

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATES**

**RESETTLEMENT AND THE DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL
INTEGRATION IN CHEWAKA RESETTLEMENT
IN ILU ABBA BORA ZONE, SOUTHWEST ETHIOPIA**

By

ABDUROUF ABDURAHMAN HUSSEN

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ADDIS ABABA

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Resettlement and the Dynamics of Social Integration In
Chewaka Resettlement
In Ilu Abba Bora Zone, Southwest Ethiopia

By

Abdurouf Abdurahman Hussen
College of Social Sciences

Approved by Board of Examiners:

ALOLA BARKHURT
Advisor

Leif Mangus
Examiner

Berhan Mabrati
Examiner

D. Parlow

Leif Mangus

Berhan Mabrati

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Acronyms

ANC	Anti Natal Care
DAs	Development Agents
EC	Ethiopian Calendar
ENA	Ethiopian News Agency
EPI	Expanded Program of Immunization
FDPPC	Federal Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
FP	Family Planning
GOs	Government Organizations
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IRR	Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction
MCH	Mother and Child Health
MoFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
NGOs	Non-Government Organizations
ODPPC	Oromia Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission
PMC	Population Media Center
PNC	Post Natal Care
RDPPC	Regional Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission
SNNPR	Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region
STDs	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infection
TB	Tuberculosis
TFC	Therapeutic Food Center
TTC	Teachers Training College
TTI	Teachers Training Institute
TV	Television
USLC	United States Library of Congress
WAO	<i>Wereda</i> Administration Office
WFP	World Food Program
WIC	<i>Walta</i> Information Center

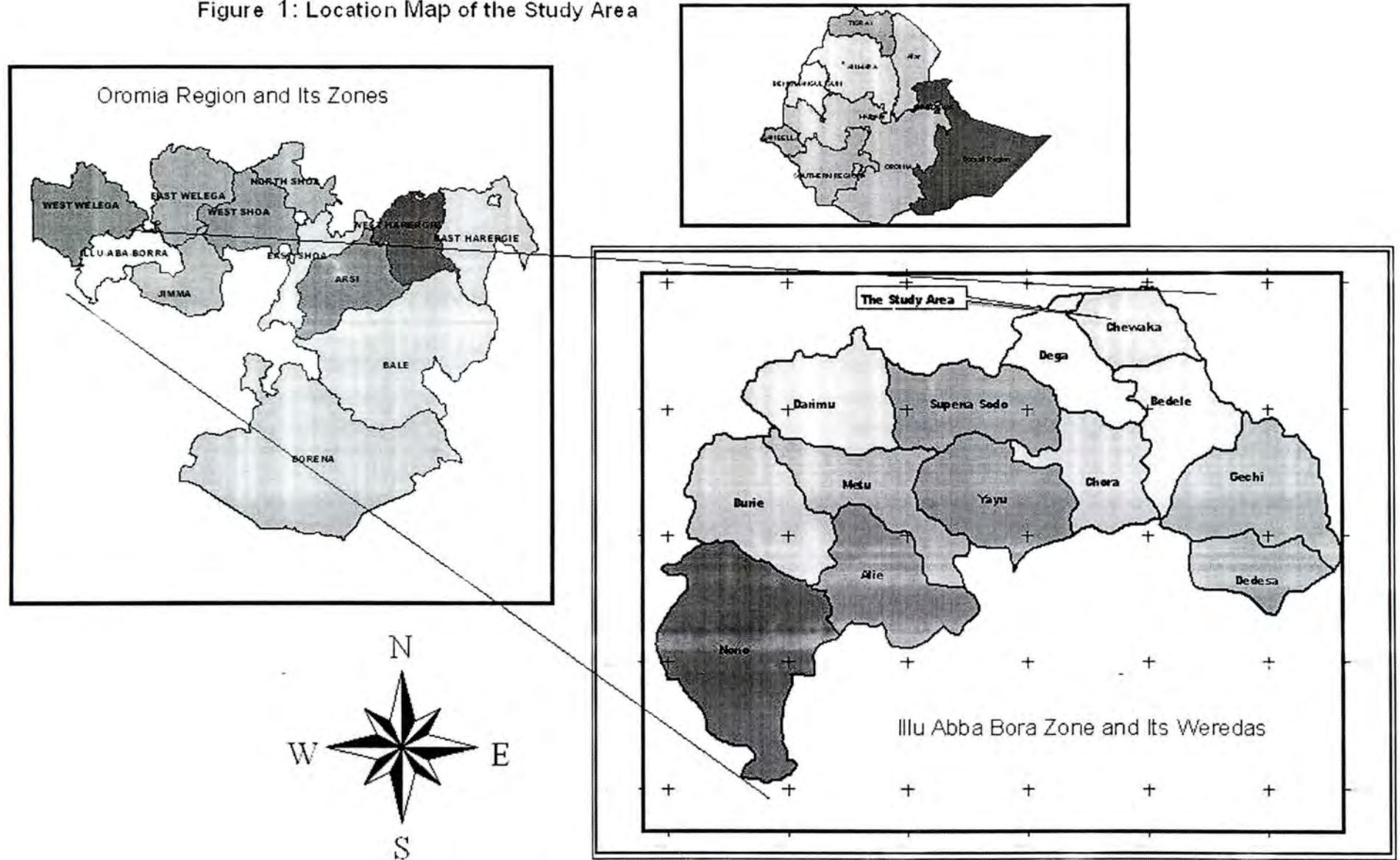
Abstract

The 2004 resettlement program of the Regional State of Oromia carried out in Chewaka Settlement, Ilu Abba Bora zone, has a noble goal of ensuring food self-sufficiency among the people located in chronically food insecure areas of East and West Harerge zones of the region. This is a social study carried out in Chewaka Resettlement. Basically, the study in this state-sponsored intra-regional voluntary resettlement program focuses on issues related to the integration of the settlers into the social and physical environment in their attempt to be self-supporting citizens. The study tries to assess motivation of the settlers; differentials between places of origin and places of destination; the social integration of settlers among themselves and with the host community; and adaptation of settlers to the physical environment.

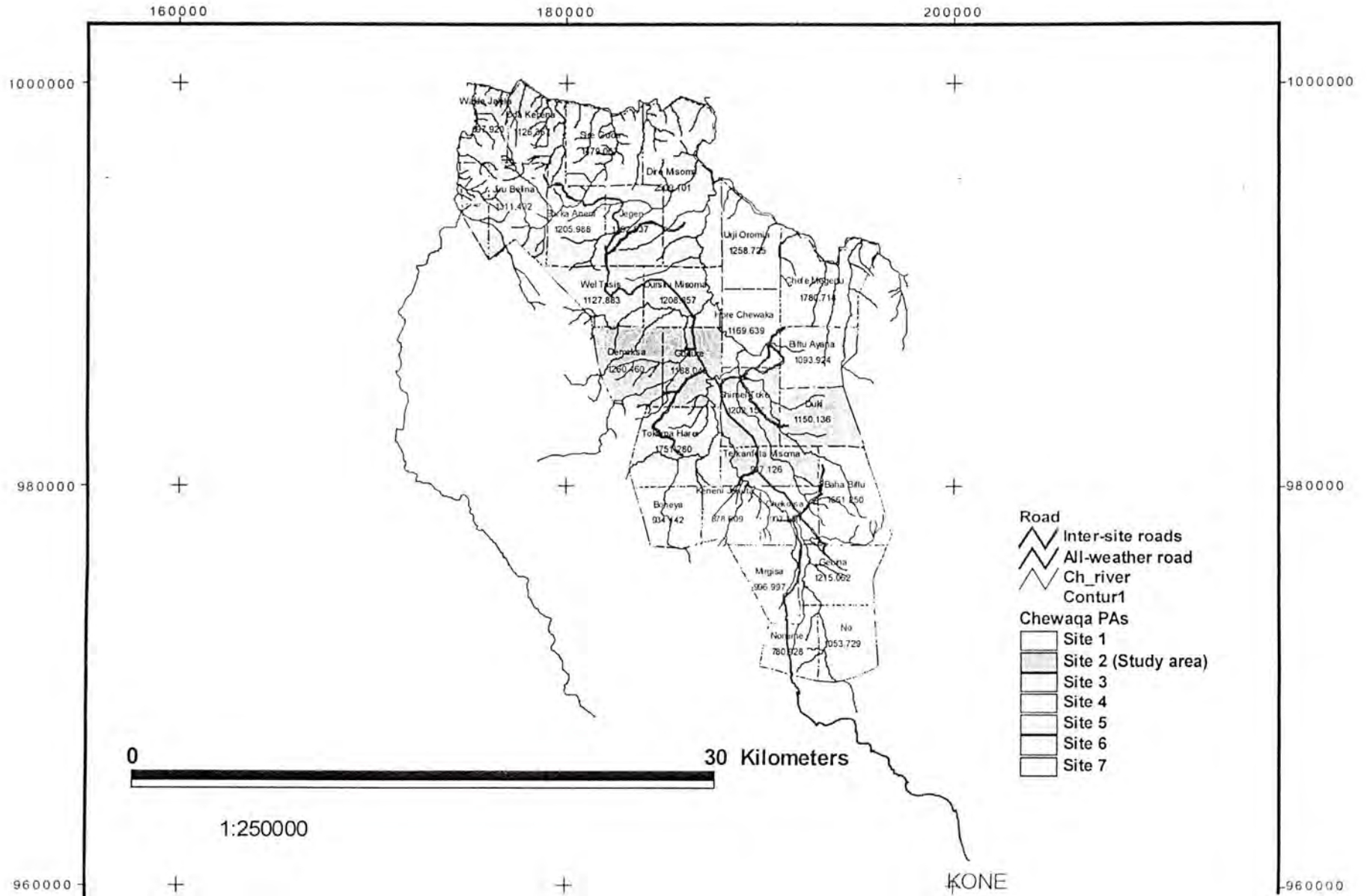
Based on the ethnographic data illustrated and discussed in the study, settlers in Chewaka were mobilized voluntarily from the aforementioned drought and famine-stricken areas. The recruitments were successful due to the severity of the crises from time to time for a decade. However, the realization of the program in the receiving area had not been found as simple as the selection and transferring of the displacees from their home areas. Hence, the attainment of the very objectives of the program was obstructed by the challenges particularly encountered at the initial resettling stage.

In fact, most of the misfortunes could have been avoided, if lessons drawn from previous programs had been utilized; and advices of scholars in the field of study had been considered. As a result, all the commonly known impoverishment risks of resettlement programs have been registered in Chewaka. Nonetheless, the resilience and endurance of the settlers are very promising for the future. In general, the study highlights the factors that facilitate the revival of livelihoods and community life in new social and physical settings.

Figure 1: Location Map of the Study Area



ILU ABBA BORA ZONE, OROMIA REGION



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

In searching for a remedy for the chronic and recurrent drought and famine of the country, resettlement, as scholars in the field of study agree, has been resurrected as part of Ethiopia's poverty Reduction Program (Abraham and Piguet, 2004:588). It is selected as a strategy because it is assumed to be a short cut and a lasting solution to food insecurity problem intermittently affecting millions of people situated in highly densely populated, drought and famine prone areas as well as in environmentally degraded parts of the country (Piguet and Dechassa, 2004:133). Interventions intending to alleviate the incapacity of resources to cope with the demands by the human and animal population had a long history of interest on the part of the successive governments for the last four decades since the imperial time (USLC, *web*, 2004).

Basically, the growing population did not allow the agricultural sector to satisfy the country's food shortages since the 1950s (Assefa, 2004:18). In the country's Poverty Reduction Paper, it is stated "...rapid population growth fuelled by high fertility is seriously affecting citizens and households livelihoods and the country's effort at sustainable development and poverty reduction" (MoFED, 2004:14). Thus, to avert these problems and accelerate the pace of development, the Ethiopian Government had already launched a countrywide 'Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program' (2002) which has dual strategies of ensuring 'National Food Security' and 'National Poverty Reduction'.

Based on these strategies the present government prescribed intra-regional resettlement based on voluntarism as a shortcut, cheapest and quickest solution to the chronic food problem through which the self-supporting capacity of rural households being attained (Embassy of Ethiopia, *web*. 2001). The implementation of the resettlement program is designed in short-term and medium-terms in four regional states-Tigray, Amhara, Oromia and SNNPR. The short-term resettlement plan is to resettle 440,000 heads of households (200,000 in Amhara, 100,000 in SNNPR, 100,000 in Oromia and 40,000 in Tigray) or 2.2 million food insecure people. It is planned to be carried out in three years (December 2003 – May

2006) period of time (Wolde-Selassie, *web.* 2003; Feleke, 2004:212). This program is part of addressing the problems of five million Ethiopian citizens in drought prone and chronically food insecure areas of the country (Embassy of Ethiopia, *web.* 2001). In all of the regions, the first large-scale resettlement was carried out between January and April 2003 (Hammond and Bezaeit, 2004:624&625). As Pankhurst and Piguet indicated (2004: V) "In 2003 some 150, 000 people were resettled in four regions, and in 2004 the numbers moved more than doubled to over 326, 000 people."

Accordingly, as the other three regions, Oromia regional state has already moved people from Harer, North Shewa and Arsi to Bale, Guji, Wellega, Jimma and Ilu Abba Bora (Ilubabor) zones of the region. The focus of this study is 2004's Resettlement Program of Oromia Regional State with particular emphasis on Chewaka Resettlement Site, which is the biggest resettlement site in the Region situated in southwestern Ethiopia, Ilu Abba Bora zone, Chewaka *wereda*.

Therefore, in the following pages of this thesis an attempt is made to discuss the resettlement program in Chewaka in relation to its importance in easing population pressure on land in areas of origin and improving rural impoverishment as well as its facilitating role in bringing rural sustainable development both in origin (East and West Harerge) and destination (Chewaka). Thus, in order to address these issues and others, the thesis is organized broadly in three parts: the first part is the 'introduction' which include the background, the site description, literature review, problem statement, objectives, theoretical orientation and methods of the study; the 'findings' of the study continues as the second major component embracing six chapters: the manner of resettlement, differentials between place of origin and destination, social integration, physical adaptation, resettlement administration and infrastructure and services provision. Then the conclusion follows as a final part.

1.2. Description and Location of the Site

Chewaka Resettlement has a population of 78179 displaced people. It is located in Ilu Abba Bora zone, some 72 km from Bedele town, southwest Ethiopia about 577 km from Addis Ababa (*For the location map see figure one in page x*). It was established as an *aana* (*wereda*/district) after the deployment of resettlers but before that Chewaka was not known as an independent *aana*. It is the largest resettlement site in the region as compared to other resettlement sites launched in 2003 and 2004. The total area of the resettlement is estimated to be 52,227 hectares. Its altitude is between 1230-1400m asl with an average

annual rainfall of 900-1400mm. The main agricultural crops cultivated in the district are maize, sorghum and sesame. However, haricot bean, groundnut, rice, etc. are also produced .The land use data of Chewaka is explained in the table below.

Table 1: Land-use data of Chewaka Resettlement

No.	Type of Land	Area (ha)
1	Farm land	23007.5
2	Homestead land	619.5
3	Waste land (not suitable for agriculture)	1950
4	Hillside forests	24900
5	Others (riverine forests, infrastructure, etc.)	1750
Total		52227

Source: Chewaka Wereda Administration Office

1.3. Literature Review

Population Displacement and Resettlement studies in the Social Sciences have laid the basis for the production of wider literature under the broad knowledge spectrum of *Migration*. The contribution goes beyond data accumulation to influence policy makers and program implementers. This means the research influenced both theory and action. It is clearly stated that “One of the most substantive contributions that social anthropology and sociology are currently making to development practice and theory is applied research on involuntary population resettlement” (Cernea, *web*. 1989). Such preference in academic studies and development programs particularly on forced population displacement caused by development and other factors explored the growing roles of professional social science research in improving resettlement planning and implementation (Ibid).

As to the very objective of this thesis, it could be worthwhile to narrow down the scope of reviewing literature from the broader study of migration to the organized movement of people resettlement by State (Pankhurst, 1992:10&11). Hence, conceptually resettlement should be differentiated from the simple self-initiated movement of people. Therefore, as Chambers (1969:11 in Pankhurst, 1992:10) indicated resettlement involves a systematized movement of people in a planned and controlled manner, which

helps to set apart resettlement from 'spontaneous migration'. Besides, as Pankhurst (1992:10&11) pointed out the exodus of people from one state to another (refugees), villagisation (moving significant distance), 'sedentarisation' (settling pastoralists within their living area) must be distinguished from the concept of resettlement.

Furthermore, it is important to consider other definitions. Firstly, resettlement is defined as "... movement of people from areas where there do not exist factors that are suitable for the smooth maintenance of life to areas presumed to be endowed with potentials that could provide opportunities for the same end" (Kasahun, 2000:125).¹ The focus on resettlement leads us to the concept of 'Internally Displaced Persons' (IDPs) which is defined as:

Persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border (UN, 1998 cited in Ibeanu, *web*. 2001).

The knowledge in resettlement studies has been enriched not by success stories of programs rather from lessons drawn from failure. "Resettlement schemes have mushroomed all over the world, along with the increase in State intervention in 'development'" (Pankhurst, 1992:11). "Africa's painful experiences with dam-related forced displacements have contributed much to the origins and knowledge of resettlement anthropology" (Cernea, *web*. 1997a).

Lessons had shown that resettlement unless carried out cautiously its devastating effect both in social and natural environment could not be as simple as we think at the initial stage of the program. It is clearly stated that:

Experiences in Ethiopia, elsewhere in Africa, and the world over show the fact that things often go so wrong in resettlement operations unless managed with meticulous care. Hasty execution of the resettlement might have humanitarian and ecological consequences and hence, the program needs thorough preparation to achieve food security as intended (Wolde-Selassie, *web*. 2003).

In dealing with resettlement schemes in Ethiopian context several issues have been discussed such as causes of population displacement, the manner of resettling (voluntary and involuntary, spontaneous and planned), the resultant effects (societal and environmental), etc.

¹ Adapted from WB 1978 definition

To begin with, the causal factors the growth and pressure of human and animal population in an area as basic factors force people to emigrate or immigrate. In resettlement studies, the subject of population is viewed in terms of the interaction between human and natural endowments. Thus, such interaction leads us to the population-environment nexus. It is because the concern for population-environment interactions and relationships has a central importance in development history of any country since resources play a vital role in the rise and fall of societies. Often the function of environmental resources particularly fertile land, water and forests are viewed parallel with the population trends (Alemneh, 2003). That is why balancing the two has always been considered the ideal type of development.

In the Ethiopian context, years have passed since 'population versus environment' issues attracted attention in the spheres of politics and academics. For instance, Ethiopia is characterized as a country of drought and famine particularly since 1984 though the problem persisted long before it was raised as a causal effect of higher population growth. At present, the recurrent drought and famine continue expanding in spatial coverage because of the deterioration of the environment resulting from high animal and human population pressure (Alemneh, 2003: iii; Aklilu, 2004: 97). This is because in Ethiopia, as Woldeamlak and Stroodnijder pointed out: "The mounting demographic pressure coupled with slow technical changes in the sector has placed substantial stress on the resource base" (2004:70).

Movement of people particularly from highlands with scarce resources to the lowlands that have relatively better resources has been one of life coping mechanisms in the long history of the country. Moreover, even nowadays, the movement has continued in search of life alternatives in places where resources are likely available. The movement of people took two forms, that of planned and 'spontaneous.' As Cliffe (2004:191) noted this movement of people, though it has been carried out for a long period of time in the country's history, should be considered as one persistent dimension of people's livelihood "from relatively over-populated localities to those with less environmental pressure-for preference to other highland areas, often in practice to midland or lowland areas"

In addition to spontaneous movement, the planned resettlement has been considered as one of the possible solutions to solve the problem of rural impoverishments. Lessons from Emperor Haile-Sellase period's resettlement illustrate the aim as "balancing the carrying capacity of the land in the northern part of the country with the population, and generally modernizing agriculture" (Cliffe, 2004:192). Besides, resettlement was seen as a remedy for all ills (Pankhurst and Piguet, 2004:10). During the Socialist Derg

regime, resettlement was aspired to attain 'rational' population distribution, moving from what were conceived as drought-prone, over-populated and environmentally degraded highland areas to areas perceived to be fertile, under-populated, and underexploited lowland (Ibid).

Accordingly, in Ethiopia, the rationale behind all the resettlement programs both in the past and the present, dwell on depopulating areas with denser population with low resource endowments via transferring to areas found to be less populous relatively more fertile. The unbalanced people-land ratio particularly in the highlands, as stated earlier, is considered as one of the major problems hampering the food self-sufficing capacity of the agricultural sector. "Resettlement programs launched in all instances were directed towards easing pressing problems relating to landlessness and unemployment and as a response to dislocations caused by such hazards as famine and conflict" (Kasahun, 2000:124).

The voluntary and involuntary nature of resettlement is also one of the debatable issues. Basically, as studies and practical experiences revealed population displacement is carried out in two ways: voluntary or involuntary and spontaneous or planned. In the sphere of migration studies "Population resettlement is conceptualized as having two distinct forms: voluntary and involuntary. This approach not only simplifies complex migration process thereby hindering conceptual clarity, but also fails to offer adequate policy/legal protection to the displaced people"(Gebre, *web*. 2002). Hence, usually there is a tendency of masking even the involuntary and induced resettlement as if a program carried out on voluntary basis. This is because, "conventional wisdom provides that voluntary settlers are responsible for the consequence of their decision to migrate" ((Ibid).

Importantly, because of its narrowness the conventional conceptualization of migrations into two distinct forms: voluntary and involuntary (Hansen et al, 1993:3 cited in Gebre, 2004a:106) led to the emerging of a new approach which can better explain the different forms of migration. According to the new approach as developed by Gebre, the already taken for granted two forms of migration is more expanded to include four types of systematically structured migrations: "voluntary, induced-voluntary, involuntary or forced, and compulsory-voluntary movements" (Gebre, 2004a: 106).

However, though different forms of migration exist as Pankhurst affirmed "the question of the extent of involuntary versus voluntary resettlement has been controversial" (Pankhurst, 2004:116). Thus, whatever migration type an individual is identified with his/her decision never singled out as a sole mandate or power

of the person. This is because the "individual decision making is linked to that of spouses, family, other kin, peer and community pressures" (Pankhurst, 2004:116).

