SOCIO-CULTURAL INTEGRATION AND CULTURAL DIFFUSION BETWEEN AMHARA RESETTLERS AND THE HOST COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF ZEFINE-MENUKA, GAMO GOFA ZONE

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SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY PROGRAM

ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

NOVEMBER, 2015

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THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

NOVEMBER 2015

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Kidist Paulos, entitled: *Socio-Cultural Integration and Cultural Diffusion between Amhara Resettlers and the Host community: the Case of Zefine-Menuka, Gamo Gofa zone* and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of master of Arts (Social Anthropology) complies with the regulations of the university and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Above and before all, I would like to thank my almighty God who keeps me alive and strengthen me through all situations I passed through. This master's thesis would have not been completed without the help of many people and offices that contributed a lot through their knowledge, resources, ideas, and comments. I would like to use this opportunity to thank them for their generous support.

First and foremost, I would like to express my great gratitude to my advisor Assefa Tolera (PhD), for allowing me to carry out my master's thesis under his supervision and for his guidance, encouragement, and invaluable advices, critics and suggestion throughout the thesis work.

I am very grateful to the informants who participated in this study by devoting their precious time providing their opinions, and their point of views. Furthermore, I wish to thank my family for their lovely support throughout my study. And also I would like to thank my grandparents for their support during the field work, i.e., they adopted me in the field as their daughter and treated me a lot in my challenge at the field. My thanks also go to Muluneh (PhD candidate) who holds me strong in his charming words and edited my paper patiently.

I would like to thank AAU for giving me an opportunity to pursue my master's study in Social Anthropology and also for funding the research work. I am also thankful to different governmental organizations such as CSA, Arba Minch Statistics Bureau, and Boreda Wereda Administrative Office which provided secondary data and created a favorable condition during my stay at the research site. Kebele administrative officials at Zefine-Menuka and Kodo Awisato Menuka also contributed a lot as get keepers in pointing different knowledge source informants in the community and by permitting the kebele office for FGD. In addition, I would like to appreciate the kebele and Health Post Office at Zefine-Menuka which maintained me in providing different data.

Lastly, but not the least, I would like to express my deep gratitude to individuals who supported me a lot by acting as translators in some situations and those who helped me in showing places where my informants live in, i.e., at their home.

ACRONYMS

AAU – Addis Ababa University

CSA-Central Statistics Authority

EPRDF -Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front

FDRE- Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

FGD- Focus Group Discussion

SNNPR- Southern Nation Nationalities and People Region

DEFINITION OF LOCAL TERMS

Abel – a form of payment in kind with cereal products that the Amhara resettler people used to pay for their employers mainly for the farmer and herdsmen. It is expressed as x amount of cereal mostly maize from y (for example from 7 (seven) sack of maize 1(one) for the payment).

Agelgil – a traditional household tool designed in a circular shape that used to take away food to the desired place.

Agelgilot – the local name of a farmers association cooperative shop which is serving for the four kebele such as Zefine-Menuka, Kodo Awisato Menuka, Kodo Awisato Atisa and Dugana Gamero.

Awuraja – a governmental regional structural arrangement in the imperial regime which is equivalent to sub-province.

Bongi – name of a river that crosses Zefine-Menuka kebele.

Debo - traditional reciprocal work groups or rural labor mobilization to support individuals in their agricultural undertaking.

Difo dabo – traditional large bread which is common among the resettler at the study area.

Fosese/Kurkufa – a cultural food of the Gamo and Wolayta host society in the study area.

Gasha – land measurement which is approximately equivalent to 41 hectares land.

Godere –a type of cereal plant which have an edible root and used among the Gamo host society.

Gotera – a place where unprocessed (un-thresh) cereal products such as maize are stored.

Idir – a self-help association of individuals to support each other at the times of mourn (burial) or funeral.

Ikub – a self-help rotational economic association to strengthen economic capacity of members.

Kenber (wesko), Maresha, and Mofer – tools that are used by Amhara farmer's for their farming.

Awudima - is a small plot of land where Teff is processed, i.e., seeds are separated from the unwanted part of the plant (threshing floor).

Liklako and *Ribrabo* – a traditional process of preparing *awudima (threshing floor)*, which is a place where Teff is processed, for processing.

Mels – a cultural ceremony in which the new spouse were invited to the bride's parent/family the day after the wedding.

Mender misreta – an Amharic term to describe land reform and villagazation process by the Derg regime.

Qegnazmach – the title given to the authorities by the imperial regime/commander of the right flank.

Sherfa – a place where threshed cereal and crop products had been stored until consumed.

Shimagile – an elderly man who takes part in the process of conflict or dispute resolution (locally a process called '*shimgilina*').

Shimgilina –the name given for the traditional system that serve as dispute or conflict resolution in the Amhara resettler.

Tis – an Amharic term to describe a household unit or one family with all its members.

Tike or and *Ayile*'– a farming tool that the host Gamo society used for farming.

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Figure 1: Map of SNNPR indicating Zone and Wereda of the region

Figure 2: Map of Gamo Gofa Zone indicating Boreda Wereda

Figure 3: Map of Boreda Wereda indicating the study area, i.e., Zefine-Menuka kebele

ABSTRACT

This study was conducted on the socio-cultural integration of missionary sponsored voluntary resettler Amhara people from northern Ethiopia: Gondar, Wollo, Shewa and Gojjam with the host Gamo society in Zefine-Menuka. The resettler moved to Zefine-Menuka kebele, Boreda Wereda, Gamo Gofa zone, SNNPR regional state, Ethiopia in the late 1960s in two journey of the resettlement. In this study, a qualitative research method was used. Data were collected through observations, FGD, in-depth interview with key informants, oral history interview, case study, and informal interviews. The primary as well as the secondary data was used to uncover the context of the situation in the study area. Informants were selected by purposive and snowball sampling methods and data presentation and analysis were carried out in narratives. The data showed that, although the resettler have been living in the study area for over 46 years, their socio-cultural integration with the host society is not strong as per the year they live together. The diffusion of culture from the host to the resettler and vice versa was not extensive. However, interaction and relationship in the market, work places (farm), aesthetic sport activities (such as football games, and volleyball), church, and peasant association created a favorable situation for the development of integration between the Amhara resettlers and the host Gamo and Wolayta society. The existence of intermarriage (although unidirectional and very few), proficiency in language, relationship in different religious and social ties such as God parenting, eye parenting, Zikir and etc. were possible situations that showed the existence of integration among the people. Exchange of cultural attributes such as religious beliefs, farming methods, different tools and equipment, values, and norms in different social and cultural setting were observed in their long term integration. Because of the integration and exchange (diffusion) of different material and non-material traits of culture, observable changes happened in the socio-cultural practices of the resettler society compared either with their past trend and/ or with their homeland socio-cultural practices. In conclusion, it was observed that the isolated pattern of residence settlements, large size of the resettler population, resettlers' trend of tending to keep themselves away from the host society, and cultural differences are the barriers for the strong and deep integration and diffusion (exchange) of cultures between the resettler and host society in the study area.

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

The concept integration can take place in the context of relations between nation states (internationally), between groups, i.e., within culturally-diverse nation states, and between individuals who are members of these collective entities (Berry, 2011). Here, in this study integration is explored as a relation between groups, i.e., interaction between two groups of people who have distinct social and cultural background. There are different types of integration: socio-economic integration, cultural integration, legal and political integration (Ibid, 2011). The focus of this study is socio-cultural integration.

Social integration is the process of building the values, relations and institutions necessary to achieve that society. It is about making societies more equitable (Fergusen, 2008). It also reflects the existence of social cohesion, a strong institutional foundation and a culture of acceptance (Amparo, 2008). So, generally social integration can be defined as 'the process of creating unity, inclusion and participation at all levels of society within the diversity of personal attributes (socio-economic class, age, gender – sexual preference and expression, political ideas, ethnicity and cultural traits, religion, citizenship (national origin) and geographical region of origin and so on) so that every person is free to be the person he/she wants to be' (Ibid, 2008:2).

According to Algan, et al (2012) cultural integration is associated with the social and cultural sphere and concerns cultural habits, values and beliefs, religion, and language. Berry (2011) argues that integration can only be chosen and successfully pursued by non-dominant groups when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity. Thus a mutual accommodation is required for integration to be attained, involving the acceptance by both groups of the right of all groups to live as culturally different peoples.

The movement of people from one place to another is a common practice in human society and it may have several reasons. Thus, the movements can be either voluntarily or forced by natural/manmade catastrophes. Lee (1966), as quoted in Senbeta (2008), named this movement as migration and characterized it as permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. The most

profound changes in a society result from direct, aggressive contact of one society with another. There are many situations that bring a society to have contact with another. Resettlement is one factor that may bring two different societies together which paves a way for integration.

Resettlement can be defined as 'a planned or unplanned movement of people to get access to enough land and adequate rainfall for the betterment of their livelihood' (Gizachew, 2007: 12). Chamber (1992) as cited by Gizachew (2007:12), also explained resettlement as a systematized movement of people in a planned and controlled manner. What one can understand about resettlement from these characterizations is that, it is the movement of people from one area to another in search of better opportunities that they cannot access in their previous area of settlement.

The motives behind resettlement schemes vary from place to place based on the social, religious, economic and political situations of the countries. Tolera (1995) argues that it may not be one or single factor which contributes for settlement but one factor may become more relevant and sound to explain the case than the other. Ohta and Yntiso (2005) stated the following as the common causal factors of displacement(according to them the term displacement is holistic and integrative that consists of various aspects of movement including resettlement) in Africa: natural disasters(flood, drought, epidemics, etc.), development projects(dams, roads, irrigation, urban renewal, etc.), conservation and preservation activities(national parks, game reserves, other protected areas, etc.), planned resettlement programs, and violence and conflict(wars, civil unrest, ethnic clashes, religious persecution, etc.).

In line with the above, Abebe (2007) stated that addressing the problem of population pressure, provision of land for landless, promotion of development, i.e., a means of increasing output and productivity, diversification of agricultural products and commercialization as some of the factors for resettlements. According to Wood (1982) as cited in Tolera (1995) population movement and resettlement is forced by combined factors of population pressure, drought, declining crop yields, political conflict and favorable opportunities for market production.

In Ethiopia state sponsored resettlement was started in the third quarter of 20th century, i.e., in the late times of the imperial regime (Pankhurst and Piguet, 2004). Abebe (2007) stated that 'the aim of resettlement in Ethiopia is mainly to relocate people from densely populated to scarcely

populated areas' (p: 13). Similar to this Piguet and Lemessa (2004:134) argued that for the Ethiopian context the term resettlement suggests 'relocating people in areas other than their places of origin'. This relocating of people to places other than their origin results in contact of the relocated people with the people at the destination areas.

As it is already known each society has its own way of life, i.e., culture. When society comes into contact with other society their way of life, i.e., their culture also contacts. When culture comes into contact with other cultures, it can change. That is, cultural diffusion, the spread of cultural traits from one area to the other, may cause cultural change (Doda, 2005). One of the features of culture is; it is subject to gradual change. One of the reasons for the change is cultural diffusion, the spreading of cultural items from one culture to another (Spencer, 2012).

Diffusion of cultural traits is a selective process. A society takes a culture only if they prove it to be useful and/or compatible, i.e., if: it is seen to be superior to what already exists; it is consistent with existing cultural patterns; it is easily understood; it is able to be tested on an experimental basis; and its benefits are clearly visible to a relatively large number of people. Cultural borrowing is a two-way process. Very infrequently are borrowed cultural items ever transferred into the recipient culture in exactly their original form rather they adjusted to be compatible with the pre-existing culture. Some cultural traits are more easily diffused than others (Ibid, 2012).

According to Alula (1992) as cited in Abebe (2007) the imperial government undertook resettlement, with little central planning, in order to promote social, economic and political assortments. Besides to this government's initiation, the resettlement was mainly as consequences of agricultural and community development projects that displaced people from their living areas. Majorly other than achieving the objective that triggered the resettlement scheme no attempt was made to investigate the long term effect of resettlement, i.e., in terms of integration, conflict, diffusion of culture, etc on the life of those vulnerable groups of people.

Although several studies (e.g. Helena Gizachew (2007), Tesfaye Abebe (2007), Mengistu Senbeta (2008), Weldeselassie Abbute (2004), Yemane Guesh (2011), etc.) investigated the impact of resettlement on the livelihood, economy, psychology and social relations in most parts of Ethiopia, no attempts have been made to explore the impact of resettlement in Zefine-Menuka both on the Gamo hosts and Amhara resettlers. Besides to the geographical limitation on the

previous studies, there is also shortage of knowledge on the socio-cultural integration of these specific groups of societies under study. Moreover, earlier studies focused mainly on the livelihood, social, environmental and economic aspects of the resettlement programs.

To best of my knowledge, little scientific efforts have been made to examine the social and cultural integration between the indigenous society and the resettlers (e.g. Assefa Tolera (1995), Tizazu Gezahegne (2011)). Besides, those studies that investigate on the socio-cultural integration also had a limitation both on geographical location and times of resettlement, i.e., Gezahegne (2011) study on Kuti resettlement site and Tolera (1995) in Aaroo Addis Alem was the resettlement scheme at the Derg regime. This means both studies were on the society's socio-cultural integration living with the host societies for 27 and 20 years respectively at the times of study.

But, in this study I explored the socio-cultural integration and diffusion of the cultural traits between the resettlers and the indigenous society in Zefine-Menuka. Those people are voluntary resettlers who came at the imperial regime to Zefine- Menuka area. Since they lived for 46 years with the host society, socio-cultural integration and diffusion of culture between these societies is expected. So, this study may show a trusted data on the socio-cultural integration and diffusion of cultural traits.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Since mid-1960s various localized resettlement initiatives were promoted by governors, missionaries, and aid agencies in Ethiopia (Pankhurst and Piguet, 2004). This study is one of the resettlement scheme promoted by missionaries, i.e. by Seventh Day Adventist Church, in the late 1960s. Comparing with the Derg regime, Abebe (2007) stated that 'the Derg government was by far better than the imperial regime by facilitating the pace and the scale of resettlement actions' (P: 39). While explaining the reason for resettlement in Ethiopia, Senbeta (2008) says that:

> *In Ethiopia resettlement schemes in rural areas have been undertaken to bring change in the socio-economic development of the peasantry. The country's primary economic activity, agriculture, holds 85% of the population, but has not geared towards economic self-sufficiency. Indicators of agricultural underdevelopment are shown by drought, food insecurity, massive population migration and the rampant environmental degradation. In order to overcome the crisis of drought which has its roots in population pressure, insignificant landholdings and food insecurity the successive governments engineered*

massive population translocation from northern part of the country to South and south western part (P:27).

Considering the issue of food security and drought, even though the government took resettlement as a durable solution, some resettlement programs achieved what they were planned to be, whereas some did not meet the expected objectives. This study is on one of the resettlement program that meets the objective that triggered the scheme although there were many challenging situations. Even if there are many reasons for the failures; one of the most important reasons for the failures is the exaggerated information about the receiving area. Abebe (2007:32) stated this situation in the following words: 'People in the sending areas were presented the settlement site in idyllic terms as having virgin plots of land, good infrastructure and services.' But they may not get as they promised to have it.

Once they settle to a new area, the resettled societies had to adjust themselves to their new environment in order to survive and sustain their living. Integration is one aspect of adjustment. Gizachew (2007) defined integration as 'the way in which resettler interact among themselves and with the local/native community through gifts, contributions and showing solidarity when something appalling or good happens to a neighbor or someone in the village'(P: 13). Elliot and Gray (cited in Senbeta, 2008) also defined 'integration as the long-term, non-linear process through which new comers become full and equal participants in all dimensions of the society.'(P: 12). Thus, in the process of integration to adjust to the new situation, diffusion of cultures is inevitable.

According to Scott and Marshal (2009: 179) diffusion refers to the spread of traits and attributes from one culture to another through contact between different societies. This diffusion of culture may result in the change of the social and cultural practices of the resettlers because of their integration with the host and vice-versa. In order to maintain the social structure of a society, socialization to a culture is central. By social structure I am referring to 'any recurring pattern of social behavior, or, more specifically, to the ordered interrelationships between the different elements of a social system or society' (Ibid, 2009:740-741).

The social structure of the society comprises of institutional structures, i.e., social institutions such as family, religion, economics, politics and education and relational structure which is manifested in the relationship that members/individuals of the society have in the social

institutions of the society(in their daily life events). Even though it cannot be reduced to individuals, social structure of the society is evidenced in the observable movements and actions of individuals. Scott and Marshal(2009) stated this situation saying: 'social structure is carried and has its effects because it is embodied in individuals through their socialization and provides them with dispositions and tendencies to act in particular, structured ways' (P: 741).

When members of a society make contact with another society who has different and distinct socio-cultural practices, transfer of traits and attributes from one culture to another can be very likely. Resettlement schemes have high tendency of creating such kind of situations. In Many cases, the resettlement programs give much emphasis to the alleviation of the problem that forced the resettlement campaign and they did not give due attention to the long term effect of the process on the life of the vulnerable groups to that situation.

In the way that explains the above situation, Abebe (2007), stated 'though resettlement in Ethiopia was seen as a durable means to achieve a sustained socio-economic growth it often neglected the long term implication such as changes in relation to local people, conflicts over scarce resources and, indication in changes in identity.'(P: 2). Because of the interaction the society have, in the long term, changes on the social practices and cultural elements of both the settler and host may happen.

Several studies have been conducted in the resettlement areas focusing on the impact of resettlement on the livelihood (economy), social, psychological and ecological situations and evaluating the program from economic, social and ecological perspectives. However, it seems that there is a need for scientific knowledge on the socio-cultural integration and diffusion of cultural traits among the resettlers and the host society although some tried to analyze the issue in different resettlement areas (e.g. Kuti resettlement site at Gimbo Wereda Kaffa zone and in Aaroo Addis Alem, Kiramu area northeastern Wallaga). Therefore, in order to provide scientific data on this specific issue, I conducted this research on the socio-cultural integration and diffusion of cultural traits of the Zefine-Menuka Amhara resettlers and the host people in the area.

What makes this study different from the early studies is that it is on the resettlement scheme that took place during the imperial regime. It had been known little about these resettlement

programs and there is almost no attempt to investigate the long term effect of the scheme on the vulnerable groups in such resettlement site. Besides, the long term interaction of the resettlers and host community in the study resettlement site is a favorable opportunity to provide trusted data on the integration of these groups of people. In addition to the integration, the long term interactions also have an opportunity for diffusion of culture. Having these all unique situations, this study tries to explore the socio-cultural integration of the host and resettler people, and cultural diffusion of these people in the resettlement site.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

1.3.1. General Objective

The overall objective of the study was to explore the socio-cultural integration and cultural diffusion between the Amhara resettlers and the Gamo host community in Zefine-Menuka.

1.3.2. Specific objectives

Specific objectives of the study were:-

- To assess the process and patterns of resettlement in Zefine-Menuka.
- To identify the challenges and benefits of the resettlement to the resettlers because of their exposure to the new environment.
- To examine the socio-cultural integration of resettlers among themselves and with the host society's.
- To assess the diffusion of the cultural elements of the Amhara resettlers to the host society and vice versa.

1.4. Methodology of the Study

1.4.1. Research Approach

There are two methodologies of research that dominate the social sciences: quantitative and qualitative methodology. Quantitative research strategy emphasizes on quantification in the collection and analysis of data and it entails a deductive approach, incorporates the practices and norms of the natural scientific model, and embodies a view of social reality as an external,

objective reality (Bryman, 2004). Unlike the quantitative one, 'qualitative methodology is diverse and pluralistic due to the fact that it contains elements from many different schools of thought, which are integrated within this research model'(Sarantakos, 2005:36-37).

In this study I used qualitative methodology. One and the major reason why I used a qualitative approach was that 'in qualitative research, social inquiry has the purpose of helping the investigators to interpret and understand, first, the actors reasons for social action, second, the way they construct their lives and the meanings they attach to them, and third, the social context of social actions' (Ibid, 2005: 42). Thus, having this advantage of qualitative approach I attempted to assess the subjective meaning of the society towards the integration and diffusion of the socio-cultural structure between the Amhara resettlers and the indigenous people at and around Zefine-Menuka.

1.4.2. Research Participants

It was difficult to collect data from everyone in a community in order to get valid information and reach at reliable findings. Because of it, in this qualitative research a subset of a population was selected through purposive and snowball sampling methods. In the purposive sampling 'the researcher deliberately selects the subject against one or more traits to give what is believed to be a representative sample (Gray, 2004: 87). Therefore, in this study research participant individuals were selected based on their age (those who are live witnesses at the time of resettlement) in order to have clear and valid data about the process and patterns of the resettlement, and those who have exposure and nearness to the desired data for the scientific investigation at hand.

Snowball sampling was the other method in which 'the researcher identifies a small number of subjects who are knowledge source who in turn suggests other likely persons in the population (Ibid, 2004:88). In this study once the researcher identified knowledgeable individuals through purposive sampling, these 'knowledge source' individuals then suggest others who are likely to provide rich data on the subject matter.

Generally, 45 individuals both from the host and resettler communities have been selected and participated as informants in this study. Three FGD group, 20 oral history interviewee, four case study, and in-depth interview with four key informants were used in this study.

1.4.3. Source of Data

Both primary and secondary sources of data were used in the accomplishment of this investigation. Primary data was gathered from the selected sample representatives of the population under study and from the observations of the researcher. Previous researches in the area of the subject matter, related books, articles and any valid source of information was assessed and used to strengthen the study as the secondary source of data.

1.4.4. Data Collection Techniques

In this study I used six different techniques to collect data: Observation, In-Depth Interview, Focus Group Discussion, Case Study, Informal Interview and Oral History Interview.

Observation- Through observation the researcher observed the day to day life of the Amhara community and their integration with the Gamo host society being both a non-participant observer and participant observer. As non-participant observer without taking part in any activities of the group in order to observe naturally occurring behaviors and activities in their usual contexts, especially I tried to uncover the friendship relationship of students in their break and spare time at the school compound.

As participant observer through participating in the market places I observed the interaction of the host and resettler people in the trade and also the medium of communication. Doing that, I tried to answer the question how they interact and communicate in the market. In church gatherings, I observed the interaction of the two people and incidence and efforts of diversity in their difference. Generally, while observing the behavior and activities of the people in the community under study I investigated the integration of the resettlers with the host in specific situations like market, part time work, school, church, and home to home trading.

