abbink, J. (2011). Religion in public spaces: Emerging Muslim-Christian polemics in Ethiopia. *African Affairs*, 110(439), 253–274. <https://doi.org/10.10193/afraf/sdr002>

- Abbink, J. (2014). Religious freedom and the political order: The Ethiopian 'secular state' and the containment of Muslim identity politics. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 8(3), 346–365. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17531055.2014.917855>
- Abbink, J. (2020). Religion and violence in the Horn of Africa: Trajectories of mimetic rivalry and escalation between 'Political Islam' and the state. *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, 21(2), 194–215. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21567689.2020.1754206>
- AbuKhalil, A. (2016). *The legacy of the Crusades in contemporary Muslim world*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2016/12/28/the-legacy-of-the-crusades-in-contemporary-muslim-world>
- Ahmed, H. (2006). Co-existence and /or confrontation? Towards a reappraisal of Christian-Muslim encounter in contemporary Ethiopia. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 36(1), 4–22. <https://doi.org/10.1163/157006606775569622>
- Antigegn, G. (2019). An assessment of religion, peace and conflict in the post 1991 of Ethiopia. *Vestnik RUDN. International Relations*, 19(4), 607–614. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2313-0660-2019-19-4-607-614>
- Baatsen, R. A. (2017). The will to embrace: An analysis of Christian-Muslim relations. *HTS Theologiese Studies / Theological Studies*, 73(6), 33–90. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v73i6.4840>
- Balcha, M. (2005). Genocidal violence in the making of nation and state in Ethiopia. *African Sociological Review*, 9(2), 1–54.
- Boediman, E. P. (2019). Civilisation relationship of Islam, West and Europe: Potential civilisation dialogue 'Peace Communication Model'. *International Journal of Recent Technology and Engineering (IJRTE)*, 8(2S4), 800–805. <https://doi.org/10.35940/ijrte.B1161.0782S419>
- Butina, M. (2015). A Narrative Approach to Qualitative Inquiry. *American Society for Clinical Laboratory Science*, 28(3), 190–196. <https://doi.org/10.29074/ascls.28.3.190>
- Cartwright, M. (2019). The spread of Islam in ancient Africa. In *World History Encyclopedia*. <https://www.worldhistory.org/article/1382/the-spread-of-islam-in-ancient-africa/>
- Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed.). SAGE Publication Inc. https://www.academia.edu/33813052/Second_Edition_Qualitative_Inquiry_and_Research_Design_Choosing_Among_Five_Approaches
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Research design qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approach* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications, Inc. https://www.academia.edu/28302615/John_W._Creswell-Research_Design_Qualitative_Quantitative_and_Mixed_Methods_Approaches-SAGE_Publications_Inc_2013_pdf
- Debele, S. (2017). Religion and politics in post-1991 Ethiopia: Making sense of Bryan S. Turner's 'Managing Religions'. *Religion, State and Society*, 46(1), 26–42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09637494.2017.1348016>
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2011). *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research* (4th ed.). Sage. Embong, Z., Musa, N. Y., Muslim, N., & Bukhari, N. I. A. (2020). Analysis of ethnic relations in the Medina Charter. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*, 10(10), Pages 22-31. <https://doi.org/10.6007/IJARBS/v10-i10/7895>
- Erlich, H. (2007). Erlich, Haggai, Saudi Arabia & Ethiopia: Islam, Christianity & politics entwined. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 37(4), 523–524. <https://doi.org/10.1163/157006607X240147>
- Etikan, I. (2016). Comparison of Snowball sampling and Sequential sampling technique. *Biometrics & Biostatistics International Journal*, 3(1), 6–7. <https://doi.org/10.15406/bbij.2016.03.00055>
- Eveslage, B., S. (2013). Clarifying Boko Haram's transnational intentions, using content analysis of public statements in 2012. *Terrorism Research Initiatives*, 7(5), 47–76.
- Girma, M. (2021). *Religion was once Ethiopia's saviour. What it can do to pull the nation from the brink*. The Conversation. <http://theconversation.com/religion-was-once-ethiopia-saviour-what-it-can-do-to-pull-the-nation-from-the-brink-171763>
- Haghnavaaz, J. (2013). A brief history of Islam (The spread of Islam). *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 4(17), 213–217.