Besides, politics also exert influence on the state of the individual decision "given the ways in which national, regional political and media pressures as well as local level politics influence decision-making" (Pankhurst, 2004:116). De Wet (2004:32, 52&56) characterizes involuntary resettlement as "... a spatial change resulting in altered patterns of access to resources ... a complexity which gives rise to a range of problems that are more difficult to deal with." Furthermore, he identified cultural, social, political and economic implications, a change in the patterns of people's access to resources, larger and more heterogeneous settlements than previously, wider structures, accelerated socio economic change, etc as some of the main characteristics of imposed spatial change.

In addition, resettling displaced people in a new area aggravates the destroying of natural resources particularly forests at an alarming rate. "Despite the possibility of considering small-scale voluntary migration and resettlement with an appropriate approach, resettlement is putting stress on the environment because of the various negative side effects resettlement as migrants that occupy natural forests and game reserves. (Piguet and Dechassa, 2004:142). For instance, in his study of Metekel Resettlement, Gebre revealed how massive deforestation affected the Gumuz [locals] livelihood. "The Gumuz had a long tradition of exploiting plants (shoots, flower, fruits, leaves, and roots) from the natural environment. . . . In Metekel, honey was collected largely from the ground and tree holes. The practice of honey collection had also been impaired by deforestation" (2004b:55).

Beyond its natural consequences, resettlement dismantles the long established socio-economic systems and networks which is also a concern of many studies. "The frequent instances of compulsory population displacements which tear apart the social fabric of existing communities and create risks of impoverishment" (Cernea, *web*. 1991). Downing (*web*.1996) confirmed that "Groups lose their capacity to self-image. The society suffers a demonstrable reduction in its capacity to cope with uncertainty. It becomes qualitatively less than its previous self. The people may physically persist but the community that was-is not more." The weakening or withering away of social, cultural and/or economic capitals of communities among displaced communities seems inevitable resettlement phenomenon. "Social institutions and organizations that bind the community's web of relationships along several lines in the

origins such as neighborhood, kinship, religious beliefs, work groups, land exchange, bond-friendship, and fictive parenthood were disintegrated in the process of relocation" (Wolde-Selassie, 2004:77). Pankhurst (2004:113) stated that: "Ultimately in the longer term the viability of resettlement does not depend merely or primarily on obtaining economic self-sufficiency or even environmental sustainability but rather on the promotion of social integration which respects diversity and complementarity and promotes joint development".

The concern for host-resettlers relationships is also a wide-subject matter in resettlement literatures. Usually, while implementing resettlement programs more consideration is given to the displaced communities than the communities hosting them. Hence, such programs consciously or unconsciously end up in benefiting a certain group and harming the other. In many such projects as Cernea (*web*. 1996) marked "the distribution of benefits and losses is severely skewed and is frequently haphazard." The experience in Ethiopia showed how injustice was made against hosts. "In most areas settlers were given military training and used to repress any host communities' uprisings or even resistance to the resettlement, as a result, they were involved in a very serious enmity with the host communities" (Cliffe, 2004:194)

Sometimes the suffering of communities residing around resettlement areas is aggravated due to deployment of newcomers in the area. For instance, resettlement programs in Ethiopia during the Derg time (1985/6) had been imposed on the host communities "coercion labor in preparing for the settlers' arrival, forced expropriation of land and other key resources without consultation let alone compensation, displacement, marginalization and consequent enforced changes in livelihood "(Pankhurst and Piguet, 2004:14). Among other factors ethnic conflicts with the host had forced many settlers for instance in the Beles Valley of Metekel Resettlement to evacuate the resettlement area (Wolde-Selassie, 2004: 81). Besides, the resettlement in Metekel "severely affected the lives of these [Gumuz] people, who were forced to give up their farmlands, hunting/gathering grounds, and fishing sites to accommodate the settlers" (Gebre, 2004a: 102).

Furthermore, existing literatures suggest how to minimize the suffering of host communities while carrying out resettlement schemes. Some propose promoting linkages between settlers and hosts (Pankhurst, 2004:113), others recommend the role of individuals affected by the program in the planning process or

decision-making (Bizer and Ragsdale, 1997:4; Gebre, 2004a:93;) and determining settler-host ratio as well as recognizing "the inalienable rights of local people to their natural resources" (Gebre, 2004b:46 & 63) and still others advise protecting rights through formulating public policies and legal frameworks (Cernea, *web*. 1996). Moreover, Piguet and Pankhurst (2004:657) suggest a holistic and integrated approach to migration issues preparations and incentives to promote migration, measures to safeguard the rights of the local people, protect the environment, relations between hosts and migrants, and understanding and promoting management of resource conflict.

Generally, literatures in resettlement studies signify understanding of resettlement in a broader framework of migration, which encompasses various types of forced migration as spontaneous and voluntary migration. This leads to widening the focus from resettlement and displacement to migration, which requires a complex process of planning stage, implementation and creating sustainability in terms of social, economic and environmental aspects (Piguet and Pankhurst, 2004:657).

1.4. Problem Statement

In countries like ours, where agriculture is the major or even sometimes the sole source of livelihood for the majority of the population, low performance of the agricultural sector hugely debilitates targets of achieving food self-sufficiency. Broadly speaking, the challenges in the agricultural sector may be classified as institutional constraints and ecological unreliability (Nigussie, *web*. 2003).

Population growth together with improper farming and management practices are undoubtedly found to be major causes of environmental degradation which threaten the sustainability of the natural resources and the maintaining of ecology especially in the highlands (Sahilu, 2000 cited in Woldeamlak and Stroodnijder, 2004:74; Alemneh 2003:iii). According to FAO's Ethiopian Highlands Reclamation Study, 1986 (cited in Cliffe, 2004:205), "Considerably more than 150,000 persons annually will need to be resettled or preferably migrate voluntarily, if present population growth and degradation trends continue." Besides, Alemneh (2003:25) argued that "By 2030, most of the moderately degraded land could be severely degraded unless there is significant migration to other areas, less dependency on the agriculture sector and massive conservation activities, which so far has not happened."

Obviously, all stakeholders in development programs either professionals or executors unanimously agree that something has to be done to avert the ever declining living conditions of the rural poor dependent on food aid. However, the disparity lies on how to address the problem; for instance, some who oppose resettlement indicate other alternatives beyond displacing people and others particularly people in political power propose organized migration. Due to the enormity of the problem, currently the government decided to take an urgent action before the situation gets out of control. So, resettlement as mentioned earlier has been identified as one of the key and quickest as well as the cheapest and most viable solution to achieve food security and overcoming dependency on food aid (Alemneh, 2003:26).

Besides, availability of land in receiving areas, the labor force of the resettlers, and easing pressure of space for those remaining behind, especially after three years has been taken as potentials for success of the program (Wolde-Selassie, *web*. 2003). The program has been planned based on the operational approach noted to be "intra-regional, voluntary, self-help, and iterative without imposition from above and no quota system at all" (Ibid). Nonetheless, the goals of the present resettlement as Gebre (2004a:106) affirmed are "fundamentally similar to those of the previous governments i.e. relocating people to improve their living condition."

Here there are some counter arguments to the government's notion of resettlement which stands out as an 'all time' alternative best solution both in the past and in the present despite the fact, its track record shows failure (Ibid). Opponents of the state sponsored massive resettlement program magnify the doubts over the scientific grounding of the perception 'degradation and overpopulation' were the 'root causes' for rural poverty. Instead, they propose alternative rural development and environmental policies to restore degradation and sustainability (Cliffe, 2004:196). Besides, it is underscored that resettlement can benefit only a minority out of the vast food insecure population Piguet and Dechassa (2004:158).

Nowadays, as Piguet and Dechassa (Ibid) argued, in terms of land-use practices of the country, unused, virgin land, which the government imagines, does not exist anymore. Moreover, others still propose other alternatives beyond resettlement like creating opportunities in non-farm activities, improving agricultural production systems through technical intervention, etc. (Woldeamlak and Stroodnijder, 2004:92). Even those who accept resettlement as a solution favor spontaneous self-initiated and small-scale resettlement as a feasible scheme. Reviewing the past resettlement initiated Pankhurst and Piguet (2004:158) argued that "learning from previous mistakes in the area of migration and resettlement, small, individually operated resettlement schemes should be favored over large-scale operations and programmes"

Therefore, the central theme of this thesis seeks to address issues related to the viability of resettlement program in alleviating chronic food insecurity thereby contributing to the academic debate and filling the gap where a loophole is observed in the region's resettlement program. Besides, the thesis will assess how far lessons drawn from the country's past resettlement experiences helped the undergoing resettlement scheme in Oromia Regional State and efforts made to save the lives of thousands of displaced people in the region.

1.5. Objectives

1.5.1. General Objective

- Explore the integration of the settlers into the social and physical environment as well as assess the contribution of the intra-regional voluntary resettlement program in food securing effort of the Regional State

1.5.2. Specific Objectives

- To identify factors that motivated the settlers to take part in the resettlement program
- To assess settlers understanding between places of origin and places of destination (to be compared by sources of family income, natural resources, social services, infrastructure, etc.)
- To examine the social integration of settlers among themselves and with the host community
- To explore environmental adaptation of settlers in the physical environment hosting them

1.6. Theoretical framework

Lessons drawn from worldwide resettlement programs have showed the negative consequences of displacing people from their settlement to unfamiliar places. Usually development oriented resettlement schemes ended up failing to attain their objectives as desired. It is clearly stated by Mathur (1995:23) that "Resettlement has probably been the least successful undertaking in the history of development." Hence, indications of such projects had led scholars in the field to raise questions like "Why do things so often go wrong in resettlement projects?" by de Wet (2004:50) and similar question "Why did it fail?" in his study of the Metekel Resettlement in Ethiopia by Gebre (2004a:92). Accordingly, in the study of forced dislocation addressing basically this question as de Wet pointed out two approaches-the Inadequate Inputs Approach (IRR Model) and the Inherent Complexities Approach have been developed by Michael Cernea and de Wet respectively.

However, for the purpose of this study, the Inadequate Inputs Approach which is conventionally known as 'Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction' (IRR) mode for resettling displaced populations has been applied in explaining the findings of this study since it has importance of academic and action research. "The model is empirically corroborated and serves predictive, diagnostic, problem resolution and research functions" (Kassahun, 2004:449) although it is not free from critics. For instance, as Pankhurst and Piguat (2004:32) analyzed "De Wet critiques the conventional approaches that seem to explain the failure of resettlement projects in terms of 'inadequate inputs'". In this approach, according to de Wet, "resettlement would work if there had been more inputs and have an economic and technical view with a basically positive attitude" (Ibid). Instead in his approach of 'Inherent Complexities' de Wet suggests that "resettlement gives rise to a range of interrelated cultural, social, environmental, economic and institutional problems which together result in the likelihood of failure" (Ibid).

The IRR model highlights the intrinsic risks that cause impoverishment through forced displacement, as well as the ways to counteract-eliminate or mitigate-such risks (McDowell, *web*. 2002). The model gives emphasis for conditions in both pre and post resettlement periods since even some worthy development programs entail counter-development risks, particularly the impoverishment risks, often overlooked by planners (Cernea, *web*. 1990). The Model suggests failure to recognize risks from the outset and to adopt measures for avoiding or mitigating them explains why certain impoverishing effects may snowball beyond expectations (Ibid). Development programs might bring large benefits yet such programs also generate high risks of impoverishment in the forms of landlessness, unemployment, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, and social disarticulation in the displaced population (Cernea, *web*. 1997b). "Recently loss of access to education has been added as the 9th variable" (Cernea, 2002 in Gebre, 2004b:55).

The IRR model helps explaining these nine interlinked risks in a forced dislocation of people like the one in Chewaka. The implications of the resettlement program in Chewaka can be reviewed in line with the nine-impoverishment risks as follows:

i. Landlessness

There are settlers in Chewaka who did not get land at all because of various factors discussed elsewhere in the thesis. Even those who have been entitled for land, the plots allotted to them are not compatible to

absorb fully the household labor. Besides, as Gebre (2004b:55) stated though the model "was built to analyze the implications of development-induced resettlement for displacees, but not for host population." However, in Chewaka hosts have been expropriated their land removing them from the main foundation of their productive systems, commercial activities, and livelihoods.

ii. Joblessness

In addition to the extra idle labor floating from each household, there are people who have non-agricultural skills in the resettlement sites but failed to get wage employment due to displacements. Among the job seekers, there are landless laborers, artisans, traditional herbal medicine practitioners, small businesspersons, carpenters, etc. Except the available vacancy in government offices and involvement in trading creating new jobs has not been yet become possible.

iii. Homelessness

Particularly, at the initial stage of the resettlement program settlers had suffered due to severe problem of housing or shelter. They were forced to live in a congested huts made from poles and covered with leaves and branches that hardly protects them from chilly weather and rain until they have erected their house. Indeed, it was only temporary for many displacees but for some housing problem remained as it is. Due to the problems related to the housing, the social bond, which had been active among extended family members in the areas of origin, became ineffective. Thus, this brought about also the loss of a group's cultural space, resulting in alienation and deprivation as Cernea (*web.1997b*) remarked.

iv. Marginalization

Limited alternatives for livelihood sources have restricted settlers' economic capacity, which is similar with what Cernea coined it as *marginalization*. "Marginalization occurs when families lose economic power and go on a "downward mobility" path: middle-income farm households do not become landless, they become small landholders; small shopkeepers and craftsmen downsize and slip below poverty thresholds" (Cernea, *web. 1997b*). In Chewaka, the majority of the settlers became dependent on ration to the extent of failing to contribute to the family income losing their status.

v. Increased morbidity and mortality

Like the other resettlement areas, Chewaka is located in a lowland altitude with hot weather conditions conducive for the reproduction and spread of various parasitic and vector-borne diseases. At the launching of the resettlement program, necessary health facilities were not put in place. Hence, particularly during the initial period of deploying the settlers, their health status have been affected seriously caused by displacement-caused social stress, insecurity, psychological trauma, and the outbreak of relocation-related illnesses, particularly parasitic and vector-borne diseases such as malaria and schistosomiasis as reported by the *wereda* health office. Lack or scarcity of clean water supply and poor sewerage systems had increased vulnerability to diarrhea. As result infants, children, and the elderly became the major victims.

vi. Food insecurity

For the last one year between January 2004 and December 2004, peasants were dependent on ration handouts, which had poor nutritional value. For instance, settlers used to get meat and milk in their home areas but not in the resettlement area. Also even after collection the year's harvest, the ultimate goal of the scheme i.e. food self-sufficiency has not yet been attained. This had led people to fall into chronic undernourishment particularly children. The calorie-protein intake in Chewaka can probably be guessed to be below the levels minimum necessary for normal growth and work, and food security.

vii. Loss of access to common property and services

At its present stage, settlers in the program have encountered scarcity of common grazing land mainly for goats since they are large in number. In addition, there is no common forestland except a few trees remaining while clearing individual plots, which are under threat due to high rate of cutting. Besides, the dismantling of social organizations resulted in loss of access to common property that in turn had prevented settlers from getting community services and material provisions.

viii. Social disarticulation

Settlers had different forms of social organizations in their previous localities under the general umbrella called *Afosha*. However, forced displacement tore apart the existing social fabric and induced powerlessness. Furthermore, it dispersed and fragmented communities so that it dismantled their patterns of social organization, interpersonal ties and the scattering of kinship groups. Life-sustaining informal

networks of reciprocal help, local voluntary associations, and self-organized mutual service arrangements have been dismantled. The problem seriously affected the settlers especially during their initial social and physical adaptation stage in the new milieu.

ix. Loss of access to education

The transferring of settlers to the resettlement area was carried out at the mid of the Ethiopian academic year in January and there were promises for school aged children and some other adults who were attending school to continue their education when they reached their destination but they found this was not the case. Schooling was started from grades 1-8 in a very poor facilities and preparation after ten months of settlers' arrival in the area. However, still students above 8th grade did not get their education though they spent more than one and half year in Chewaka.

1.7. Study Methods

This study was carried out in three time intervals August 24-28, 2004; September 14-30, 2004 and February 12- May 30, 2005. Different data collecting techniques have been applied. The tools employed in the study include reviewing literature, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and observation as well as photographing.

1.7.1. Interviews

1.7.1.1. In-depth Interviews

A total of 44 in-depth interviews were employed to collect data from resettlers, hosts/locals, and zonal and wereda officials, health workers, school teachers/directors and development agents. These interviews were carried on during my fieldwork in September 2004, February and March 2005. *First, resettlers community:* key informants from settlers were selected to attain their rich experience in their private household condition as well as public life. Their composition include settlers in all segments or social ranks of the community such as site representatives, *areda(kebele)* leaders, leaders and members of community based social organization, failed and successful settlers, merchants, etc. They are selected from three *aredas* of Site 2 and to the maximum possible efforts were made to recruit informants from different origin who had different background. Out of the 44 interviews settlers comprise the large number i.e. 23.

Second, executive bodies: to explore the overall process of the program-administrative and non-administrative- and to crosscheck the information obtained from the settlers on existing conditions, 13 in-depth interviews were held with Chewaka *wereda* administrators (chairperson and vice-chairperson), Heads of several *wereda* Offices and Desks, school teachers/directors, zonal Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Desk, Development Agents, etc. *Third*, in order to evaluate the status of settlers-host/local relationship or interaction I have conducted eight interviews with locals and/or hosts who have either benefited due to the launching of the scheme in their locality or were affected due to the same.

1.7.1.2. Occasional Interviews

During my fieldwork I had the opportunity to discuss with people who came together for different purposes; like buying and selling in markets, celebrating religious ceremonies, weddings, group labor (*Guza*), seeking social services (e.g. health, education, transport, water, etc.), public meetings, etc. My discussion with these people had special concerns which might emphasize specific issues either related to that particular occasion or not. It was a means of gathering public opinion on issues which are common in the community. I used a tape recorder and photographing since the condition did not allow writing down what the interviewee talks about.

1.7.2. Group Discussions

In order to assess agreed upon views and disparities of opinions/ideas on private and/or communal, and formal and informal issues five FGDs (two FGDs male and female separately; and two FGDs composed of male and female as well as one FGD with individuals drawn from the host community) were conducted. More than 60 people had participated in the FGDs belonging to different age groups, social status, place of origin, etc.

1.7.3. Observation

As a third tool for the data collecting 'observation' was employed to scrutinize ongoing agricultural and non-agricultural activities and events in the field, gardening, market, homesteads, service delivery centers,

etc. Practically, I took part in religious, weddings and *chat* ceremonies and visited new farming plots while people clearing forests (cutting and burning), water points, seasonal rivers, crops in the field, children in feeding centers, patients in health institutions, localities of hosts, crops and houses damaged by windstorms and heavy rain, the setup of each household and its internal makeup, food preparation and the type of food settlers eat and so on.

1.7.4. Photographing

Photographing was applied as one of the methods in the gathering of data in its natural existence. Thus, several pictures had been taken while carrying out observation and occasional interviews.

1.7.5. Secondary Sources

1.7.5.1 Unpublished Documents

In referring to secondary sources I have read and quoted unpublished official documents charts, graphs, etc. wherever available at regional, zonal and *wereda*, site and *areda* levels. Mostly, the documents consulted are background information of the resettlement program in Chewaka and its ongoing process.

1.7.5.2. Reviewing Literature

Beginning from the preparation of the proposal to the completion of this thesis reviewing literature continues as a core part of the study process. Hence, various materials mainly focused on Ethiopia have been reviewed and summarized to fit the objectives of the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

MANNER OF THE RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM

Resettling poor and food insecure peasants from Harerge area to Ilu Abba Bora Zone, Chewaka Resettlement underwent through various processes and stages. The realization of the program in Chewaka did not come about overnight. It had required implementers to apply techniques and strategies of implementation starting from recruiting potential voluntary resettlers to the efforts made to make them food self-sufficient. In this chapter, an attempt is made to examine the manner of implementing the resettlement program, which comprises the program orientation for resettlers, settlers' understandings about factors for displacement, their knowledge about destination area, individual decision-making, the transferring process, resettlement incentives, and profile of the settlers, and departure from settlements. Besides, settler's understandings of voluntary and involuntary resettlement, and challenges encountered have been included in the chapter.

2.1. Orientation about the Program

Settlers were given orientations at the *aana* and *areda* levels. The consensus building meetings were originally held for a period of one month. The aim of the conference was to mobilize potential voluntary resettlers to go to the other parts of the region. The issues of discussion included were problems related to food aid sustainability, scarcity of cultivatable land, decreasing size of individual land holdings, environmental and climatic changes resulting in desertification and drought, etc. The farmers, in their discussions with the officials, had been told that if they were not going to resettle, the government would not provide them with rations anymore. Besides, settlers said that some of them whose plots demarcated under government forest area or dwell around hillsides had been given the alternative either to leave the demarcated area or to settle voluntarily. The trend of growing population, the decline in the fertility of the soil, cases of landless families, disputes over possession of land among family members, etc. were also discussed in detail as stated by informants.

Assessments by the regional ODPPC show that the two Harerge zones, East and West, have total populations of 2,427,789 and 1,621,815 living in sixteen and eleven *aanas* of the zones, respectively. Out of the total population 35.3% in East Harerge and 55.3% in West Harerge rely on relief assistance from the Government (Federal and Regional), UN organizations and NGOs (International and local) (ODPPC, 2003) throughout the year. In 2004, the beneficiary population decreased to 32.2% in East Harerge and 41.2% in West Harerge due to improvement in crop production. Apart from the people under relief, there are also segments of the population who are at risk or who need close monitoring estimated at 283,700 people in East Harerge and 189,600 in West Harerge zones (ODPPC, 2004:35&36). The problem has persevered for the last ten years due to a combination of various factors such as land degradation, unchecked population growth and seasonal shortage of rainfall (Ibid).

The orientation also dealt with the condition of the place where the resettlers are going to settle. According to informants among the resettlers, during the discussions at their locality several provisions were promised to be fulfilled. Among the provisions and conditions promised as readily available are houses, schools, health services, roads, water service, mill service, electrical light, clothing, two hectares of land per family, three years government support especially of basic services, the right to go back to places of origin within three years, etc.