In-Depth Interview- In-depth interview as one technique to collect data was used in order to investigate the experiences and perspectives of key informants who have a rich knowledge about the subject matter. Four key informants were used in this study: one from the host society, two from the resettler people and the remaining one key informant is a facilitator of the scheme, i.e.,

Pastor Birhan Nigussie[1] who described the whole scenario of the resettlement. All the key informants for the in-depth interview were those who had been active participants of resettlement scheme from the beginning. They provided valid findings about the scenario of resettlement since they were there at the times of resettling. Those individuals also provided data on the diffusion of the culture of Amhara resettlers by comparing the indigenous culture that they have in their origin with the current socio-cultural structure.

Focus Group Discussion- FGD is one of anthropological methods of data collection that is 'appropriate for identifying group norms, eliciting opinions about group norms and discovering variety within a population' (Ewnetu and Birhane, 2004:13). For this study I used three (3) FGDs with homogeneous groups. The first group consists of 5 youth female individuals from the Amhara community. The second FGD group was held among seven male Amhara individuals. The third FGD was held among the men youth indigenous society in the area and the group consists of seven individuals.

The FGD typically emphasized on a specific topic, i.e., on the integration and relationship of the two communities. By using the predetermined questions I tried to discover the means of interaction that leads to their integration and the cultural exchange or the diffused social structure and cultural traits that the resettlers and the host exchanged as sighted by the participants of the FGD. Moreover, I tried to analyze the influence, which is both positive or advantageous and negative or disadvantageous, that the host community and the resettler community encounter because of the coming of the latter to the area from the youth groups point of view.

Case Study- A case study is a research approach that is used to generate an in-depth, multi-faceted understanding of a complex issue in its real-life context. It is an established research design that has the central tenet being the need to explore an event or phenomenon in depth and in its natural context (Crowe, Cresswell, etal, 2011). In order to explain the reason for situations

[1]Pastor Birhan Nigussie is a man from Seventh Day Adventist Church. He was a facilitator for the resettlement scheme at Abela Faricho or Garage and at Zefine-Menuka. He was there with the resettler people, the then governmental officials, the leaders of Adventist church, and those who were in the scheme. Even he is the person who identified the resettlement site and also the resettlers witnessed him as a person who facilitated their resettlement. Because of such reasons I picked him as a key informant of the study to describe the scenario.

and strengthen the findings of the study, cases on mate selection, conflict and land ownership of late comers[2] , are used in the investigation.

I used four cases in this study. The two cases were taken from the oral history informant who explained their experience from their past. The third case study was investigated from an individual who came to Zefine-Menuka via the marriage she had. The last case had been investigated from detail interview and conversation with those individual who have been in the football team of the host and resettler that end the game in conflict. The case studies were also used to understand and obtain an in-depth appreciation of phenomenon of the resettlement at the study area.

Informal Interview- informal interview is not a kind of interview that is based on list of questions nor do they use fixed response categories. It does not generate quantitative data rather qualitative which is often very vivid and personal in tone. The informality generates a greater degree of trust which can allow for the exploration of more sensitive issues. It is casual and relaxed, may be conducted in any occasions without pre-planning (Kumar, 2015). Thus, to disclose the sensitive issues that people refrain to speak in the formal interview such as: conflicting relationship of the host and resettler, conflicting relationships of resettler people, distribution of land for the late comers who have land in the original region and unequal treatment of individuals by some administrative officials, I used informal interview in different occasions.

Oral History Interview- in addition to observation, in-depth interview, case study, informal interview and FGD; oral history interview, i.e., 'an interview which the respondent is asked to recall events from his /her past and to reflect on them (Ewnetu and Birhane, 2004:11),was employed to obtain rich data on the subject matter. Twenty (20) interviewees both from the host and resettler communities were used for oral history interview.

Through the oral history interview, by using the data from the response of the informant on the past events from their experience and their reflection on them, the reason that triggered them for

[2] Late comers are those Amhara resettler individuals who came to Zefine-Menuka resettlement site lately, i.e., starting from late 1971GC (after the second journey of resettlement) until recent time. These people are not part of the scheduled resettlement rather they come to the site in their own will because of visiting relatives, searching for job and farmland, and other personal reasons.

the relocation was analyzed. And also extent of diffusion of the cultural elements of the resettlers Amhara people and the host community were analyzed. By conducting an interview with those who came to the resettlement site lately and those who went to visit relatives in the north I tried to uncover the extent of change observed in the socio-cultural structure comparing with the origin. In addition to this, I also investigated the challenges encounter and benefits gain that the resettlers experience since the times of resettlement.

1.4.5. Method of Data Analysis and Presentation

The collected data in this study were in the form of field notes, audio tapes, photographs and examination of existing documents. Before analyzing and presenting the research findings, one has to assure the reliability and validity of the data. Therefore, to assure the reliability (stability of the findings) of the study, triangulation was employed. Data triangulation (specifically person triangulation, i.e., where data are collected from different individuals) which is from where data are gathered using multiple sampling strategies and methodological triangulation, i.e., the use of varieties of data gathering techniques within the same method (Gray, 2004). Therefore, within the qualitative method in this study FGD, in-depth interview, observation, case study, informal interview and oral history interview was used in order to make-up for the weakness of one technique by another for methodological triangulation.

After collecting the desired data, the data was translated to English before analysis. During the analysis of the data, I used narratives in order to capture the lived experiences of the participants. To draw holistic data from the FGD, in-depth interview, case study, informal interview, observation and oral history interview the data were presented in the form of narratives. On the completion of the data analysis, the finding was transcribed, i.e., verbal description and standard writing style was used in the presentation of the research findings.

1.5. Significance of the Study

Even though the topic resettlement was investigated by many scholars, this study may offer and add knowledge in the field of study. This is because; first the area of investigation, i.e., Menuka is a new for this anthropological study. Second, the study is on the early resettlement scheme that have been explored very little, i.e., resettlement that held during the imperial regime in the late 1960s. Third, the topic is shaped in order to focus specifically on the socio-cultural integration

and diffusion of cultural traits of the resettlers with the host community unlike to other previous studies. Therefore, this study improves the knowledge beyond what has been known in the field of study (i.e. socio-cultural integration and diffusion of culture) so far.

The finding of this study, i.e., land owning of some resettlers both at the homeland and resettlement site, provides new information which can assist in the formulation of a better policy around resettlement especially in relation to land distribution. The outcome of this study, for instance the use of some criminal people the resettlement site as a place to hide from legal force, provides appropriate recommendations to all stakeholders particularly policy makers who are responsible for the improved practice of resettlement considering the critical conditions of vulnerable social groups. Thus, the study contributes for the improvement of the future resettlement programs in the country.

Besides to the above, this study can help as a spring board for further scientific investigation in the area, i.e., Zefine-Menuka which is the area not as such exposed to scientific research before. In line with this the society under study showed their problem in order to get the eyes of the concerned bodies to provide solution for the constraints such as lack of sufficient water supply, lack of electric light supply, transportation problem, and lack of good governance that hinders the development of the area specifically and the country in general.

1.6. Scope of the Study

The scope of this study was limited to the socio-cultural integration and diffusion of culture between the resettler Amhara people and the host society. The study emphasized only on Zefine-Menuka kebele of Amhara resettlers, who live in Boreda Wereda of Gamo Gofa zone and their integration with the indigenous people in the area. Methodologically, this study was limited to the qualitative research approach. Adopting the qualitative research approach and method the study tried to uncover the emic perspective that both the resettlers and the indigenous society have towards the socio-cultural integration and diffusion of their cultural traits to each other.

1.7. Organization of the Paper

In order to present the study findings in a coherent manner, the study is organized and outlined as follows: Chapter one: introduction, describing the statement of the problem, objectives of the

study, the methodology employed, significance of the study, and field experience and lessons learned in the study. In addition, the chapter provides the general information of the study area supporting with geographical map. The meaning of names and settlement pattern of the study people was clearly described under this chapter.

The examination and assessment of related literature was presented in the second chapter. Frameworks about the concept of resettlement, and integration were assessed in relation to the socio-cultural integration and diffusion of cultural traits of the society. Theoretical framework, i.e., diffusionism and acculturation theory which were used to explicate the finding of the study also explained in this chapter. The highlights about the history of resettlement in Ethiopia and also overview of different studies on resettlement were described as a review of related literature to the study.

Chapter three provides an overview about the process and patterns of the resettlement of the Amhara people in Zefine-Menuka kebele of Boreda Wereda, Gamo Gofa zone, SNNPR. Here, the push and pull factors for their resettlement and the role of the resettler community and the receiving society in the planning and implementation of the scheme is described. In line with the process and patterns of the resettlement, in this chapter, the benefits and challenges that the resettlers faced since the times of resettlement because of their vulnerability to the new environment and culture is explained.

Chapter four describes the indicators of socio-cultural integration of the Amhara resettlers and the indigenous community socially and culturally. Using the indicators of socio- cultural integration of the society, in this chapter, the social practices and culture of the resettler and receiving society was assessed.

In chapter five of the thesis, disagreement and conflicting relationship of the host and resettler because of delinquent and criminal acts were discussed. Attitude of the Host Community towards Resettlers in terms of cases of discrimination and perception towards the resettler people also investigated. Lastly, interactions and integration of resettlers also assessed in relation to the coming of late comer migrants to the resettlement site and land possession.

Chapter six of the paper, in relation with the integration, explained the diffusion of the cultural elements (traits) from the host society to the resettlers and vice versa. Observable change on the

cultural and social practices of the resettler and host society social system as a result of their integration with the host society also described here. Lastly, in chapter seven of the paper concluding remarks and summary of the study findings with recommendations was presented.

1.8. Challenges Faced and Lessons Learned

In the process of conducting this study, specifically through the process of data collection, I faced some challenging situations and constraints such as:

●Unwillingness of individuals, who were identified as a knowledge source of the data needed, to be an informant and provide the data required from them.

● Failure to find and observe some societal ceremonies such as wedding ceremony and funeral ceremony in order to uncover the interaction and integration of the host and resettler societies in that practical situations.

● Budget constraint: to fulfill all important materials for the study and to reach all significant informants who live outside the study area.

● Lack of experience of the researcher how to handle dynamic situations in the process of data collection. For instance, in FGD the researcher struggles with accessibility of fewer participants, absence of the members of the group, lack of punctuality on the meetings, side talks in the middle of discussion while other reflect their views.

● Fear of the people to explain sensitive events: dreading authorities of the government officials in the Wereda and suspecting the researcher as a spy for the government and for the Amhara resettlers at Zefine-Menuka.

Even though many challenging situations faced with this study, I have learned and developed an experience how to conduct research with different method of data collection such as FGD, in-depth interview, informal interview, case study, oral history interview and observation. I acquired a strategy and an experience how to adjust myself with the dynamic situations of data gathering. Moreover, I learned a way to dig out and generate data that did not have an easy opportunity to access. For example I could not access a wedding or funeral ceremony. But, I

collected the data I needed from these ceremonies through different methods such as oral history interview with those experienced individuals and informal interview.

Generally, I was challenged in the field as a researcher and such challenging situations created uncertainty feeling. However, all what I have experienced in the field provided me a practical experience for the future, i.e., how to manage things in order to find the desired data from a society. I strongly assure the role of a research in creating a favorable situation to learn by doing.

1.9. Description of the Study Area

Under this sub-topic detailed explanation about the study area and the people in it was presented. The general information of the study area was supported with geographical map. The distribution and variety of the people in the area was also elaborated with statistical data. Lastly, settlement pattern of the people and nomenclature of the area and some features also presented.

1.9.1. General Information of the Area

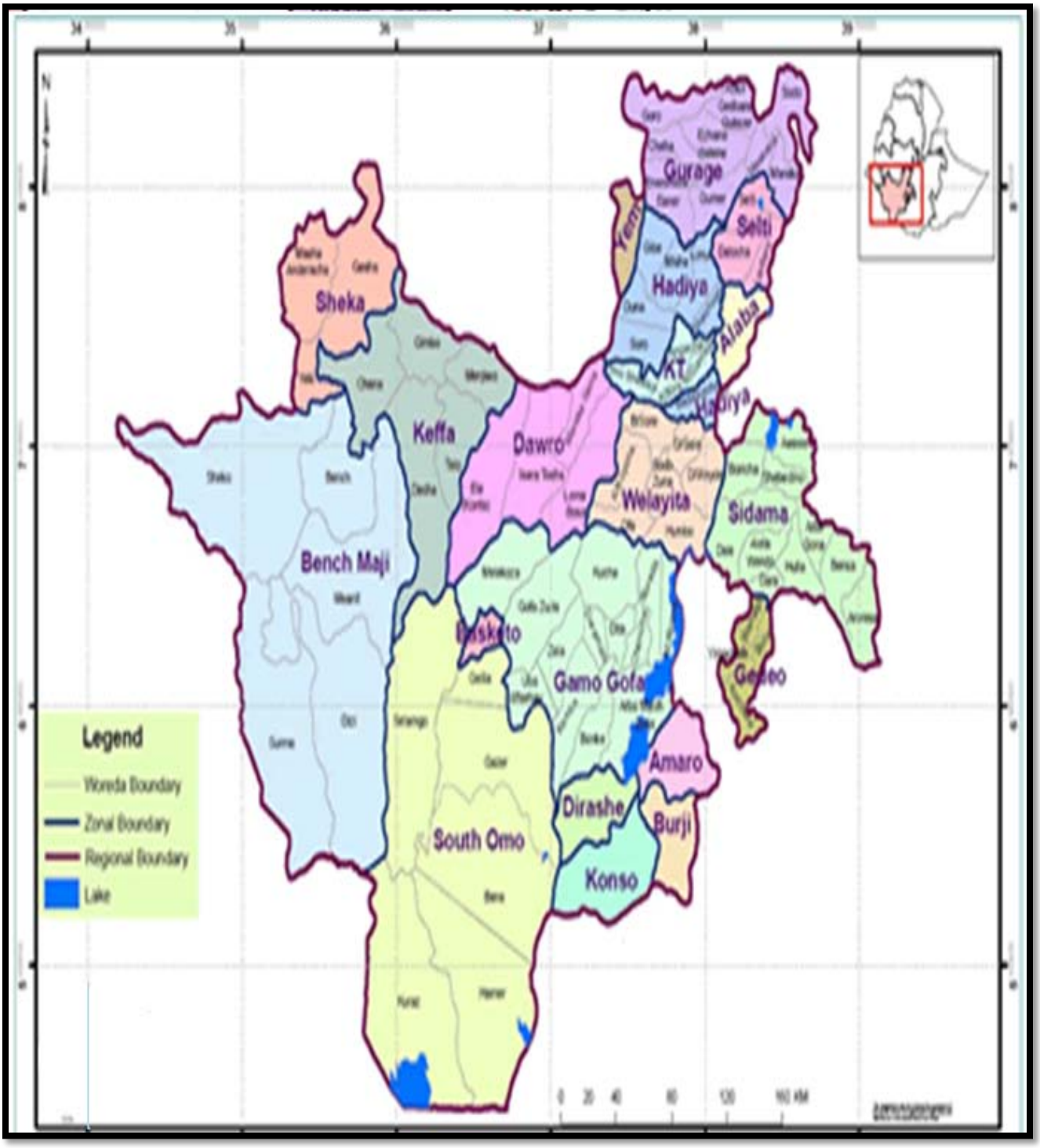

Figure 1: Map of SNNPR indicating Zone and Wereda of the region

Source: CSA

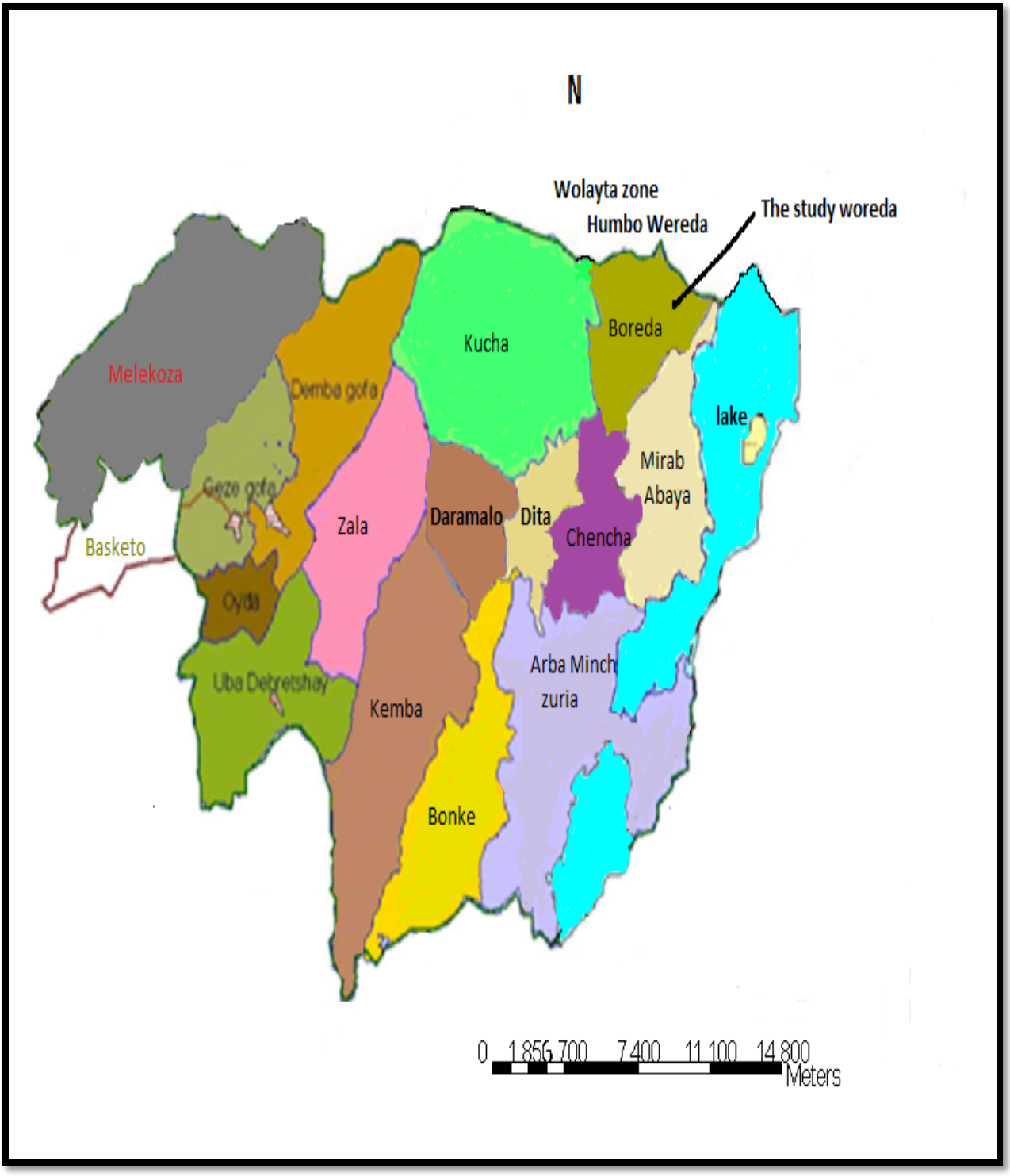

Figure 2: Map of Gamo Gofa Zone Indicating Boreda Wereda

Source: CSA

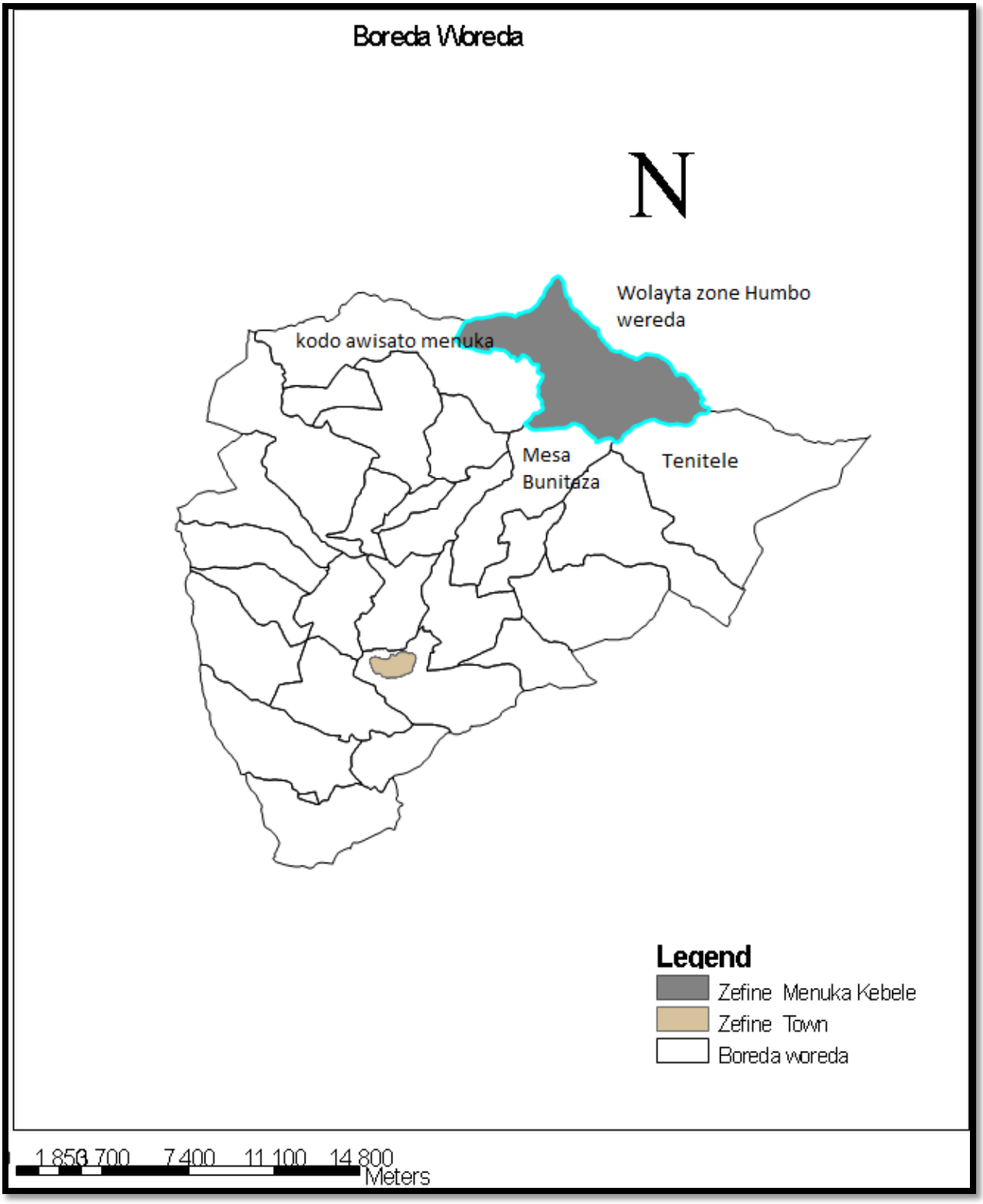

Figure 3: Map of Boreda Wereda indicating the study area i.e. Zefine-Menuka kebele

Source: CSA

Ethiopia is one of the 'cradles of civilization'. There are more than 80 different ethnic groups and use Amharic as official language while some regional state use its own language. Land is owned by government and the average plot of land used per family is one hectare. The increasing number of population puts pressure on the land making attainment of self-sufficiency more challenging. Eighty percent of the population is involved in agriculture which accounts for 46% of GDP. The main cash crops for export are coffee and cereals and the majority of the land is used for self-sufficiency (Fransen and Euschminder, 2009). There are nine regional states and two federal administrative cities in the country.