- Hammond, C. (2019). *What Is Narrative Data Analysis Technique?* The Classroom | Empowering Students in Their College Journey. <https://www.theclassroom.com/narrative-data-analysis-technique-8706887.html>
- Hays, J. (2018). *Arab-Muslim conquests in Africa: Facts and Details*. <https://factsanddetails.com/world/cat55/3sub2/entry-5828.html>
- Horo, L. (2020). The Oromo Demand: The removal of statues of Menelik II. *Ayyaantuu*. <https://ayyaantuu.org/the-oromo-demand-the-removal-of-statues-of-menelik-ii/>
- Iheanacho, N. (2016). Boko Haram and renascent clogs in Muslim-Christian relations in Nigeria. *African Research Review*, 10(2), 47–63. <https://doi.org/10.4314/afrr.v10i2.4>
- Irwin, R. (2019, March 21). The contested legacy of Muslim Spain. [A review of the book Kingdoms of faith: A new

- history of Islamic Spain, by Catlos, B.]. *The New York Review of Books*. <https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2019/03/21/contested-legacy-muslim-spain/>
- Jain, K. (2010, February 1). The greatest scientific advances from the Muslim world. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/science/2010/feb/01/islamic-science>
- Kiboi, M. J. (2017). Inter-Religious conflicts in 21st century: Dialectical-scepticism as a panacea. *African Ecclesial Review*, 59(1 & 2), 89–120.
- Kothari, C. R. (2011). *Research methodology: Methods and techniques* (2nd ed.). New Age International.
- Krause, J. (2021). Islam and anti-colonial rebellion in North and West Africa. *The Historical Journal*, 64(3), 674–695. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X20000357>
- Mohamed, S., & Baqutayan, S. (2011). Social change in Islam. *International Journal of Basic & Applied Sciences*, 11(02), 23–33.
- Mourad, S. (2018, July 9). *Understanding the Crusades from an Islamic perspective*. The Conversation. <http://theconversation.com/understanding-the-crusades-from-an-islamic-perspective-96932>
- Murray, M. (2018). Narrative data. In U. Flick (Ed.), *Sage Handbook of Qualitative Data Collection* (pp. 264–279). Sage.
- Olowo, A. F. (2021). Islamophobia: A new phenomenon or part of a continuum. *Astrolabe: A CIS Student Research Journal*, 2021(3), 1–19.
- Ostebo, T. (2008). The question of becoming: Islamic reform movements in contemporary Ethiopia. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 38(4), 416–446. JSTOR.
- Ostebo, T. (2014). Salafism, State-Politics, and the Question of "Extremism" in Ethiopia. *Comparative Islamic Studies*, 8(1–2), 165–184. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1558/cis.v8i1-2.165>
- Pew Research Centre. (2017). *The changing global religious landscape* [Pew Research Centre]. <https://www.pewforum.org/2017/04/05/the-changing-global-religious-landscape/>
- Poynting, S. (2020). 'Islamophobia kills'. But where does it come from? *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy*, 8(4), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.5204/ijcjsd.v9i2.1258>
- Safieddine, S. (2016). *Migration to Abyssinia*. <https://www.al-islam.org/message-thaqalayn/vol-12-no-2-summer-2011/migration-abyssinia-shahnaze-safieddine/migration>
- Shaib, A. (2020). Sudan: Have the Juba and Addis Ababa Agreements untangled the dichotomy between religion and the state? *Arab Reform Initiative*. <https://www.arab-reform.net/publication/sudan-have-the-juba-and-addis-ababa-agreements-untangled-the-dichotomy-between-religion-and-the-state/>
- Silvestri, S., & Mayall, J. (2015). *The role of religion in conflict and peacebuilding*. The British Academy.
- Smith, J. (2015). Muslim-Christian relations: Historical and contemporary realities. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.013.11>
- Stewart, F. (2009). Religion versus ethnicity as a source of mobilisation: Are there differences? *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 70, 1–35. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1495152>
- Tan, C. (2017). Colonialism, postcolonialism, Islam, and education. In H. Daun & R. Arjmand (Eds.), *Handbook of Islamic Education* (pp. 177–188). Springer.
- The Caravel Archives. (2016). *Development and Ethiopia's Oromia Region—A conflict unresolved*. The Caravel. <https://www.thecaravelgu.com/blog/development-and-ethiopias-romia-region-a-conflict-unresolved>
- Tremlett, G. (2017, June 15). The Moor's last stand and blood and faith review – the expulsion of Muslims from Spain. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2017/jun/15/moors-last-stand-blood-and-faith-spain-muslims>
- Weldu, A. H., & Nyanhoga, S. (2024). Exploring Christian-Muslim dialogue for sustainable peace and development in the Oromia region, Ethiopia: Social transformation perspective. *Journal of African Interdisciplinary Studies*, 8(5), 212–230.
- Woolf, C. (2017, August 25). *ISIS says it wants to rebuild the Muslim caliphate in Spain*. The World from PRX. <https://theworld.org/stories/2017-08-25/isis-says-it-wants-rebuild-muslim-caliphate-spain>
- World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples. (2018). *Ethiopia*. Minority Rights Group International. <https://minorityrights.org/country/ethiopia/>
- World Population Review. (2022). *Addis Ababa population 2022*. <https://worldpopulationreview.com/world-cities/addis-ababa-population>