The orientation to the settlers about the resettlement program in general and place of destination in particular differs depending on the places where the settlers came from because the orientation was provided by different persons. Because of the bad experiences on the resettlement programs in the country and the presence of some opposition of the strategy, initially resistances were observed in relocating the farmers in both West and East Harerge Zones. Hence, to break through these challenges cadres, officials, elders, *areda* leaders, etc were selected from the community and assigned in each *aana* and *areda* using different mechanisms to mobilize the community to make them ready for the resettlement program to the extent of promising impracticable things. Nevertheless, after the 2003 resettlement program, the majority of the farmers who resisted initially showed their interest at the forefront after they had cautiously examined feedbacks from the previously resettled peasants.

2.2. Settlers' Understandings about the Reasons for their Displacement

Settlers though they differ in gender, creed, age, status, place of origin, etc., they speak the same language about the reasons (shortage of land, lack of sufficient rain and environmental degradation) that forced them to leave their home areas. They are very much aware of the causes for their displacement and they are also convinced of the need for it. Before the official resettlement, people had already started relocating by their own to areas which they think are potentially suitable for human and animal settlements since they have exhaustively utilized their basic assets in fulfilling their food requirement during the prolonged dry months (ODPPC, 2003:i). Also, they used to travel to search for daily labor in the border areas of Somalia. Rapid assessment conducted by FDPC, WFP, CARE and RDPPC showed that,

Due to the criticality of the current situations out migration was reported from Arsi, East and West Harerge. The IDPs went to Bale, Guji and West Wellega in the Region and others went to Jijiga, Dire Dawa, Addis Ababa and the near by towns and even as far as Hargesa crossing the border in search of food and wage labor(ODPPC, 2003:ii).

Hence, settlers in Chewaka considered the current resettlement program as a possible way-out for the chronic food insecurity problem they have had. Settlers underscore that "During the previous regime no special consideration had been given to us particularly in promotion works on family planning and environmental protection because of that we encountered population increment resulting in deforestation and drought." 'Thanks to the current regime', they said, they have been saved from the devastating effect of recurrent drought in their areas of origin.

Concerning the land shortage in their areas of origin, the settlers argue that, "An agricultural plot that was owned by our fathers now became shared among 50 or more children and grand children". Hence, they said that their being relocated is a right action at the right time. Despite the fact that some of the settlers were pushed out of the government demarcated and protected hillside forest areas, all agree on the deterioration of the soil every year. Even those peasants, who inherited plots of land from their fathers and had legal rights, were not excluded from relocation if their landholdings are under the government demarcated forest areas. Informants stated that there are some resettlers who came for the simple reason that the land they dwell on is needed by the government for planting trees though they had a good means to survive in their own original places (Harerge) having big plots of *chat* and coffee plantations. However, according to the government sources these are places where the peasants are usually hit by drought and

famine leaving them for food aid year-in and year-out. During the convincing process at the *aana* level government officials expressed the statement; "*Mootummaan sadaqaa kadhachu dadhabee qonqoo keessaniif; yaa'aa balliifadha*" means "The government failed to beg for your belly. Thus, leave these areas for a better life."

The farmers had been told that their settlement areas should be for forest, there is a land shortage, and the government cannot support them all the time. There is a wide land, oxen and irrigation made available for them; they must go there. Leaving is compulsory for the government needs the area for afforestation. Most of my informants several times rephrased a statement by the *aana* officials who said "*Lafa abbaan keessan qobaan qootaa ture isin torba taatanii qotu kana irraa dachii balloo jirtii achi deemaa jannaan kaane.*" which means "Plots that your fathers alone used to plow in the past, now you are plowing it for seven; from such condition when we have been told to wake up to go to places where there is wide size of empty land, we got up." Indeed settlers mentioned the land shortage in their original areas and comparing it with Chewaka. According to settlers, there was a serious problem in handling land inheritance among brothers to the extent of killing each other. As one of my informants puts it; *Lafa abbaan keenyaa qotatu obooleeyan waan goonu wallaalne meencaadhaan wal-barbaadu irraa 'lafa jallissii heektaara lama nama tokko ni argataa' jannaan dhufne.*" which means "A plot of land (some years back) owned by our father now it is shared among seven of us (brothers)not knowing what to do rather than attempting to kill each other with *mencha*² we left (our origin) when we heard 'a person will get two hectares of land which has irrigation.'"

While the government was persuading the recruitment of new re-settlers to resettle somewhere in West and Southwest of the region, the peasants in the areas of origin were busy in gathering information about the resettlement program conducted prior to them. Lessons from the resettlement program carried out in 2002/03 in West and East Wellega facilitated the mobilization of new resettlers from Harerge to Ilu Abba Bora zone, *Aana* Chewaka. Despite the negative propaganda from different interest groups and peasants themselves, the level of awareness of the peasants on the benefits to be gained from participating in the resettlement undertakings increased. As a result, such input helped the mobilizing bodies to register enormous numbers of potential voluntary resettlers more than expected to the extent that it was difficult to entertain the requests from the community. The settlers articulated the manner of their exodus; "*Feedhiinnaan rakkina irraa dhufne*" which means, "We came willingly due to tribulations."

² Agricultural tool with a wooden handle and a curved metal blade used for cutting down leaves, clearing plots, etc which is very common in Harerge areas

2.3. Settlers' Knowledge about Places of Destination

Settlers have different understanding about the place where they are going to settle. None of the resettlers had information about a place called 'Chewaka' but what they knew was the name of the potential resettling administrative zones visited by individuals identified as *manguddo* (elders) selected from the community. Chewaka was not in the list among the sites visited by the elders. According to informants from the resettlers, the community representatives (elders' team) had visited potential sites in West Shewa, Ilu Abba Bora and Jimma zones. Resettlers confirmed that before they left their home places, East Wellega, Jimma, West Shewa and Ilu Abba Bora zones had been presented for their choice.

Hence, resettlers said that "With the information we obtained by consulting some individuals residing in our locality whose origin is Jimma and Ilu Abba Bora zones and the knowledge we gained through radio as well as TV broadcasts, we had inclined to choose Jimma and Ilu Abba Bora zones hoping these to be our destination." Some of the settlers left their locality with the intention to settle in Jimma zone and others hoped to inhabit in Ilu Abba Bora zone. Still some others said "We relied on what the government announced." But what is common for all resettlers is lack of information about the specific place they are going to start a new life. As it is confirmed in their group discussions, "We did not know the specific place to resettle. Only we found ourselves in a place called Chewaka. We knew Chewaka after we arrived."

2.4. Individual Decisions

Family members (spouses, children and parents) had a vital role in the decisions of the settlers. This is because the person who wants to resettle has to transfer their temporary and permanent possessions to the immediate relatives until he/she verifies the suitability of the resettlement area. The peers and neighbors' influences had also played a great deal to go or not to go to the resettlement places. Elders also had a big share in the decision making process of the settler to leave or to remain in the home area. Last but not least, the influence of *areda* leaders' involvement should not be neglected because it had mobilized many farmers since many people thought that people in position will not go to difficult areas.

2.5. The Transferring Process

Resettlers transferring took a period of one month. It was started in 22/4/96 and completed 30/7/96 EC. Isuzu trucks transported all resettlers. As mentioned earlier, consensus-building conferences held in each locality of the settlers' home area helped implementing bodies to identify potential resettlers. But after the classification between those who are willing and not willing, peasants who showed readiness did not get enough time for preparation. Some of the resettlers mentioned that "We registered on Monday and departed on Tuesday without any prior preparation; and now in order to make some arrangements in home areas the transport cost hampers us."

According to informants, every process of the resettlement program was carried out in a hurry; ample time was not given to the resettlers to make the necessary preparations and arrangements on their properties and families. Hence, some husbands came alone leaving their wives and some of their children stayed behind to look after the property left there. Due to the rapid execution of the program, the farmers said they did not get the chance to have more money for difficult times.

2.6. Promises/Incentives: Fulfilled and Unfulfilled

During the mobilizing stage of the Resettlement Program as mentioned earlier different stakeholders involved in the process applied various motivational tools and disseminated information whatever they consider appropriate to persuade peasants to the target sought for their aim was to persuade as many potential resettlers as they can without prior notice of the forthcoming effects. Hence, among the mobilizing groups, as informants from the mobilizing group asserted, there were people from the implementing group who tended to be emotional in their preaching words about the Resettlement Program. But later on, the mobilizing bodies at the zone, *aana* and *areda* failed to accommodate the high influx of peasants who showed their readiness to inhabit in the new areas. Following are some of the major incentives:

2.6.1. Two Hectares of Agricultural Plot

Almost all resettlers who came from sixteen *aanas* of the two eastern Oromia zones unanimously agree that the factor that pushed them to leave their homeland was nothing but to 'quench the thirst' for fertile land by means of acquiring two hectares of land per family. Initially, when resettlers leave their localities, as mentioned above the *aana* cadres and other government officials as well as *areda* executive bodies assured the potential resettlers that they will get 'two hectares of land' as soon as they arrive at the destination. However, it remains an unattainable plan to find more than one hectare of land since the available land was inadequate. There are even some peasants who did not get fully even the one-hectare believed to be distributed to all. Informants from the resettlers' part argue that 'Officials failed to deliver the promised size of plots which seemed real at the planning level but became vain at implementation.'

Furthermore, settlers condemn the implementing bodies for their poor preparation because of their failure to balance the available size of empty land and the number of incoming settlers. Officials at the *aana* level on their part blame the resettlers for bringing with them unregistered/unlisted settlers. According to Chewaka administration officers, the plan was to settle 8,000 – 10,000 households in Chewaka but due to the coming of additional people who were not in the list hosted by those who were found to be legal, the figure has escalated to 12,189 households (hhs) showing an additional 2,189 households. As stated by informants, during the transferring process controlling each resettler's household members was very much challenging since there had been a great discrepancy between the government receiving capacity and the appeals by peasants. Besides, resettlers had employed all means to bring relatives and/or friends illegally without noticing the respective officials at their localities. On the other hand, according to other official sources the plan in Chewaka was to resettle 14000hhs without assessing the exact accommodation capacity of the area, which later failed to address even the demand of the population, which is below the plan at least by 10%.

However, there are individuals among the resettlers who agree with the officials' that the resettlers themselves are partially responsible for the distribution of only one hectare of land in contrast with the arrangement of the program and aspiration of the peasants. One of my informants originally from East Harerge, *aana* Melka Bello residing now in *aana* Chewaka, Demeksa *areda* clearly stated that, "It is we who have to be questioned for the unfulfilled promises of two hectares of cultivable land by giving

protection for settlers who illegally came to Chewaka intending to strengthen bonds of relationship established based on kin or marriage ties. Particularly, those resettlers at *areda* administration are responsible more than anybody in Chewaka for chaos emerging due to quality and scarcity of land".

Importantly, the deficiency in the size of plots that settlers encountered now had been indicated in some preliminary assessments carried out by the regional government and others. In these assessments, it is pointed out that some of the claimed abundant unoccupied land suitable for cultivation was not found in reality (Abate 2004; Alemneh, 2003). To solve the prevailing land shortage in Chewaka small-scale resettlement called *sigsega* or inter-placement has been carried out. During my September 2004 field work an assessment was underway to identify 'empty lands' between and within villages and homesteads in all of the *aanas* of the zone to replace some of the resettlers who are unprivileged in land allotment and to minimize the problem of land shortage. But in my visit on February 2005, a new *areda* has been established as the twenty-seventh *areda* within *aana* Chewaka rather than transferring settlers to other areas in the zone as intended before.

During my fieldwork in September, I had contacted some unprivileged resettlers in land distribution who declared that they will leave the area and return to the origin unless they obtain enough land as promised. They were critical about the scarcity of land since they had encountered similar problems that they had trying to break away from i.e. disputes over land that was unavoidable commitment in their homeland but continued here too. Elders said that "We came here dreaming to get an answer to our request for sufficient land so that end up disputes over lands which was common in the areas of origin though it continues in Chewaka." The man-land ratio dilemma did not get the right answer as informants contended comparing the situation with their area of origin. Those who claimed leaving Chewaka in September however during my fieldwork in February found them in a changed mind of staying in Chewaka after they observed the market value of sesame and knowing the possibility of getting additional plot of half a hectare.

The other important issue related to the allocation of land is the type of plots apportioned to each family. The plot of land distributed to each of the families does not have 'quality and quantity' equivalence. The type of cultivatable land allotted to the peasant may be categorized in three forms: the first type is an ideal one which is fully feasible for agricultural work; the second category is a plot of land as compared to the first one some part of it is less fertile - unable to be ploughed by a tractor; and the third type of allotted land

is the one totally impossible to be cultivated by machines due to the presence of big trees and remnants of previously cut trees, and because of its topography and swampy nature of the land which is unsuitable for agricultural production. For instance, in an *Areda* called Demeksa, out of the total 600 households 94 had been allotted the third type of land. Since there is no system of plowing by oxen or other draft animals, the classification of land types is based on its suitability for machine cultivation.

As informants revealed such unpromising situations, darken the hope for the future generations. Settlers' concern for the problems related to plots given to each household has already been warned by results of other similar assessments. For instance, in relation to the current resettlement program land allocation Feleke Tadele had clearly stated, "initially one or two hectares is perhaps enough to provide a minimum family labor and satisfy the emotive need for land ownership. As the settler's family grows, the allotted holdings will be small enough to maintain livelihoods and will lead to the emergence of landless families" (2004:216).

The dissatisfaction that arose due to the distribution of small and poor quality of land to a family had become more of the concern of the youth above eighteen years of age. Hence, those boys who demand to form their own family mobilized themselves and submitted their case to the *aana* administration for due consideration during the distribution of land to household heads in May 2004. They officially requested access to and control over land. Based on their request the *aana* administration had offered one hectare of land for each youth above the age of 18 equal with the size of plot allocated to their parents. Accordingly, this younger population was made to settle in Boneya and Urji Oromia *Aredas* in site five and seven respectively. During my visit in September the majority of the resettlers in these two *aredas* were unmarried youths, however, now in my visit in February 2005, according to the information obtained from the *wereda* officials no one has been found as single.

The missing one-hectare of land never gives rest to the resettlers. They appeal for it in all occasions and forums that brought them together with *aana* or zonal officials as well as regional state representatives. By no means had the settlers given up their demand for land for the last one-year since their arrival. As a result, one year after their coming to Chewaka, for all of Chewaka settlers an additional half a hectare had been under allotment during my field visit in February 2005 despite the fact it had faced some resistances from the resettlers themselves and the local people. The distribution of the land has been carried out by a

committee established at the site level. The committee is composed of more than ten members such as five *areda kabines* (PA leaders), DA, site representatives, elders, etc.

Nonetheless, the efforts to provide an additional half a hectare have also faced implementation bottlenecks. The first challenge is the refusal of farmers who previously owned more than one and a half hectare to handover to other farmers. Settling the dispute over the land detained the tasks of the 'Land Allotting Committee'. The other problem related to the new supplementary land allocation is unavailability of empty land equally in all of the *aredas*. Some *aredas* have more than what is needed for their members and some have no such endowments that could be sufficient to all of the residents. In fact, when such kind of resource disparity happens between *aredas* in the distribution process, the case becomes the issue of the two *aredas* rather than a concern among individual settlers. Due to such encounters the allocation process does not move at the expected pace.

2.6.2. Irrigation

Farmers in Harerge area are familiar with producing more than once a year using irrigation. Accordingly, one of the pulling factors that drove peasants out from Harerge to Chewaka was the promise made by the mobilizing bodies at the *aana* and *areda* levels about the availability of water sources for irrigation in each locality. But when settlers arrived in Chewaka, they found no irrigation system that had been made ready for them. Resettlers since their arrival have been looking for potential water sources for irrigation. They are engaged in diverting small rivers and established household level small-scale irrigation systems to produce vegetables. Apart from individual efforts, among the settlers those who reside nearby the sides of the two big rivers i.e. Ideas and Dabena, some had tried to develop irrigation system though failed due to rudimentary attempts and resistance from the hosts.

Consequently, the settlers call upon governmental and other non-governmental bodies to assist them in building irrigation systems using Didesa and Dabena Rivers. The settlers located in sites 1, 4 and 7 particularly are very eager to see such big irrigation schemes within a short period of time; but according to officials, it needs a long period of time and huge investment to realize what settlers aspire for. Even some settlers associate their success in the future with the establishment of irrigation schemes on the area.

2.6.3. Three Years of Support

The other incentive that the resettlement program-organizing agents made a commitment was support provision for three consecutive years. The support includes according to the resettlers, rations (wheat, maize, chickpea, edible oil, etc.) monthly cash handouts, as well as services like health, mill, water, education, etc.

The provision of the ration support has, however, been ceased within one year (started in January 2004 and ended in December 2004). Settlers considered discontinuation much earlier than the completion of the promised three years. Indeed, such interruption bothered settlers particularly those who did not get enough products in the first year harvesting period. They complain about the stoppage of some of the provisions before the end of the promised three-year period. One woman informant recalling the commitment made during the orientation about the program stated that '*amata sadii dugda keenyaa gubbaa; amata sadii ossoo hinga'in dugda isaanii irraa bu'a jirma.*' This means, "(It has been said) for three years you will be on our (government's) shoulder; (but) before the completion of the (promised) three years we are dismounting from their shoulders." In the contrary, government officials in Chewaka while the settlers asked them about the discontinuation of ration support, as informants indicated, replied that "Let alone getting support even you resettlers in Chewaka can now support other needy people." According to government officials there is no such promise to provide food aid for three consecutive years but what was made as a commitment was that the other services, except the food aid, would continue free of charge for three years. However, the officials try to justify the deviation as a misunderstanding created during the orientation process.

2.6.4. Shelter

Settlers said that while they discussed about the program in their locality they were told "*Mannii qorqorodhaan ijaaramte jirti hoggaa dhaqan qulfuma biitattanii hulaan ittikaamte jirtii bantanii galu*" meaning, "Corrugated iron sheet roofed houses are already constructed with doors when you go there just you will buy a lock and enter opening the doors."

However, as settlers confirmed what they actually found in Chewaka on arrival was only *Das* (shelter made from poles and covered with grass, leaves and branches). Narrating the condition at the time, settlers pointed out that "the promised house was not found while arriving but what we found was, wild animals disturbing and making us busy around the thick grasses and trees."

2.7. Settlers' Profile

2.7.1. Settlers Classification

In Chewaka there is a commonly understood informal classification of settlers among themselves depending on the intention each settler had during his/her departure from Harerge. Thus, they categorize themselves into three groups: *hubataa*, *qubataa* and *guuggataa*. *Hubataa* (literarily 'examiner') is the one who came to Chewaka to examine the condition. The term *Qubataa* (literarily mean 'settler') is used by the settlers to make out those settlers who came from the very beginning with clear stand of settling. *Guuggataa* (literarily 'a veiled person') but used by the settlers to recognize a person who wants to live at the expense of the others without incurring his labor, money, time, etc.

Among the three groups, the *qubataa* came to Chewaka with the intention of making life there. They brought their family members and are involved in a full time basis in farming and other livelihood sources. In any case, they do not want to be idle. Most of the resettlers categorized under *qubataa* were in chronically difficult living condition and had no any other better alternatives in their home area than migrating. Also, some of them had experience of seasonal migration to adjacent zones and regions. However, the *hubataa* moved to Chewaka having with two options. The options are, if the conditions in Chewaka go well with what they expect, they will bring their family and start a new life in Chewaka. If the conditions in receiving area are below their standards, they will go back to their home area. This group has a relatively good means of living in the areas of origin but they want to maximize their option by migrating elsewhere endowed with resource basis. These people want to benefit from the two places, origin and destination against the government policy that urges the easing of population density in the areas of origin after three years.

Since most of these resettlers found, the place of destination better than their home areas had already brought their family to Chewaka and began to run stable life. Though the bringing of families never stopped since the incoming of settlers to Chewaka, the number escalated after the collection of the 1996/1997EC harvest (particularly sesame) in November and December, 2004. When they are asked about why they did not come along with their family, they reply that, "If the place I am going to resettle suits me, I will bring my family if not I myself will go back to home area; I do not want to see my family suffering." Presently, the

majority of them went back and brought their family being aware of the fact that without the labor participation of other family members' success in agriculture could not be attainable. However, according to *areda* leaders there are insignificant number of settlers who still have not brought their family either because of the refusal of families or relatives to depart from their home areas or settlers inability to decide either to leave or settle in Chewaka especially due to fear of malaria and shortage of income sources beyond farming.

The third group of the resettlers is the *guuggataa*. According to the resettlers, these are individuals small in number; who in the areas of origin does not have good work habits. They used to live going here and there chewing chat wherever they got such chances. They came to Chewaka with such a mind i.e. to live at the efforts of others but found the situation in Chewaka very different from what they imagined. In Chewaka, the administration structure stretched from the *aana* to the lowest *areda* level has got closer ties. Every activity of resettlers is under the supervision of the respective elected persons from the community and development agents in each *Areda*. The *guuggataa* though they had been allotted with one hectare of land like the other resettlers, did not plow the plot fully or at all presenting unacceptable reasons.

2.7.2. Ethnic Composition and Language

In Chewaka, all resettlers have similar places of origin, Harerge. They speak *Afan Oromo* (Oromo language) though they came from different *aanas* of the same zone and several *aredas* of the similar *aana*. The households relocated to Chewaka include both men and women.

2.7.3. Population Distribution

The population of Chewaka resettlement comprises 12,061 male and 329 female household heads. The number of women headed families as compared to the male is very small. Some of them came to Chewaka leaving behind their husbands and children in Harerge and others joined the resettlement as windowed or separated. In any case, no discrimination has been made against them. The total gender distribution shows 44110 male and 34069 female. Besides, out of the total 78189 population of Chewaka 65789 of them, 32049 males and 33740 females, are dependent family members.

2.7.4. Departure from Settlements

As evidences show, out of the total 12,815 households about 425 had left Chewaka particularly in the initial weeks of the resettlement process. Since then the number of returnees was insignificant. Most of those who had money returned with trucks that brought other settlers and those who had no money escaped on foot to Harer begging on their way.

Various push factors have been identified for the resettlers' departure from resettlement sites. One of causes noted by the resettlers is the dominance of the area by big grasses and trees. In relation to this, settlers mentioned that, "The land was not cleared; it was full of big grasses and trees preventing seeing each other in the jungle; some children who were lost in the jungle are still missing." The other reason was fear of attacks from wild animals and insects. The third reason was the burden to clear lands and construct houses. The fourth one was 'the congested living arrangements.' Sudden wildfire in all directions had also been recorded among the motives. The fire catastrophe that took some time to put out really disturbed all stakeholders involved in the execution of the program. According to the resettlers, such a cause pushed many people to immediately leave the resettlement place and go back to Harerge who still consider Chewaka as a fireplace.