SNNPR state, which is one of the nine regional states of the country, is located in south west part of Ethiopia and the Capital City is Hawassa. Relatively the region is bordered with Kenya in South, Sudan in the west and in south west, Gambella region in north-west and surrounded by Oromia region in northwest, North and East direction. Astronomically the region lies between $4^0.43$-$8^0.58$ North latitude and $34^0.88$-$39^0.14$ East longitude. Topography of the region shows that the lowest area in the region is 375 meters above sea level at Lake Rudolf and the highest is 4207 meters above sea level at mount Guge in Gamo Gofa Zone. In Climatic condition the mean annual rainfall ranges from 400 to 2000mm and its temperature varies from 10c -30˚ c. The region has 15,760,743 population and 110,931.9sqkm area coverage, which accounts ten percent of the total area of the country. The region has 56 ethnic groups that have distinct geographical location, language, culture and social identity. These ethnic groups used the language families such as: Omotic, Cushitic, Nilo-Saharan and Semitic super language families[3].

Boreda, one of the 77 Wereda in the SNNPR State, is located 255km away from the capital Hawassa. The Wereda is part of the Gamo Gofa Zone, and bordered on the South by Arba Minch Zuria, on the southwest by Chencha, on the West by Kucha, on the North by Humbo Wereda of Wolayta zone, and on the East by Mirab Abaya which is the border line of the Oromia Region. The total population in the Wereda is 67,960, out of which 34,460 are males and 33,500 are females. 94% of the people in the Wereda are ethnically Gamo. The religion ratio of the people in the Wereda is 63% follows Protestant Christianity, 34% follows Orthodox Christianity, 0.3% Catholic, 1% Islam, 0.5% traditional and 0.6% are people who follows other religious sects. The

[3]Source:http://www.southinvest.gov.et/Publications/Aug2011/investment%20oportuniy%20Brief%20Information%20-%202004%20%28Eng.%29.pdf

capital of Boreda is Zefine. Major crops growing in the Wereda are enset, barely, maize, teff, sorghum, potato, and pulses (beans and peas) (Danano, 2010).

One of the 29 kebeles (including the capital) in the Wereda is Zefine-Menuka. The kebele bordered in the West with Kodo Awisato Menuka kebele; in the East with Tenitele kebele; in the south with Mesa Buniteza kebele; and in the North with Wolayta zone, Humbo Wereda (Galcha, Fongo Gelchecha, Ankawucha kebeles). The kebele covers 4232.71 hectares or 104 gasha land of the Wereda. Based on the 2007 census the kebele, consists of 1,880 population out of it 1,011 are males and 869 are females[4]. According to the data collected by Zefine-Menuka Health Post office in 2014G.C the total population of the kebele is 2,362 having 472 household units.

The dominant ethnic group in the kebele or the majority of the kebele dwellers, i.e., 1672(88.9%) out of 1880 people are Amhara people who came from northern Ethiopia specifically from Gonder, Wollo, and there are few individuals from Gojjam and Shewa. Succeeding to the Amhara there are Wolayta and Gamo ethnic group people having 122(6.4%) and 57(3%) individuals in the kebele respectively. Besides to this there are people from other ethnic group that are few in number which accounts 1.7%only.

Since majority of the people in the kebele are Amhara, Amharic is the dominant language with large number of speakers that have 89.5% of people, 5.58% Wolaytigna, and 3% Gamogna. In terms of religion diversity only orthodox and protestant believers settled in the area. Out of the total population of the kebele 81.7% are protestant specifically Seventh Day Adventist Christians and the remaining18.3% are Orthodox Christians.

The weather condition of the kebele is kola (tropical) and the mean annual temperature ranges from 22-30^{o}C. The kebele depends on Rain fed agriculture which contributes for livelihood of the people. The weather condition and trend of the people allows to grow crops such as; Teff, Maize, Sorghum, millet, cotton, pepper corn, chickpea, oil seeds (*flax, nug (Guizotia abyssinica),* sesame). Recently the kebele people start to grow rice. Teff and maize are predominantly cultivated for both local consumption and as a cash crop.

[4]Source: CSA

1.9.2. Settlement Pattern and Nomenclature of the Area

A settlement pattern describes the way in which hamlets, villages, towns and cities are distributed in space and the relationship between them. There are two basic and fundamental types of rural settlements, i.e., grouped or clustered dwelling forms and the dispersed forms. In the settlement pattern of village dwellings the people are concentrated and live close together with their farm land outlying their clustered dwellings or village. The settlement pattern of Zefine-Menuka is categorized in the grouped dwelling form; in such settlements all the residents are concentrated in one central site, which is distinct or separated from the farms and pasture lands.

The type of settlement pattern has been influenced by different factors. The type of livelihood, the government policy and the type of transportation available may determine the nature of settlement pattern[5]. In addition, settlement pattern is also affected by factors such as: Physical factors that include relief, altitude, soil capability, climate, drainage, ground water level, etc.; Ethnic or cultural factors are aspects like caste, community, ethnicity and religion; and Historical or defense, which is mainly related to security concerns or attack frequently by outsiders[6]. In the case of Zefine-Menuka the wild animals that devour their cattle and life of the people and the bandit in the area forced them to live in a grouped way in order to protect themselves from the enemy that comes to harm them.

Besides the above, since the times of resettlement, the Amhara resettlers of Zefine-Menuka settled in a grouped way. Similarly to the Gwambe people 'residential patterns reflect the desire of kinsman to be together immediately after the move' (Colson, 1971:2). The people prefer to live near to their relatives till now and I noticed such situations practically during my stay with the community. In a row of the village there are parents, children's and grandchildren's. They justify the reason why they prefer such kind of settlement pattern as it is their cultural trend in order to help each other and to arrive soon at the times of accident.

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[5]*Rural Settlement Patterns*: Available from http: //www.dpcdsb.org/NR/rdonlyres/551260E8-E190-4A4F-98B8-6868C6303580/118454/1settlement_patterns.pdf.

[6]*Source: Human Settlement.* Pp: 301-315. Available from: http://www.nios.ac.in/media/documents/316courseE/ch29.pdf---29 Human settlements.

A settlement pattern is also described as any distinguishable distribution of a population in a geographic area, including the historical cycles of settlement in the area. As the local elderly people described it, before the coming of the Amhara resettlers the area is *bereha* [7](in the term of the Amhara resettlers) and which is forest land and home for wild animals and bandits. There is a river called Bongi that crosses the kebele and serves as a water source for the people until they get a water supply service. The name Bongi is given to the river after the person called Bonga who taken away together with his donkey and items he bought from the market was taken by the water of the river that is assigned in order to reveal the man who had lost his life in the river.

There are two views on the meaning of the name Zefine-Menuka. The first one relates with the trend of the people of the area that is to name places by the name of the place where the dwellers come from. For instance one of the kebele in the Wereda that is Kodo Awisato Atisa was named by the place called Atisa where the first settlers came from. Likewise the place that found on the east of the river Bongi named as Zefine-Dira by the name of the place where the dwellers come from, i.e., Zefine. The area on the west of the river Bongi was named as Menuka after the name of the person called Ketho Menuka who lived in the area in the past.

The second view on the naming of the kebele describes the act of the bandit who has been in the area before. As the local elderly people explained the area now occupied by the Amhara resettlers has been the home of bandit who prohibits the transportation of peoples mainly merchants from Chencha, Humbo, Hadiya and other places through the area. In a way that explains the attribute and deed of the bandit, i.e., catching and taking the property of the merchants and killing the passengers through the area had been given the name Menuka after those threatening act. The name Menuka comes from the Gamo term “ma…nuka” meaning ‘catch and eat’ which describes the theft, robbery and killing of the bandit.

At the Derg regime because of the villagazation program, the settlement pattern of the kebele was changed. The people who live in Zefine-Dira forced to mix with the Menuka at the west of the river. As a result of the combination till now the kebele is named as Zefine-Menuka by adding the term Zefine on Menuka

[7]*Bereha* which is literally means ‘bare desert’. The Amhara resettlers believe and calls uncultivated (unfarmed) forest land, which is occupied by dense forest and no people live in it, as bereha.

Chapter Two

Literature Review, Conceptual Framework and Theoretical Framework

In this chapter different conceptual framework of terms that are significant in this study was discussed. Theoretical framework of the study: diffusionism and acculturation theory also explained. The history of resettlement in Ethiopia was also examined shortly. In addition, various articles and studies on resettlement were reviewed in order to show the scope and major emphasis of previous studies on the topic.

2.1. Conceptual Framework

2.1.1. Resettlement

Migration, in the works of Pankhurst and Piguet (2004), is taken as a broader framework which places settlements, resettlements and displacement within it. However, there is no agreement among scholars on a terminology that comprises various aspects and processes of displacement. Even if that is the case, Ohta and Gebre (2005) believe that the concept of displacement is more holistic and integrative, although it does not imply geographical movement like other terms such as resettlement, migration, relocation and dislocation. And also they argue that migration is an aspect of displacement rather than viewing it as a pre-requisite.

Whether it is within migration or displacement the critical point is that resettlement, which is the focus of this study, is a movement of people from one place to another. Kassahun (2000) cited in Senbeta (2008:19) defined resettlement as a movement of people from places, areas or environments that are not economically convenient to people, to the areas expected to fulfill such needs. Pankhurst (2004) viewed resettlement as a complex process that involves complicated combinations of social, political and economic factors that cause the outcomes difficult to predict and manage. As he argues, the difficulty of resettlement management emanates from its incorporation of different actors in it such as: planners, categories of migrants, variety of host individuals, families and communities.

Based on the motive behind the resettlement scheme, it can be either voluntary or forced. Conflict, drought, development projects, preservation and conservation activities and planned

resettlement programs are some of the reasons to launch resettlement. Whatever the case, i.e., whether it is voluntarily with the consent of the people or forcefully without their will, De Wet (2004: 51) argues that the majority of cases of resettlement worldwide have not been successful. But, he stated that there are some successful resettlement schemes such as The Aswan Dam resettlement in Egypt, The Rican Arenal Hydroelectric project in Costa Rica, The Ura 1 project in Columbia.

Even if there are different criteria for the resettlement to be categorized as successful or not, De Wet (2005) stated the following while explaining when to say the program as successful; "if a resettlement scheme is to be regarded as successful, its inhabitants must identify with it, and remain on it and ideally their children should take over from them (p: 276)." In line with this he asserted that without sustainable economic development, there will be no sustainable long-term social development in the resettled area.

According to De Wet (2004) there are two views why things so often go wrong or unsuccessful in the resettlement. The first is 'The Inadequate Input Approach'. As he summarized 'resettlement goes wrong because of a lack of the proper inputs, national legal frameworks and policies, political will, funding, pre resettlement surveys, planning, consultation, careful implementation and monitoring.'(P: 52). The second, "The 'Inherent Complexity' argues that there is a complexity in the resettlement which arises from the interrelatedness of a range of issues of different orders: cultural, social, environmental, economic, institutional and political - all of which is taking place in the context of imposed spatial change" (P: 62).

Thus, in order to reduce the adverse effects and complexity and to make it successful, according to Yntiso (2005), when resettlements are launched the following measures have to be taken;

> *providing clear national policy and legal frameworks regarding the rights of people to resources, genuine information, movement, residence etc.; comprehensive feasibility studies; consulting potential settlers and host population to secure their full consent and active participation in the decision making, development of infrastructure and social services before the actual relocation; must be planned with a development approach that transcends mere replacement or restoration of the existing standards of living; and donor agencies who are going to sponsor the resettlement should study the host areas and ensure that the concerns of the relocates and the original residents are adequately addressed. (P: 379).*

In the context of this study, resettlement can be both under the concept of migration and displacement since the concepts major tenet is the movement of people from one place to another. The resettlement involves migration because lots of people migrated to the resettlement site in their own will apart from the exact time of relocation and the schedule of the scheme. On the other hand, the resettlement comes under displacement because large number of people displaced from their original homeland and resettled at the resettlement site based on the program.

The resettled people in the current study area lived for more than four decades in the site. Based on the requirement described above to reduce the adverse effects and complexity and to make the scheme successful, the resettlement of Zefine-Menuka was analyzed under the sub-topic 'the process and patterns of resettlement' in the next chapter. The success of the scheme was analyzed corresponding to the reason that triggered the resettlement. Since the people in the study area remained for long time and have strong economic competence which is a character to categorize a resettlement scheme as successful according to De Wet, the study critically discovers it at Zefine-Menuka.

2.1.2. Integration

Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003) defined integration from the macro perspective as it refers to a characteristic of a social system or society. Rudiger and Spencer (2003) argued that integration is open to a range of definitions; saying this they defined it in a way that fits to this study: 'integration means the process by which people who are relatively new to country (i.e. whose roots do not reach deeper than two or three generations) become part of society.'(P: 4).

Integration is a two way process and it can take place in the context of relations between nation states (internationally), between groups (with in culturally diverse nation states), and between individuals (who are members of these collective entities). Since it is a two way process it needs adaptation by the migrants (resettlers in the case of this study) and also by the receiving society (Rudiger and Spencer (2003) and Berry (2011)). For integration to be attained, mutual accommodation, i.e., involving the acceptance by both groups of the rights of all groups to live as culturally different people has to be recognized.

Berry (2011) stated that all individuals and groups hold preferences with respect to the particular ways in which they wish to engage their own and other groups. These preferences are based on 'the degree to which there is a desire to maintain the group's culture and identity; and the degree to which there is a desire to engage in daily interactions with other ethno cultural groups in the larger society, including the dominant one.'(P: 4-5). According to him, all groups and individuals may not have a desire to engage in intercultural relation in a similar way. Rather they apply a strategy for their alternatives to relate with each other.

He identified four strategies such as a relative preference for maintaining one's heritage, culture and identity(separation); a relative preference for having contact with and participating in the larger society along with other ethno-cultural groups(assimilation); an interest in both maintaining ones original culture, while in daily interactions with other groups(integration); and a little interest in cultural maintenance and little interest in having relations with others(marginalization)(Ibid, 2011). Rudiger and Spencer (2003) stated assimilation, inclusion and participation, cohesion, equality and multiculturalism as approaches to integration. They believe that social interaction, which is crucial in the process of integration, can foster social cohesion that should have to be guided in the principle of equality. Otherwise the integration may fail.

Berry (2011) explained cultural integration as it was referred to as multiculturalism which consists of two basic social processes: first, it is the acceptance of the value of cultural diversity for a society by all constituent cultural communities; second, it is the promotion of equitable participation by all groups in the larger society. When the society as a whole is characterized as culturally diverse including the entire various ethno cultural group, the integration among them is termed as multiculturalism that involves social change. Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003) argue that 'the more a society is integrated, the more closely and the more intensely its constituent parts (groups or individuals) relate to one another' (P: 6).

Socio-economic integration, cultural integration, legal and political integration, and attitudes of recipient societies are the types of integration. Employment, income level, social security, level of education, and housing and segregation are indicators for the existence of socio-economic integration. Indicators of cultural integration are: delinquency, language skills, choice of spouse, frequency of contacts with host country and country of origin, and attitude towards basic rules

and norms of the host society. In order to analyze the attitude of the recipient community, reported cases of discrimination, perception of migrants (resettlers) by the host society, incidence and efforts of the diversity policies and the role of media have to be assessed. Lastly, the indicators of legal and political integration are: participation in civil society, participation in politics, number of migrants with dual citizenship, and number of migrants naturalized annually or who obtain a secure residence status in the case of national integration (Ibid, 2003).

Since the focus of this study is socio-cultural integration between the resettler and host community, daily relations of the two groups are visible indicators for their interaction, which is crucial for integration, was discussed. Indicators for the existence of integration between the two groups of people or for the resettler whether or not became part of the host society are language skills, mate selection, frequency of contact with the host people and their homeland, and the attitude of resettlers towards basic rules and norms of the host society. In addition, the perception of resettlers by the host society, the existence of cases of discrimination, the housing structure and existence of segregation in the pattern of settlement, and efforts of diversity and the existence of delinquency are analyzed to show the integration of the two groups of community.

2.2. Theoretical Framework

The proposed study was focused on the socio-cultural integration and cultural diffusion between resettlers and the host. In order to conceptualize the resettlement of the Amhara people, diffusionism theory and acculturation theory are used to explain the socio-cultural integration and diffusion of the culture of the resettlers with the indigenous society in the area.

Diffusionism is a perspective which emphasizes the transmission of ideas from one place to another (Barnard, 2000:8). Diffusion refers to the process of transmission of culture elements from one society to another or it refers to the spread of culture elements. Diffusionism has a diachronic perspective (indicates the relation of things through time) and a perspective on culture, i.e., both on material (tangible) and non-material (non-tangible) which both are amenable to transference. Diffusion assumes that the contact between cultures did take place sometimes because of which elements of one culture are traced in another. Thus, it consists of borrowing or taking on of cultural elements from a culture by one or more cultures (Mathur, 2013: 1).

Winthrop (1991) defined diffusion as the process by which discrete culture traits are transferred from one society to another, through migration, trade, war, or other contact. Keeping aside the heliocentric diffusion and culture circles versions of diffusionism, in this study diffusionism theory is used with the notion that each society is influenced by others but that the process of diffusion is both contingent and arbitrary (Ibid, 1991).

According to Linton (1936), as cited in Mathur (2013: 2), there are three processes through which diffusion takes place: presentation of new culture elements to the society, acceptance by society, and integration of the accepted elements into the preexisting culture. In the process of resettlement, the culture of the resettlers comes to be present to the host society and vice-versa, either to be accepted and integrated or rejected. Thus, by using this theory of diffusionism I analyzed whether or not the process of diffusion of the social practices and cultural traits of the resettlers with the host took place.

Diffusionism theory also maintained that societal change occurs when societies borrow cultural traits from one another (Doda, 2005). The cultural and societal change that occurs in societies that have contact with another was conceived as an outcome of borrowing of cultural traits from one society to another. Having this assumption of diffusionism theory, in this study the observable cultural and societal change of both the host Gamo people and resettler Amhara people who came into contact because of resettlement was assessed.

Acculturation is a process by which an outsider, immigrant or subordinate group becomes indistinguishably integrated into the dominant host society (Scott and Marshal, 2009:27). Acculturation refers to exchange of culture elements warranted by direct contact between two separate cultures in which both cultures undergo change. In that it leads to the rise of hybrid culture that consists of a combination of traits drawn from both cultures in a way that it consists of elements that are not found in either of the parent cultures (Mathur, 2013).

Kroeber (1948), as cited in Mathur (2013), stated that acculturation comprises those changes in a culture brought about by another culture and will result in an increased similarity between the two cultures. This type of change may be reciprocal, however, very often the process is asymmetrical and the result is the (usually partial) absorption of one culture into the other. But in this study acculturation is conceived as a symmetrical process of culture learning both in the

resettlers and indigenous community. The process acculturation is also explored in terms of the change it brought in the social and cultural practices of both groups of society.

Acculturation is the process of systematic cultural change of a particular society carried out by an alien, dominant society. This change is brought about under conditions of direct contact between individuals of each society (Winthrop, 1991). Individuals of a foreign or new culture learn the language, habits, and values of a standard or dominant culture by the cultural process of acculturation. Lakey (2003) argues that the nature, permanence, purpose, and duration of contact contribute to acculturation phenomena. Berry (1980:11), as quoted in Lakey (2003:107), states that "the least acculturation may take place where there is no purpose (contact is accidental), where trade is mutually desired, or where contact is short-lived; the greatest acculturation will take place where the purpose is a deliberate takeover of a society (e.g., by invasion) or of its skills or beliefs (e.g., by settlement)"

The interaction of society in other way means the interaction of their cultural elements. For cultural elements to interact, contact between them is a must. One way of contact between society/culture may come into reality when the society settles in the area of another society for livelihood. As per the argument of Berry (1980), as cited in Lakey (2003), the greatest acculturation will take place where the purpose is a deliberate takeover of a society or in situations like resettlement. This is the case of Zefine-Menuka resettlement site which brought people from distinct social and cultural background into contact. Having this case I discovered the result of direct contact between two separate culture holder communities on their social and cultural practices because of their long term interaction and integration.

As explained above, diffusion assumes the contact between cultures did take place sometimes which is approved by the traced element of culture in another. So, in this study diffusionism as a theory used to show the existence of diffusion of culture from host to resettler community because of their past contact. Acculturation on the other hand is a process through which culture mingles because of the continuous first hand contact between groups which holds different culture. Since the host community and resettler people at Zefine-Menuka have contact yet, acculturation theory was used to explore the changes on their original cultures because of their constant contact. And also the formations of mixed or hybrid culture which consist traits from both cultures were analyzed through acculturation theory.

2.3. History of Resettlement in Ethiopia

During the 20th century, migration was an important survival strategy for certain population segments in Ethiopia (Piguet and Lemessa, 2004). Even though individual peasants settle by themselves in different parts of the country because of different reasons (for example: land shortage, search of job, i.e., as a seasonal (temporary wage laborer in cash crop areas, etc.) large scale settlements have been launched at the imperial regime by both government and non-government agencies (Pankhurst and Piguet, 2004). According to Eshetu and Teshome (1983), as quoted in Yntiso (2004), the first known scheme of planned resettlement was started in 1958.

In the 1960's resettlement programs, the major aim was at agricultural production increase through large commercial farms in order to offer job opportunities to unemployed urban and rural people. During the late imperial times thousands of settlers were moved to dozens of sites in the south by initiatives of governors and local administrators together with private companies, religious organizations and NGOs. According to Pankhurst (1988) as cited in Piguet and Lemessa (2004) from the estimated, i.e., 16.5 million hectares available lands for resettlement 10 million hectares were available in the south. The 1960's and 1970's resettlement policies were deeply concerned with uncontrolled spontaneous population movements and drought victims and pastoralists (Piguet and Lemessa, 2004).