Furthermore, those who left, according to the settlers, are: *first*, those who did not bring their family; *second*, those who have better opportunities in the origin; *thirdly*, those whose coming was initially influenced by other people (either friends or relatives), and *fourthly*, those who at the very beginning came intending just to see the situation at the resettlement area. Most of the returnees left Chewaka even before the distribution of land. Some of them did not enter into farming activities during their stay though they stay in Chewaka up to four months and took part in clearing plowing lands. Still some others simply spent their time chewing *Chat*. Some resettlers are still coming back though no clear evidence is available about their number. In fact, returnees to Chewaka, if they have relatives in the *Areda* administrative positions, will have high probability of getting plots back. As a principle, there is no possibility of getting back the land after leaving the settlement area.

Conversely, at present let alone settlers leaving the area, it became difficult or beyond control to stop new illegal comers to Chewaka. No land is available to be offered. Hosting new comers is prohibited though the settlers do not abide by the rule. Hence, knowing the exact number of new comers becomes a very

challenging task for the *aana* officials. Based on the existing evidence, there are 543 illegal households living in Chewaka who came from Harerge on their own initiatives. The detail profile of these groups is not known except their total number. Even the reported number might not be correct since newcomers enter Chewaka without the knowledge of the implementers of the program. For instance, during my fieldwork in February 2005 I saw 17 new households gathered in front of the *aana* administration office accompanied by 57 members of their family. All of them came from West Harerge, Chiro district on their own without informing officials in their localities escaping life hardships and hoping to get land in Chewaka but they were unsuccessful. They were chased out of the resettlement boundary by the police force let alone getting what they had aspired. However, some of the new comers who had relatives did not go back to Harerge rather hide themselves in the community.

2.8. The Issue of Voluntary vs. Involuntary Resettlement

In the areas of origin, people had different understandings about the resettlement program. Some consider the program as a 'state conspiracy' designed to exterminate them in a systematic way by relocating them to places that are not hospitable to humans. In spite of the negative propagandas against the program, peasants had showed their strong interests to take part in the program. The following paragraph by a resettler gives some highlights on the issue:

Harergeetti hoggu kaanu dhugaa dha nurraa miskinaa, foyya'aa, akkuma keenyaa kan ta'u jira. Hoggaa nu deemu kaanu boo'anii nu immoo 'Mootummaan dubbii kijibaa hinoofu; dubbii dhugaa malee.dhumnus haa dhumnu mootummaa keenyaan ala hintaanu yoo innii taaytaa gadhisee bichaa [qofa] sanuu Rabbiin gubbaa itti fidee gadhisee gaafasii dhumtii keenyaa' janneen.

The Government does not deal with a false matter. Indeed, initially there were very poor people among us and those who are better off. When we started leaving they cried to stop us. However, we said 'If we die let us die, we do not want to be beyond [the plan of] our government. The government would not move us to a catastrophe where we die but what we fear is that if the present government will loose its power (by other opponent groups) even though that will come upon the will of the Lord.'

Settlers understand their resettling process as a voluntary initiative because they believe that they have the right to remain home. Settlers argue that, 'If the government had obliged us without giving both options either to leave or stay, then we would have said that we were forced.' Besides, the settlers strengthen their argument by the key fact that up until the coming three years they have the right to return home. Though their exact number is not known, there are peasants from both East and West Harerge zones of different

aanas displaced due to taking away of their land for planting trees. Even these groups of peasants who were forced to leave their farming land for government afforestation purpose do not consider their displacement to Chewaka carried out beyond their interest.

The total demands for settlement in the home areas have not been fully satisfied. As resettlers confirmed, there were people registered and did not get the chance to resettle with them. They were left against their interest because of the government inability to accommodate all requests for they have to wait for other rounds in the future, if any. Hence, most of the resettlers consider their coming to Chewaka as a life-long chance that they could not get if they had remained in Harerge. The following statements are examples of enthusiasm:

*Juneeydii Saaddoo leenca haatii deesee xalayaa barreessee aradaa hundaa nu gaggeessee.
Yaa ilmaan Oromo kan san dura lafee babeessee kan itti aanu lubu nu addeessee.
Ihaadiigiin dhufee nurraa fageessee biyya balloo nu geessee makinaa nudhissee
Yaa ilmaan Oromo yoom dhageessee Juneeydii Saaddoo leenci haati deessee
Mootii Oromiyaa kan akkanaa isa dhageessee?*

This means:

Juneydi Sado³ is a lion that his mother gave birth who wrote a letter and transported (people to Chewaka) from all Aredas (Harerge)
O Oromo people! The one before (Derg) weakened us but the subsequent (EPRDF) strengthened us
By making us reach at a place with endowments EPRDF removed from us (shortage of land)
O! Oromo people, have you heard of Juneydi Sado is a lion that his mother gave birth
You never heard of a government Oromia like this!

2.9. Challenges Encountered on Arrival at the Resettlement Site

Both the resettlers and the officials agree on their facing of some difficulties at the beginning of the resettling process though the difficulties differ in the degree and quantity. A severe food shortage in the first week of arrival in Chewaka was the prime problem. Officials said that it was only for one week that such a problem persisted though settlers on their part scaled up the duration from seven to ten days. Community representatives upon the occurrence of the infliction went to Mettu, the zonal capital to look for solutions. They came with a solution at least that ended the periodic food shortage. According to informants during

³ President of the Regional State of Oromia

those days up to five persons died a day, particularly children in the group formed as an *areda*. The problem was more serious only during the first two weeks of the resettling process. But no accurate data is available concerning the total deaths in the area.

The other catastrophe was the outbreak of a wildfire that destroyed grasses and trees. This had created difficult conditions for the resettlers by forcing them to escape to save their lives. Due to their unfamiliarity with locations and topography of the physical environment, escaping away from the fire was not possible except by climbing big trees for those who are capable of doing so. Resettlers recalling the situation, today they are hopeful that such kind of problem will not happen again in the future. The fire destroyed various properties of the resettlers including cash money. One of my informants said that his 600 Birr notes had burnt in the fire. Additionally, though not officially confirmed, some family members have disappeared during the break out. Importantly, human damages were also reported. A woman was partially burnt while trying to save her property. Hence, she was referred to Mettu hospital for further treatment. She has been in the hospital for the last one year. Now though she is physically impaired, her life was saved with unreserved support of medical personnel and returned to Chewaka.

Other problems were also seen at that time such as scarcity of clean water, day and night clothing, health facilities, congested shelters, lack of cooking utensils, etc. Particularly, the scarcity of clean water forced resettlers to drink from rivers that exposed them to serious diarrhea. With the advice given from the health personnel to the settlers to boil the water before use, the health challenges related to unclean water found a solution.

Resettlers invariably believed that all the above and other problems happened because of the poor organization mechanism and the decision-making power concentration in the hands of some irresponsible individuals at the site level. Thus, resettlers recall the implementation bottleneck as one of the major problem they encountered at the beginning of the program. They disclosed that, "The problem at the time resulted in because of the breaking of the administrative bridge that connects them with the regional president." Besides, one informant articulated that, "*Rakkoon kun kan nu mudate sababa bulchinsa gaarii dhabuutiinii.*" It means, "We faced this problem because of lack of good governance."

Due to the existence of such an administrative bottleneck, the settlers suffered a lot at the initial stage of the program. There was no possible way to appeal the grievances of the community to the higher government structure. Government representatives at Chewaka blocked the movement of resettlers to Addis Ababa at the checkpoints. Nonetheless, due to the gravity of the problem in the initial stage (in January 2004) resettlers had to look for other routes to Addis Ababa. As a result by changing the usual route, they became able to reach Addis to present their petitions to the president of the regional government by crossing Didesa River by traditional boat transport of the Gumuz people.

Accordingly, the problem at the time got final response and solution. Because of the challenges encountered during the initial resettlement process subversive actions had been taken by the settlers against the existing government's assigned local responsible persons. The revolt brought a change in the persons executing the program and created better advantages for the settlers to obtain a new administrator from their area of origin. The replacement of the administrator as informants attested helped the settlers avoiding local language dialect difference between Harerge and Ilu Abba Bora area spoken Oromo language that the settlers pointed out as a barrier of communication. Regarding the substitution of locally assigned program leaders by a person(s) from Harerge area, settlers were heard saying "*Bulchinsa Afaan Walibeeknu*"; which means, "Administrator whom we speak common language (dialect)."

CHAPTER THREE

DIFFERENTIALS BETWEEN PLACES OF ORIGIN AND PLACE OF DESTINATION

3.1. Comparison with the Home Area

Criteria used by settlers to evaluate differences between resettlement sites and home areas among others are: soil fertility; sufficient rain; type and condition of shelter; food habits and varieties of food; biodiversity; services (transport, health, water, education etc.); production, marketing and consumption of *cat*; livestock production; vegetables, fruits and cereal plants; availability of meat and milk; and means of cultivation.

3.1.1. Soil and Rainfall

Since their arrival, settlers are very much active and busy in testing the nature of the soil in Chewaka. Settlers are satisfied with the soil fertility of agricultural land allotted to them compared with the origin though they are not given the size of plot expected, an issue that the settlers raise more than anything else. The settlers said that the land in the areas of origin is extremely exploited and full of stones with a decreasing yield from time to time. In contrast they say "*Laftii Cawwaaqaa gabbatu dha*" which means "The soil in Chewaka is fertile". The settlers are also pleased with the condition of the rains. They always remember the drought in the home area due to the absence of rain. They assert the availability of sufficient rain in Chewaka but with some reservation about its heaviness and storms. Besides, the rainy season differs from the origin area. The resettlers confirmed that the rain starts in June in Harerge whereas it does so during May in Chewaka. Both the soil and the rain in Chewaka are pleasing to the settlers for they meet their expectations. Here is a statement by a 65-years old individual during an informal meeting held in the community; "*Juneydii Saaddoo ammallee gaaddiisa ta'a biyyaa balloo kanaa nu fidee galata qaba utuba sibilaati*". This means, "Still Juneydi Sado continues to be a canopy (shield). (Also) He deserves appreciation; he is an iron pillar for he brought us to a place endowed with natural resources."

3.1.2. Housing

Housing conditions in Chewaka vary from a simple plastic shelter to a big corrugated-iron-sheet roofed house. Houses are constructed using grass and wood. This is a hut with a cone shaped roofing and a circular wall with one door and no window. The huts are made of *chita*¹ that are either existing as they are in the beginning or renewed and enlarged. Some houses were constructed in a very congested manner and unprotected from the blowing winds and harmful insects. Resettlers did not have a serious housing problem in the origin whatever poor they had been. They said "We did not have the problem of shelter in Harerge; what we were short of was land and rain."

3.1.3. Health

The settlers have a different level of understanding on health issues since they came from different localities. For instance, settler who came from small towns and surroundings complain about the health service provision, whereas those who came from remote areas appreciate the existing health service. Amazingly, the settlers do not consider that they have been treated well unless injected. As a result, they go to private clinics at nearby towns like Bedele, Dabo, and Arjo Guddetu. (*For the details on health issue see Chapter 7, pages 76-78*)

3.1.4. Food

Because of the availability of various types of food in the areas of origin, the settlers express their discomfort with the limited variety of food in Chewaka due to dependence on ration handouts. The settlers' demand for meat is one of the priority requests. They used to buy one kg of meat for 3-10 Birr depending on quality in their area of origin. Even on some occasions, they used to pool money and buy beef and share. Hence, concerning meat, settlers stated that, "*Harargeetti jaartiin jimaa cirtee magaalaatti lixxee hoggaa asideebitu (warra Bakarii) manaaf foon bittee dhuftii yoo qarshii hinqabaane liqeeffatee galgala dhuftii; eegaa galgala cincaan isaa Raas Hoteel fakkaatii manniin kiyjaa asitti garu kana hinqabnu.*" This means, "In Harerge a

¹ A type of big grass abundant in Chewaka

important to consider the type of plot allotted to them. Irrespective of the one-hectare land allocation, there are persons who possess more than one hectare. In fact the promise was two hectares of farming land. In the agricultural sector, settlers used to cultivate cash crops (*chat*, coffee, groundnuts, etc), vegetables (carrots, tomatoes, cabbage, etc.), fruits (banana, mango, etc.) as well as grains (sorghum, maize, etc.).

Settlers in Chewaka are all settled in 1996EC; no settlement program had been implemented before. Among the settlers, those whose lands are ploughable by tractors had advantages over the rest. Those who did not get the tractor service, unless they are active and financially capable of arranging labor, did not benefit in the 1996/97E.C. production year. Those who are successful, work day and night. In the areas of origin, it is common to work after sunset till mid-night but starting late. Success also depends on the availability of *chat* that in turn requires ability to buy. It was unthinkable to work without *chat* and cigarette. In the areas of origin settlers get both *chat* and tobacco from homesteads. In Chewaka a minimum of 2-10 Birr a day is required to buy *chat* and cigarette. Those who are unfamiliar with or unable to buy manufactured cigarettes use home-prepared ones.

During the 1996/97 E.C. production year, no settler used draft animals to plow his/her plot until tractors were provided for plowing the cleared lands since no settler had a single ox. The tractors plowed 5,323 hectares of land out of the total 9,742.125 hectares cultivated land. Accordingly, five major types of seeds (maize, sorghum, sesame, haricot bean and chick pea) were distributed.

During my visit to Chewaka in September 2004, all farming plots were covered with crops of different kinds, mainly sesame, sorghum and maize. In gardens and around riverbanks and springs, settlers had made an effort to cultivate vegetables, and plant fruit trees but were not successful in harvesting due to pests that are unfamiliar to the settlers. They had tried to practice their rich agricultural experiences in Chewaka particularly in planting cabbage, carrots, tomatoes, peppers, etc. though the insects impaired their efforts.

According to informants the intention of planting vegetables was to diversify income sources that could cover some of miscellaneous expenses at home. Gardening vegetables is the responsibility of wives. In the areas of origin women were in charge of selling products that are collected from the garden particularly *chat* and vegetables in order to buy food and other items required for daily consumption by the families.

But in Chewaka, it is difficult to subsidize family earnings from such sources. Hence, for the whole year, except for those involved in trading activities, most of the families have no income source other than the 50 Birr monthly cash handouts by the Government. Though the settlers do not want to reveal this fact, they have income sources back home which their relatives send them upon selling of harvests left there. Those settlers who have such invisible sources of income have also a good potential to spend on their plots to obtain better results.

What I observed, in my field visit during September 2004, was three types of crops: sesame, maize and sorghum in the fields. Resettlers' intention in planting such a variety of crops was to produce crops that have market and consumption value. Particularly, sesame had been given a higher place on the part of the resettlers because of its market value. Besides, sesame production is the main agricultural cash crop in the resettlement area where most of the resettlers became optimistic for a better income in the future for improving their living condition.

As a result, resettlers are very hopeful and they are very much excited on the sesame crop yield even before it is harvested. One of my informants clearly expresses the resettlers' feelings for the sesame production i.e. "*Maskaramii gannii galee salixinii keenyaa lakku lakku dhale*". This means, "September has come after the rainy season and our sesame has yielded in twins." They are very much concerned about the challenges of storage. Settlers said that they used to store up to 60 quintals of their agricultural products for long in an underground storage system but in Chewaka resettlers find it difficult to apply such a system because of the termites.

The settlers had established five cooperative societies (namely: *Kufa Kas, Ferre Hiyuma, Urji, Bekelcha* and *Jiru Gudina*) having a total members of 3403, 3338 males and 65 females and financial capital of 140229 birr as sub-branches of the regional union of cooperative societies. The cooperatives established under the auspices of the *wereda* administration office with full voluntary participation of the settlers. Thus, they sold most of their sesame products through the regional cooperatives union. The selling price for a kilogram of sesame was initially 5.25 Birr in November and December 2004 but it decreased to 4.90 Birr per kilogram after January 2005.

The price for sesame in the market fell by 1.50 - 2.00 Birr from that of the Union. Indeed, the production of sesame created a difference in the life of the settlers more than that of maize and sorghum that are also produced in Chewaka abundantly. Nonetheless, all settlers are not benefiting equally in this year's

During the 1996/97E.C. harvesting period, the production for cultivated their land, according to officials and settlers, was satisfactory. Thus, the total yearly harvest is calculated to be 42209.97 quintals (36,593.36 maize and sorghum, 39.91 barley and rice, 2,299.20 cereal (pea), and 35,277.50 oil seeds (sesame, peanut and *nug*). According to development agents there are no large number of pests except rats that destroy grain both in the field and storage. Nonetheless, there are challenges pertaining to agricultural works identified by settlers such as storage problem, draft animals for transporting grain from the fields, knowledge of the exact harvesting season, thunderstorms, rainstorms, hailstorms, wild animals, etc.

In Chewaka, out of the total 78,189 population, beginning from December 2004, 60% of them are expected to be food self-sufficient according to the *wereda* administration. However, site representatives and *areda* leaders do not agree with this figure. Their expectation is much lower than calculated by the *wereda* administration office. On the one hand, as the researcher observed, day-in day-out, many settlers move around several *aredas* to beg grain from acquaintances. Those settlers who have money at hand travel from one *areda* to the other in search of buying grain since settlers did not produce surplus agricultural production during the year; or there is no market in Chewaka where settlers can easily buy grain. As it is shown in the *aana* report nearly fifty percent of the 1996/97E.C. harvest is dominated by cash crops that are basically for the market. What is interesting among the settlers is the tradition of supporting each other. No settler spends the night starving as long as his neighbors have something to eat. They share what they have because they knew each other's economic statuses more than the *wereda* administration knew them which abandoned ration provision from those who should deserve support.

Surprisingly, a challenging task for the executors is that, none of the settlers want to be excluded from the ration support list. This is due to the background of the settlers in that the majority of them (35% in East Harerge and 55% in West Harerge) used to live by food assistance provided by GOs and NGOs. Hence, officials and DAs as well as site and *Areda* leaders are now busy to bring change in the attitudes of the settlers towards food assistance by conducting conferences, meetings, house-to-house sensitization works, etc. The government does not have the capacity to provide rations for all settlers as it did in the initial period so that officials at all levels (regional, zonal and *woreda*) have given much emphasis on awareness creation works to bring the expected attitudinal change and let the settlers themselves select those settlers who genuinely deserve support.

3.2.2. Livestock Production

In addition to efforts made to sustain life with crop production, resettlers' are also busy in fattening and breeding of domestic animals though it was started after one year since resettlers' arrival in January 2005. In January 2004 settlers had been provided with one goat per family by the government. Besides, improved varieties of hen had also been provided. As December 2004 report in Chewaka there are 120 oxen, 7 cows, 15 bulls, 17992 goats, 78 donkeys, 269 sheep and 14,060 hens in 90, 7, 15, 11085, 78265 and 781 households respectively. All the oxen, cows, sheep and bulls as well as donkeys are bought by the settlers. But out of the total 17992 goats and 14060 hens, 11085 goats and 588 hens are provided by the regional government. There is no commonly owned grazing land in Chewaka except hillside river forests which the *areda* representatives also protect by vesting responsibility over all militia men.

All settlers unanimously agree that Chewaka is good for agriculture but bad for livestock production. As stated earlier, for those who strictly utilized their labor and time for farming the 1996/97 E.C., harvests had shown a good result. Until 1996/97 E. C. completion of harvesting period there was no livestock breeding or fattening by the settlers. Since October 2004 after selling sesame and bringing some money from the areas of origin, some of the settlers have bought oxen, bulls, cows, goats, sheep, donkeys etc.. Ration transporting has been a very serious problem in Chewaka since there was lack of pack animals. Hence, husbands and wives had to carry rations on their shoulders and take them home and bring them again to the mills.

Increasingly, resettlers had begun to buy goats from the local people and feed them for a minimum of thirty to a maximum of ninety days to sell them back. The one goat offered by government has already shown two or threefold multiplication. The population of domestic animals has been showing a significant change in number especially after the collection of the 1996/1997 E.C. harvests principally sesame. For instance, six months ago there was no cattle market in all over Chewaka so that resettlers had to go to local markets in Dabo and Arjo Guddetu towns. But presently in the capital of Chewaka, Ilu-Harer, due to the increasing demand a daily cattle market has been established by the resettlers and locals.

Nonetheless, activities related to animal husbandry and cattle trading are not free from some encounters that hamper productivity. Cattle diseases are common including the major cattle disease in lowlands i.e. trypanosomiasis. Specifically, goats suffer from intestinal diseases according to veterinarians working in Chewaka. Veterinary clinics are busy in treating goats but still there is a problem of drugs, which the farmers are obliged to buy from the market. But resettlers reported that goats suffer from diseases that are not well known in the areas of origin. Moreover, resettlers pointed out that because of the absence of grazing land and bushes, the goats have to go around looking for pasture. There is no land that is unoccupied and free for grazing. Also the settlement pattern and empty spaces between houses is very narrow with a radius of 0.025ha not even allowing rural children to play let alone the cattle to move freely.

Therefore, participation of settlers in fattening and breeding as well as buying and selling of domestic animals has shown improvement in the income of the households involved. As informants asserted, from what the settlers obtained through animal farming, they can fulfill basic household necessities like kerosene, sugar, salt, edible oil, vegetables, grains, cloth, etc.

3.2.3. Beehives

Chewaka, because of its forest endowments, had been a good source of honey for locals and hosts. But after the resettlers' arrival, such a potential of honey production has been decreasing due to the clearing of forests for farming and residential purposes. However, with the intention of enhancing income of the settlers efforts have been exerted by the resettlers themselves, and the respective government office is trying to involve the resettlers in apiculture. Modern and traditional beehives are either bought or provided. Until December 2004 a total of 1,039 modern beehives have been distributed to 519 heads of households. However, they did not start producing honey since some accessories have been missing. The settlers have already put traditional beehives on big trees around residential and farming areas. Based on the data of December 2004 the number of households who use the traditional beehives reached 5,122 with 10,560 beehives. In fact out of the total beehives owned by the resettlers, only the bees in 7,336 hives started making honey. Regarding challenges in apiculture, as settlers discussed, bees do not stay in the hives for a period that is required for honey preparation. Bees usually leave the beehives before starting to make honey. No settler has yet produce honey either for consumption or marketing.

3.2.4. Agricultural Support

Concerning extension package programs, no practical steps have been taken beyond registering volunteers for the package. In each *areda*, one assistant DA has been deployed. All the DAs are high school graduates with no other agriculture-related formal training. To protect the health conditions of domestic animals in Chewaka two veterinary clinics were established and are giving service in Site 2 and Site 4. Other sites are covered by outreach services. Moreover, neither micro-finance nor small-scale credit schemes had been started to enhance the financial capacity of the settlers. However, agricultural tools like pickaxes, shovels, and sickles were provided to each household.

More than any other support settlers are very much satisfied with the tractor service provided by the government for the land is difficult to cultivate with hand tools. The plowing of the plots by tractors has indeed brought a great difference in the production trend of the settlers. As mentioned earlier out of the total 9,742 hectares cultivated land in 2004, only 5,323 hectare of land got the tractor service. Seeds have also been distributed to the peasants. The five major types of seeds distributed are maize, sorghum, sesame, haricot bean and chickpea.

Table 2: Amount of Seeds Distributed in the year 1996/97 E. C. Crop Calendar in Chewaka Settlement Site

No.	Seed Type	Amount Distributed (Quintals)	Household
1	Maize	399.44	12,778
2	Sorghum	1,039.29	12,778
3	Sesame	478.67	12,459
4	Haricot bean	932.77	12,410
5	Chick pea	762.00	11,062
Total		3,612.17	

Source: Chewaka *Wereda* Administration Office

3.2.4. Non-Agricultural Activities

3.2.4.1 Trading Activities

In Chewaka there are limited non-farm activities that can help the settlers secure other sources of income. A non-farm activity that the majority of resettlers got involved in particularly women is trading i.e. preparing, buying and selling of vegetables, *chat*, home made tobacco, fruits, food items, etc. In the areas of origin women mainly carry out trading activities. Among the settlers there are men who have small shops in the woreda capital town and centers of all other sites. Women in most cases sell their goods in the market in open-air places established for the purpose. During my first fieldwork peasants were not allowed to get involved in trading activities particularly in the newly emerging 'town', Ilu-Harer. But now after one year, plots for two persons (5m x 12m each) were given to each *Areda* to construct houses for trading purpose. However, according to resettlers these sizes plots are not enough for members of one *areda* since the demand is very high. In Chewaka the number of the lowest household in an *Areda* is 206 and the highest is 703. Hence, *areda* leaders faced a serious problem about whom to give the chance to. Consequently, resettlers and locals who did not get the opportunity to build a house in the town opted for other alternatives. By making mutual agreements with the resettlers situated in Ilu-Harer, they constructed two houses one for the owner of the land and one for themselves. Also some of them who did not get such an alternative or were unable to build a house resorted to renting.

3.2.4.2. Non-Trading Opportunities

In Chewaka there are, though few, non-farm activities like in the civil service, smithing, carpentry, daily labor, and works as waiters, housemaids, etc. Preferences have been given to settlers in filling vacant posts in the woreda government structure. Presently, resettlers are working as guards, DAs, office clerks, store keepers, cleaners, baby sitters, millers, grain weighing, etc. Apart from serving as civil servants, settlers are also involved in carpentry. As a carpenter one can earn more than 200 Birr a week. Settlers prefer to employ construction workers from among themselves than from the locals because it is cheaper or payment in kind like in *Chat*, cigarettes and coffee is possible. Moreover, there are also some resettlers who rent their houses in the town for residential and business purposes

Settlers are not allowed to work as a daily laborer since all of them are expected to be fully engaged in their own individual farming activities. Notably, paid child labor is not common in the settlement area. However, the children in Ilu-Harer are involved in carrying goods, fetching water (by donkey), as housemaids/servants, waiters, etc. Their payment can be categorized as low, average and high. The lower is 20birr the average 60 and the highest 200 Birr per month. The lower and middle level payments are usually for children and minors, whereas the highest payment goes to youngsters and sometimes for adults. In some rare occasions children are engaged in food-for-work activities. Almost all of the daily laborers are not from the resettlers; rather they are from other places like Gojjam, Gonder, Jimma, Bedele, Agaro, Mettu, Chora, etc. Based on my own survey carried out in February, 2005, 23 individuals are identified as wage laborers. Out of the total 23-wage laborers in Ilu-Harer 'town' only two are found to be from the settlers whereas the rest came from different parts of the country.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION

Forced displacement tears apart the existing social fabric and induces powerlessness: it disperses and fragments communities, dismantles patterns of social organization and interpersonal ties; kinship groups become scattered as well. Life-sustaining informal networks of reciprocal help, local voluntary associations, and self-organized mutual service arrangements are dismantled (Cernea, *web*. 1997).

Obviously, displacing people from their localities and resettling them in a new social and physical environment as Wolde-Selassie (2004:71) indicated, ends up in the breaking down, destruction or dismantling of long established socio-cultural and economic systems of the displacing community. Besides, de Wet (2004:56) stated that in resettlement programs social and cultural disarticulation dismantles the social fabric, patterns of social organization, informal networks, social capital, cultural integrity and autonomy. Thus, the negative implications of the paralyzing of such long-lived social resources particularly in the initial stage of the resettling process exert a great influence usually reflected in the success and failure stories of the resettling community. Moreover, promotion of social integration in a community settling in a new area has par excellence value in attaining overall development objectives. "Ultimately in the longer term the viability of resettlement does not depend merely or primarily on obtaining economic self-sufficiency or even environmental sustainability but rather on the promotion of social integration that respects diversity and complementarity and promotes joint development" (Pankhurst, 2004: 113).

Therefore, in implementing resettlement programs social aspects of the program must be given due attention and should not be treated as inferior to other components. Cernea (1990b) regarding social planning of resettlement programs stated that, "During the 1960s and 1970s the handling of involuntary resettlement in development projects was often flawed by a lack of social planning and insufficient financial and technical resources." In Chewaka the social component of the program did get equal attention with that of the economic resilience of the settlers. The social disintegration and re-integration of resettlers in Chewaka can be viewed in the different forms of their social interactions and interrelationships among themselves and the locals or hosts with whom they have contacts.

4.1. Settlement Patterns

Like in other rural parts of the region, the pattern of settlement of peasants in Harerge area is based on kin and marital ties. Resettlers asserted that previously in their places of origin people with similar ancestral background occupied the same and nearby territories as my informant puts it: "*Baada baadaan jiraanaa*", which means, "We live with relatives." In the resettling process executors of the program in Chewaka resettlement did not give due attention to familial attachments and likeness of locality. Nonetheless, efforts made by the resettlers themselves helped those with similar locality background to get the chance to occupy the same sites and *aredas*.

In relation to the settlement pattern of the relocatees, what was promised was "Those from same *areda* and *aanaa* will form one *areda* and settle in the same place even without a change in the names of their *Aredas*." But this was not fulfilled as the government promised. Placement of the people was carried out according to the sequencing of the Isuzu trucks' arrival in the resettlement areas. People in one truck formed one group. During their departure from their home areas settlers were selected from different *aanaas* and *aredas* and gathered at midways from where they can easily get access to transport service.

Each household is entitled to a 0.25ha plot of land to erect a house and form a garden. In the settlement, resettlers occupy similar patterns of housing placement. They had formed villages with 'crowded' houses. This is similar with the settlement pattern of the Derg Regime. The pattern is not similar to the traditional rural settlement. The motive of clustering villages is similar with that of the previous government that claimed provision of social services to be more efficient and to stimulate voluntary self-help among villagers. The *areda* offices and other service centers have been established in the mid-way between villages. But there are people who prefer to settle near their farming fields just to avoid risks related with congested living style such as fire and disease outbreaks.

Due to differences in the areas of origin, it had not been easy for resettlers to form social groupings for supporting each other as they reached the places of destination. During my visit in September settlers informed me that "If a person lost his/her family member in Harerge we do not pass time with the mourner to give him solace as we did back home." But now the practical life experience and the living arrangement required settlers to create close relationships with each other. Settlers confirmed that even if they try to close their doors the existing conditions never allow such kind of behavior. Even sometimes success or failure depends on the degree of social ties that the person has with his/her fellow settlers.

4.2. The Extent of Integration within the Resettlers Community

In the areas of origin, the tradition of supporting each other was common especially in neighborhood as is reflected in sharing milk, *arera* (buttermilk), butter, *mogole* (slaughtering bull/calf and sharing meat by contributing money). However, these traditions are nonexistent in Chewaka because neither money nor cattle are available. Additionally, in home areas special value was given for milk and butter, particularly in its provision to children and women through an informal social organization called *Afosha*. Among the peasants in Harerge, milk serves as a means to support each other. For instance, if someone is in need of money, it is not money that the community contributes rather it is milk that could be pooled in one place on behalf of that person in need of money. Then, the milk will be sent to the market for sale. Furthermore, in Harerge women used to pool both money and grain in one central place (treasury) from where they can take it out when some are encountered a man made or natural crisis. Such women self-help schemes had up to 500 member households. But here in Chewaka women said they have no surplus money to start up their traditional self-help. They said "*Nama sadaqaa nyaatu sadaqaa kennu dandayaa?*" meaning "A person who is dependent on charity, can he give alms out?"

Displacees are striving to revive some of the tradition mutual self-help systems by strengthening social bonds among themselves. One of my informants said, "I left my mother, father and brothers whom I used to rely on; they are not here now so I have to make my neighbors my families."

4.3. Relation between Settlers with People in the Areas of Origin and Other Resettlement Sites

As a tradition in home areas as settlers themselves confirmed and as the researcher observed practically, settlers like to travel a long distance on foot or in whatever transport means available. Hence, they are always in touch with all other resettlers in other resettlement sites of the region and their people in home areas. If someone leaves Chewaka to visit his/her relatives located somewhere in Harerge or other resettlement sites, he/she begins his travel with a bid of visiting others' relatives as much as he can. No settler travels for his own sake only, rather he is considered as a representative of his/her community.

The ties between the people of origin and the relocatees are also strengthened by the information obtained from news agencies – local radio broadcasts and TV services. Amazingly, the settlers have a strong interest of listening to radio broadcasts, either local broadcasts (ENA and FANA Radio services) or overseas (German, VOA and other broadcasts). Sometimes more than one radio appliance can be found in a single house because of the diverging interest of members of a family particularly between the youngsters and the adults. PHILIPS brand radio is very popular among the resettlers because it is clear and durable.

There is no place and time specification in listening to music and radio broadcasts; whether in one's leisure or working hours or while farming or traveling. This is not unique to the resettlers in Chewaka rather it is common to all Harerge people, resettled and non-resettled alike. Those who remained in the areas of origin have the chance to watch TV transmissions to which they have access. Obviously, electronics products are cheap in Harerge areas since contraband is easy in the eastern geographical zone of the country that made peasants in those areas more privileged to own satellite dishes than any other peasant residing in the countryside.

Thus, settlers in Chewaka though they are not privileged as they used to be in Harerge, those who remained in the areas of origin watch TV programs specially related to the resettlement programs. In fact, TV broadcasts as resettlers disclosed had great contribution in their decision to come to Chewaka while they were in Harerge. In addition to the flow of information through the mass media settlers who have money travel to Harerge area to visit their relatives and others. As mentioned above, when people travel to the areas of origin, they are given assignments from persons of same original locality to visit their relatives. Settlers allow the traveler a maximum duration of one month taking the responsibility of looking after his/her property and family in Chewaka.

During the initial resettlement process as mentioned earlier, some settlers did not bring their family members and their property. Besides, settlers had left the majority of their relatives in Harerge or elsewhere in other resettlement sites in Wellega, Bale, Jimma, Illu Abba Bora or Guji zones. There is also movement of people from different resettlement sites within Chewaka and beyond the boundary of Chewaka. Besides, some relatives come to Chewaka from Harerge to visit their relatives and observe the living conditions in Chewaka. Hence, the daily in and out influx of settlers to and from Chewaka is high. If anyone comes from Harerge, settlers from the same locality organize a reception ceremony. In such a reception each settler tries to obtain information on his/her relatives and life conditions in the origin.

Visits to home areas exist between the resettlers and people of origin. One informant confirmed that during his visit to Harerge, the people there are still challenged by the shortage of rainfall. Mocking at them the visitor said to these people "Let Lord makes you free from such a problem; we escaped from such a problem (Harerge) and we live in heaven (Chewaka)." Besides he heard them saying "*Dachii Harerge dhumte; dachiin Cawwaqaa hindhumtu*" which means, "The land in Harerge has been over utilized; (whereas) the land in Chewaka will never come to an end."

There is an influx of people from Chewaka to Harerge and vice-versa. The flow of information is now very high. When people travel in both directions they transfer information through written letters, photos and audiocassettes. Resettlers also use telephone services to communicate with their relatives in Harerge. To get a telephone service the settlers have to travel up to four hours a day on foot. There are also occasions when settlers get telephone service while they are in Bedele for other purposes.

The establishment of strong bondage between people in the new and old settlement areas helped both to know the situation in each site. Such an updated flow of information further enhanced the mobilization of more voluntary resettlers to the other parts of the region. For the program implementers, accommodation of such enormous exodus of potential voluntary resettlers became difficult due to the limited resources both in the sending and receiving areas.

4.4. Family Disintegration

As was mentioned earlier, the execution of the program was carried out in a rush. Such a situation did not allow the resettlers to discuss in detail with other family members about who is going to resettle and who is not as well as where to settle and with whom. As a result, differences in the decisions of family members resulted in disintegration of families. Particularly, children who were attending school remained in the home areas to avoid discontinuation of their education. Sometimes the disagreements between husbands and wives in their on the new settlement affected family members - parents, children and other extended family members.

For instance, there are women headed families in Chewaka who left their husbands and some of their children in the place of origin. These mothers are now trapped by the decision they took i.e. living apart from some of their family members and unable to go back to Harerge. There are parents who left some of their

children in the areas of origin due to denial by other relatives. Moreover, members of the same family had been scattered in different zones of the region. They asked executors of the program to bring together scattered family members into similar resettlement sites but the stand of the government is different from that of the resettlers as is clearly articulated by one informant while mentioning the initial resettling process in Chewaka.

Kan wal-beeknu yoo wajjin makiinaa kore wajjin qubanaa kan wal-hinbeekneen achiin yoo wajjin makiinaa kore wajjin qubannaa. Deemii ilma kiyyaa Wallaggaa jiraa fidii naa wajjin qubsiisii heddu dhiheessan mootummaadhaaf gaaffii. Isin obbooleeyyanii ilmaan Oromoo kan Wallaggaa jiru, kan asii jiruu, kan Baalee, kan Arsii, kan Gimbii jirus hundii obbooleeyyanii wanniin ilma kee Wallaggaa irraa sii fiidu hinjiru qubadhu jedhe mootummaan deebii deebiiseef.

If we board on a truck (from Harerge) with those we knew we encamp together; if we board on a truck with those we knew not we still encamp with them together. Among the settlers many asked government (officials) saying 'bring my *child* who settled in Wellega to settle with me'. The government (officials) responded that 'You Oromos are brothers; the one situated in Wellega, here (in Chewaka), Bale, Arsi, or Gimbi you are all brothers so that there is no any reason that (the government) will bring your *child* from Wellega (avoid such issues) simply go on your lives.'

Some settlers say: "The regional government has to seek means for bringing together families separated because of the displacement." This was a serious problem during the initial resettling year of the peasants. Specially, the separation of family members between places of origin and places of destination has been getting solved through the bringing of family members together by the settlers' themselves. But those family members separated due to displacement in different places they still live cut apart.

4.5. Marriages and Divorces

4.5.1. New Marriages

Marriage arrangements are very simple among the settlers. A marriage can be realized between couples or it can involve elders and other family members. Locals are very much amazed by the 'simplicity' of resettlers' marriage accomplishments. Either girls or widowed/separated women are willing to be married as second wife.

There were youths who were unmarried during the execution of the settlement program who were registered as a member of a family however as soon as they reached the resettlement area set apart themselves from

their parents to get land. Accordingly, the moment they acquired plots, they immediately resorted to look for partners. For example, according to the office of the *aana* administration, the majority of the settlers in Biftu Ayyana (Site 7) and Welda Jalela (Site 5) were unmarried during land allotment in May 2004 but now almost all of them are married. There are 1,414 and 1,959 households in Site 5 and Site 7 respectively. I have attended a marriage ceremony under progress and interviewed the groom and the bride as well as other attendants. The ceremony is carried out at night, as it is usual in Harerge. But the ceremony is not like that of the home land as the informant stated. In the home areas, sheep and goats are slaughtered, feasts are prepared and people are invited. The adults and the aged will stay in the groom's house the whole night chewing *chat*, supplicating good fortune for the newly engaged couples. The youth and other interested adults sing traditional songs at night. But here in Chewaka because of the poor economic status of the settlers, grooms are not expected to fulfill what is required in the home areas. Due to their dependency on food aid, no slaughtering of either goats or sheep takes place, and the only preparation is *merka* (porridge made of maize). There is no butter to eat with the porridge, instead they use edible oil. After the reception of *Merka* the groom sees off invited guests.

4.5.2. Old and New Marital Relations

From its very beginning, the resettlement program was applied only for those peasants who were married only. Though the program was targeted to address married people due to various factors, some of the resettlers did not bring their wives so they were forced to marry new wives secretly without either divorcing or informing the old wife. However, the cases became no longer secret when the old wives heard the case or saw it when they came to Chewaka for a visit. During my fieldwork in September, 2004 the issue of marrying a second wife was not such a serious matter that could attract the attention of many people. But now marrying a second wife became a hot agenda in Chewaka (whether the old wife is there in Chewaka or in the homeland) in all sites of Chewaka particularly among those who got a good harvest in the 1996/97 E.C. crop production period.

This marriage practice disturbed many of the houses that seem to be peaceful and stable. Men tend to be dictators and arrogant. They do not accept advices and censure given by the local elders. Hence, such cases are transferred to *areda* and then to *aana* administration women's affairs desk. Since the *areda* Dispute Resolution Elders and *areda* leaders do not give decision within a short of period of time, applicants prefer to appeal at the *aana* office rather than appealing to the local elders and the various committees established at

the *areda* level. This is due especially to the fact that elders have no power to enforce their decision since they have no sanction over the person found guilty. Even in some cases if the accused person is found to have a large family members and/or relatives in the *areda* or if the person has some blood or marriage ties with persons in power no one dares to accuse him. The other reason that disputes could not be solved at *areda* level as one of my women informant puts it is that, "*Atis badaa inni kunis badaa, yoo badii isaa kanaa hiktee kan ka'e isa keessa duuba*" which means "You are guilty and the other person is guilty so that if you solve the other persons guilt how do you do your fault then?" Boldly, this is to say that individuals at the *areda* post are also indulged in such women's rights violations so that the mistreated women raise a question, "How can a man accused of a crime fairly deal about the crime he is also blamed for? If he takes the right measure, he has to abide by that decision. Hence, men in leadership posts do not give the right decision at the right time."

Because of absence of the formal court system in the *aana* the respective women's affairs desk and policemen treat women's grievances. Even the inception work by the *aana* women's affairs desk by itself is a recent phenomenon one year late as compared with launching the resettlement of the program. Since the dispute cases are mostly related to property ownership rights, decisions by the *aana* women's affairs desk have no enforcing power; even they sometimes can aggravate the dispute. Each day on average more than three marriage dispute cases are presented to the *aana* women's affairs. Women who present such cases travel up to four hours to reach the *aana* center i.e. Ilu-Harer.

The frequency of application tends to be high among the women who are at nearer distances from Ilu-Harer. After they present their cases orally most of the applicants never return to follow up their cases because of the distance, lack of money, health problem, the finalizing of the dispute at their locality, etc. Distressingly, as the victimized women appeal their cases to the formal system the revenge against them increases in its all forms of abuses - physical, psychological, sexual, etc.

Particularly, disagreements between spouses escalate after settlers determined to live in Chewaka, being satisfied seeing the results of the 1996/97 E. C. harvests. In relation to marrying a new wife, men settlers advocate that, as stated by an informant from Chiro *wereda*, West Harerge zone "*Mootummaan dachii haraawaa fi dhalaa haraawaa fuudhaa jedhe. Dachii ballatee ilmaan horre ardii gunnaa*" which can be translated like this: "The government had announced marrying new wife in a new land. The land (in Chewaka as compared to Harerge) is spacious; we will give birth for more children so that the land (in Chewaka) overflows."

4.5.3. Men with two Wives

Men who had two wives in Harerge were also included in the resettlement program. The wives asserted that they were promised to be considered as two separate households particularly in allocation of land. There are male settlers who left their wife in Harerge, and there are settlers who are displaced along with two of their wives. Those who have two wives did get one hectare for each family separately. The premises for the land distributing committee not to give two hectares of land for women who are under a single man is a simple assumption that women did not take part in clearing land. Thus, those who continually appealed for land obtained their share though they complained that the plots are located in the periphery; a plot that is left unplowed by tractors and requires great labor to cultivate.

The issue of two wives management by a single person in two different houses extends to a variation in the distribution and ownership of property, the old wife has a better privilege over the new one. The wives are identified as '*jarti guddo*' and '*jarti Tiqqo*' that means 'the older woman' and 'the younger woman.' As my two informants from the *jarti Tiqqo* group revealed a husband stores his property in the house of a *jarti guddo*. Women married as a second wife for their husband protest the privileges that the older wife has over the younger wife.

4.6. Social Organizations

It is stated that settlers in Chewaka all are from the same origin (Harerge area). They speak the Oromo language and the majority (98%) are Muslims. Specifically they are from East and West Harerge zones of Oromia. They are from 13 *weredas*, two from East Harerge and eleven from West Harerge zones. No complete data on the exact number and name of *aredas* of origin are available but now a census is undergoing to identify the background and present status of the settlers.

Two basic social institutions have been operative gradually since the settlers' arrival, which emerged as necessity to the conditions of the area. These are *afosha* (Iddir) and *guza* (labor arrangements). *afosha*'s purpose is mainly related to burial and death related services, whereas *guza*'s importance is in pooling labor for clearing farming fields and plowing and constructing houses. These two activities need a great amount of labors. Men and women have separate *afoshas* responsible for different tasks complementing each other. The settlers say that they had a local credit scheme in their homeland but here in Chewaka they did not start such a means of resource mobilizing because of low financial capacity. All other activities in the network of social relationships are carried out through the *afosha*.