After the 1974 revolution, during the first decade more than 80 resettlement sites have been set up mostly for the 1973-74 famine victims (Ibid, 2004). The scheme was intended to be voluntary but, targets were soon turned into quotas for the officials involved in the programs. 'During the 1970's and 1980's ostensibly free land has been used to justify the then implemented resettlement policy. (Piguet and Lemessa, 2004:138). Under the Derg regime before 10 years from the 1984 famine 187,000 people were resettled in 88 sites in 11 administrative regions of the country. But, poor planning, site selection and preparation, haphazard and poorly executed recruitment and enforced cooperatives ended up the program not being self-sufficient and to be collapsed with high economic and social costs and reliance on state inputs (Pankhurst and Piguet, 2004).

In 1984/85 famine crisis the government decided to resettle more than 1.5 million famine victims from the drought affected areas of Tigray, Wollo, and Northern Shewa in Gambella, Wallaga,

Gonder, Jimma, Illubabor and Kefa between 1984-1986. Here the resettlement scheme is based on small-scale oxen-reliant projects which is a result of the crisis that the government seen from the previous unworkable schemes (Pankhurst and Piguet, 2004 and Piguet and Lemessa, 2004).

Generally, in the 1980s, according to Yntiso (2005:359), the government of Ethiopia resettled about 600,000 people to resettlement sites namely: Metekel, Metema, Assosa, Gambella, Wallaga and Kaffa which are found in western, north-western and south-western parts of the country. The resettlers were from drought affected and over-populated regions of the country. Doing all this the long term objectives of the large-scale resettlement projects were to offer poor families from drought prone and chronic food insecure areas an opportunity to improve their livelihood in a different environment with higher potential (Piguet and Lemessa, 2004).

In 1991, all resettlement programs were closed down but, later, the government has officially announced the intention to assist and promote voluntary migration and resettlement of people from chronic food insecure areas in four regions of the country namely Amhara, Oromia, SNNPR and Tigray (Ibid, 2004). 'One of the objectives of the resettlement was a provision of a more rational use of available land, by re-adjusting man-land ratio.'(Ibid, 2004:150).

In 2003, the FDRE government launched a new resettlement scheme which justified as a development response to the recurring crises of food security and to minimize potential ethnic clashes/ tensions between settlers and host population. The program was clearly presented in the document known as the 'New Coalition for Food Security in Ethiopia'. The program rests on four major pillars: voluntarism, availability of under-utilized land, consultation with the host community and, assurance of minimum infrastructure (Yntiso, 2005 and Pankhurst and Piguet, 2004).

According to Yntiso (2005) the major principles that exist in the document in order to guide the relocation process are:

> *Resettlement will be free and voluntary; resettlement will be within the same region; settlers are free to return to their origin if they wish so; settlers can regain their land in their places of origin if they return within three years; settlers are expected to share the cost of inputs(e.g. oxen) that will be provided on credit bases; settlers and their hosts are expected to collaborate in building shelters for the former thereby promoting community participation; and government will provide minimum infrastructure in order to avoid deterioration in service delivery and pressure on host communities.(P: 376).*

He identified the difference and similarities found between the 1980s and the 2003 resettlement program. The similarities among them is that in terms of objectives, both programs aimed at attaining food security, reducing population pressure in vulnerable areas, and rehabilitating environments. Authorities claimed the abundance of arable land but the implementation was made with haste without giving sufficient time for adequate planning, preparation, and proper consultation with the settlers and their hosts in both cases. In addition, the two programs started during humanitarian crisis and targeted victims of famine who were/are receiving assistance, involved different forms of promises and inducements to make resettlements attractive and opted for a large-scale undertaking (Ibid, 2005).

In the 2003 resettlement program, some kind of freedom and flexibility is visible unlike that of the 1980s. Settlers can retain rights to their land in their places of origin for three years, and they also could to return to their place of origin if they were dissatisfied in the resettlement villages. These were the freedom and advantages that the latter resettlement program assured unlike that in 1980s. The 2003 resettlement is intra-regional whereas the 1980s was inter-province. The amount of support is another area of difference, i.e., the 1980s settlers enjoyed enormous amount of government support but, in the 2003 government provides minimum support. Lastly, in the 2003 resettlement government is voluntary in its program whereas the previous rounded up some of the settlers from their homes, farms, schools, market places against their will (Ibid, 2005).

From these similarities and differences, Yntiso (2005) argues that the past mistakes have been only partially addressed. Thus, he asserted that in order to succeed the present government have to revise its plan to resettle modest size, provide sufficient assistance to develop the new areas, and extend the benefits to the host communities also and generally avoiding disruptive population movements.

As already discussed above, the resettlement program was seen by the Ethiopian government as a durable solution for the famine problem, i.e., crisis of food security. But other than being an alternative survival strategy and coping mechanisms for those who are victims of drought and famine, the Ethiopian resettlement schemes also have been ‘as a means to influence the culture and traditions of native populations in southern Ethiopia’(Piguet and Lemessa, 2004:137).

Yntiso (2005) clearly stated the influence of the arrival of large number of new settlers to already occupied places. He explained the impact of such situations 'to unsettle the already settled local people through resource alienation causes settlers-host conflict over resources that might become ongoing and deadly, and accelerate environmental destruction and disturb the ecosystem'(P:378) by referring worldwide evidence and the Ethiopian experience. Such and the like impacts of resettlement on the social, economic, ecological (environmental), psychological and cultural aspects was analyzed based on the available studies in the Ethiopian resettlement schemes in the next part of this review of literatures.

2.4. Overview of Studies on Resettlement

Until recent years, in Ethiopia several resettlement programs have been launched aimed for agricultural development, the creation of national parks, the construction of dams and urban expansion. These all development induced displacements of people from their origin had an economic, social, psychological and ecological impact on the resettled people and the host who received them and also on the environment. Several researchers conducted their studies on the impacts of development-induced resettlement (displacement) and conflict-induced resettlement programs. In the following few pages I will try to asses these studies.

I classified the available studies that I reviewed into two. First, studies that analyzed the impacts of resettlement on the lives of the resettled, host society and the environment. Second, studies that tried to uncover the relationship that found between the host and the resettled societies. In the former, researchers described the social, economic, psychological and ecological (environmental) impacts of resettlement. In the latter, the researchers uncover the relation (it can be in conflict/integration) between the host society and the resettlers.

Colson (1971) in '*The Social Consequences of Resettlement*' explained the perceptions of the people of Gwembe Tonga of Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia), who are resettled because of the construction of a dam and hydro-electric power plant, towards the period of resettlement as 'a time of troubles' (P: 5). The resettlement scheme in Gwembe had effects on economic life, families (family ties, and relationships), kinship, lineage, marriage, neighborhood, political order, religion, etc. Likewise, Pankhurst and Piguet (2004) explained the social impact of resettlement in Ethiopia:

> *Socially, the program resulted in considerable suffering, high morbidity and mortality; particularly during the transport of settlers and the initial phase, as well as family separation, disintegration of institutions, impoverishment, and difficulties in adaptation. The moving of people from different areas, ethnicities, and religion heightened conflicts and social conflict (P: 14).*

Similarly, Bayissa (2011), in studying the experiences of conflict-induced resettled people after the 1991 Ethio-Eritrean war in Bishoftu town, asserted about the tremendous challenges that participants and their families have been experiencing during and after displacement. He described that the resettled people suffer from loss of properties, family disintegration, prolonged starvation and thrust, lack of accommodation, trauma, contagious disease, stigma, and labeling. Child labor, unwanted pregnancy, school dropout, and beginning street life were also manifested in the society.

He also described the coping strategies that the people used in order to challenge the undesirable circumstance they face. Reducing individual consumptions, selling of commodities and jewelers, begging, utilization of one's own skill and talents, assistance from families, relatives and neighbors and aid from government and NGOs are some of the coping mechanisms. From their own experience, participants in his study recommended how to resettle persons displaced due to conflict as 'conducting holistic assessment to effect resettling, resettling in work accessible places and planning in a way that can minimize potential risk for conflict.'(P: 66). Providing psycho-social support to build independency, encouraging self-help mechanism and provision of emergency aid is very crucial for those who resettle because of conflict (Ibid, 2011).

Guesh (2011), in his study on the '*psycho-social outcomes of resettlement program: the case of Lalibela town*', tried to explore the psycho-social situation of the resettlers in Lalibela. He concluded that the resettlement program affected the livelihood and social network and social capital of the society. These people are forced to resettle because of tourism development project in 2009 by the federal government in Lalibela. Hence, the people were resettled in the site far from town, which leads them to involve in petty business. As a result, the people suffered from food insecurity, social and economic marginalization, joblessness and homelessness.

The resettlement program also affected their social network and social capital, i.e., social disarticulation. He stated that the resettlers' involvement in the traditional community organizations like *Idir*, *Maheber*, and *Senbete* was declined. Infrastructural problems such as

absence of transportation services, electricity, water supply, telephone service, market center and shopping places were also evident in the site. In addition to the infrastructural problem, the distance between church and resettlement site prohibits resettlers from attending church services regularly as they do before. As a result, they are facing emotional disturbances such as: frustration, anxiety, loneliness and guilty consciousness. These all had an impact on the social and psychological wellbeing of the resettlers (Ibid, 2011).

In his attempt to assess the effects of resettlement in the livelihoods of the resettlers who are moved to Metema Wereda in 2003, Taye (2010) revealed that majority of the resettlers are changing their livelihoods positively. He concluded that intra-regional resettlement could be an alternative in alleviating the problems of food insecurity and famine if the primary infrastructural requirements are provided in the resettlement site. Likewise, Tadesse (2009) argues that resettlement could be a viable strategy for solving the pressing problem of food insecurity in Ethiopia. However, if it is implemented on a large scale, without in-depth feasibility studies, proper planning or adequate resources, it could have multiple negative impacts both on the resettlers, the hosts and the environment.

Based on the findings that Tadesse (2009) extracted from Boreda Wereda Gumgumta and Dugana-Gamero resettler who are voluntary resettlers within that region because of land shortage and unemployment, he inclined to approve the fruitfulness of intra-regional resettlement which is launched by the current government. He stated the probability of offering improved livelihoods; if the resettlement scheme is voluntary, on manageable scale with sufficient government resources, implemented within a relatively small geographical area and within a relatively homogeneous ecological zone, and planned and executed with proper care and support for the resettlers (Ibid, 2009).

The study of Woube (2005) on the effects of resettlement on biophysical and human environment clearly revealed the result of ignoring the voice and decision of the indigenous society in the resettlement programs. He concluded that the 1980s resettlement scheme in Gambella region ignored the recommendations provided by experts as well as the indigenous people’s time and experience-tested traditional knowledge regarding the value and conservation of the natural resources.

As a result, deforestation, land degradation, damaging floods, food shortages, out breaks of various diseases, and ethnic conflicts became noticeable. Here the words of Pankhurst and Piguet (2004) support his argument: 'in terms of the environment, the program led to massive deforestation to build shelters, houses and facilities, and environmental degradation as a result of land clearing and intensive settlement.'(P: 14). Hence, Woube (2005) recommended that: resettlement systems and conservation measures have to be adopted and implemented with appropriate planning and alternative land use.

De Wet (2005) explained the situation that may happen between the resettlers and the host: 'resettlement brings people together from different social and ethnic backgrounds. Sometimes they bound over time to form stable new communities, and at other times they do not, remaining factionalized' (P: 274). From the studies which tried to explore the interaction of the host and the resettler society, Gezahegne (2011) explored the socio-cultural integration among the resettlers from Wollo, Tigray and Showa, and the Kaffa people in Kuti resettlement. His findings showed that intermarriage, sharecropping, God parenting, borrowing and lending friendship and adoption of cultural practices as different strategies for their socio-cultural integration. Thus, it shows that both the host and the resettlers have positive regard to each other. On the other hand, lack of equal political participation and stereotyping by both communities are proved as a challenge for their integration.

Besides the above, differences in languages (Gezahegne, 2011), culture and religion also have an impact on the integration between host and resettlers (Gizachew, 2007). Abebe (2007) also explained how similarity in their culture and psychological set up help the Chewaka resettlers to establish social network and association easily. Similarly, Senbeta (2008) stated that lack of connection and interaction through marriage, language, and lack of formal and informal association with each other impeded the community's integration. Supporting these all words, Pankhurst and Piguet (2004) stated: 'culturally, the changes in environment and diet involved a reduced quality of life, and the loss of cherished sites and burial grounds affected peoples' sense of identity and wellbeing'(P:14).

Tolera (1999:123) stated that inter-ethnic relation among the Wollaye and the Oromo 'takes the form of competition, cooperation and conflict' but, 'competition over scarce resources such as land and forest areas and economic exchange' more explained the situation of the relation

between those societies. Religion according to him is both a factor for integration through different association (*Maheber*) and God parenting, and for conflict by the desire of both parties to have control over church. According to him unlike to the reported cause, i.e., displacement as backed by drought induced famine, scarcity of arable land and degradation of land is the leading cause for the migration of the studied people. Inter-ethnic marriage which is unidirectional is not frequent and the physical distance among them challenges their integration.

These studies showed that if not properly planned and based on voluntarism of the host and resettling societies, the program would suffer from failure. Even though intra-regional resettlements since 2003 had some improvement, there is also a gap in the programs. For instance, failure of consulting and winning the consensus of the host societies and also unfair compensations (lack of full, appropriate and uniform compensation) even that cannot capture the lost livelihood assets affected the lives of displaced people in Amhara region in the case of Ingibara (Bogale, 2010).

Before the implementation of intra-regional resettlement, and also on the regions like SNNPR which have more than 50 different ethnic groups, resettlement brings two or more cultures together. The relationship between these cultural groups remains tense for two main reasons: firstly, the two groups view themselves as competitors for scarce resources and secondly, the host feels that they have been 'unfairly treated' (De Wet, 2005) as the resettlers can be compensated. Thus, situations like these limit the adaptability and integration of the societies.

Unlike the above studies, the society that I studied is those who resettled during the imperial regime and they are voluntary for the scheme. And also unlike to many previous studies this study is on missionary sponsored resettlement scheme. In addition to the planned resettlement of large number of people, the study area, i.e., Zefine-Menuka is characterized by the migration of people towards it. In Ethiopia many types of migration has been experienced because of different reasons. Political instability, war, famine and poverty, ecological degradation, search of better living condition because of economic hardship are the major causes for migration in Ethiopia over the course of history (Fransen, and Kushminder, 2009). They concluded that the major factors that derive Ethiopians for migration over the years were economic, political and environmental factors. And they assure that these factors heavily interlinked and intertwined with regional issues.

Migration is also evident in the study area, which receives number of migrant until recent time. So, in this study the reason for the spontaneous migration of people and the attitude and hospitability of the destination people was assessed. Even though there are incoming migrants up to date, the early resettled people lived for long period of time, i.e., for forty six years in the resettlement site with the host people in the resettlement area. The elongated time they spend with the host people provides a space for better integration and diffusion of culture. So, in this study the integration of the resettled people with the indigenous community and the diffusion of cultural traits as a result of integration were assessed. Hence, this study fills the knowledge gap on the early resettlements and adds literature and builds on few preexisting studies on socio-cultural integration of resettlers and indigenous community at the resettlement site. In addition, this study brings knowledge on the diffusion of cultural traits from host to the resettlers and vice versa.

Chapter Three

Processes and Patterns of Resettlement in Zefine-Menuka

3.1. Pull and Push Factors for the Resettlement of Zefine-Menuka

Every resettling action has its own driving factors. In Ethiopia, although several of these driving forces may exist, recurrent drought has been the most widely cited cause of the resettlement schemes. In general, the driving factors can be categorized into two main groups: the pull and push factors. The push factors are those that force people to resettle; the most common push factors include socio-cultural, socio-economic, and socio-political problems. On the other hand, the pull factors are those driving forces that attract the resettlers to migrate. Better economic opportunities such as land productivity and also hospitability of the host society are few of the pull factors. In this chapter of the thesis, I have discovered the following push and pull factors for the resettlement of Amhara resettler at Zefine-Menuka.

3.1.1. Push Factors

Push factors are uncertain situations that force people to change place of settlements either permanently or temporarily. Among uncertain situations: drought, religious persecutions of Seventh Day Adventist Protestants, population pressure, shortage of farm land (incapable caring capacity of the land), degradation of farming land, lack of education, and other personal situations are discovered as push factors for the resettlement of Amhara resettlers at Zefine-Menuka. The factors are discussed below in detail.

A. Drought - in Ethiopia, drought was the most widely discussed problem that initiates migration and settlement of population directly or indirectly (Tolera, 1999). However, drought was not a direct factor that initiated the migration/resettlement of Zefine-Menuka, the current study area, but it indirectly influenced the scheme. According to Pastor Birhan Nigussie, one of the key informants in this study, in 1965/1966G.C there were a serious drought in Wollo and other northern parts of the country. Those people affected by the drought were forced to migrate and settle in different parts of the country. A large number of migrants from Wollo came and settled at Begemidir Debretabor between 1963 and 1966G.C. In turn, this resulted in a

population pressure on the area, Begemidir Debretabor. So, drought indirectly initiated the resettlement scheme of the Amhara people in Zefine-Menuka.

B. Religious Persecution- This study also found out that the resettlers of the Zefine-Menuka area were out-casted from any social interactions and forced to leave their original settlement in Northern Ethiopia because of their conversion from Orthodox Christianity to Seventh Day Adventist Christianity. Some resettler informants asserted that they were ostracized only because of the religion they hold even though the then government did not hold back or threatened their belief. When the victims were converted to Seventh Day Adventist Christianity, they were banned from socio-cultural activities such as marriage with the Orthodox Christians of the original area. Furthermore, the Adventists also suffered lack of freedom to worship, snatched their farmland, murdered, their cattle and property stolen, prohibited from attending wedding and funeral ceremonies even if it was their relatives.

Some people argue as they are forced to leave their original place of domicile and resettled at Zefine-Menuka because of the suffering they experienced due to the belief they hold. But the religious persecutions mainly influenced the victims to settle at Debretabor not in Zefine-Menuka. According to Pastor Birhan, many Adventists who suffered from their religion came from different parts of northern areas and settled in Debretabor by the assistance of the Adventist church. These situations increased the population density of the Begemidir Debretabor. Therefore, like the drought, religious persecution was not a direct factor for the resettlement scheme in Zefine-Menuka.

But, few informants from the resettlers stated that religious persecution was their direct factor for resettlement. A certain Desalegn Moges, who came to the resettlement site lately, explained his experience as follows:

> *'Since majority of them are Orthodox Christians, they discriminate us because of the religion we preferred to follow. They prohibited us to have marriage with their sons and daughters. So because of this combined factors as a result of our religion, i.e., the discrimination and inaccessibility to intermarry, we planned to go to Menuka where our relatives were resettled before us.'*

C. Population Pressure- The religious persecution initiated many people to migrate from Lich, Tarna, and Dahna and to settle at Tembelo and Amoragedel in Debretabor. The Seventh Day

Adventist Church at Debretabor branch facilitated the settlement area for its members. On the other hand, people from Lasta, Lalibela, Wag, and Sekota migrated to Amoragedel and Gubda at Debretabor in order to relief from drought calamity that affected Wollo seriously. In fear of the frequent drought risks in these areas, the drought victims refused to return to their original places. Altogether, these created the population pressure in Debretabor and the surrounding area, which in turn caused the resettlement of the Zefine-Menuka resettlers. According to pastor Birhan, population pressure was the major and immediate cause that initiated the resettlement scheme.

D. Shortage of Farmland - because Debretabor was crowded with the victims of the religious persecution and the drought, the population density exceeded the carrying capacity of the available land in the area consequently creating shortage of farmland. In fact, this was an enormous challenge even to those who had a suitable farmland as they could not feed their big families. Like the drought and the religious persecution, shortage of farmland was a push factor for the Amhara resettlers in Zefine-Menuka. Interestingly, the shortage of the farmland in Debretabor was itself a painful outcome of the drought and religious persecution in other parts of Northern Ethiopia.

E. Degradation of Farmland - some of the resettler informants asserted that the land in the North is not suitable for farming. This was because the soil had lost its fertility and it is covered by stones. Confirming these assertions, Tolera stated that 'Ethiopian societies had suffered the consequences of natural resource degradation. This is especially true of the northern parts of this country: Shewa, Wollo, Tigray and parts of Gondar' (1999:96). Besides, the shortage of farmland for the densely populated individuals in those areas, the degradation of the available land is another case to aggravate the search for suitable large arable plots of land for the Amhara resettlers of Zefine-Menuka.

F. Lack of Education- even though the then government permits and some individual need the establishment and flourishing of education in the north, most of the people in the north refused to facilitate the educational service and the opening of schools. For instance, one oral history informant who is from Wag Hemra Zone, Dehana Wereda stated about the shortage of school and educational facility as follows:

'In our homeland there were only three schools within Wag Hemra zone (Awuraja[8]), which is far from our household. So, we could not access education by the imperial regime. Moreover, the peoples' attitude was more attached with political power and possessing of guns for war rather than gaining modern education.'

So, some people suffer from lack of education although they needed it. But this is not the case for all resettlers. For instance, people from Begemidir were not experienced to the shortage of education facilities and services.

G. Other personal Factors- In addition to the above push factors that forced Zefine-Menuka settlements, other factors such as death of family members, quarrel, marriage, searching plot of land for farming, traditional punishment[9] were also considered as push factors. However, these factors were more personal and might be more appropriate to those who came before the end of 1970s. For instance, Maritu Adugnaw who came from Belessa Gondar in 1979G.C explained her experience in the following words:

'I did not want to live at Belessa after the death of my children. So, in order to get rid of the grief I experienced because of the death of three of my sons by the disease called 'wotete' I came to Menuka where my sister had been living in 1979 G.C.'

Kassaye Bayu, one of my oral history informants, explained how the information she got about the availability of land and the shortage of farmland in the homeland initiated her to migrate to Menuka in 1973 G.C to search for farm land as follows:

'I heard the availability of large plot of land and the cow yields milk 3 times per day. Because of the 'land to tiller' policy I heard the news that our people have got 10 hectares of land per household. Considering the shortage of farmland in the North and comparing with the favorable situation that I heard about Menuka I decided to come in order to have the large plot of farmland.'