The traditional labor arrangement *guza* operates under the umbrella of *afosha*. People residing in the same locality usually members of similar *afosha* can invite people whom they think work hard. There is no limit in the number of participants in the *guza* as far as the financial capacity of the person is strong to accommodate. A person who calls for *guza* is expected to provide food called *subata*, which is a combination *budena [injera]* (Ethiopian bread) and *weti (stew)* prepared from corn or sorghum and cereals respectively. The other decisive thing without which calling labor is fruitless is *chat* including cigarette. Therefore, if these three prerequisite are fulfilled, active labor contribution could be secured for all types of work. Social institutions specific to religious commitments are not yet established. Religious issues have special places both for the officials and the community. Religion has a central importance and is considered as one of the major components of the resettlement process. Thus, the government has imposed no restriction on building churches and mosques as far as there is the need.

Although an informal system has been established to resolve disputes at the community level, the formal sector has more acceptance and enforcing power. There are committees established for solving conflicts of interest among the community members. In each lower locality (*Gere Misooma*) a dispute resolution committee has been formed having 3-5 elders who have been elected from the community. The committee is backed by the formal sector to see dispute cases and give solution as immediately as possible. However, due to the incapacity of elders to enforce their resolutions, in most cases settlers prefer to appeal to the formal sector.

There are some relocatees that in their areas of origin used to live in small towns where they had had exposure to trading activities. Their experiences in trading activities in the homeland relates to the tradition of pooling cash, forming a group of 20 or 10 where, each of whom contribute Birr 10.00 daily, weekly or monthly and is given to a person (woman) who need an initial capital. They call this system of pooling money *qubi*. But in Chewaka settlers have a serious shortage of capital to start up trading activities.

4. 7. Settlers' Integration with hosts and locals

Settlers in Chewaka interact with two different ethnic groups. *Firstly*, the Gumuz who live along Didesa and Dabena rivers with total household of 44 and with a total population of 275; and *secondly*, the Oromo people residing in a place known as Chamen Jimate at the main entrance of Chewaka Resettlement who have 267 households with a population size of 1,994. Both hosts speak *Afan Oromo* (the Oromo language) and follow Christianity. Though they speak *Afan Oromo*, the Gumuz have their own language. In the case of the

Chamen Jimate people, they speak only *Afan Oromo* and almost all of them follow Protestant religion. Livelihood sources of the hosts are different. For the Gumuz people, the main sources of livelihood are shifting cultivation (maize and sorghum), hunting, gathering, fishing, beehives and boat transport service. But for the Oromo people, agriculture, livestock and trade are the main sources of income. However, they are occasionally involved in hunting and honey collection as well as some times in gathering. Among the Chamen people one can see a big difference in the trend of property ownership which is not found among the Gumuz people. The variation ranges from those having more than ten hectares of land to those having no land to cultivate except their labor.

There are no social organizations established to serve both the settlers and the hosts except in some few numbers living in a *kebele* (known as Mirgisa). Because of religious differences, and conflicts over natural resources, strong social ties could not yet be formed. Conflicts over resources have been a serious issue for the government, the settlers and the hosts right from the start. No informal organization for solving conflicts between communities has yet been created. Thus, the entire dispute resolutions require the *aana* administration's involvement from the formal sector. Collaborative systems of managing natural resources have not yet been established. In the contrary, what is evident is that the hosts blame the settlers for their massive destruction of forests against the trend they are familiar with. Except some 20 households of the local Oromo people from *Chamen Jimate* side, the settlers and hosts live in a separate settlement areas. These 20 households had been allotted one hectare of land equally with the settlers; hence they have made serious confrontations several times with the settlers due to expropriations of land and fruit trees.

Locals from two *weredas* of the Ilu Abba Bora zone, Bedele and Dabo Hanna had taken part in the preparation of shelter and food for the settlers. Participation both in cash and in labor was mandatory. Those who were unable or not interested to join in, had either to recruit daily laborers on their behalf or pay 15 Birr of punishment. The whole land and forest of Chewaka had been a free riding zone for the local peoples. Because of the arrival of settlers such unlimited movement became a history. Consequently, majority of freely available grazing lands, forests, fruit plants and beehives were placed under the control of the relocatees.

Consultation about the coming of the settlers with the locals did not get the required attention. Locals in Dabo Hanna *aana* were consulted on the coming of the settlers a year before in a conference held at their localities. This was true only for the Oromo locals, but not for the Gumuz people. The Gumuz came to know

about the coming of the settlers through the Ethiopian Radio broadcast. There is no displacement of local people from their area due to the settlers' arrival. Hence, no compensation has been made for the locals, who were promised access to services such as roads, schools, health services, etc that would be provided for the settlers. But according to local informants out of the promised services only the road has been realized. The participation of settlers in the existing local markets and the development of new markets within the resettlement have benefited many locals with or without trade experiences. On first contact the resettlers were amazed at the style of clothing of the Gumuz people who cover only their private parts and leave the rest of their body nude. The resettlers think that the Gumuz began to cover even the private parts after their coming in the area.

The deployment of such a huge population in Chewaka overwhelmed both the environment and the host community endangering both human and animal life, though officials tend to justify it in such a way that, "human life is more valuable than these trees and animals, as far as unoccupied land is available in the region, resettlement programs will continue to save human lives under crisis, this has been the stand of the Regional State." However, the stand of the Regional Government ignored the simple logic of the importance of conserving the environment to the people themselves. Obviously, when the population size "exceeds the carrying capacity of resources", as Gebre (2004b:46) pointed out, leads to "impoverishment, disasters and insecurity", which is a total crisis for the whole program incapable of breaking the poverty cycle.

4.7.1. Settler-Hosts/Locals Integration or Conflict

No mechanism has been established to share natural resources between the settlers and the locals. The settlement pattern of locals, and resettlers generated difficulties to find ways of sharing natural resource. The locals live beyond the boundary of the resettlement sites and occupied the escarpment. Since their boundaries intersect with those of the settlers, the locals compete with settlers for land. Conflicts sometimes occur over the possession of unoccupied empty grazing land as well as some banana and mango trees. This relates to the situation with the Oromo locals; whereas in the case of the Gumuz people the trend has a different picture in addition to the problems mentioned above. Here, there is a competition for irrigation and boat transport services around and over the Didesa River that is traditionally owned by the Gumuz people. The clash over the boat transport arose while the settlers tried to give up Gumuz's boat transport by creating other outlets for crossing Didesa River.

The settlers overwhelmed the locals to the extent of denying a say over the violation of their rights, which internally fuels tensions between the two groups that may break out following minor encounters. There is no independent informal system that can give solutions to conflicts although there are elected people from both groups to serve as a joint conflict stabilizing committee with eight members - 4 from each. The committee is supported by Chewaka *aana* administration office though it is not active in solving problems occurring in the localities. In the formal sector, strong mechanisms have been developed through which conflicts can be resolved. In the formal system clashes between the locals and settlers require the participation of all of the *aana kabane* members (heads of the five *Aanaa* offices). The formal structure actively works hierarchically from the *aana* administration offices to grass roots structure in the community.

In relation to the sharing of services, up to now only common schools are found to be among the services where locals and settlers' children come together and interact. The service is open both for the settlers and locals. In the case of the Gumuz, they share school services with settlers whereas in the case of the Oromo locals the settlers go and share school services where available in the locals' schools. Particularly the Oromo locals appreciate the benefit they get from the road constructed due to the launching of the resettlement program. Due to the construction of the road, locals became able to attend markets in other adjacent *weredas* of Wellega for cattle trading.

The settlers, the Gumuz and the local Oromos have a separate *kebele* administration. There is an intention of working together across the *kebele* boundaries. The idea of working together may not have any strong value beyond politics. For instance, *kebele* officials who seem to advocate joint efforts practically are not seen to be working towards the end. This is revealed when each *areda* competes for resources in support of its own folk. Presently, the settlers are more buyers than suppliers for they do not have surplus products to sell except sesame, which has already been exchanged through the cooperative society. The local people provide the market mainly with livestock, tomato, *chat*, wood for construction, grain etc. Large numbers of settlers attend markets located in the local communities. The government, the settler or the locals have not yet thought about joint development projects or economic ties. Cultural institutions or events that can bring the settlers and the locals together have not yet been developed. Concerning social ties, marriage ties are growing as the settlers marry from the local people. Because of their cultural backgrounds and religious differences, no strong bonds have been formed between the settlers and the locals.

CHAPTER FIVE

PHYSICAL ADAPTATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

As an ideal type of social integration is demanded for any displaced community for its self-supporting endeavors, its physical adaptation is also required to attain the desired results. The settlers in Chewaka in their effort towards food security are in conciliation and confrontation with the physical environment. On the one hand, they are in agreement because they are very much pleased with the natural endowments and the topography. On the other hand, they are in conflict because they are intensively engaged in resource exploitation such as forests, water sources, etc. An attempt is made to discuss major environmental issues and to show settlers-environment interactions.

5.1. Resettlers and the Flora and Fauna of Chewaka

Settlers found Chewaka different from their areas of origin in its forest and grass endowments. The resettlers consider the natural forest as a potential both for success and failure. Success in a sense that if the agricultural plot allotted to a farmer is not covered by thick forests, one can easily plow his/her plot on time before harvesting season lapses; but if trees and grasses cover the plot, it needs more time, money and labor, and hinders timely cultivation and harvesting. If the plot is mostly covered with *chita*, as compared to the one covered with trees, the plot needs less labor, time and finance for clearance and cultivation.

On the contrary, settlers face difficulties because of the *chita* which is abundant all over Chewaka. The *chita* usually takes the blame for the problems related to cattle breeding and fattening for it is assumed to be conducive for snakes, tsetse flies, other biting insects, mosquitoes, etc. to breed. Settlers condemn the grass saying "*farii biyya kanaa citaa kanaa*," meaning, "The *chita* is the enemy in this area (Chewaka)."

On the one hand, the resettlers consider the clearing of the grasses from the farming plots and homestead areas as a positive action. In fact the fast cutting of trees has raised concerns on the side of the settlers about the future of the area. Though officials claim that massive deforestation is prohibited, people still

continue cutting trees using their permission letters as excuses. In all the sites, *areda* leaders put forward forest protection as a priority agenda, though results are still far from achievement. This is mainly because the land distributed to settlers is covered by trees. The demand for wood is very high both among the resettlers' and the non-resettler groups residing in small village-towns.

On the other hand, the expansion of the resettlement sites and the increased demand for wood to construct residential houses and small shops aggravated the cutting of the few reserved forest trees. This led to expropriation of the seasonal agricultural lands and hunting and gathering ground of the minority host communities, the Gumuz people, and the other Oromo minorities in Mirgisa and Chamman Bereda. The settlers and hosts have not yet developed a joint natural resource conservation initiative. Indeed, hosts see the settlers as destroyers of trees. Especially the Gumuz people say that "These people came here not to work and live, but to damage." The settlers always carry axes with them when they travel.

Before it became a resettlement site, Chewaka was left free for big and small wild animals as well as different insects dwelling in a natural forest. Wild animals like lions, buffaloes, pigs, wild boars, etc. as well as snakes, pythons, termites, mosquitoes, etc. were abundant in the area. The attacks, damages and bites from the wild animals and insects especially during the initial period of the resettlement much affected the activity of settlers. According to settlers, such challenges were terrifying initially. Even some settlers returned to the areas of origin due to fear of the challenges.

Displacees located in far areas from the center of each site do not leave their house during the night fearing buffaloes. The buffaloes usually move with herds of 100-150 during the night destroying crops on the fields on their ways. Protecting farm fields from wild animals during the night is unthinkable. The Law also prohibits killing of wild animals. The other problem resettlers pointed out in relation to insects is 'biting flies' that they identified as 'buffalo flies' which is conventionally known as tsetse fly. Since this fly is dominant around the farm fields, it affects the day-to-day agricultural activities of the settlers since the bite creates bleeding and sores. Besides, settlers see the mosquitoes, as a potential for the spread of malaria as the protection nets are not sufficiently distributed. Termites also affect settlers by damaging their crops on the field and on the storage. They also spoiled the bases of houses and fences.

5.2. Topography

As compared to the resettlers' places of origin, Chewaka has got priority by the settlers due to its suitability for crop cultivation and soil quality. In Harerge peasants used to plow highly slope lands on mountains and hillsides. The crops are usually washed away due to high erosions. A statement by one of my informants to this effect was: "*Harargeetti tabba qootaa turre sanu dhakaa qofa*" which means, "We used to plow hilltops even that are full of stones".

Nonetheless, what settlers found in Chewaka, as a constraint in relation to the topography or the landscape is that some plots allotted for farmers are located in low elevations that would expose the plots to flood during the raining season. Increasingly, those who are given swampy and uncultivable plots of land have to invest more finance and labor to utilize the land. They incur up to 700 Birr for buying *chat* for arranging group labor that cost them more than twice expenses of the other peasants.

5.3. Crop Variety and the Climate

The displacees are familiar with crop varieties that are suitable for Chewaka climate. Particularly, both maize and sorghum grow in Chewaka and Harerge climates. The settlers have also planted haricot beans as their third alternative food item. Besides, an attempt has been made to harvest groundnuts, rice and barley by some farmers. What is new for the majority of settlers in Chewaka is sesame production the dominant cash crop that settlers rely on, which substitutes the two major cash crops *chat* and coffee which the settlers used to harvest in their home areas.

In the areas of origin the resettlers used to make money from harvesting *chat* and coffee alongside with the vegetables. As a result on departure the settlers brought with them indigenous seeds of different varieties of coffee, *chat*, fruits, trees, vegetables, etc. In their first year pilot works, their trials failed due to pests, which is now under investigation by the regional concerned bureau. Women informants stated that, "In the areas of origin, we used to support our families from income generated through selling vegetables produced in the gardens; in Chewaka however, all the vegetables have been destroyed." As the resettlers argued "The vegetable and domestic animals production needs a serious concern before we say the area is unfavorable for such production and end our hope for the future."

Presently, out of necessity settlers are adopting *chat* and coffee in their private nursery sites as pilot works though results are yet to be seen in the future. If successful, settlers could get dual benefits. The first benefit is its contribution in minimizing households' daily expenses due to coffee and *chat* consumption. The other advantage could be an addition in the varieties of cash crops in Chewaka that is indirectly an income source for the families.

5.4. Water Resources

Rainwater is the major source for agriculture and settlers do not express any complaint over the sufficiency of the rain. There is no well-organized system of irrigation except very few initiatives around small rivers and springs. According to local informants, within and surrounding Chewaka there are more than 17 small rivers most of which become dry in the dry season. For instance, I had seen two rivers during my field visit in September 2004 dissecting two *aredas* called Gudure and Demeksa which were no longer there during my fieldwork in February 2005. No data have been obtained from locals and settlers themselves about the contamination or overuse of the water resources. Nonetheless, the Gumuz people complain about the contamination of Didesa River due to washing of clothes at the banks of the river by the settlers. According to the locals the pollution resulted in decreasing the amount of fish available in the river.

5.5. The Weather

The hot weather, heavy rain and the wind all together dictate activities in Chewaka. The settlers do not consider the hot weather as a serious bottleneck as long as other shortcomings are overcome since there are some who came from lowlands who are familiar with hot weather. They have developed different adaptation mechanisms to the varying weather. Thus, they carry out farming activities half-naked. They also undertake their farming activity after the setting of the sun. As the resettlers noted, there is a difference between their place of origin and the destination especially during the rainy season. For instance, lack of awareness on the proper cropping season created problems in their farming. The farmers are unfamiliar with sesame production, which need careful harvesting. The damage by the wind and heavy rain always threatens the normal life of the settlers since their devastating effects both on the human and natural resources are high.

Among the frequently damaged things, bridges and houses belong to the forefront. The increasing size of small rivers and blockage of poorly built sewerage systems usually over flood the roads constructed in hasty ways. Whenever the roads are wet with rain, transportation services are interrupted until the road dries. During my fieldwork in September (10/1/96 E. C.), for instance, I witnessed a heavy rain and the subsequent thunder bolt and windstorm damaging houses in one of the villages. It destroyed the big stores built in site 2 and exposed the dry rations in the stores to rain. Crops on the field and merchants in the village town had also been affected by the rain and wind.

5.6. Lowland Diseases

Among the diseases human disease (e.g. malaria) and cattle diseases (e.g. trypanosomiasis) characterize lowland (Pankhurst and Piguet, 2004: 2-3). In Chewaka too, from its outset of the program due attention had been given to malaria and trypanosomiasis. Though preliminary cautionary actions were taken in case of malaria epidemic outbreak, it has not been found as the top disease since settlers' arrival. As official reports showed no malaria epidemic has been registered. Regarding trends of trypanosomiasis since cattle breeding and fattening was started lately at the end of 2004 no practical evidence was obtained since then. However, the existence of intestinal disease has been proved by veterinary clinics. But rarely peasants came across a cattle disease that causes blindness in goats which veterinary clinics are unable to identify the causes.

Importantly, fear of trypanosomiasis all over Chewaka highly obstructed investing in livestock production since buying cattle might result in losing limited financial resources. Nonetheless, a few farmers had already invested in buying oxen and cows deciding to handle them in a very cautious manner. They now do not let their cattle go out for grazing in the fields rather they hold them either in their home or in sheds erected for the purpose. They are always alert to bring their cattle to the markets the moment they see and hear of cattle death or symptoms of trypanosomiasis.

5.7. Basic Environmental Impacts

Trees have been cut for building individual houses, *kebele* offices, religious congregations, shops, schools, bridges etc. For instance, most settlers have already built new houses to replace the old ones. As a rule mountainous areas and riverine belts are reserved for forests. But on some occasions, even in these

reserved areas cutting of trees has also been observed. However, since the trees in the area are not suitable for constructing of houses in the small village town at the center of each site particularly at site 2, traders began to import woods that are suitable for construction from neighboring *weredas*. Like in other big towns of the country, in Chewaka selling wood for construction has become one of the income sources for traders.

According to the information obtained from Development Agents there are no trees of special purpose (like spice trees) in the area but there were trees that served as beehives before they have been destroyed after the resettlement except some left in the riverside and mountainous areas. According to official reports, 12,390 hectares of land for farming plot and 619.5 for settlement (homestead) had already been distributed last year which have been cleared except some trees left due to farmers' inability to clear them. Due to the rapid deforestation, even some settlers are demanding resettlement to other areas. They claim that, "*Mootummaan waan gaarii qabaa*" meaning, "The government still has opportunities (or potential land)". The settlers understand that it is the extensive deforestation that exposed them to drought in their home areas. One informant expressing his concern and said that, "We knew well what catastrophe deforestation potentially could bring to us but we don't have other alternatives to construct our houses."

No data has been obtained regarding the reduction of fertility and degradation of the soil due to erosion and other factors. Besides, no farmer had confirmed such a problem at present rather they underlined it as a future threat. Fallowing system used by the Gumuz and local Oromo people are now restricted around banks of the two big rivers mentioned earlier and the high topography of Chamen area.

5.8. Interventions

Conservation measures have been taken though not yet actively put under enforcement. Committees have been established from the local to the site level to control all issues related to cutting and planting of trees. The settlers show interest in afforesting their areas and call for provision of seedlings from the government. Hence, for cutting trees any settler has to have a permission letter from the forest protection committee as a rule but in practice there are some loopholes to break the rules. Moreover, there are initiations on the part of woreda Rural Development office to distribute two million seedlings of different species.

CHAPTER SIX

RESETTLEMENT ADMINISTRATION

Chewaka Resettlement is administered by a new *wereda* structure established following the coming of the resettlers into the area. It is structured as an independent *wereda* exclusively embracing the settlers' community. It is divided into 7 sites and 26 *Aredas*. Each *areda* is organized by *goti* (a structure next to *areda*) and *garee misoma* (Development Team). *Garee misoma* is the last/lowest structure in the bureaucratic hierarchy of the *wereda* administration. About 70 – 100 households dwell in one *goti* whereas one *garee misoma* encompasses 25 -30 households. There is a last structure at community level called *seli* (cell) that has five households though not active.

6.1. The Seven Sites and the Twenty Seven *Aredas*

For administrative purposes Chewaka resettlement is divided into seven sites each having differences in population size, number of *aredas* and spatial coverage. Initially, the seven sites were sub-divided into 26 *aredas* but now into 27 *aredas*. The population size and the area where the population is located determine the number of *Aredas* in each Site. Therefore, Site 1, Two and Three has six, five and two *aredas* respectively. Site Four and Seven have four *aredas* independently. Sites Five and Six each have three *aredas* (For the settlement map of Chewaka see figure 2 in page x)

6.2. Bureaucratic Arrangements and Personnel

In the new structural rearrangements, bureaus are organized at regional level in five major activity/service areas. Similarly, the bureaucratic structure at the *wereda* level is organized in five major parts: the *Wereda* Administration, Law and Justice, Public Mobilization, Rural Development, Finance and Economic Development and Capacity Building offices. Each main office encompasses several sub-offices/Desks. However, there is a serious need for qualified and experienced personnel in all of the offices. The highest educational qualification is diploma, the structure, however, demands more than that. Excluding teachers and DAs, the existing manpower does not exceed 50. This is because some offices are under formation, and the required human resources are not available in the market as well as some of the transferred workers from other *weredas* having not yet taken up their duties.

Furthermore, the existing offices' shortage limits the actual number of personnel. With regard to leaders' turnover, no change has been observed in the leadership except the change made on the *wereda* administrator at the initial stage based on settlers' request. For the rest of the posts, no change has been made since the beginning of the resettlement program. Civil servants assigned in Chewaka are people who served for a long period of time in other areas. Hence, almost all of them are displacees like the resettlers. They live in Chewaka separated from their families. They came from zonal and *wereda* level offices.

The growing number of civil servants and other newcomers in search of job opportunities aggravated the demand for social services like water and housing. The few houses constructed for accommodating new workers are now hosting three times more than their capacities. Residents in the village-town, both resettlers and locals, have got good market opportunities for renting rooms up to 60 Birr a month.

6.3. Administration Center

As stated earlier, Site 2 has already been selected as a center for coordinating the resettlement program in Ilu-Harer out of the seven sites. This small village-like town came to happen due to the building of stores and rural road workers camps. It was not a deliberately established village as the *wereda* official confirmed. During resettlers arrival there was a great demand for subsistence items. Hence, local people from different *weredas* of the Ilu Abba Bora zone get involved in providing goods and commodities for the resettlers. The settlers who came in large numbers had no other alternatives except buying the item with set prices. At the time the government ration support was not ready and at the same time was not enough to satisfy the needs of the people.