[8]Wag Hemra zone was an Awuraja, which was equivalent to sub-province, by the imperial regime.

[9] In the north there was a traditional punishment which forces the wrong doer to leave the place he lives in for the wrong deed he committed. So, lately some people came to Zefine Menuka resettlement site because of the punishment which was passed by the traditional process of dispute resolution in their homeland.

These push factors are more of mutually inclusive. Drought and religious persecution forced large number of people to migrate to Debretabor resulting population pressure. The population pressure in turn led to shortage of farm land. In order to meet the need of large number of people that is beyond the carrying capacity of the available farmland, people exploit the farming land which results in land degradation. Confirming this Tolera stated that 'Land degradation is in itself related to population pressure and irresponsible use of environmental resources (1999:120).' Mazengia described the factor that forced her family for the resettlement in a way that shows the relatedness of the push factors:

> *'There were shortages of farmland in our place of origin. For instance, we had only one hectare farmland per our large size family. Besides to the shortage, the available lands were covered by stone and also not suitable for farming.'*

Observing the challenges the people faced as a result of these combined factors, the Seventh Day Adventist Church began to search for a suitable arable land to resettle these people in the north. Firstly, the church selected Metema as resettlement area but the hot weather condition and other epidemic disease like malaria hindered them from resettling there. Then, Pastor Birhan Nigussie, who was assigned for the religious task in Wolayta zone Seke village identified a place called Abela Faricho or Garage at Humbo Wereda and appealed to the then Wolayta Awuraja administrator Qegnazmach Woldesemayat for that place for developing it with resettlers from the North.

Qegnazmach Woldesemayat accepted his request on those premises on a basis of predetermined condition stated as 'if the resettlers were not thief and have willingness and volunteer to develop the area by engaging in committed hard working practice.' At that time development was defined as clearing the forest and preparing a farm land for growing crops. However, Pastor Birhan imagined the impact and consequence ahead of the arrival of the people if the Awuraja administrator would resign from his position. Then he planned to address his request to the upper authorities of the government (the National Land Administrator). They accepted the resettling scheme and asked him to bring the list of individuals who did not have their own farmland (*rist*) at their place of origin, Debretabor.

On the basis of the above agreement, pastor Birhan had sent a message about this good news to the Seventh Day Adventist Church in Debretabor. The Church sent a letter which consists of a

list of 800 households back to him. In the same letter, the Church had also described that the people in the list were new Christians (followers of Seventh Day Adventist) and they did not have farm land. And also the letter requested the government to give a farmland for these new Christian and landless people. At the end of 1967 G.C in the month of May 60 household (Tis) out of 800 came to Wolayta zone Humbo Wereda Abela Faricho or Garage kebele. The journey of the resettlement from Debretabor to Worota was mainly on foot except for few resettlers who could afford to use horseback. However, the government facilitated the transportation of the immigrants from Worota to Addis Ababa Akaki where they stayed for few weeks before they were moved to Abela Faricho on a government sponsored bus.

In addition to these people who were included in the planned resettlement scheme at Abela Faricho, there was huge inflow of people by their own will and cost from Debretabor which consequently increased the population density in the new resettlement area in Wolayta. This provoked the host society against Qegnazmach Woldesemayat's act of resettling new people without the consent and consult of the indigenous society. In fact, the host society appealed the case to the emperor. The emperor accepted the appeal of the hosts and requested the administrator for explanation. The administrator responded to the Emperor that the land was a home for wild animals and covered by dense forest rather than a place owned by the people, i.e., the hosts. However, Qegnazmach Woldesemayat commanded Pastor Birhan not to bring any more people to the area since he was accused in front of the Emperor by the host people of the area.

3.1.2. Pull Factor

Pull factors are favorable situations that attract the potential migrants or resettlers to come to the resettlement site. The main pull factors that attract the resettler of Zefine-Menuka were the availability of large arable land which was suitable for farming to feed their family. Pastor Birhan Nigussie confirmed to the people about the availability of farmland. Then, those landless people and who need more farmland were convinced by the speech of pastor Birhan and decided to go to the resettlement site.

In addition to the information they had heard from the facilitator of the resettlement scheme, the success and good news of previous resettlers of Abela Faricho motivated the Zefine-Menuka

resettlers strongly. Their relatives who settled at Abela Faricho became productive within one year not only in a cotton plantation which was very suitable business in the area but also in growing some cereals. In fact, the resettlers enjoyed their new home and no words may better explain than the proverb they used to express the success in their own language:

'[Wolamo] [Wolamo] [Wolamo] (Wolayta) lemlemu

Beken sosit gize yitalebal lamu'

This can be translated in English as:

'[Wolamo[10]] (Wolayta) is the green land

Where people milk a cow thrice a day'

By hearing those pull and impressive situations, other people requested Pastor Birhan Nigussie to resettle them like that of the Abela Faricho Amhara resettlers. But he replied to their request by referring to the warning he received from Qegnazmach Woldesemayat not to bring any more people to the area. Then they informed him to search for a place in another site other than Wolayta Awuraja.

By seeing the initiation of the people Pastor Birhan Nigussie went to Arba Minch to visit Amirosilassie Abebe the governor of the then Gamo Gofa Awuraja. He presented his case to the governor who had seen the resettler people at Abela Faricho and appreciated the hardworking people. The governor allowed him to resettle people at Zefine-Menuka by observing efforts and success of Amhara resettlers in Abela Faricho. In the early 1968G.C pastor Birhan demarcated 106 gasha lands for 800 households in agreement with the governor. Fiseha and Girma were the two individuals who uphold the land demarcation process.

The resettlers of Zefine-Menuka came in two groups, one in 1968G.C and another 1971G.C. For the first group of resettlers, i.e., 1968G.C, the Adventist missionary covered the fees of transportation from Gondar Worota to Kebena Adventist church of Addis Ababa and their expenses of food for the 9 days they stayed in Kebena. Then, the government provided 5 cars and supported the journey from Addis Ababa to Abela. After reaching Abela Faricho the resettler

[10] Wolamo is the name used to refer the Wolayta people by the times of emperor Menilik II. But now the term Wolamo is considered as pejorative term since it was abolished. In this study I used the term in order to describe the proverb which is told by the resettler people to encourage the coming of their relatives without any pejorative connotation.

went to their resettlement site of Menuka on foot. The people who had included in the first journey were 60 households (tis).

Unlike the first group, the second group (i.e. the 1971G.C) did not earn any support from the government or from the church for the cost of transportation rather all costs incurred by the resettlers. The transport fees and other expenses were covered by the resettlers, except a discount of five birr per person which was provided by two individuals named Ferede Zerihun and Bilata Said for the transportation of the group from Gondar Worota to Abela Faricho. Ferede Zerihun and Bilata Said facilitated the transportation of the second group by providing seven and fifteen buses, respectively.

The number of households in the second trip exceeded one hundred ninety two households who settled at Zefine-Dira on the east side of River Bongi which divides Zefine-Menuka in to two. Many people joined the resettlement area in between the two grouped journey and also after the 1971 trip, to Zefine-Menuka by hearing the availability of large arable land. Furthermore, those who came to visit their relatives also did not return to their homeland rather stays immersed to the first resettlers in the resettlement site.

3.2. Informed Consent of the Scheme

Consulting potential settlers and the host population in order to secure their full consent and voluntary participation in decision making about the launch of the resettlement is a key measure to reduce the adverse effects of the resettlement schemes. The resettlers of Zefine-Menuka were clearly informed about the area by the facilitator Pastor Birhan Nigussie and the individuals who went to see and check the area. The people confirmed their word of willingness to go to the resettlement site, i.e., Zefine-Menuka. Thus, the scheme was a voluntary resettlement.

Contrary to the resettlers, the receiving host society was not consulted about the scheme. Although some people argued as they have been informed about the coming of people to live in the area by four individuals in the public meeting, the indigenous people in the area were not requested whether they were willing to receive new settlers or not. They argued that the government brought and let the resettlers to live in Zefine-Menuka without asking their willingness to the scheme. So, the scheme had two faces: the informed consent of the resettlers and not of the receiving host society.

3.3. Feasibility Study of the Scheme

Although they were not qualified researchers who undertook a comprehensive feasibility study, four representative individuals had been sent to the resettlement area before the actual relocation of the people to the resettlement site. Alemayehu Worku, Mengist Gebru, Asres Nigussie, and Desse Defersha were the four representatives who were farmers and selected by the resettlers to observe the real situations of the resettlement site in early 1968G.C. The Main responsibility of those four individuals was to check the suitability of the area for the resettlers to live and appropriateness of the land for farming.

3.4. Benefits and Challenges of the Resettlement

As discussed above, the resettlement scheme was triggered by some reasonable situations. However, the achievement of the desired outcomes was examined by some tangible measurements. One way to measure the fulfillment of the promise was to analyze the benefits of the new settlement to the new settlers against the real situation in their former environment. In contrary, if the program did not meet the intended goal or suffered from uncertain situations, it would have created challenging situations to the people who were victims to the program. So, here I discovered the challenges and the benefits for the people of Zefine-Menuka resettlement site as reflected from their experiences and I present it as follows.

3.4.1. Benefits of Resettlement

From their experience, that is, by comparing with their past lifestyle at their origin, observing the lifestyles of their relatives when they came to visit them and also when they went to visit their homeland, the informants identified several benefits of the resettlement scheme as follows:

A. Owning of large Plots of Farmland- the greatest success in the resettlers thought was gaining enough farmland to work on it. The access of farm land occupied by the resettlers even exceeded the host society who practices less farming activity formerly. Most of Amhara resettlers occupied ten hectares of land per household whereas, the host society had less than this. Even though some individuals have more than 10 hectares, the average size of land owned by the majority of the resettlers is 10 hectares. Although the resettlers have large plot of land in the resettlement site, other challenges and searching for better land forced them to resettle again

in another place. Among those challenges, the critical one was the 1980G.C drought which created an opportunity to the late comers to gain enough plot of land. There was no trend of inheritance by that time in the area rather the kebele administrator who took the released land and shares it to the landless residents there.

Under the Derg regime the land owned by the former government officials was given to the farmers in the implementation of 'land to tiller' policy. After the implementation of 'land to the tiller' policy the kebele redistributed large plot of farm land, which have been reserved, to the resettlers who came in early 1970G.C. Because of the favorable environment of the resettlement area for farming, many households migrated to the site to join their relatives there, which in turn resulted in the shortage of the farm land. The shortage of the farm land reduced the land redistribution size to five hectares and also in some situations the land which was given to one household before (i.e. 10 hectares) was shared to three households. The land occupied by the resettler farmers were kept as theirs even though the governments were changed through time.

B. Access to Educational Services – even though there were no educational service at the times of resettlement, after few years educational service started by the support of Adventist church. Although the resettler elders did not have a chance of modern education, their children had got access to education; this was not possible to their relatives in the north by that time. One of oral history informant from Wollo portrayed on the benefit of education as:

> '*When I was in Lasta, I fear that my children became illiterate like me, but since we resettled here (Zefine-Menuka) my fear erased because my children got great opportunity and access to education.*'

Generally, access for educational and school facilities in the resettlement site near to their home for their children benefited the resettlers.

C. Religious Freedom- even though the then government declares for religious freedom the people in the northern parts of the country discriminated against those who had other religions rather than Orthodox Christianity. Contrary to their experience in their place of origin, the resettlers celebrated Sabbath freely and worshiped God without any discrimination and fear. Markets were not held on Sabbath unlike to the trend of the northern on Saturday. At that time the Orthodox Christianity was the dominant religion in the north unlike the south which had

different religions that co-existed peacefully. As they explained, the existence of many religious sect and peaceful co-existence in the resettlement site gave relief for the Seventh Day Adventist resettlers from persecutions by the Orthodox Christian believers in the North.

D. Security from Harmful Cultural Trend – When they were in the north, the resettlers, especially females had been exposed to early marriage, abduction (forced marriage) and rape. Not only this but also they have a blood revenge habit. In these 46 years of life at Zefine-Menuka, there was only one unsuccessful case of blood avenge by an individual who came from the north purposefully to avenge the descendants of the killer of his relative. Kassayitu, an Amhara resettler living in Zefine-Menuka, from her past experience, argued that:

> *'When we are in the north, females cannot move across the farm land alone in fear of rape and abduction. Also females in north did not have freedom on mate choice. But, contrary to the situation there, here our daughters can freely move wherever they want without fear. And also they do have the right to choose their mates.'*

All the above mentioned harmful cultural practices were not experienced by the resettlers in the resettlement site by that time contrary to their origin. Thus, the resettlers revealed it as the advantages of their new environment. The freedom of females who had been restricted in the kitchen and not allowed to participate in the public sphere is also another area of improvement. Now a day a lot has changed throughout the country about the practice of harmful traditions such as early marriage, abduction, etc. with the strong intervention of government in the area.

E. Improvement of Livelihood- comparing with their homeland experience resettlers claim as they have progressed to favorable change in their livelihood. As Orthodox Christian trend, resettlers asserted that, there were a few working days with in each month of the year. Most of the week or month days are used for religious festivals that prohibit working. Here, in the resettlement area, they work six days a week except on Sabbath and have an access of a large sum of money if they work hard. Practically, they work hard and earned much which changed their life to the better situations when they compare with their previous status. For instance there are farmers possessing maize Sheller machines (see appendix 1). In addition to the machines provided by Nuru International, an NGO operating in Boreda Wereda, the people use maize Sheller Machine of farmers at Zefine-Menuka.

F. Adopting Different Cultural Traits - because of the interaction of the resettler and host society; they had exchanged different social and cultural traits. Ability to speak Wolaytigna language, change in their wearing style, saving through an association called '*iqqub'*, and other such kind of social and cultural traits were the benefits they acquired from the resettlement as the resettlers described.

G. Other Benefits - the facilities of the area such as water supply service, health service, flour mill, availability of different types of fruit and vegetables in the area are other benefits that were described by the resettlers. Nearness and adaptability to technology (not being stubborn to changes like most of the people in the north do), is listed as a benefit by the resettlers. As the resettlers asserted all better freedom in every direction of life and the availability of cheap labor are listed as some of the benefits that they acquire from their new resettlement site, Zefine-Menuka.

Generally, by analyzing the resettlement program in relation to the factors that forced the resettlers to move to Zefine-Menuka one can say that the scheme was successful. This is because the resettler people meet their need such as religious freedom, educational services, large amount of farming land and better livelihood which they migrate for. As those who went to visit their relatives at the homeland claimed, the people who live in the origin of resettlers view the Zefine-Menuka resettlers as rich and consider as they are living in a foreign country. The resettlers also confirmed the betterment of their life when they compare with their past as well as the current situation of their people in the north.

3.4.2. Challenges of Resettlement

Parallel to the favorable situations that benefit them, the resettlers faced challenging situations that have been hurting them much since the early resettlement days. They identified the following situations as challenges to them and their life in the resettlement site.

The challenging situations had begun when the people arrived in the resettlement area where there was no clean water supply, food, and shelter. When the resettlers arrive at the resettlement site, they discovered that there were only few persons who come from the highland of the Wereda. The area was covered by forest which was home for wild animals and the bandit who killed travelers across the forest and robs cattle from the pastoralists and settlers in the highland.

For few early consecutive years the resettlers had been struggling to earn better farming products although they could not achieve it as their wish. Moreover, they suffered from a drought incident in the early times of resettlement and later in 1980G.C.

Some administrative officials in the Wereda challenged the resettlers since resettlement. For instance, in the first year of settlement the then administrator of the Wereda prohibited them from cutting trees to build shelters. He mentioned to them that the area did not belong to them as well as their fathers. In fact, this was against the government promises that allowed to the resettlers to live in the area by assuring that the area is a bare forest that belongs to anyone. Even to date, the resettlers complain the suffering they are struggling because of unequal treatments by the Wereda administrators on the Amhara resettlers unlike the host Gamo society.

The other challenge was language barrier for communication. Because of the difference in the language they speak resettlers and the host people could not communicate well. Moreover, until the end of 1960s and the beginning of 1970s the people suffered from absence of any infrastructural facilities such as schools, health services, water supply and the likes in the resettlement site.

3.4.3. Coping Mechanisms

In the early times they tried to communicate with the host people by counting their fingers in the market while trading. In addition the resettlers used translator who can speak Amharic and host society language when they interact with the host people in different occasions. Sometimes the translator asks for payment[11]. Now a day's their children can speak and listen the host society language and acts as translator as a bridge in the middle of them. Confirming to this Balls, et al, (2009:117) stated that: "Some researchers have indeed noted how the children of immigrants (even when first generation themselves) become their "parents' parents" by being translators and information brokers in the family." And also the host society adapted the resettlers' language Amharic too. Therefore, communication is not anymore as such a challenging issue except for those elderly individuals who did not adopt the language both from the host and resettler societies and for the new young generations.

[11]As the elderly indigenous informants asserted, in the early times the translator asks 50 cents for an hour translation.

In addition to the social challenges such as interaction with the hosts, the new environment had also presented them a security problem particularly from dangerous wild animals such as lion, hyena, monkey, leopard etc. In order to manage such difficulties, the resettlers were moving in and around Zefine-Menuka in groups during daily practice such fetching water, collecting firewood and shopping in the markets. Moreover, in order to protect their farm and cereals from wild animals, a group of males were assigned to guard the farm in turns.

In the early times, after a year of the first group resettlement, the resettlers were challenged by droughts. Whenever they ran out of food or money to buy food from the Zefine-Menuka or Wolayta Sodo, they developed a social culture of sharing and also they were supported by the government and the Adventist church. Since 1974G.C, they became successful in their farming and settled in good and favorable living situations particularly after they have started to use inorganic fertilizers such as Urea and Dap consulted by the government sponsored agricultural professionals. During the drought in 1980G.C, it was also common to travel away from Zefine-Menuka. For instance, 125 farmers left the area for Abela, Wolkite and Selamber Gofa, Jemjem and several other places where there were other Amhara resettlers.

In the beginning the people went to Humbo in search of health service when someone gets sick. The river Bongi was used as a water source for the resettlers. Until the end of 2013G.C. there were no roads which were suitable for transportation. They began to teach their children under a tree by hiring teachers by themselves or else send them to Zefine the administrative town of the Wereda, Wolayta Sodo and Arba Minch for education. Later, clean water supply, school, health service, and flour mill[12] service were started by government in 1977, 1976, 1974 and 1975 G.C respectively.

[12]In the 1975G.C (1968 E.C) flour mill, which is the first flour mill in the kebele that works by water and is locally called *wefcho* was established.

Chapter Four

Indicators of Socio-Cultural Integration

If there is interaction, integrations are inevitable between two or more societies with different socio-cultural backgrounds living in or around the same geographical proximities. Thus, it was not surprising that the Amhara resellers and the hosts (Gamo and Wolayta) have been practicing both cultural and social interactions and integrations. However, these societies had also witnessed several conflicts rooted in either economic advantages or social status during the past 46 years.

4.1. Indicators of Social Integration

'Social integration is the process of creating unity, inclusion and participation at all levels of society within the diversity of personal attributes' (Amparo, 2008:2). The presence of social integration, which is a desirable outcome when two distinct societies come together, social cohesion, strong institutional foundations and a culture of acceptance have to be visible in the society's interactions. The indicators to check the existence of social integration in the community are: the pattern of housing and settlement pattern, the existence of social security, the role and level of education, existence of inter-marriage, and frequency of contacts with host society versus homeland. The aforementioned points were used to analyze and show the level of social integration of Amhara resettlers with the host society in Zefine-Menuka.

4.1.1. Social Security

According to Leliveld (1991) social security, in a way that fits to the developing countries condition, was defined as " firstly, the protection by society of individuals or social groups against a fall in their standards of living as a result of temporary adversities and, secondly, the promotion by society of those standards of living of individuals or social groups which are below an acceptable minimum level"(P: 13). The pattern of social security in the Amhara resettlers living experience with the host society was visible in different situations.

Since the resettlement, the resettlers and host society have been working together to achieve their social security. One of the hardships that the society suffered was the attack of bandits who had

killed people and rob their cattle and cereal products. In order to secure the area from the threat of robbers, they developed sense of belongingness to stand together for protection of theirselves. The host society testified the great contribution of the resettlers to secure the freedom of movement in the area without fear. The resettlers and host society together came to detect wrongdoer and robbers without leaving it for others.

It was also noted that, when the resettlers suffered from drought in the early times of resettlement, the host society provided food for cheap price. The food, which helped the Amhara resettlers to survive the drought calamity, was purchased from Gamo and Wolayta merchants. Even the resettlers did not need to go to the market place, because the merchants took the food items with their own transport means or on their backs to the resettlers' homes. The other pattern of social security was the provision of service in the specific social institutions for the whole people. The host and resettlers societies were the beneficiary of those services that were given by different social institutions such as health centers, schools, grinding mills, and water supplies.

In addition to aforementioned institutions that contributed several roles in the provision of social security, the then government had also a policy that played a significant role in the integration of the societies. For instance, four neighboring kebeles (Zefine-Menuka, Kodo Awisato Menuka, Kodo Awisato Atisa, and Dugana Gamero) unitedly opened a peasant association under the Derg Regime. The establishment of this peasant association named 'Zefine-Menuka Farmers Association' had contributed a lot for the integration of the two societies. Under the peasant association, they opened a service cooperative shop which provided different consumer goods such as salt, soap, sugar, fertilizers and credits to facilitate the farming activity of the poor who were member of the association. The administrators of the farmers' association cooperative shop (*Agelgilot*), who had talent to lead and run the business of the cooperative shop, were elected from four member kebeles. Thus, the farmer association contributed for the social and also cultural integration of the Amhara resettler people with the Gamo host society since members came from different cultures and languages to work together to secure the societal needs of the people.

Some individuals from the resettler society integrated with the host society through eye parenting. Eye parent is a status given to the one who holds the eyes of a son at the times of circumcision. In the culture of the Gamo host society those who are considered as eye parent are

responsible to support the child in education expenses, clothing and other bad situation he may face. In other words, once someone becomes eye parent he also holds the responsibility to support the child as a parent. On the other hand the culture also demands that the eye-child to help his eye parent if needed.

The host society believes that eye parenting is a type of kinship. So, they select a person whom they want to relate with him intimately. One of my informants in the FGD from his experience argues that, the relationship through eye parenting is viewed as being relative in the host society's culture. So, he was selected by his friend from the host society who wanted to strengthen and develop their friendship to 'kinship' in his term. The integration through eye parenting made them to help each other in the times of difficulty and to strengthen and perpetuate their interactions. Such complementary relationship helps the society to form unity and acceptance among them.