Later on, the increase in the number of locals in Site 2 and expansion of trade activities on a regular basis made the site a 'feeding' center for the rest of the sites that emerge later. The constructions of *Wereda* Administration Office scaled up the importance of the site. Following the institutionalizing of *wereda* office, merchants began to ask land for constructing houses for business activities. Such requests had been headaches for the officials at the time since the land was provided for resettlers not for the locals and there was no plan for establishing towns.

According to officials, the issue of allotting land to non-settlers was a hot issue until the agenda reached regional and zonal offices. Finally, locals were entitled to 12-sqm of lands for beginning business. Today, because of the measures taken at that time, it became possible to lay the bases of the future of 'Ilu-Harer Town' which is now providing all services for the residents, guests and civil servants as well as the resettlers. Why was the village-town in Site 2 coined as 'Ilu-Harer'? It is because the newly emerging town is the product of the efforts of both the locals and the resettlers.

Most of the owners of the shops in Ilu-Harer are people from other parts of the region/country –mostly from Chora, Jimma, Dabo, Agaro, Bedele and Mettu. Some of the merchants though they came from the region there are non-Oromos among them. Ethnically, the non-Oromos are composed of Amhara (from Gojjam, Gonder and Wollo), Keffa, Dawro and Gurage. Basically merchants provide basic food items, garments, elementary cosmetics, cigarettes, and housing utensils. These trading activities are expanding along both right and left sides of the road-crossing Site 2. During my field visit in September 2004, the involvement of settlers in trading activities was limited to selling traditionally collected and prepared tobaccos, husks of coffee, salt, etc. in very small quantities laid out on open fields which is usually called *gulit*. However, the non-settlers had been undertaking their business in shops. But in my fieldwork in February 2005 settlers had also started carrying out their business in shops.

The administrative center in Site 2, Gudure *areda*, and Ilu-Harer 'town' is situated at an average distance from all the other sites. The distance of the six sites from the center ranges from the smallest 8 km (Site 3, 6 and 7) to the highest 22 km (Site 5). The remaining Sites 1 and 4 are located at 10 and 12 kilometers. In fact, the distance here is measured from the center of each site.

6.4. Ilu-Harer 'Town' Expansion, the Administrators Resistance and the Resettlers' Reaction

Resettlers were not allowed to own houses in the village town of Ilu-Harer during the initial period of its establishment. They have been suspected of selling it to others after obtaining them. But on the contrary, the resettlers claim that "It is our right to get land in the 'town' where we can build a house with what we have – even a plastic shelter." On the other hand, though government officials say the resettlers do not have money for constructing a house in the market, there are individuals who have a capital of not less than 50,000 Birr which is more than enough for the project.

The *Wereda* Administration Office – ‘Town’ Land Distributing Committee – deliberately avoided giving land for settlers. The following statement confirms the stand; ‘You came here for obtaining agricultural land so that you are not expected to be merchants; therefore no need to allot you land in the market.’ “*Nagadaaf dhuftee immoo lafa qootuf dhufte?Lafa qoottu yoo dhabdee qofa nugaafadha*” meaning “Did you come (here) for trading or farming? If you didn't get a plot for plowing, you can ask us.” Many people who struggled for a plot of land suffered a lot and were sent to jail by the *Wereda* Administration Office (WAO) as informants contended.

Accordingly, after a long effort resettlers who were initially denied construction in the ‘town’ but later on got permission. This was the achievement of some individuals from the resettlers who had the guts to continually appeal. Even for these few people a five-day deadline was given for completing the construction. In fact, there are non-resettlers who are still constructing houses. Currently, the *Gudure areda* has been made responsible to hand out land to the resettlers after strategic sites in the ‘town’ have already been distributed to non-resettlers by WAO as the *areda* leaders complained. The handing over was done in order that resettlers in each site take part in the market place on a quota basis. These *areda* leaders criticize non-settler traders as only benefit seekers rather than development partners.

Currently, construction is growing fast. Traders are also busy in providing construction materials. Along with the formation of Chewaka's capita Ilu-Harer, a new market place has been expanding. The enlargement of the market place in Ilu-Harer is due to the fact that it is accessible to Sites 1, 2, 3 and 6. The market in Arjo Guddetu is accessible to the remaining settlers located in Sites 4, 5 and 7. The resettlers also take part in the local weekly market called “Geba Jimate” (Friday Market). The market is not new. Grains and coffee are the major items available in the market. The place where the market is situated is called ‘Chamen Bereda’ or ‘Chamen Jimate’. There is one elementary school serving the local people established in 1969 E. C. that got its name from the name of the market i.e. “Chamen Jimate”.

Like the market in Ilu-Harer, though not equal in size, markets are growing around the center of each site where the *areda* office, big store, clinics, etc. are located. The merchants in Ilu-Harer had already begun providing goods to traders in the rest of the sites. Thus, based on a census I carried out in Ilu-Harer, there are 204 houses out of which 19 houses are tea /coffee and restaurants rooms, 4 local drink houses, 21 shoe and garment shops, 12 *chat* houses and 34 big and small merchandise shops. The supply of food items and other goods is absolutely dependent on the demand of the settlers.

6.5. The Resettlers 'Chat Culture' and the Administrators Reaction

The settlers' homeland, Harerge, is known for growing *chat* plants. The people who grew up in that area are used to this stimulant plant. Every activity is linked with *chat*. During my fieldwork in September 2004 *chat* was not allowed to enter the resettlement sites. It was considered as contraband; and can only be found in the black markets all over the seven sites of Chewaka.

The important issue was that *chat* was officially forbidden to be sold openly in the market though it had been easily smuggled through the checkpoints established at the main entrance of the resettlement at Site 1. Nonetheless, at that time one could find *chat* secretly in the market. Besides, in the localities of the farmers there were also *chat* shops. Such prohibition created other problems that might affect the smooth functioning of the whole program. It was because any action against *chat* is a big issue to the settlers especially among those who are family heads. On the contrary, among the youngsters the prohibition was not as such a serious matter since they are not addicted.

According to some sources, the prohibition of *chat* in the area had been due to the impact it brought about on the productivity of the people. However, the prohibition was not strict since even known merchants were engaged in smuggling *chat* diverting routes through forests, bushes and cultivated crops of the resettlers. The prohibition only created price inflation in the *chat* market rather than reducing its consumption. In relation to *chat* prohibition, the settlers argued 'Why did the government prohibit *chat* while allowing alcoholic drinks?' In the month of September while I was conducting my first fieldwork most farmers were idle since the agricultural activities need no labor except protecting ripening crops. This facilitated the reviving of the informal *chat* market in many places. Officials in government structure who prohibit *chat* were also prime consumers of *chat*.

Chat is everything for the settlers; it is food, it is ceremonial, it is source of income, a stimulant for accomplishing hard work, etc. One informant articulated what *chat* was for him, "*Abbaan kiyyaa oso jimaa qama'u qama'u nadhalee anis ittin gudadhe nama amala bare hindhisu*" meaning, "I was born while my father was chewing *chat* and I too grew up in it, one can't quit what he (is already) addicted to." Besides, the informant added that "*Nama hadha jimaa nudhowee boru midhaan dhowuu deemaa kan jedhu shakkii qabna*" this can be translated as "We doubt the persons (leaders) who forbade *chat* today, because tomorrow he is going to forbid us from food."

Although the government structure took a measure against *chat* trafficking and selling, the farmers had already brought *chat* seeds and planted them in their gardens. They even say that "We will produce and provide for other places. We knew our (Harerge's) *chat* is the best in the market." Those addicted with *chat* never work without *chat* because they said "Our blood can't properly circulate without *Chat* when we do not get *chat* we sleep the whole day and do not go out of home because we feel tiredness." Besides, in the absence of *chat* said the resettlers "We hate ourselves." Additionally, settlers declared that, "(In the homeland) *chat* is something attached to our life so that if someone is unable to afford *chat* he/she can share with others. But here (in Chewaka) there is no tradition of borrowing from each other what one has not."

Consequently, revolt against *chat* prohibition was held to make the *aana* administrators allow opening the *chat* market. As the time passes the objection against *chat* embargo increased to the extent of considering it as one component of the resettlement process. For instance, settlers said in their areas of origin if heavy rain damages crops or house(s), they used to appeal the situation to a *Raabsaa*⁵ to avoid such kind of calamity. This had been done through the *chat* ceremony. In Chewaka, however, resettlers pointed out that because of the absence of *chat* they no longer carry out *Raabsaa* tradition so that windstorms and heavy rains often threaten their houses and crops. It is stated "there is no *chat* in Chewaka and without *chat* it is impossible to supplicate *Rabbi* (Lord) through the *Raabsaa* tradition which has not yet been started."

After about six months of the banning of *chat* from the open market of Chewaka an influential religious event approached i.e. Ramadan (Muslims' fasting month). Consequently, the resettlers presented their petition holding two options either to stop considering *chat* as an illegal item or to allow them to go back to Harer to spend the fasting month there. It became difficult for the administrators to choose between the two 'evils'. Hence, since October 2004 the resettlers were given the permission to have their *chat* chewing habit back. More than its consumption value, the expansion of *chat* market initiated several women to get involved in the *chat* trade. As a tradition, *chat* marketing particularly retailing is mainly the occupation of Harerge women both in the sending and receiving areas. In February 2005, in all days of the week except in some cases *chat* merchants bring *chat* to Chewaka. The daily estimated *chat* market transaction capital ranges from 12000 to 20000birr.

⁵ a person assumed to have divine power or be superior over them

6.6. The Geographic Map of Chewaka and the Locals Response

It has already been mentioned that in the surroundings of Chewaka, there are two host communities, the Oromo and Gumuz. Since Chewaka is located on one side of the two big rivers, Didesa and Dabena, it separates the Gumuz people living on both sides of the rivers and puts them under two different administrative *aanas* in two separate Regions (i.e., Oromia and Beni Shangul Gumuz). Informants from the Gumuz people clearly stated that they do not have interest to be administered under Chewaka with the resettlers; rather they prefer to be with Gumuz people residing in the other side of the rivers. Their preference is based on both economic and social factors.

Economically, they attend markets with Gumuz and Oromo people across the rivers. They sell basically honey and other farm products and household necessities from the same markets. Socially they are attached to Gumuz people through ties of religious, marriage, blood, shared values and norms, etc. They share their sorrows and happiness together. For instance, during my fieldwork in February 2005 I observed the corpse of an assassinated old man from the Gumuz people (residing in on the settlement side of the two rivers) in a conflict which burst out with the resettlers. The Gumuz people from one end to the other rallied out against the resettlers and blocked their movement to show their unity.

On the other hand, the local Oromo people located in a village called Chamen Bereda or Chamen Jimate do not want to be mapped under *aana* Chewaka. Before the launching of the resettlement program, the area was under Dabo Hanna *wereda*. Thus, the establishment of Chewaka as an independent *wereda* led to the merging of the two previously independent *weredas* - Bedele and Dabo Hanna - into one, named as Bedele Dabo *wereda*. Locals do not know the delimitation of the boundary between the two new *weredas*. Hence, they do not know to which side they belong, either to Chewaka or Bedele Dabo *wereda*.

CHAPTER SEVEN

INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES PROVISION

Regarding the provision of infrastructure and services in the newly launched resettlement areas the general approach at the federal and regional level is to avail services and infrastructure 'gradually' to the 'minimum required' and not necessarily all in advance (Abate, 2004:176,177). However, settlers were promised various services and infrastructure at their areas of origin as if these would be awaiting them irrespective of the general approach of the program. The actual trend of infrastructure and services provisions in Chewaka is described below focusing on each type of infrastructure or service.

7.1. Rural Roads

The seven sites of Chewaka resettlement have access to the main road of 94 km from Bedele town crossing Kone (Dabo) town making its end site 5 in *Aanaa* Chewaka. It is the only all-weather road in Chewaka.

7.2. Transportation and Communication Facilities

No regular public transport service has been assigned to Chewaka from Bedele town except Isuzu trucks that are giving dual services, for transporting people and goods. Hence, availability of transport depends on the availability of goods to be transported and the incoming number of settlers from Harer as well as the movement of civil servants and local students. During the rainy seasons, even the Isuzu trucks are rarely available. The 72 km from Bedele to the town of Chewaka, Ilu-Harer costs 20 Birr per person. There are no telephone and postal services in Chewaka but there is a military radio stationed in the compound of the *aana* administration. For postal and telephone services one has either to go to Bedele 2:00 to 2:30 hours by Isuzu trucks or has to travel to Arjo Guddetu 4:00 to 6:00 hours on foot. However, as mentioned earlier settlers had already established a strong communication means with their relatives in the areas of origin through a continuous flow of people from Chewaka to Harerge and vice-versa.

7.3. Housing Facilities

When resettlers arrived only temporary shelters had been constructed by the local people for receiving the displaced people. Each household has later built its own hut. All the houses have thatched roofs. But for the execution of the program, offices and big stores were built with iron sheets. Some of the ration stores are made of plastic sheets. No permanent meeting hall is available even in the administration office except a wide plastic shelter without walls. After one year of stay in Chewaka in December 2004, the locals and settlers became able to build more than three hundred iron sheet roofed houses in Ilu-Harer. Besides, some successful resettlers have erected new iron roofed houses replacing the old thatched roofed cone shaped huts.

7.4. Educational Services

The 1997 EC academic year in Chewaka resettlement started with limited organization and equipment. There was a rush in constructing classrooms to start classes on time. Hence, classes were built using plastic sheets for roofs and *chita* for walls, with no windows. Informants said "No school is made available; we are now carrying woods traveling long distances to build a school for our children after one academic year has already elapsed." Currently, new schools are under construction in each site by the regional state. Besides, resettlers argue that "Most of the students who were at school joined the resettlement program hoping to continue their education in Chewaka but it was not possible to do so because all the infrastructure of service giving institutions were not made available."

The schools are founded in equidistant places considering the interests of all the students coming from different *aredas*. Each site has one school. The schools are organized in three grade levels i.e. 1-4, 1-6 and 1-8. Sites 1, 2 and 4 each have schools from grades 1-8; whereas schools with grades 1-4 are established in Site 3, 5 and 6; a school in Site 7 has grades 1-6. The maximum grade level available at schools in Chewaka is 8th grade. This does not mean that there are no students above 8th grade. Families who had children attending school in grades above 6 had been advised to leave them in the areas of origin to continue their education.

The maximum distance for a student to reach a school will take 1:30 hours. There is no school fee expected from students. The physical size of the classes and the number of students enrolled in each class is not compatible. For instance, 150 - 160 students enroll per class. Initially there were 11305 students (7718 males and 3587 females) who ought to begin schooling but only 10117 of them (6765 boys/men and 3352 girls/women) actually started attending classes in seven schools in Chewaka. In the initial stages of schooling in the September 2004, parents were highly bothered about the clothing of their children. Parents put the situation: "We have been told to register boys and girls for school without proper clothing. The money handout could not cover even the expenses related with cleaning of the clothes." According to the 1997EC Academic Year First Semester performance report the school drop-out is 12.74%. Of the total drop-outs 993 or 9.81% are boys and 296 or 2.93% are girls. An attempt has been made by the *wereda* education office to identify the major causes for the drop-outs. As a result, illness, changing one's residence in searching for plots and engagements were identified orderly as the three major causal factors for students interrupting their education in Chewaka. Regarding gender disparity in the schools, the participation of girls/women is only 22.35 percent for grades 5-8 which is much below out of the planned figure 246. However, for grades 1-4 there is no big difference between the plan and the accomplishment in girls' enrollment rate which is 3341 and 3297 respectively.

The number of teachers now reached 125 having TTI and TTC certification. The diploma holders are only 15, 12 males and 3 females. The teachers from TTI are certificate holders. Their number is 110, 48 males and 62 females. There are no furniture and teaching aids made available except chalks, blackboards and dusters. Student Seats and other school materials are prepared by the settlers.

7.5. Health and Sanitation

There are six health posts in all of the seven sites; one in each except in Site Two where the health center is located serving the whole *aana*. At its present capacity one health post is serving 14,377 while the national standard is 5,000 people. In Chewaka there is only one health center actually giving service to more than 78,000 people against the national standard 25,000. Concerning the health personnel, in total they are 23 (14 senior and 4 junior nurses, 3 environmental health technicians (sanitarians), 1 pharmacist and 1 laboratory technician).

The type of health interventions include: - malaria prevention (through health education, bed net distribution⁶ and DDT spraying), Rehabilitation (treatment of patients), EPI (BCG and Polio), MCH (ANC, PNC and FP), TB and leprosy treatment. It was only one month (in February, 2005) since EPI and MCH program had been started. Some vaccinations had not yet been started. Delivery in health institutions is very low. According to the health workers, this is mainly due to the presence a good number of trained traditional birth attendants within the community.

However, family planning has been started with the plan to address 15401 women a year though its accomplishment is only 900 clients. Some of the resettlers are highly concerned about the limited attention given to the family planning. The data obtained from *Aanaa* administration office reveals that the family size ranges from three to seventeen members. Worried settlers argue that the population size is increasing not less than the situation in the homeland. According to these settlers, "The increase in the population size over time had affected the per capita land holdings aggravating conflicts among family members and neighbors in the places of origin to the extent of killing each other using *mencha*⁷." As mentioned earlier a sixty year-old informant remarked that, in Harerge, they had to share the land which used to be owned by their fathers among 50 due to the growing scarcity of land relative to the growing population size. Another informant also stated that when they compare the size of the plot allotted to them in Chewaka with their family size; they see no hope for the future different from the areas of origin.

No well-documented data is available in the settlement sites that show child and adult mortality and morbidity rates all over Chewaka. However, reports from the health center show that there have been 6 infants and 26 adult deaths due to malnutrition and malaria respectively within seven months from July 2004 –January 2005. In each *Areda* there are children feeding centers providing supplementary food. In the health center there is TFC program for children below 5 years, and their mothers supplied food with medication. Those admitted to the TFC are children and their mothers seriously malnourished in all the sites. Each family has one latrine in most cases and some share between families. A total of 11251 latrines and, 3816 waste disposal pits were available for 12390 households all over Chewaka. Soap had been distributed only once since the settlers' arrival. In the market, the price for soap ranges from 1 to 3 Birr.

⁶ The distribution is based on family size i.e. 1-5=1 net, 1- 8= 2 net, >10=3 net.

⁷ Agricultural tool with a wooden handle and a curved metal blade used for cutting down leaves, clearing agricultural land, etc. very common in Harerge areas.

With regard to HIV/AIDS and STD prevention and control there is no specific intervention on HIV/AIDS voluntary testing and counseling service but STD cases are treated like the other diseases. For instance, since July 2004, 369 STD cases have been registered. Moreover, the known HIV/AIDS prone diseases like TB have been diagnosed. As a result, 9 positive and 12 negative (referred) TB cases were reported in addition to the 15 extra preliminary TB cases.

Table 3: The Top Ten Diseases Registered in the Chewaka Health Center

Rank	Disease Type	%
1	Respiratory tuck infection	21.50
2	Intestinal parasite	18.9
3	Diarrhea disease	9.1
4	Acute fever illness ⁸	7.7
5	Urinary tract infection	6.0
6	Gastritis	4.2
7	Rheumatism	3.1
8	Malaria	2.7
9	Anemia	1.9
10	STD/STI	1.4

Source: Chewaka Wereda Health Center, January 2005

In Chewaka, malaria had been considered the number one threat among implementers and the beneficiaries of the program. However, according to the *Aanaa* Health Center six-month report (July – December, 2004) malaria was not found to be among the top disease. Here are below the top ten diseases documented in the health center. Furthermore, between July 2004 and January 2005 a total of 205 patients were admitted at the Health Center. Of the total admitted patients, five died. The Health Center faces three major problems: shortage of water supply, transportation for referral cases (absence of ambulance service) and absence of electric power supply.

7.6. Water

Settlers get water from springs, wells and rivers. There are a total of 77 springs⁹ (57 protected functional and 20 unprotected non – functional), two big –rivers (Dabena and Didesa) and 8 hand-dug wells. On the average, fetching water does not take more than 30 minutes from the water point. During the dry season from December to June, however, most of the water points either decrease in size or dry out. At this time the queues at the water points are long and take more than 30 minutes.

⁸ According to health workers at the Health Center 'acute fever' could be symptoms of malaria or other diseases

⁹ The distribution of spring is as follows: Site 1=14 springs, Site 2 = 22 springs, Site 3 =4 springs, Site 4= 14 springs, Site 5=2 springs, Site 6=7 springs, Site 7=14 springs.

7.7. Rations Provisions

The government did not preposition rations or food except that prepared by the locals during reception. Due to this the settlers reported suffering from food shortage at the time. Thus, they had to buy biscuits, bread and *budena* at inflated prices. The locals used the opportunity to increase their incomes.

According to the Oromia Disaster Prevention and Prepared Commission (ODPPC), the settlers used to get rations support from the government in their areas of origin. Moreover, the *aana* Administration Office confirmed that it is only a change in place that is the rations which used to be distributed in the areas of origin also continued in the settlement sites. But, as the officials stated it might lead to a miscalculation to think the entire rations in Chewaka came from home areas since there is a difference in the quantity of ration to be offered for a person, and type of beneficiaries in the two areas. In each site, there are up to 3 huge stores made of corrugated iron sheets and WFP temporary storage. The ration includes wheat, maize, bean, and oil. Each household member used to get 15 kg of wheat or maize, 0.5 kg of oil and 3 kg of bean per month. Infants have been provided with supplementary food amounting to 4 kg a month per child. Settlers disagree on the nutritional content of the ration handout. During the initial stage of the settlement process the quantity of monthly ration handouts were small, i.e., 7.5 kg/ person/month. The shortage even forced some people to leave the settlement sites.

In each *areda* there are children feeding centers that are intended to accommodate not less than 200 children. According to informants, not more than half of the children come to the center because of the poor services. For instance, in September 2004, a center in Demeksa *areda*, Site Two had registered 250 beneficiary children. However, some of the community members strongly criticized the service. They said that no more than 20 children come to the center to eat. Rather the *areda* leaders are misusing the opportunity.