The Gamo host societies, who previously mainly practice cattle rearing, are good grazier (one who pastures cattle for the market). So, they were good at animal rearing and had good habit of feeding as well as sheltering the cattle than the Amhara people. There is a customary activity that held among the resettler and host society. The resettler Amhara people had given their cattle to the host society to secure their cattle from drought and shortage of grazing land. Even if it was through payments or contracts, the host society frequently helped the resettlers from losing their cattle due to shortage of grass and fodder.

Practically by sharing valuable ideas of farming among themselves, the people promoted standards of living and developed livelihood. In addition to that, during the natural or manmade accidents such as fire and theft of cattle they cooperated to search and help the injured one in unity. The Amhara resettlers had a custom of helping each other in different situations. I observed a collective and individual support of the Amhara resettler in the construction of house of those weary individuals in the community.

4.1.2. The Role of Education in Integration

In Zefine-Menuka before the arrival of the resettlers there was no educational facility. There were only few households in the lowland, which migrated from the highland when the resettlers arrive there. Those elder indigenous people asserted that because of the absence of education

facility in the lowland, those who had been learning were forced to stop their education when they came from the highland. But soon after the arrival of the resettlers, education was started by the support of Seventh Day Adventist Church. Later, after few consecutive years the resettlers requested the then government to open school, which benefited both the hosts and resettlers.

In the early times, even though the educational facility was provided, the level of education and participation of the host society in education were very low. Those who went to school for education mostly were children of officials and rich individuals. The participation of females was also very least, i.e., there were few female students in the school compound. Later on through integration with the Amhara community who had priority for education and also by the influence of government the level of education of the host society was improved.

The level of education of resettlers on arrival in a host community had significant implications on the pattern of cultural integration they adopt. This was true, for instance, the most educated resettlers in Zefine-Menuka were the ones who facilitated and advised the adoption of significant cultural attributes such as saving, food preference, etc. that the resettlers lacked while the host owned it. There were few educated individuals from Zefine-Menuka, by pointing out the best experience of the host and the resettler advices the people to exchange these good trends for the common good and development. The existence of educated individuals contributed for the integration even through intermarriage (see the indicators of social integration: inter-marriage section).

4.1.3. Housing and Settlement Pattern

The Amhara resettler who lives in Zefine-Menuka settled in a way that separates them from host society except in one direction, i.e., with Kodo Awisato Menuka kebele which borders with Zefine-Menuka kebele in the west. Their pattern of settlement shows that they concentrated in a village surrounded by their farmland which covers large area. There was observable change and improvement in their housing. Previously they lived in a hut which is constructed by grass but, now days almost all of the resettlers housing is being changed to the better ones. Their pattern of housing also shows the demand of the resettler people to be together and close to their relatives.

I observed a clear segregation of the two societies in their settlements. This can typically be exemplified by the fact that almost all dwellers of Zefine-Menuka kebele are Amhara resettlers.

However, there are few non-Amhara people who live in the kebele. Those non-Amhara people who live in the rental house of the kebele and those who work in the kebele. In addition there are also some households from the host society in the kebele Zefine-Menuka. From those host families few of them are even members of the kebele and Idir, which is an association to support members at the times of mourning. Other than those few individuals who want to live in the kebele and are member of the Idir with the Amhara resettlers, the host society lives in a separate kebele with their own Idir.

Even though the Amhara people argue as they are willing to accept anybody who comes to their kebele as a member and dweller, some individuals from the host society argue that the Amhara resettlers isolate the host society members including the members of their *Idir* and kebele dwellers. Among the participants of FGD from the Gamo host society, one of them raised the case of a man, a member of the host society, who was requested to leave the meeting place of the kebele while the resettlers were discussing on their issue. He pointed this occasion as an example for the existence of segregation which shows the isolation of the host people by the resettlers.

4.1.4. Inter-Marriage

Intermarriage between two distinct societies also indicates the existence of integration. This is because since their culture is distinct when they choose mates from the other group it shows at least their desire to interrelate by accepting the others cultural attributes including their rules and norms of marriage. Confirming to this Rudiger and Spencer (2003), while explaining about the integration of migrants and minorities, argues that the rate of inter-marriage can give a picture of the readiness of members of both the minority and majority population to interact with each other. In the early times of resettlement there was no such kind of relationship. Some people argued that in the first two decades of resettlement, it is possible to say that there was no interaction between these two societies in mate selection. There were reasons that are listed by the two communities for the absence of marriage among the two communities.

The first thing was language. Language is the main way to communicate with people. It is difficult to communicate and interact with each other while the language they use is different. So, in the early times of resettlement, language as a barrier for communication prohibited the society's interaction through marriage. The second reason they raised was religion. Majority of

Amhara resettlers are Seventh Day Adventist Christians who were not allowed to marry people other than their religion based on their religious doctrine. Since there was no Seventh Day Adventist Christian among the host community, their dissimilarity in their religion also affected the possibility of marriage between the groups. Besides to this, among the Amhara themselves majority of them were blood relatives and most of the rest also allied through marriage. So, those who want to marry obliged to go to their origin to bring wife since they had less probability to find spouse in the resettlement area.

Some people from the host society raised cultural differences especially in relation to divorce as a challenge. According to Dogiso, in the past Gamo culture while divorcing the man sent the woman to her parents' home. She did not get anything from her marriage rather the male/husband took all the property they had. After the divorce both of them allowed to marry someone they loved. On the other hand in the Amhara culture the female can share half of the property they had in their marriage. This cultural trend created fear in the hearts of the host society men, especially, after one of their sons experienced the divorce with the Amhara woman and lost his property. In addition to that some argued that they feared that if she could go with her parents in case if they were to go to their homeland.

Afterward there were interactions between the two societies through marriages. However the pattern of mate selection was unidirectional, i.e., the man from the host takes wife from the Amhara resettlers. In the FGD, youth men from the host society argued that the host females lacked opportunities to have interaction with the Amhara men. As a result of this they did not have enough opportunities to date men from the Amhara society. On the other hand, they believed that the host's male had opportunities and exposure to have contact with the Amhara females when they work as farmers and herdsmen and live with the family whom they work for. In addition, they also argued that their men went to the Amhara village even to see females which was not the case for the host female.

Even though the argument was true to some extent, I argue that the females also had similar chances to interact with the Amhara males in the market, school, church, work places (in their work at the place of Amhara resettlers in different part time jobs). Despite the aforementioned opportunities to select mates between the two sides, the interaction of the two societies through marriage was not satisfactory. For instance, even though the society believed that Gamo males

were choosing their wives from Amhara females, there was only few number of Amhara females married to Gamo males showing that there were other factors that limit the interaction of the two societies via marriage.

The Amhara youth men's in the FGD raised another point of view for their refusal to take wife from the host society. Cultural difference, i.e., the difference in the language they speak and food preference. The barrier of language prohibits their interaction. Even though some youths can speak the language fluently and can communicate well, the ability of the hosts' female to prepare food that the Amhara men's prefer to eat was questionable. Others argue that the difference of the role of females in the household among the Amhara and host society also might have aggravated the situation. The host females were engaged in the trading business which made them to spend much time out of their home unlike the Amhara women who are responsible in the home as housewives.

Above all, in the FGD, the Amhara youth men argued that it was the family and societal acceptance that mattered a lot for the absence of marriage between these two societies. Even if in the formal public sphere the Amhara people allow the marriage with the host society, practically they would not accept if it were to happen in their families. They raised the case of three Amhara men who married woman from the host society. They stated that these men not only lost their beloved marriages through divorce but also they were forced to leave Zefine-Menuka area because of the insult, discrimination and stigmatization they suffered among their own community, i.e., resettlers.

Even in the most common form of inter-ethnic marriage, an Amhara woman and Gamo man, the acceptance and recognition of the marriage was not possible. However, as the marriage settles with course of time, the families would not have any other options but to accept and relate with the new family of their daughter. Similarly, if an Amhara man married to a Gamo woman, he would face these challenges. Thus, to avoid these stubborn family rules and norms, they stated that the Amhara men travelled to other places in SNNPR where other resettled Amhara lived such as Wolkite and Abela in search for soul mates. The following case might best illustrate the trend of bringing wife from homeland since almost all of the Amhara at Zefine-Menuka are related through blood or marriage.

Case: 1

> Maritu Mekuria was unschooled 23 years old female. She came to Zefine-Menuka from North Wollo zone, Ayina Bugina Wereda in 2010G.C. She came because of her marriage with Aweke. She did not hear about Zefine-Menuka before. Aweke was a farmer from Zefine-Menuka and went to Ayina searching for wife from his mother's homeland. Based on the cultural trend he asked the parents of Maritu to give their daughter, Maritu, to him as a wife. Unfortunately, they refused to accept his request for two main reasons. First, the distance between Wollo and Zefine-Menuka is considerably big that it might hinder frequent contacts with their daughter. Second, because of the absence of any close person or kin at her destination that can inform them about their daughter situation. Despite their displeasure, they allowed her to marry Aweke as she had strong will and desire in him. And finally they married and came to Zefine-Menuka. Aweke argued that he could not find wife from his people due to complex kinship in marriage and blood, and did not want to marry from the host society. Then he decided to go to North and brought Maritu.

One of the FGD participants from the resettlers, who married a woman from Wolkite this year, stated his experience why he preferred to bring wife from other than his people and neighboring host society as follows:

> *'Here at Zefine-Menuka majority of us were related through blood. Those who are not relatives also refrain to accept my request of marriage and also I did not want to marry from the host people. So, I brought wife from Wolkite where my parents' relatives live in.'*

He stated that the Amhara girls refused to accept his request because they know him well. He argued that, knowing each other well creates disrespect and disregard towards each other. He also claimed that the poor cooking abilities of the host girls and fear of losing social acceptance among his people because of his marriage with the host people forced him not to search wife from the host people.

Even though, the resettlers argued as they accepted and recognized the inter-ethnic marriage to strengthen their bond, the host society questioned the Amhara people 'why their children

refrained to marry women from the host'. One of my informants from the Amhara argued that because the culture the Amhara girls and the Gamo girls raised were different in such a way that the Amhara women were used to carry bigger burden. Thus, he stated that the host women might not be interested in marrying the Amhara men assuming that the marriage would expose them to overwhelming work load.

Most of the marriage that the Amhara female had with the host society is with the Wolayta society rather than with the Gamo society in Boreda Wereda. According to some Amhara people this was because of their close interaction with the Wolayta people in the school. After grade 8 most Amhara children attended school in Wolayta Sodo that created a room for interaction with Wolayta people and consequently marriage. Most of Amhara females, who married other than Amhara, interact and married when they were at school, i.e., far from their family.

The frequency of the Amhara females contact with the Gamo society was least to create interaction that ended in marriage even though they lived in the same Wereda. This is because the Amhara females could spend very short time with them in market places, at school compounds and also in conferences in the church as they spent much of their time helping their families. But when they went to Sodo for education they could spend much of their time away from their family and lonely. This opened the door for them to spend certain time with the people around them. This made a difference in mate selection of the Wolayta and Gamo society with the Amhara people.

In line with the above, the other dimension in intermarriage was that those educated individuals were more open to select spouses from any groups. Furtado (2006), as described by Algan, et al (2012), proposes three mechanisms through which education could affect intermarriage: The first is cultural adaptability effect which captures the idea that educated people are better able to adapt to different customs and cultures so they are more likely to marry natives. The second is enclave effect that refers to the fact that educated immigrants are more likely to move out of their ethnic enclaves because they have better economic opportunities outside their group. So, they are less likely to marry from their ethnic group. Finally, the assortative matching effect reflects the fact that the gains from marriage are larger when the spouses' education levels are similar.

In the case of Zefine Menuka, the first two effects of education worked on the intermarriage with the host and other societies other than Amhara. In the cultural adaptability effect there are few resettlers who were educated and married outside their ethnic group including from the host and lived outside Zefine-Menuka by adopting the cultural difference they had. In the way that fits to the enclave effect those who were forced to go outside their society's territory because of their job married non-Amhara individuals because they were less likely to meet potential spouses of their own group.

The type of marriage that had been influenced by the parents' choice was abolished among the Amhara people. So, it was based on the desire of the children. Although parents did not interfere in the choice of their children directly, they tried to stop the marriage informally if they did not like it. But those who were educated and lived outside Zefine-Menuka did not as such influenced by the informal stigmatization and discrimination of the family and community since they were far. Even though it was not in the assumption of better income by combining their salary, the assortative matching effect was also visible in mate selection. There was a willingness among the Amhara female to marry educated men from the host society to secure better life, and to meet their desire to live in urban areas although the Amhara male criticized them.

Rudiger and Spencer (2003) argue that inter-marriage rates tend to rise with increasing length of residence of a migrant group and in subsequent generations. This is true in Zefine-Menuka even though it is least and majorly in unidirectional manner. The higher the rate of inter-marriage is, the more diverse a society becomes by breaking down barriers between communities, and the greater the benefits for cohesion (Ibid, 2003). But, in Zefine-Menuka the integration of the Amhara resettlers with the host through mate selection was influenced by cultural and societal attributes and the degree of exposure and frequency of contacts with the society as discussed above. So, inter-marriage is in lower rate contributing only a little for cohesion and integration of the two communities.

4.1.5. Frequency of Contacts with Host Society versus Homeland

Since their place of origin is hundreds of kilometers away from the area of resettlement, they frequently made contact with the host although they had strong contact with their people at the homeland. But the contact with the place of origin had prerequisite. According to Mulat Altaseb,

one of my key informants, the frequency and plan to visit the place of origin is justified by the existence of close or any kind of relatives there. Those who had brought all of their kinsfolk might not have to visit their homeland whereas those who have relatives in the north had to visit frequently. I discovered individuals who visited the place of origin every year and also those who had not ever visited their homeland since resettlement.

In addition to their homeland, the Amhara people at Zefine-Menuka had also lots of relatives who live at Abela Faricho or Garage, Selamber Gofa and Wolkite in the SNNPR state. So they did not have to travel as far as Gondar, Wollo, Gojjam and Shewa. They visited each other frequently with their relatives in the region unlike with those who live in the north. Generally, even though they had contacts with the host society they strongly preferred to have strong contacts with their relatives than the host.

4.2. Indicators of Cultural Integration

Cultural integration as a social process consists of the acceptance of the values of cultural diversity for a society by all constituent cultural communities and the promotion of equitable participation by all groups in the larger society (Amparo, 2008). Cultural integration is associated to the social and cultural sphere and concerns cultural habits, values and beliefs, religion, and language (Algan, et al, 2012). Situations such as language skills, appreciation of the resettler society toward the values and norms of the host community, incidence and efforts of cultural diversity are commonly utilized to evaluate the existence of integration between resettlers and the hosts. In this study, I used these parameters to explore the extent and existence of cultural integration between the Amhara resettlers and the host society in Zefine-Menuka.

4.2.1. Language Skills

Language education is usually the first introduction migrants have to their new society and, together with practical skills training; it is also expected to help settled communities to further their integration (Rudiger and Spencer, 2003). In this study, the resettler and host societies have their own distinct languages and hence, it is inevitable that language skill is one of the most important factors limiting the level of integration between them. The indigenous people at Boreda Wereda are Gamo people who speak Gamogna (Gamo language). Even though the dominant and the most frequently spoken language is Gamogna, the host person who lives in the

lowland speaks Wolaytigna dominantly. This is because they have close contact with the Wolayta society who trades and borders with the Gamo people of Boreda Wereda in the North.

Although some Gamo people disagree, the language by the lowlanders is Wolaytigna. And also Belaynesh Bassa, a teacher, who teaches Donna[13] or local language as a subject at Zefine-Menuka had made an investigation on the pattern of language use in the area and asserted that the language tends to Wolaytigna rather than Gamogna (Gamo language). Those Gamo people who speak Wolaytigna are neighboring host people to the resettler Amhara people. So, the language acquired by the resettlers is Wolaytigna although the host people of the Wereda are Gamo.

There have been different opportunities for the resettler society to develop language skills of the host society and vice versa. For instance the interaction at market place, school, church, and the likes are possible occasions to develop language skills. However, personal motives and desires to know the language played a greater role in this respect. The language skill and ability of the host society on the resettler and vice versa can be categorized in three phases.

In the early times, i.e., in the first phase, both the resettlers and host societies elderly men and women failed to be familiar with the languages of the other group. This is because, first, they thought that they could not learn the language of the other society; second some lacked a desire to know the language. Except few elderly men, who had an opportunity and desire to know Amharic, most of the elderly men from the Amhara and host did not know much except few common words of greetings; instead, they used translators in many occasions. Confirming to this Balls, et al, (2009: 117) asserts that 'the first generation adult immigrants experience difficulties in becoming proficient in the language.'

Nowadays, i.e., in the second phase, most of the youth groups from both societies know both Amharic and Wolaytigna, although they might not be fluent in the other's group language. However, there were some individuals, even in the youth group, who did not have access to learn the language of the other society. I observed that some members of the youth group in the host society could not speak Amharic language. In the FGD, the participants argued that the majority

[13]Donna is a subject of the local language of the area. Since the area is occupied by Gamo people, the local language given as a subject is Gamogna (Gamo language/Donna).

of youths can hear and understand Amharic language but they had difficulty to respond in Amharic. In the case of the Amhara youth, there were some individuals who could not understand the language of the host society although they had sufficient opportunities to learn it. Even though they are not proficient in the language, the majority of the resettler youth group can communicate in the market places. And there are few persons who were fluent in the hosts' language.

According to Rudiger and Spencer (2003) education, especially language education, is a powerful tool in the integration process. Even though they learnt both Wolaytigna and Amharic language in the schools, most of them argue that other than the ability to read and write their formal education did not contribute for their ability to speak and hear the language. Rather they argued that their interaction with the people helped them much to develop their speaking and listening language skills. I observed the situation that confirmed to this argument. Those who had friends from the host society and those who worked with them were mostly fluent in the host language but they were few in number.

In the last phase, although few are fluent most of the new generation of the host and resettler society cannot speak and hear Amharic and Wolaytigna respectively. This was because, first, until grade 4 they study separately in different schools in their respective mother tongues. Although the two languages were given as a subject in schools, the youth were not good at the language skills of the other society probably because of the lack of application of the language in their daily life. In contrary to this, in the early times of schooling the students of Amhara and Gamo people attended school in Amharic language as a medium of instruction although this favored only the host students to improve their proficiency of Amharic language.

Some teachers argued that absence of favorable conditions to practice the language outside the school compound affected the student's ability of the language skills. Those Amhara students who had exposure to spend some time with the host people in their daily life had better ability to speak, hear and understand the language than those who did not have the exposure. But the critical issue was again the interest. Even if they had opportunity some students from the Amhara did not know the language because they lacked interest in the language.

The separation of the schools because of the increasing number of students and the difference in the medium of instruction of teaching affected students' interaction. In grade 5 when they merged together students tend to group themselves in their mother tongue they had. This situation clearly shows the relationship of language and identity. Gumperz (1990:239) as cited in Tolera (1999:115) described the role of language as an expression of social identity and group membership as 'language use creates a social identity for the user… The process is reflexive one. Language as speaking practice creates and identifies social group membership. Through shared communicative convections, individuals treat each other as part of their own social group.' I observed students in the school compound and discovered that both the Amhara and Gamo students prefer to be with their ethnic group students rather than spending their time together.

In addition, since they did not have any interaction before, they inclined to be with their previous colleagues. Students described their situation as they preferred to be with their people, i.e., the Amhara students prefer to be together with the Amhara and the Gamo students too by identifying their social group through the language they speak. One experienced elder Amharic teacher in the school asserted the influence of the policy of learning in one's mother tongue on the language ability of the students. After the implementation of the policy in 2001G.C the Amhara students separately learnt in their mother tongue. Even though their performance on their education increased, their opportunity to adopt the host society's language decreased. But before the implementation of this policy both the Amhara and Gamo students learn in one class in a similar medium of instruction which provides better opportunity for interaction and adoption of language than the today's situation. Those who learn in the early time also admitted such arguments because they do have better interaction with the host because they were learnt together in common medium of instruction.

In addition to the students' desires and attitudes, 'one to five' organization, a policy intended to facilitate the active participation of students, also affected their interaction. In this 'one to five' organization, Gamo students were grouped together with their fellow Gamo students and the Amhara students were grouped with their fellow Amhara students. Even though the criteria were based on the proximity in their village in order to facilitate home study in their group, it created a barrier for the interaction of students both in and outside of the school compounds.

Generally, in the early times both societies failed to adopt the language of the other as a result of both the lack of interest and the assumption that they were incompetent to learn the languages. But the lack of interest did not define the host society who had tried to acquire Amharic language as much as they could because, 'the use of Amharic was presented as equivalent to 'siltane', i.e., civilization' (Tolera, 1999:20) by that time. Students feel great when they can communicate in Amharic as the teacher's argument. And also those who can speak Amharic have a significant place in the community and viewed as modern man since they are responsible for translation. So, the host people have better interest to know Amharic than the resettlers' interest on the host language.

Later through interaction in different situations like education, trade, and work opportunities some groups of the second generation were competent of speaking the language and could communicate without barriers while comparing with the first generation. But nowadays there are barriers, first, the new generation did not have the interest to acquire the host society's language. Second, they do not have much exposure like the previous generation because most of them attend class in the urban areas and schools where the medium of instruction is Amharic or English.

4.2.5. Appreciation towards Values and Norms of the Host Society

A straightforward method to gain an impression of the readiness of a society to engage in integration processes is to measure public attitudes and perceptions (Rudiger and Spencer, 2003:13). According to Mulat Altaseb, there were many cultural practices that the Amhara people should acquire from the host society. But he claimed that the resettler Amhara people is weak and reluctant to adopt these significant cultural practices of the host society. He listed out their strong adoptable social and cultural trends such as saving (ikub), food preference (the trend of eating variety of food), wealth accumulation and devoting to bring practical and tangible change in their life.

The Amhara youth men in the FGD appreciated the respect and recognition that the elderly persons, and also those who participated in shimgilina, had in the host society. Even though the elder's words were against their will, the people would listen and accept them. In the process of shimgilina or conflict/dispute resolution unlike the Amhara, who could leave the meeting if

he/she did not agree with the point raised by the elderly men or their counterpart, the Gamo people give respect to the elderly persons and to their words. So, the youths argue that this was a norm that had to be adopted by the Amhara people. Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003) argue that acceptance of basic rules and norms of the host society are often seen as an indicator for acculturation.