7.8. Non-food Provisions

7.8.1. Household Equipment and Farming Tools

Because of time constraints and hoping to get them at destination, the resettlers neither brought cooking and farming tools from the origin nor were provided these as promised. The settlers were only provided with kitchen utensils (1 pot, 1 jerry can, 2 plates, and 2 cups), clothing (1 blanket) and agricultural tools (axe, shovel, and sickle). The problem even went to the extent of limiting the kind of food that a settler could prepare for his/her families. Some had to go back to the areas of origin to bring back some important items, which affected their farming work.

7.8.2. Monthly Financial Support

Until the resettlers become self-supporting citizens, they depend on what the government provide them with in kind or cash. In addition to the ration support in Chewaka, the government provides 50 Birr monthly financial support as *mi'esitu*¹⁰. The settlers complain of delays in handing out the cash supports by the administrators. The majority (85%) of the cash assistance recipients on behalf of the families are women. The women are given the privilege of receiving the monthly cash handouts because the money is expected to be used for food preparation and the men are suspected of using the money for buying *chat*.

The other thing that can be mentioned in relation to the money handout is the market situation; the market significantly depends on the money handout, as the settlers had no other sources of income. During such a time even the prices of items offered to the market rises. For instance, an exercise book that had previously been sold for 50 cents increased to 1.00-1.50 Birr. This change is observed on the days of the money handout within the month. Hence, the settlers prefer to go to other markets during such times if they have a good deal of other things to buy too.

7.9. Mill Services

For grinding maize and wheat, the farmers alternatively use traditional pounding tools (pestles and millstones) and the modern mill service. The mill service is available for free up to 3 kg per person as per schedule. Each family gets the service in one and half to two month's time. Settlers turn can only be maintained if only the mill in their locality functions without interruption. There are 14 mills in Chewaka, i.e., more than one in all sites except in Sites 3 and 6 that have only one each. The minimum number of people served by a mill is 5,000. The distribution of the mills among the sites is based on the population size, the settlement pattern and the topography of the sites.

Clients spend the whole day waiting for their turn to get the mill service. No other options are available for those who do not want to wait in queues the whole day except going to Dabo town or Chamen Bereda village which is 30 and 20 km away, respectively. Therefore, to get such services out of Chewaka requires money for both transporting the grains and the persons who transport the grains. For instance, a settler has to pay about 45 Birr for a quintal of wheat or corn to get a mill service in the privately owned mills. Even this opportunity is only accessible for settlers located in Site 1.

¹⁰ Literarily meaning *sweetener*; it is called sweetener because it is offered to buy salt, oil, sugar, onion, etc. items that can make a difference in the taste of food)

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

Long-lasting chronic food shortage due to low performances of the agricultural sector and lack of alternative income sources caused by various interrelated man-made and natural factors had obliged peasants in Harerge to accept government resettlement program willy-nilly. Settlers were given pre orientations at the *aana* and *areda* level and the consensus building meetings was held for a period of one month. The aim was to mobilize potential voluntary resettlers. The discussions focused on problems related to food aid sustainability, scarcity of cultivatable land, decreasing size of individual land holdings, environmental and climatic changes, etc. The pre-departure orientation includes promises to be fulfilled at destination and general information about the region. Settlers have no the knowledge about the specific place before departure, except what they knew from the elders who had visited the zone earlier. Among the provisions and conditions promised were residential houses, schools, health, road, water service, mill services, electrical light, clothing, two hectares of land per family, three years government support especially of basic services, the right to go back to places of origin after three years, etc. Such promises helped to mobilize voluntary resettlers more than expected to the extent that it was difficult to entertain the requests from the community; unfortunately the government has not delivered all its promises.

No significant preparation was made at the destination site as it has been done on the departure end. The things done at the receiving end is not in par with the number of settlers brought to Chewaka. If adequate preparations were made and executors of the program heeded to the advices of professionals, the problem settlers encountered would have been reduced.

The current resettlement program differs from earlier programs in its respect to ethnic and regional differences. The settlers in Chewaka and the local people in the receiving areas speak the official language of the region *Afan Oromo*, however while the former are Muslims the latter are Christians. This new approach does factor out ethnic differences but fails to take account other cultural differences. Hence, the program suffers from lack of smooth integration.

The criteria used by settlers to evaluate differences between resettlement sites and home areas are soil fertility; sufficient rain; type and condition of shelter; food habits and varieties of food; biodiversity; services

(transport, health, water, education etc.); production, marketing and consumption of *chat*; livestock production; fruits and cereal plants; etc. For instance, the destination area excels the home area by sufficient rain and soil fertility while the place of origin surpasses the destination area in its hospitable milieu and livestock production. Other aspects valued by settlers while comparing their homeland with Chewaka are housing, health and dietary situations. Housing conditions in Chewaka vary from a simple plastic shelter to a big corrugated-iron-sheet roofed house made with grass and wood. Some houses are congested and unprotected from the blowing winds and harmful insects in contrast to their home place. Understanding of health issues differs as factor of localities. Settlers who came from small towns complain about the health services, whereas those who came from remote areas appreciate the existing health services. Settlers express their discomfort with the limited variety of food in Chewaka and their demand for meat and milk is high.

The parameters of success and failures differ among stakeholders involved in the resettlement program. For the administrators the focus is on the *improvement of a settler food securing capacity i.e. not asking any more rations*. For the settlers and locals, success is measured by additions in *new houses, clothes and household utensils, buying cattle, visiting relatives in Harer, change in the quality and type of food, etc.* Unlike the administrators, locals and settlers held the idea that settlers' success should not be measured in the ability to save money and grain to sustain life until the next harvest. The implementation of the resettlement program on a 'voluntary' basis together with favorable environment sustains almost half of the settlers to be self-sufficient at least for this year. Locals and Development Agents appreciate the resettlers' all-rounded experience in the area of farming and non-farming activities. The traditional working time of the settlers has been changed in Chewaka and begins early in the morning and end after sunset. They have produced sesame, maize and sorghum, which have market and consumption value and have established cooperatives to facilitate market opportunities and provision of agricultural inputs. Nonetheless, factors such as lack of tractor services and swampy nature of the land have made about half of the settlers' community to sustain on rations. Lack of objective criteria by the executors in identifying settlers in need has become a tiresome business. In an attempt to reduce the number of beneficiaries, the executors of the program have exposed some settlers to severe hunger to the extent of going out for begging food.

Successful settlers who benefited from the 1996/97 E.C. harvest period marked changes in the number of ox, household utensils, and clothes and in the quality of their daily meal, houses, etc. Some have gone to Harer and sold what they had there and started completely a new life. Surprisingly, none of the settlers

want to be excluded from the ration support list. This is probably due to the background of the settlers as they are used to live by food assistance. Hence, officials and DAs as well as site and *areda* leaders are now busy to bring change in the attitudes of the settlers towards food assistance.

In addition to efforts made to sustain life with crop production, resettlers' are fattening and breeding domestic animals though started late in 2004. Settlers unanimously agree that Chewaka is good for agriculture and not for livestock production. Those who strictly utilized their labor and time for farming the 1996/97 E.C harvests had shown a good result. Until 1996/97 E.C. completion of harvesting period there was no livestock breeding or fattening by the settlers. Presently, after selling sesame and bringing some money from the areas of origin, some of the settlers have bought livestock, since October 2004. Therefore, participation of settlers in fattening and breeding as well as buying and selling of domestic animals has shown improvement in the income of the households involved. Ration transporting is a serious problem in Chewaka as there are few pack animals.

Nonetheless, activities related to animal husbandry and cattle trading are not free from some encounters, which hamper productivity. Cattle diseases like trypanosomiasis are common. Specifically, goats suffer from intestinal diseases according to veterinarians assigned in Chewaka. Veterinary clinics are busy in treating goats but there is a problem of drugs, which the farmers are obliged to buy from the market. Resettlers reported that, goats suffer from diseases that are not known in the areas of origin. Moreover, resettlers pointed out the absence of commonly owned grazing land in Chewaka except the hillside river forests, which the *areda* representatives protect it through militia.

The government has provided different agricultural inputs such as tractor service, seeds and farming tools intending to enhance the food securing capacity of each settler. Settlers are very much satisfied with the tractor service provided by the government. Plowing with tractors has brought a difference in the production. Concerning extension programs, no practical steps have been taken beyond registering volunteers. In each *areda*, one assistant DA has been assigned and all the DAs are high school graduates with no other agriculture-related formal training. To protect the health conditions of domestic animals in Chewaka two clinics were established and are giving service in Site 2 and 4. Other sites are covered by outreach services. The service is not enough as compared to the increasing number of the cattle population. Micro-finance and/or small-scale credit schemes have not been started to enhance the financial capacity of the settlers.

In Chewaka there are limited non-farm activities that can help the settlers secure other sources of income. A non-farm activity that the majority of resettlers got involved in particularly women is trading i.e. preparing, buying and selling of vegetables, *chat*, tobacco, fruits, food items, etc. Among the settlers there are men who have small shops in the *woreda* capital town and centers of all other sites. Women in most cases sell their goods in the market in open-air places established for the purpose.

The dislocation of the peasants had weakened even sometimes dismantled their established social, cultural and economic systems. Settlers had lost their known social organization called *Afosha*. The implications of disarticulation of the social fabric have been reflected in all other forms of settlers' life such as alternative conflict resolution mechanisms, group labor arrangements, psycho-social support, safety nets, etc. Due to differences in their areas of origin, it had not been easy for resettlers to form social groupings for supporting each other as they reached the places of destination. Thus, the negative implications of the paralyzing of such long-lived social resources particularly in the initial stage of the resettling process exert a great influence usually reflected in the success and failure stories of the resettling community.

Accordingly, the efforts towards attaining the principal objective of the program were also affected. Some among the settlers are marginalized and have been losing community support (such as material, labor, financial, assistance), which they used to get in home areas. They became beginners in running community life by reestablishing their debilitated social assets. The government structure favors the formal systems stretched hierarchically from *aana* to *gare misoma* at *areda* level which weakened the social bonds initiated by the community. This deficiency contributed as one of the constraining factors for some of the settlers to be unsuccessful in the 1996/97 E.C harvesting period. However, the pattern of settlement, marriage systems, relationships between settlers and the people in the home areas, formation and revival of social organizations, etc. have facilitated the interaction of settlers and the gradual rearticulating of all forms of social organizations.

Since the arrival of the settlers in Chewaka, the issues of settlers-host relationships and interactions have been a serious challenge for the program implementers. Peaceful coexistence and collaboration between settlers and host communities did not become effective due to competition over resources. The launching of the program in the area on which the hosts or locals presumed possession or claim ownership had changed the perception of hosts towards the dislocatees from the very beginning. Also the expansion of the displacees over the nearby territories of the hosts further darkens the hope of establishing healthier ties

between the two. As a result, the rapid and massive execution of the program restricted hosts' access to hunting, gathering, fishing, and honey collection. Besides, the competition over natural resources, differences in religious matters and other specific cultural traits further aggravated the discord. Thus, the exacerbation of the livelihood strategies of the local communities generated hostility resulting in bloody conflicts between the settlers on one side and the Gumuz and the Chamen and Mirgisa Oromo people situated within Chewaka and its surrounding areas on the other side. Indeed such problems came to happen because of overlooking the rights of the minorities.

The settlers overwhelmed the locals to the extents of denying a say over the violation of their rights, which internally fuels tensions. There is no independent informal system that can give solutions to conflicts although there are elected people from both groups to serve as a joint committee to resolve disputes and calm down confrontations. The settlers, the Gumuz and the local Oromos have a separate *kebele* administration but they interact in buying and selling activities. Currently, settlers are more buyers than suppliers for they lack surplus products to sell except sesame, which has already been exchanged through the cooperative societies. The local people provide the market mainly with livestock, tomato, *chat*, wood, grain etc. Large numbers of settlers attend markets located in the local communities. The government, the settler or the locals have not yet thought about joint development projects or economic ties. Cultural institutions or events that can bring the settlers and the locals together have not yet been developed.

The settlers in their effort towards food security are in conciliation and confrontation with the physical environment. They are very much pleased with the natural endowment and the topography but are in conflict because they are intensively engaged in resource exploitation such as forests, water sources, etc. Without perceiving its future environmental impacts, clearing of forests and grasses in Chewaka from each household-farming plot has been underway intensively. Massive resettlement program in Chewaka would definitely have significant effects in flora and fauna of the area and need to be assessed.

Additionally, the expansion of the resettlement sites and the increased demand for wood to construct residential houses and small shops aggravated the cutting of the few reserved forest trees. This led to expropriation of the seasonal agricultural lands and hunting and gathering grounds of the minority host communities. The settlers and hosts have not yet developed a joint natural resource conservation initiative. Indeed, hosts see the settlers as destroyers of trees. Before it became a resettlement site, Chewaka was left free for big and small wild animals.

The topography, crop variety, climate, water sources, weather condition, lowland diseases, etc. have got due value by the settlers in assessing their adaptation. As compared to the resettlers' places of origin, Chewaka has got priority by the settlers due to its suitability for crop cultivation and soil quality. In Harerge peasants used to plow slopes on mountains and hillsides and the crops are usually washed away due to high erosions. The displacees are familiar with crop varieties that are suitable for Chewaka climate for maize and sorghum grow in Chewaka and Harerge climates. The settlers have also planted haricot beans as their third alternative food item and some have attempted to harvest groundnuts, rice and barley. What is new for the majority of settlers is sesame production the cash crop that replaced *chat* and coffee, which settlers used to harvest in their home areas.

Malaria and trypanosomiasis had gained attention beforehand by the executors and the peasants and preliminary cautionary actions have been taken in case of malaria epidemic outbreak. But no outbreak of malaria epidemic experienced. Also malaria has not been found as the top disease since settlers' arrival. Regarding trends of trypanosomiasis so far there is no evidence. The existence of intestinal disease and sickness that causes blindness in goats is now on the rise. Fear of trypanosomiasis all over Chewaka has highly obstructed livestock production.

Furthermore, the hot weather, heavy rain and the wind all together dictate activities in Chewaka and settlers do not consider the hot weather as a serious bottleneck and even carry out farming activities half-naked. They also undertake their farming activity after the setting of the sun. In the areas of origin, the resettlers used to make money from harvesting *chat* and coffee alongside with the vegetables. As a result, on departure the settlers brought with them indigenous seeds of different varieties of coffee, *chat*, fruits, trees, vegetables, etc. Rainwater is the major source for agriculture and settlers do not express any complaint over the sufficiency of the rain. There is no well-organized system of irrigation except very few initiatives around small rivers and springs. The Gumuz people are reported to complain about the contamination of Didesa River due to washing of clothes at the banks of the river by the settlers. According to the locals, though it needs further study, the pollution resulted in decreasing the amount of fish used to available in the river.

The execution of the resettlement program in Chewaka at the *aana* level structured hierarchically from the *aana* office to the community level. The community is organized in four hierarchically stages (cell, development team, *goti*, *areda* and site). For administrative purposes, Chewaka resettlement is divided into

seven sites each having differences in population size, number of *aredas* and spatial coverage. The seven sites are sub-divided into initially 26 and now 27 *aredas*. The population size and the area where the population is located determine the number of *aredas* in each Site. Therefore, Site One, Two and Three has six, five and two *aredas* respectively. Site Four and Seven have four *aredas* independently. Sites Five and Six each have three *aredas*. Site two has been selected to serve as a center for the administration. The administrative center in Site Two, *Gudure areda*, and Ilu-Harer 'town' is situated at an average distance from all the other sites. The distance of the six sites from the center ranges from the smallest 8 km (Site 3, 6 and 7) to the highest 22 km (Site 5). The remaining Sites 1 and 4 are located at 10 and 12 kilometers.

The bureaucratic structure at the *Wereda* level is organized in five major parts: the *Wereda* Administration, Law and Justice, Public Mobilization, Rural Development, Finance and Economic Development and Capacity Building offices. Each main office encompasses several sub-offices/Desks. However, there is a serious need for qualified and experienced personnel in all of the offices. The highest educational qualification is diploma, the structure, however, demands more than that. Excluding teachers and DAs, the existing manpower does not exceed 50. This is because some offices are under formation, and the required human resources are not available in the market as well as some of the transferred workers from other *weredas* have not yet taken up their duties. The formation of Chewaka as independent *aana* had changed the existing map of the area incorporating new areas which were under other *aanas* in Ilu Abba Bora and East Wellega zones. The two communities surrounding Chewaka, the Gumuz and the local Oromos do not want to be integrated with the resettlers.

In each site, there are health posts, stores, *areda* offices, police stations, etc. which became a cause for the gathering of people beyond the settlers for different purposes. Settlers and locals have begun to build houses for shops, restaurants, local drinks, etc. Among the markets those in Site 1, 2 and 4 are growing at fastest rate forming small towns. However, the one in Site 2 since it is the capital for the *aana* is big and involves many non-settlers who came from different parts of the region and the country. Initially, resettlers were not allowed to own houses in the village town of Ilu-Harer for being suspected of selling it to others. The resettlers claim that it is their right to get land in the 'town'. After a long effort resettlers who were initially denied construction in the 'town' later got the permission.

The basic infrastructure made available before the deployment of the settlers is the construction of rural roads which connect the settlers among themselves and with the other adjacent communities. Hence, all-weather 56 km rural roads have been constructed from Kone to Chewaka. There are roads in each site linking *aredas* in the dry season. Except iron sheet walled temporary houses for storages, health center, health posts, offices for the *aana* administration and its workers, no permanent infrastructure has been put in place. No regular public transport service exists between Chewaka and Bedele town except Isuzu trucks that are giving dual services, for transporting people and goods.

Settlers are getting education, health, water and mill services. In the educational services, school aged children and adults are attending school. In each site there are schools. The schools are founded in equidistant places from each *areda* and will take a maximum of 1:30 hours less than the maximum walking hours settlers used to travel in home areas; and there is no school fee. Families who had children attending school in grades above 6 had been advised to leave them in the areas of origin to continue their education. Student-classroom ratio is incongruent and the aggregate school dropout is 12.74%, while it is 9.81% for boys and 2.93% for girls. The major causes for the drop-outs are illness, changing one's residence in searching for plots and engagements. The participation of girls/women is 22.35 percent for grades 5-8, much below out of the planned figure of 246. However, for grades 1-4 the disparity is near zero.

In Chewaka there is only one health center giving service to more than 78,000 people against the national standard 25,000. There are also six health posts in all of the seven sites; one in each except in Site Two where the health center is located serving the whole *aana*. At its present capacity, one health post is serving 14,377 while the national standard is 5,000 people. Respiratory truck infection, intestinal parasite, diarrhea disease, acute fever illness, urinary tract infection, gastritis, rheumatism, malaria, anemia and STD/STI have been diagnosed in the health center as the ten top diseases orderly. Settlers get water from springs, hand-dug well and rivers. On the average, fetching water does not take more than 30 minutes from the water point. During the dry season from December to June, however, most of the water points either decrease in size or dry out. At this time, the queues at the water points are long and can take more than 30 minutes.

Each household member used to get 15 kg of wheat or maize, 0.5 kg oil and 3 kg of bean per month/person. Infants have been provided with supplementary food amounting to 4 kg a month per child. During the initial stage of the settlement process, the quantity of monthly ration handouts was small, i.e.,

7.5 kg/person/month which forced some people to leave the settlement sites. There is financial support of fifty birr for each family. A mill service is available for free up to 3 kg per person as per schedule.

Generally, based on the results of the study in Chewaka in searching for theoretical framework that can best explain the reality on the ground, the impoverishment risks and reconstruction (IRR) model by Michael Cernea has been applied. Accordingly, the eight impoverishment risks: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, loss of access to common property resources, increased morbidity and mortality and community disarticulation captured by the model have been found to be useful in analyzing the socioeconomic conditions of both settlers and the hosts. However, as the model prescribed all of these shortcomings cannot be solved with the provision of the necessary inputs rather need other interventions.

Finally, it seems in some cases resettlement is considered as an end by itself; rather it should be seen as a means which requires the consideration of past lessons, present contributions and future threats of both human and non-human variables.

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Appendix-1: Pictures showing the living conditions of the settlers



1. The house of a poor settler in Gudure *areda*



4. The house of unsuccessful settler in Demeksa *areda*



2. The house a successful settler in Shimel Toke *areda*



5. Settlers feed their oxen in their houses fearing cattle disease if they let out them to the field



3. Poor clothing of children



6. Sesame and maize farm land



7. Gumuz's boat transport (a cause for conflict)



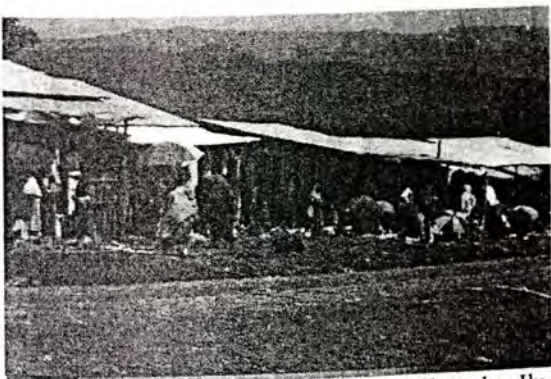
10. Settlers and locals cattle market at Ilu-Harer



8. The Gumuz people gathered after the confrontation with the settlers (9/6/97EC)



11. Students attending class in plastic roofed shelter



9. Trading civilities in the capital of Chewaka, Ilu-Harer



12. Children's feeding center in Demekesa *areda*

Appendix-1: Pictures showing the living conditions of the settlers



13. Traders and settlers competing for *chat*



16. Transportation service from Bedele town to Chewaka



14. Settlers constructing schools



17. Stretcher-bearers carrying patients to the health center



15. A new school under construction by the regional government



18. Queues at mill service in Gudure *areda*



19. School built by the settlers' community



22. Settlers after the completing *Guza* works



20. Spring water in Gudure *areda*



23. Settlers store over a tree fear of rats



21. Settlers constructing a house in group labor called *Guza*



24. 'Dependency is our enemy' a banner hanged over at the center of Ilu-Harer

Appendix-1: Pictures showing the living conditions of the settlers



25. Settlers cutting and burning trees while clearing their plots



28. A settler wounded in a conflict with the Gumuz



26. Settlers' storage system



29. Settlers gathered for conflict resolution with the Gumuz (9/6/97)




27. Regional President Juneydi Sado threshing the harvest during his visit to Chewaka



30. Settler women selling *chat* at Ilu-Harer market

Declaration

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university, and all sources of material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name Abdourouf Abdurrahman Signature 

Date 22/7/2005

Advisor _____

Name: _____

Signature _____

Date _____