Some informants among the resettler acknowledged the great trend of the Gamo host society on saving through the traditional association called Ikub/iqqub which is a saving system that arranged or be dealt with in a regularly recurring order. The *iqqub* is based on pre-established social ties. It consists of homogeneous groups: people from the same work place, ethnic background, trade, schooling background or neighborhood. All ranges of people, i.e., either poor or rich participates in it (Aredo, 1993). Similarly, the host peoples especially those traders uses iqqub for saving and improvement of their business. And also they (the resettlers) appreciated their wise mechanism of making money in the business, and their food preference and consumption of food in the fresh way (they did not use yeast unlike the Amhara people).

In contrary to the appreciated norms some Amhara people criticized the host society in their bad norms, i.e., strike. By means of which the host society creates inappropriate effect to benefit theirselves at the expense of others forming groups. They also strike to hurt other peoples in the market and other working places when they interact with other society.

4.2.3. Incidence and Efforts of Diversity

In the Adventist church compound, I observed a situation that appreciates the state of diversity in the culture of the societies. It was a religious conference that was held at Kodo Awisato Menuka kebele. Majority of the attendant of the conference were from the resettler Amhara and the host Gamo ethnic group who had distinct language. So in order to address all attendants of the conference they used translator. This incident practically describes the efforts of the church to display the diversity of the society. Similarly, as I discovered from different interviews the interaction of resettlers and host society in the early times of resettlement showed their acceptance of diversity. Accepting their differences in language, which is one element of culture, the society used translator during any communication and interaction in different situations.

In addition to the languages, the societies in the area are diverse in the religion they hold. There are Catholics, Orthodox Christians, Protestant Christians and indigenous religion followers in the Wereda. But, tolerating their religious diversity the society lives harmoniously. Although some members of the host society were converted to Adventist Christianity after their interaction with the resettlers, there were no Seventh Day Adventist Christians when the resettlers came to the area. No incidence of affliction was experienced in the area because of the difference on their religion. The people interact in the way that promotes the diversity they have. For instance, the Adventist Christian's did not participate in any societal issue on Sabbath, i.e., on Saturday. So, in order to involve those Adventist individuals both the host and resettlers non-Adventist society did not pick the Sabbath day for any social activities such as wedding ceremony, graduation, public conference and etc.

On the contrary in the 1990s the refusal of Wereda administrator to accept the beginning of education in Amharic language for the Amhara children contradicts with the flavor of diversity and the right to learn in one's mother tongue. The Amhara student cannot understand the subject matter because of their incompetence in Gamo language which is the medium of instruction by that time in the area. Even though the Amhara society appeals to the Wereda for their children to attend education in their mother tongue, the officials refused to accept the request of the people. Even if it is not the formal response of the then officials, there is a rumor among the Amhara people why the officials refrain to accept the request of the Amhara resettler, i.e., they fear that Amharic will dominate the area at the expense of their language. Whatever their reason was their rejection of the students right to learn in their mother tongue cannot show their effort and good attitude to diversity and acceptance of difference.

4.3. Opportunities and Challenges of Integration

Interaction is a prerequisite for the integration of society and their culture. There are situations that favor or interrupt the interaction of the society and then their socio-cultural integration. The following points are the opportunistic and challenging circumstances which revealed at Zefine-Menuka resettlement site for the integration of the resettler Amhara people with the Gamo and Wolayta host society.

4.3.1. Opportunities for Integration

The following circumstances are opportunities that favor the interaction of the resettler people with the host community:

A. Market/Trading- there are different market places in the Wereda which facilitates the interaction and integration of those who take part in it. Messa, Humbo, and Segno markets are held in Mesa Buniteza kebele, Humbo town in Humbo Wereda at Wolayta Zone and Kodo Awisato Menuka kebele, respectively. Although it is not as such big like the above mentioned markets, 'Merkato', which is a name of mini market in the Middle of Zefine-Menuka village in front of the kebele office has its own impact on the interaction of host and resettler society.

In the early times of resettlement, the Amhara resettler people went to the market that held in Messa and Humbo, which had been the only opportunities for the people to find items that they wished to have. The market at Kodo Awisato Menuka was started after the coming of the resettlers and in their request to the then government and named as Segno market by the day that the market held on, i.e., on Monday. Merkato market is the smallest both in the item provided and the number of people who participate on it. It is the recent one and held on every day in a week providing only fruits and vegetables to the customers. This is the only market that the resettler people did not participate as a seller. In all the rest markets resettlers participate as both buyers (most of the time they buy fruits and vegetables and also use services of barbers, cafes and restaurants, etc.) and sellers (provide cereal products mainly maize and teff and cattle).

In the process of selling and buying, host and resettlers interact repeatedly. Repeated interaction at the market develops to friendship which is one way of integration of people. As a result of the friendship some merchants from the resettler and host work together as partners in business. And also lend money for their trade to each other. Besides to these markets, home to home business also plays a great role in the interaction of the two societies. I observed a woman who repeatedly come to the home where I was adopted to sell fire wood. I discovered that she is usual supplier of fire wood. Such usual supplier-consumer relationship develops to friendship which strengthens the relationship they have and creates an opportunity for better integration.

The trust that found between customers and sellers also developed the integration into a better position although there are few unfaithful traders. They use both cash money and bartering as a

medium of transaction. In the early times since it was difficult to communicate because of language barrier they tried to converse in the trading through counting their fingers. If it was through bartering they would count the amount of cereals that they request in return for transaction.

B. Job Opportunities - the resettler people have job opportunities for the host neighboring society. Several people from Kodo Awisato Menuka and other areas were employed as farmers and herdsmen in the place of Amhara people. Those employed individuals expected to live in the house of the resettler people, who hired them, which creates a favorable opportunity for integration and cultural exchange. I observed such situation in the neighbor where I was adopted. It was at night when all family members came back home and spend some time together. In their conversation the herdsman cannot communicate fluently in Amharic. So the farmer, who is from the herdsman area, i.e., among the host people, translates his speech to the Amhara people there and teaches them some words from Wolaytigna language. Such kind of situations opens the door for integration and cultural exchange.

Even though their number decreased recently, there are still host people who working at the resettlers place. In addition to the above, some people especially females were also employed on part time work such as fetching water, collecting fire wood, cleaning the house of cattle's, washing clothes, baking injera and etc.

C. Religion - those Orthodox Christians from the host and resettlers interact in different religious holidays and religious festivities such as *Zikir*, *Maheber* and etc., which strengthen their interaction. Besides, the religious system of God parenting which is a status of being God mother/father to the child in the ceremony of baptism among Orthodox Christians integrated the resettler and host society. The status of God parent follows some responsibility that binds those participants. One of my informants, who are God mother, from FGD describes the responsibility of God parents from her experience:

> *'God parents are responsible to see the God-child as their own child and also responsible to buy necessary equipments to her/him. In addition God parents are expected to call the family of God-child in every religious and other known ceremonies at his/her place or home since they are relatives through God parenting.'*

Similarly, Tolera also explained the anticipation of the bond as follows: 'the bond God mother/father bond is enforced by a religious sanction upon which the God-mother or father swears to act as a real father or mother and not to discriminate between his/her biological children and the God-child'(1999:70).

In addition, until 2001/2002G.C the resettler Orthodox Christians did not have church nearby. They are expected to go some kilometers away, i.e., at Mesa Buniteza kebele to attend at congregation and also for burial place. Even though it is tiresome to travel far distance searching for church and cemetery, the circumstance creates an opportunity for the resettler to integrate with the host society in the area. Nowadays there is Baleweld/Baleigziabher church which was built in 2001/2002G.C at Kodo Awisato Menuka kebele (see appendix 1). The church is a place for worship and also for burial for both the resettlers and the host Orthodox Christians.

Similarly, there was also interaction among the Seventh Day Adventist Christians in different religious congregations. I observed a religious conference that was held at Kodo Awisato Menuka kebele Adventist church. The program was held through translator in order to address the elder and child Amhara and Gamo attendants who cannot understand Gamogna and Amharic language, respectively. Once they interact and integrate through the religion they hold, they visit each other in different good and appalling situations which strengths their relationship.

D. Neighboring in the Farm - even though it is not sound opportunity for integration, neighboring through farmland has a role for the integration of the two people. As explained in the 'description of the study area', the settlement pattern of the resettler people separates them from the host people since they were surrounded by their farmland except in one direction. But those individuals who have farmland in the border areas of the kebele create neighborhood relation with the host people because of their bordering farmland. In favor of this relationship they help each other in different situations such as harvesting season, while searching for lost cattle and etc. Few of oral history informants from the resettlers described their experience of spending the lunchtime together with their host neighbor at the farm.

E. Other Factors - interaction in the work places within and outside the Wereda with the host people contributed for their integration. There are some Amhara people who works in other kebeles of the Wereda in different work areas and also there are individuals who are from the

host society and works among the Amhara people. In the FGD individuals form the Amhara affirmed the contribution of their working places among the host people for their proficiency in the local language. Although it is not as such sound opportunity for the two group's integration, some of my informants listed out school interaction as a reason for their integration. One of FGD participant from the host described his experience of schoolmate interaction with Amhara student. He said that his strong relationship through studying and living in a rental home together contributes a lot for his integration with the Amhara people. Such circumstance provides a room for interaction and exchange of different cultural attributes.

The football games in the Wereda have a great role in the interaction of the male youths of the two societies as there is a trend of playing football in kebele teams. Through exchanging letter or by sending a representative they adjust a suitable time to play the football game. This trend creates favorable situations for interaction with one another and also for cultural exchange. Pieth (2010) asserted the potential of participating in sporting activities to create social network and access to other domains of society. In addition he stated on the potential of sport and leisure time activities to integrate and educate intercultural relationship. As my informants described, at the end of each game there is ceremony to say thank you and good bye for the participation by the host kebele. Sometimes they provide food and drink that unarguably initiates informal talks and also cultural exchanges through food preferences.

4.3.2. Challenges of Integration

It is inevitable that there can be challenges for the interaction of any two or more societies with distinct cultures but living in a close proximity. In the case of this research site, the following challenges are considered to create a barrier against the integration of resettlers and host society.

A. Settlement Pattern - the Amhara resettlers' residential pattern is in a village type by concentrating together and surrounded by their farmland outlying to their dwellings. Except with Kodo Awisato Menuka kebele which borders the kebele in the west direction there is no direct contact with the host society rather they are surrounded (encircled) by their farmland. By reducing the frequency and possibility of contact the settlement pattern affects the integration of the society. Since they settled in a separate manner from the direct frequent contact with the

receiving society they are less likely to integrate unlike those who settled in a mixed way with the host society.

B. Cultural Difference - the first cultural attribute that influenced the integration of the two people was language. In order to interact, communication and understanding one another may have their own role. For communication and understanding language is the basic component. Their interaction is affected by their language difference. Their differences in food preference also reduce their acceptance to one another. The host society complains on the Amhara people saying that:

> *'They did not eat what we serve for them rather they always prefer to eat their injera.'*

The other cultural practice that the host society identified as a barrier in the early times of their interaction was that the Amhara culture on divorce. Among Gamo people of Boreda Wereda if couples decide to divorce because of different reasons, the male sent her to her parents. In their custom, neither she nor her parents request to share the property she might have brought in her marriage. In contrary, the Amhara women would have shared the property, if she were to divorce.

C. Number of Resettlers - the number of Amhara resettlers that lives in Zefine-Menuka kebele is almost same as that of the host society in one kebele. So, their number prohibits them not to be influenced easily rather to preserve their culture and keep themselves separate. In addition to the above, some resettler people's refusal to interact with the host people (some people did not have the desire to interact with peoples other than their ethnic group) by preferring isolation also had an impact on their interaction and integration.

Chapter Five

Conflict, Attitude of the Host Community towards Resettlers, and Interaction of Resettlers

In this chapter of the paper the relationship of the host and resettler community in terms of conflict will be assessed. The attitude of the host community towards the resettler also investigated. Lastly, the interaction of the resettler people and also their integration will be discussed.

5.1. Conflict and Disagreements

The relationship between the resettlers and the host was not always positive and constructive; criminal records showed that there had been several clashes. Setting fire on crops, theft of cattle, theft of mobile phones, theft of cereal products, insult, threatening, assault, taking grazing grass from someone's farm for their cattle (letting cattle's to someone's farm or grazing land) were deviant behaviors and criminal acts that are recorded in the community. Setting fire on the harvested crops in the farm had been observed since the times of resettlement. Mulat, the key informant, asserted that in the early times fire disaster was accidental. But nowadays it was because of jealousy that people set fire on the harvested crops or farms of someone who was considered as enemy.

Although it was not as frequent as it was in earlier times, theft of cattle had also been registered as a common criminal act in the area. Theft of cereals had also been reported from storage place such as *sherfa* and *gotera*. Because of the lack of electricity supply in the area, people tended to use solar power generators as energy source for activities such as charging their mobile phones. However, the theft of mobile phones from the mobile phone battery recharge shops had become a common problem although those criminals had been punished for their wrong deed in several occasions.

According to the kebele officials, the crime of insult, threatening and assault were mainly related to drunkenness, i.e., those people addicted to alcohol committed the crimes whenever they were drank. Even though the society suspected those home to home traders for the theft of money from their home, the crime became frequent in the kebele. In those delinquent and criminal acts the wrong doers were from both the Amhara resettlers and the host societies. The Amhara

society used both formal and traditional (shimgilina) method to resolve the case and punish the offender. When they discovered the offenders from the host society they formally appealed to the kebele of the offender. In some cases the injured individuals may accuse the offender in his kebele. There was one case that could illustrate the delinquent behavior in the relationship of host and resettlers and how they resolved it.

Case: 2

> Densa Ayalew was a woman farmer household head. She had a farmland that border with Abera Gechere a farmer from the host society who lived in Kodo Awisato Menuka kebele. Once up on a time, the farmers and also son of Abera and the son of Densa who had been working in their own farm quarreled because of the cattle that ate the grazing grass at Abera's farm land. The farmer of Abera attacked and injured the son of Densa and took his farming equipment. She accused the offender in his kebele, i.e., at Kodo Awisato Menuka kebele administrator in peace and security committee that was responsible to handle such kind of deviant cases. The kebele recommended them to handle their case through indigenous dispute resolution by elderly persons. Each of them selected three individuals to see the case on behalf of them. Then including additional elderly person called 'yeshimagle dagna' who mediated and facilitated those elderly person selected by the plaintiff and defendant group. The farmer of Abera argued as he attacked the son of Densa because he allowed their ox to eat the grazing grass in the farmland of Abera. The dispute resolution group discovered that the farmer of Abera as a criminal after they saw the case critically. Then they decided in favor of Densa and requested the offender to pay compensation for the harm and injury although the injured plaintiffs refrain to earn the compensation. And also they suggested him to request for forgiveness for his deed and return the farming equipment he took away. Finally, they settled the case and restored the peaceful neighborhood. Lastly, both the accuser and defendant paid some amount of money for the drink to those who handled the case as the trend of Gamo culture.

The delinquent and criminal acts that are discussed above are also common mainly in the agrarian societies. But, what makes different for this study area is that these delinquent incidents are both means of disagreement and integration. As the above case illustrates, conflicts may raise because of the delinquent acts. On the other hand these two societies work together and identify the wrong doer who can be from the host or resettler community. While working together they interact and integrate more. In the study area, i.e., Zefine-Menuka, host-resettlers cases of crime was observed and also among the resettlers themselves. Even though the resettlers are mainly victims for some of the criminal acts such as theft of cattle by the host society, individuals from both societies are responsible for the deviant and criminal behaviors.

When the offender was among themselves the Amhara people tried to identify the criminals through their cultural practice called *afersata*[14]. Elderly peoples argued that even though they used their cultural trend of *afersata* to identify the criminal, nothing had been happened at the end, i.e., they did not even punish any offender in their wrong deed. Most of the time, they did not identify the wrongdoers. But, even when they identified the offender nobody had been punished because of absence of witness when they took the case to the formal legal system that required witness to pass judgment. In order to address such criminal acts that lacked witness the Amhara people began to use their own traditional system called *awuchachign (afersata)* to detect the offender. And also they did have their own rules through which they punished the offenders in the society within their kebele since 2010G.C.

The group that the Amhara formed was called "Yeselam Committee" (peace committee) and they developed rules and regulations that clearly showed the punishment of the offenders based on the type of the crime he/she committed. The punishment ranges from 200 to 800 birr. If someone rejected and refused to abide by the decision passed by the group the society would isolate the offender from any societal activities. The rules and regulations were taken from the experience of the people at Wag Hemra in the northern Ethiopia. The people agreed up on the rules and regulations of the committee and the society informed their system to the formal governmental institutions. The establishments of this group drop off the amount of cases that delivered to the formal legal system.

[14] Afersata (awuchachign) is a term used to describe a process of finding or identifying a wrong doer or fault maker in a meeting assembly called by the society. These two terms are used interchangeably.

Like the desired characters such as peace and integration, conflicts are expected and unavoidable in any human communities, particularly with mixed cultures, that are living in or around the same area. LeBaron (2003) stated that 'Culture is inextricable from conflict, though it does not cause it. When differences surface in families, organizations, or communities, culture is always present, shaping perceptions, attitudes, behaviors, and outcomes'(P:3). Similarly, several conflicts have been observed in different interactive circumstances between the host and resettlers in Zefine-Menuka.

In Zefine-Menuka resettlement site, the frequently observed minor disagreements were documented between the employers and employees i.e. labour disputes. In most cases, the Amhara resettlers were employers. The conflicts were mainly rooted in disagreement in some situations such employee-employer disagreements and also some insults particularly referring to the ones ethnic background. For instance, some of the Amhara people insults the host society as 'Wolayta' viewing them as an inferior in reverse the host society viewed and insult the resettler as 'migrant' who came and invade their land. Such kind of hostile conversations may consequently results in dispute that could end up in conflicts. In a way that describes these situations LeBaron (2003:3) argue that 'Culture is always a factor in conflict, whether it plays a central role or influences it subtly and gently. For any conflict that touches us where it matters, where we make meaning and hold our identities, there is always a cultural component'.

In the interaction of the resettlers with the host society, disagreement, dispute and conflicting situation arises. Reasons for conflicts and/disputes between the resettlers and host society were land (dispute on the border line of farmlands), criminal acts such as theft, cattle raiding and etc. and the society usually tries to resolve issues through traditional conflict resolution mechanisms. In other words, elderly individuals are selected representing both sides and also the whole community and then the elders identify the problem and punish the wrongdoers accordingly.

Since the times of resettlement the Amhara people suffered from cattle theft. There was a man called Zana Gammo from Fongo Gelchecha in Wolayta zone who was a gangster known in cattle theft. He took more than 100 cattle's from the Amhara and the host society in Boreda Wereda. Those Amhara people, who were irritated by his actions, killed him. His family and the

Wolayta people from his kebele became angry in his death and came to discover the murderer from the community. But the Amhara people refused to give their person. Later, after listening to a witness by Gamo neighboring people who explained why he was killed, and also by the efforts of elderly indigenous conflict negotiators, the case was settled. Although the victim was a known criminal by both Amhara and Wolayta people, his death initiated a tense situation, as my informants remembered, between the hosts especially Wolayta people and the resettlers.

In the late 1960s the disagreement and dispute of the Amhara and Gamo individuals grew until it had become a group conflict between the Amhara and Gamo societies. First, an individual from the Amhara assault a Gamo man. Waiting for favorable situation being in group the Gamo people attacked the Amhara people who have been working in the farm through *debo*. The Gamo people escaped after they attacked and injured few people from the Amhara. The Amhara people raided their cattle from the place where they graze assuming that the hosts would come to take their cattle and planning the revenging attack on them if they do. Although the hosts came to collect their cattle, the case was settled via elders without further causalities.

Similarly, there was a case of conflict that irritated the resettlers and worsened their relation with the host people in 2012G.C. The reason was construction of a road that the plan of which was to pass through the village of Zefine-Menuka kebele to the capital Zefine crossing the river Bongi. However, the hosts did not like the plan and refused to accept and allow the construction to go ahead. Even they marched a public demonstration against the plan and requesting the road should be constructed through Kodo Awisato Menuka kebele crossing Segno market to the capital Zefine. The hosts argued that infrastructural facilities always benefit the resettlers at the expense of them. They claim that the electric power supply facility that planned first to address Zefine-Menuka kebele from Humbo Wereda of Wolayta zone to different kebeles in Boreda Wereda favors the resettlers. In addition to it the construction of road again is planned in favor of them. So, they argued that this irritated them to march the demonstration.

According to the Amhara resettlers, some of the demonstrators had used a slogan with a message '*Gondere kicha*' in their word and it means 'those Gondere get out of our land'; they also said to possess war equipment as they passed through the Amhara village. Although the Amhara people appealed the case to the Wereda administrators, the case was settled in favor of

the hosts, i.e., the road to pass through Kodo Awisato Menuka kebele. The Wereda administrators justified the change of the plan corresponding to the expense of the construction of bridge that found along the road. The cost of construction of the bridge on the River Bongi is maximum amount unlike to the bridge that found in the other direction. So, in order to minimize the cost of construction they decided to change the plan.

On other accounts of conflicts, they had also troubles following the theft of a gun from a kebele militia police. Here, they clashed during the process of identification of the wrongdoer. Another case worth of notice in my study was a conflict between these groups as a result of a blockage in the upper course of the river, blocking the flow water down to the village where Amhara people settled. When Amhara people discovered the situation, they negotiated with the blockers of the river and the water was allowed to flow in its natural course. I was informed that this action might have saved an obvious disagreement and a planned attack by the Amhara people.

In the early times of resettlement the two people entered into dispute because of their disagreement in the border line of the land. The host society took land from the Amhara people. Initially the amount of land given to the Amhara resettler was 106 gasha lands but the host Gamo people took 2 gasha lands and now it is only 104 gasha that was owned by the Amhara people. According to Mulat, through mediation the Amhara people resolve the dispute on land by giving the land that the hosts argue as themselves. In addition he argued that the host people specially the youths are much sensitive to the simple disagreement that they encounter with the Amhara resettlers. Every situation has a place in their heart and it influences their relationship badly. The following case can elaborate the situation of conflict and their reaction briefly.

Case: 3

> It was in 2004G.C that students of Zefine-Menuka full cycle primary school planned to play a football match on Sunday in the school compound. As their schedule and plan they arranged competitions among different grade students, i.e., 5^{th}& 6^{th} and 7^{th}& 8^{th} grade students. Unfortunately the teacher who assisted the play schedule and expected to be an arbiter was missed in the scheduled time. Although it was not their plan, students decided and began to play in a team of ethnic group they belong (Amhara student versus Gamo student). In the middle of

the game dispute arise between Amhara and Gamo students because of the foul that the Gamo student suffers from. The dispute of the two players developed to be a group conflict lastly ethnic conflict between Gamo and Amhara. At the time of conflict some students run away to escape while others participated in the conflict and clashes. But some people especially elderly people from the two sides tried to calm down the situations. The Gamo students became so aggressive when they observe one of their friends from the football team fall being seriously injured. Meanwhile the police from the kebele came and enter in the middle of the two people and settled the case for the time being. On Monday all students who had been in the team were arrested until the case was analyzed clearly. Not only the students in the two team but also their family and many people suffered in the situation happened at that moment. The injured student died while following medical treatment and the Wereda administrator settled the people and resolved the case by convincing the people to take it as an accident. The relationship of the two people especially the Amhara people relation with Kodo Awisato Menuka and Atisa kebele people was not continued like it had been before. After the incidence youth group of the Amhara refrained to play football and other athletic games with the above listed two kebeles youth in the Wereda. They would rather choose to play within their own kebele among themselves. Although the case was resolved, the host people specially the youth group raised the incident in many occasions of disagreement by labeling the Amhara as murderers who killed their teammate and student and viewed themselves as a victim society who suffered from the deeds of the Amhara people. The student who was suspected in charge of the injury of the student was sentenced for five years imprisonment.

This case practically shows the inverse potential of leisure activities in creating hostile relationship by creating team spirit, i.e., belongingness to one ethnic group in the above case. Pieth (2010) argued that even though it is a great way to learn values such as respect, tolerance and team spirit, sport is not a remedy for all societies ill rather it has discrimination and segregation. Both the Amhara and the host society affirmed that the incidence on the football game ground adversely affected their relationship. After the incident and the death of that student, the Gamo people prohibited the Amhara even to attend the funeral ceremony. Although

the people prohibited them to accept, one of the key informants who visited the victim family described the situation as:

> *'The host people were anxious and aggressive on the Amhara people and the incident created a big gap in the relationship of the two communities.'*

Onwards to that incident, although the two people resolved the case peacefully, i.e., through indigenous conflict resolution together with the Wereda government officials, the youth group of the host society had always wanted to revenge should an opportunity come. However, they were told to stop the revenge by the elders of their community.

In a different way, one of a youth man of the host society in the FGD argued that the Amhara people are the one who suffered from the case. According to him, although he agreed on the influence of the situation in the interaction of the two people, he confirmed that the Amhara people retreated back not to play any game and participate in any other kind of interactive situations. In addition, the situation made them idle and lonely.

In general, although there had been several situations that could have ended up in dispute, disagreement and conflict that subsequently create hostility and anger, the two societies usually preferred to solve the cases peacefully through traditional dispute resolution and live in harmony.

5.2. Attitude of the Host Community towards Resettlers

When two distinct societies come together there is high possibility to hold some view on the other group based on the norms, values and over all structure and life style. The existence of discrimination on the resettlers, and the perception of receiving community towards the resettlers in the interaction of the two societies can explain the attitude of the recipient community to the resettlers.

A. Case of Discrimination

In the interaction of the Amhara resettler with the Gamo and Wolayta host society some cases of discrimination was discovered. In the early times of resettlement the Amhara people argued that they were discriminated against by the host society in the market. The merchants were selling an item to the host people who could communicate with their language at the expense of the

Amhara consumer who failed to speak the local language even when the resettlers were the first to bid the item.

In addition to the trend of switch at the expense of them some resettlers argued that they increased the price on the item when the Amhara customer approached them. While I was at Segno market I observed such situations. I had been with one of the Amhara woman who wanted to buy butter. Someone from the host people advised us to bargain via someone form the host society who could negotiate the price on our behalf. When I asked him why he said that, he asserted that: they would inflate the price if buyers could not speak their language and when they realize the customer is from the Amhara people. And also the resettler Amhara people are considered as rich who can afford the amount of money requested. The advice of the merchant who was from the host society showed that price fixation might be common practice in market places in the area if the buyers could not understand the local language.

The Amhara people argued that the administrative stuff of the Wereda did not treat the Amhara people like that of the host people. In 2013G.C. as my informant argued the officials from the kebele enforced the Amhara to pay the credit price of fertilizers (Dap and Urea) even by arresting some farmers unlike to other kebeles who also used the fertilizers in credit. In the FGD a female from the resettlers emotionally argued that:

> *'While living at Zefine-Menuka we question our identity as an Ethiopians. This was because since the northern did not know us and the south did not recognize us, we are suffering from bi-culturalism without belonging/recognized as member to neither of the two groups.'*

Acculturation, as a culture learning process experienced by individuals who are exposed to a new culture or ethnic group, promotes the development of bicultural individuals. In nations or cultures where two or more cultures come in contact with each other and where their residents learn the attitudes, values, behavior, and other cultural aspects of the ethnic groups with whom they interact, there is high probability for the coming out of bicultural individuals (Balls, et al, 2009). According to them, being bicultural may serve as protective or causal factors for acculturative stress. In the case of Zefine-Menuka it causes stress and confusion on the resettlers new generation. LaFromboise et al. (1993), as cited in B.S.K. Kim et al, (2009), also pointed out that acculturative stress, which is problems that occur when resettlers adjusting to the host norms

while trying to retain the norms of their indigenous culture. These problems can lead to symptoms such as anxiety, depression, feelings of marginality and alienation, and identity confusion.

In fear of the adverse consequence of their speech if the host people hear it, the Amhara people argued as they would prefer to keep silent even when they discover wrong situations and maladministration. This was especially after the speech of one of the Wereda administrators in the public meeting (the meeting was held in 2013 G.C at Zefine-Menuka kebele about the payment of credit price of fertilizers). As the resettlers described it, he criticized them as they own the host peoples land by migrating from their origin, accumulated wealth outside Zefine-Menuka by constructing house in the urban areas and sending their children in different foreign countries. He asserted that these all success of the resettlers was at the expense of the host people. So majority of the resettler people argued that they are living in fear of the host people and prefer to keep quit in many situations. I repeatedly observed an expression of their fear if the hosts hear them while speaking.

The other point of discrimination that the Amhara resettlers raise was in education. Until EPRDF the language policy of Ethiopia favored Amharic as a national language. And also the medium of instruction policy of the country was characterized by the exclusive use of Amharic in primary schooling before 1994 (Eshetie, 2010 and Ramachandran, 2012). So, before the coming of the FDRE government the medium of instruction in the school was Amharic. This is also true for the host people in the study area. But later the medium of instruction was changed to Gamogna which was hard for the Amhara students who failed in their performance since the medium of instruction was changed. Then the resettlers appealed to the Wereda for the change of the medium of instruction to Amharic for the Amhara children and for those who would like to attend school in Amharic language.

Education and Training Policy (1994:23) of FDRE government under the sub topic of languages and education states that:

3.5. ***Languages and Education***

3.5.1. Cognizant of the pedagogical advantage of the child in learning in mother tongue and the rights of nationalities to promote the use of their languages, primary education will be given in nationality languages.

3.5.2. Making the necessary preparation, nations and nationalities can either learn in their own language or can choose from among those selected on the basis of national and countrywide distribution.

According to the Education and Training Policy described above, Amhara resettlers' children have the right to attend their primary education in their own mother tongue. But the officials at the Wereda were irresponsive and reluctant to respond their appeal for four consecutive years even if the policy allows it. Finally, after they took the issue to the media, the Wereda and zone administrators permitted the Amhara students could attend schools in Amharic. In most cases the resettlers argued that the administrative officials favored their own people at the expense of the Amhara resettlers.

B. Perception towards Resettlers

The views that the elderly and youth groups of the host people had towards the Amhara resettlers were different. As I discovered, the elderly individuals among the host people had a great value and recognition for the Amhara resettlers. This is because, the host people counted the benefits they acquired from Amhara resettlers. For instance, they pointed their relief from the attack of bandits and threat of wild animals. And they also acknowledged the resettlers for teaching good farming practices. They described the resettlers as those who fight crime and criminals, had strong work habits, and honest people. In contrary to the above positive influence and contribution they did not raise any issue of harm and disadvantages they experienced from living together with the resettlers.

In contrary to the elderly ones, even though they know and heard the resettlers' good deeds for their people, young generations did not have positive attitude towards them. They complain on the success and productivity of the resettler because they hold large plot of land at the expense of those landless host people. It is true that the Amhara people owns large amount of land contrasting to the indigenous people. For instance let us see human to land ratio of the Amhara with the neighbor kebele Kodo Awisato Menuka. In 2010G.C the total population of the kebele

is 2585 with 263 household unit owning 2004.375 hectares of land. The area's population density is 1.289. The total number of Amhara population is 2362 with 472 household owns 4132.75 hectare land of Zefine-Menuka kebele. The kebeles population density is 0.571. The people of Kodo Awisato Menuka are densely populated and also have small hectares of land comparing with the Amhara at Zefine-Menuka. This makes the youth groups to feel unfairly treated in their land so they did not have good attitude to the resettlers.

Supporting the above argument one of the oral history informants from the resettlers told me how his friend from the host society describes their people's attitude towards the resettler Amhara society:

> '*We learnt much things from you and also we love you but, our children hate you and accuse us saying: 'why did you accept those people when they come here?''*

The above sentence can clearly explain the visible difference in the attitude of elderly and young host society towards the Amhara resettlers. This is because of resource alienation specifically on land resource, i.e., the resettlers have large plot of land at the expense of the host, as the host society young generation asserted it in FGD.

5.3. Interactions and Integration of Resettlers

Resettlers at Zefine-Menuka are Amhara people from Gonder, Wollo, Gojjam and Shewa although those who came from Gojjam and Shewa are few in number. Although they are Amhara ethnically they are from different geographical areas in the northern parts of the country and they have distinct cultural traits. Even though the host society called all the resettler Amhara people as '*Gondere'*, they do have a difference in their cultural attributes or in their way of life, i.e., work habit, food preferences, and so on.

These cultural differences of the resettlers influence their interactions and relationships. Majority of them are from Gonder Begemidir and Wollo Tarna, and they divided themselves into two, i.e., those who came from Gonder Begemidir as "*Begemidir*" and those who came from Wollo Tarna as "*Tarne*". Even in their separate pattern of settlement they tried to show their difference, i.e., through the road that crosses the village. Based on their desire to be together those who settled above the road are 'Tarne' and the area that found below the road is inhabited by the 'Begemidir' people although some of them dispersed among the specified border line.

Those who came from Begemidir are considered as strong and hardworking farmers. They did not have any time for social occasions rather they devote their whole time to work. So, they are criticized for their weakness in social cohesion/social interactions. The people from Tarna and Dehana (Wag Hemra zone) are not as good and strong as the Begemidir people in their farming rather they are known in their aggressive behavior and creating coup/grouping among themselves and in the community. Although they have changed through experience and interaction/integration with each other, the people from Begemidir, Tarna and Dehana have been criticized in their lack of interaction, lack of good work habit, and lack of unity and aggressive behavior, respectively. They still raise such weaknesses that they have whenever they dispute and disagree occasionally.

In addition to the above, the Begemidir people criticize the Tarne people in their food preferences and cooking abilities although they integrated with marriage. They condemn the Tarne people as they are not as good cookers as the people from Begemidir. The Tarne prefer and also are best at baking bread rather than injera unlike the Begemidir people who prefers baking injera. So, they underestimate each other although it is not visible in the public sphere. Even though they argue on their socio-cultural differences, they live in unity and cooperation since they are in a distinct host society far from their homeland.

In the early times of resettlement resettlers had been in a good relationship, i.e., whenever someone came, they welcomed him/her irrespective of the origin as long as he/she is Amhara. All of my early informants confirmed that the people who came in 1968 at first group journey served as a hospitable people by providing food and shelter for those who came in 1971G.C and onwards to that time. However, with course of time and as more people migrated, the affinities among them started to wane. Some deviance and criminal acts began to happen and created disagreements and conflicts among the people. Moreover, issues on the farmland and farmland boundary disputes had worsen the situation.

One of my Oral history informants described the relationship of the resettlers as follows.

> *"In the early times of the resettlement we loved and helped each other in all circumstances we faced. But, now days there are lots of clashes and disagreements. Keeping the previous love aside, people quarrel each other because of different reasons. Personally I suffered from disagreement with my*

neighbor and my husband's brother because of the clash on the boundary of farmland. Even if we settled the situation through 'shimgilina' our relationship and the previous strength and unity failed."

Some people took their case of clashes and disagreements to the formal court system even up to federal level. Even though most of them settle their case through traditional system of shimgilina, it was hard for them to act like they were before.

Surprisingly, till now there are people who come to Zefine-Menuka from north. The reasons are searching for job, marriage, traditional punishment, and visiting relatives. Whatever their reason was once they came to Zefine-Menuka, they prefer to live rather than returning to their home. After they stay for some years they began to request for farmland and to build a house. According to the kebele administrator, before 5 years those late comers who request for land was given but, not now because of lack of land. There is a rumor among the resettlers about the allocation of land for the late comers in the recent years informally although the kebele officials argue as they did not do it.

Most of late comers have relatives at the receiving area and those relatives are accountable for the deed of their late comer relatives. For those who did not have relatives at the destination, those who brought them are responsible. Those late comers mostly employed as a farmer to the household and lives with the family who hired them. Taking someone's employee or herdsman is another area of hostility among the resettlers. If they thought someone's employee or cowman is good, they took him increasing his payment.

Among the late comers those who are strong in farming, some of them rent and farm the land of elderly and the weak through sharecropping. There is the suspicion that the new comers might have land in the north and they are looking for extra wealth. Moreover, the society also suspects that the new comers might even be criminals who are hiding from legal punishments.

Through informal interview I discovered that, there are some late comers who earn permanent income from their farmland which was rented for farmers in the origin and here they are searching for farmland. Even though they did not quarrel with those late comers, the people requests for the investigation to identify those who have land and those landless poor job searching individuals. In addition, the people request the late comers to bring letter which

describes their real situation at their homeland. There are also people who have been at Zefine-Menuka. Later they had sold their land, left the area but after a couple of years they return and request for farmland. In such situations people argue that these people do not have the right to request for land since they sold what they had before.

Some early resettlers get angry when they discover that the late comer requests for land and some get as they request. And also there were disagreement among the late comers and the early resettler people because of the land given to the late comers by snatching from the early resettler people. The children of early resettlers complain about this trend of land distribution and sharing. This is due to the fact that they did not get land even they live for long period of time than those late comers. They argue and request as they should have to earn land than those late comers who came in the contemporary 10 years to the area. Here is a case that describes the experience of a late comer who had been searching for extra land and income at Zefine-Menuka.

Case: 4

> Desalegn Abere is a farmer from Kemkem at South Gondar zone. He came to Zefine-Menuka in the late 1970s and had been adopted as a farmer in the household. Later he got 5 hectares of farming land in the kebele. In 1991G.C he returned back to his homeland Kemkem where he was a pastoralist. By the government influence and teaching the pastoralist in the area began to farm the land and settled their life in one area. According to him most of the farmland except in few areas is suitable for irrigational farming using the river that found in the area. He owned a farming land there and a rental house in the urban part of the area. After 20 years he returned to Zefine-Menuka in 2011G.C and began to farm a land of a widow through abel. He has been searching for farmland to buy and also requested the kebele to give him a farmland. He also planned to marry and live at Zefine-Menuka if he obtains a land for farming and also to build a house. He asserted that he is not poor like some people who came in search of job and farming land. Rather he had a farmland and a rental house that makes money for him permanently although he is not there. So, Desalegn is a man who earns permanent income at Gonder and also farms at Zefine-Menuka through abel which makes him double profitable.

One of my key informants described the relationship of the people with the late comers as: *'neither convenient nor harmful'*. Since the people have relatives among the society no one dares to harm them even though they did wrong and became reason for the hostility feeling of the society. On the other hand they might have created uncertainty in the community in requesting farmland by giving money for those who are responsible in land administration.

Some years before the kebele gave land to the late comers to build house, but the people complained about the land taken from them in order to give to the late comers. The Wereda administrator asked the late comers to facilitate and resettle them to other places but they refused. Then the administrator commanded the people not to allow them to live with them giving land for the late comers. This is because some resettlers sell some amount of farmland to the latecomers through contract mainly sharecropping. Considering this the Wereda administrator warned the people that if they do so, i.e., if they continue giving/selling their land, the administration will force the people to give farmland to the late comers by taking from their farmland. Then the people refused to sell/give their land by contract to the late comers and they settled the case.

Nowadays the kebele is taking land from the people forcefully in order to give it for development tasks and for the late comers who did not have land. But the people is questioning the administrator to give land first for their children who did not have it and then to those who came lately and requested for land. There is a rumor on the existence of so many requests for land in Zefine-Menuka kebele from the late comers, and the host society in the area. Generally, even though it was not solved yet, the relationship of the people because of the late comers is tense.

As explained above, peoples migrates form north to Zefine-Menuka till now even if there is shortage of farmland in the area. Similar situation were documented in the work of Simpson (1975:99) among the Menz settlers in Gato settlement, Gamo Gofa, in the 1970s. As quoted in Tolera (2002), she argues the reason for the migrating of people to the area as: 'In spite of the fact that increasing the number of Menz settlers will serve to further reduce the available water per capita, the Gato settlers are glad to receive the trickle of new settlers because they believe their position in the area will be strengthened and secured by increasing their numbers.'

Unlike to the Simpson (1975) argument, the major reason for the coming of people to Zefine-Menuka resettlement site is economy, i.e., searching for job and farmland. First, the resettler people allow and even bring people from their homeland to hire them as a farmer or as herdsmen. This is because: the host people refused to be employed at the resettlers place, the resettlers prefers to bring people from their origin in order to flee from the disagreement that raise between the resettler employer and host employee, and also to help their poor people. The host peoples specially those economically poor refrain to be hired at the place of Amhara resettler people because some youth's from the host told them to do so.

The other point in the inward migration of people to Zefine-Menuka is about farmland. Those migrants at least know that they have the probability to own farmland via sharecropping. Elderly men and women, who did not have child and also those who are not capable to farm, give their farmland to contract farmers/sharecroppers. Although it is against the law of government, some farmers sell part of their farmland because of different reasons (for instance when they went to other places such as Wolkite, Abela, etc for living). Having this in mind late comers/migrants came to Zefine-Menuka where at least they do have a relative to stay until they earn something for livelihood.

Chapter Six

Diffusion of Social and Cultural Elements

Interaction is a prerequisite for integration. In other word, if there is interaction and then integration between two distinct societies, exchange of both social elements and cultural traits is expectable. However, integration and the subsequent exchange of social and cultural traits usually occur after interaction of societies. When two cultures come into contact, all cultural elements may not be borrowed; since cultural diffusion is a selective process, only those traits or cultural elements that are proved to be either useful or compatible are borrowed. According to Spencer (2012:13) 'culture, i.e., an innovation is most likely to be diffused into a recipient culture if: it is seen to be superior to what already exists; it is consistent with existing cultural patterns; it is easily understood; it is able to be tested on an experimental basis; and its benefits are clearly visible to a relatively large number of people'.

Culture borrowing is a two way processes, i.e., cultural traits are diffused in both directions. It is not common to see the borrowed traits that transferred into the recipient culture in exactly their original forms rather new ideas, objects, or techniques are integrated more effectively into the total patterns of the recipient culture. And also some cultural traits are more easily diffused than others. When explaining such situation Spencer stated that: 'by and large, technological innovations are more likely to be borrowed than are social patterns or belief systems, because the usefulness of a particular technological trait can be recognized quickly' (ibid, 2012: 14). What I discovered in the interaction of host society and the resettler people at Zefine-Menuka can be an illustration for this possible diffusion of social and cultural elements of the two distinct societies.

6.1. Diffusion of Cultural Traits

Culture runs through our lives and relationships shaping our perceptions, attributions, judgments, and ideas of self and other (LeBaron, 2003). 'Culture refers to all the features of a society's ways of life: e.g. production, modes of dress, routine living habits, food preferences, the architecture of houses and public building, the layout of fields and farms; and systems of education, government, law, and etc.' (Doda, 2005:80-81). These cultural features can be categorized under two components, i.e., material (tangible) and non-material (non-tangible). Either by direct

learning or via observation both material and non-material cultural features are amenable to drawn-out from a place where owned by a society to another society through interaction.

When two distinct societies interact, the elements of social and cultural practices that exist in one society may be adopted or diffused to the other through contacts and also based on the desires of the receiving society. Similarly, in the interaction of the resettler Amhara people and the host Gamo and Wolayta society in the resettlement area, the following social and cultural elements have been diffused from one to another as witnessed by the informants of the study.

6.1.1. Non-material cultural traits

Non-material cultural traits are non-tangible or unseen cultural elements such as language, values (social values, political values, and economic values), beliefs (religious beliefs), ideas, norms and, mores, which define the social system of the community. The following are non-tangible cultural elements that transferred from the resettler to the receiving community and vice versa as per the people from the two societies revealed.

Language - is a key element of culture. Culture encompasses language, and through language, culture is communicated and transmitted. Without language it would be impossible to develop, elaborate and transmit culture to the future generation. Through their interaction, the languages that they used diffused from one to another. Even if they are fluent in one but not in both languages of their own and the other society, the resettler and host societies can communicate on market and other places. A man from the host society in the FGD refrained to associate the hosts' opportunity and ability to adopt Amharic only with the coming of Amhara people. He stated that:

> *'It is not only through our interaction with the resettler Amhara that we developed our proficiency in Amharic language.'*

He raised the case of other kebeles in the Wereda which do not have direct contact with the resettler but could speak Amharic. Thus, he stated that being in close contact may not be the sole reason that the host society could communicate in Amharic although he admitted the contribution.

Confirming to the above argument, the key informant from the host people revealed his experience how he acquired Amharic language. He stated that when he was at the capital town of

the Wereda where there are people who can speak Amharic, he adopted the language via the interaction he had with them. So, even if the interaction of the host people with the resettler might have played a role in the language proficiency, there had been another national influence especially among the southern people. Tolera (1999) stated that through different social institutions such as education, religion (orthodox Christian) and through local government, Amharic language was imposed on the southern peoples by the conquering forces of Menilik by the turn of the last century. Thus, before the arrival of the resettler people the host had exposure to Amharic language.

Religious Belief - An institution is an established and enduring pattern of social relationships (Knox and Schacht, 2000). Religion is one of the unseen cultural systems that exist almost in all societies. The religious belief of the resettler Amhara people was different from the receiving host Gamo society when they came to the resettlement area. Although one of the push factors for their resettlement was the religious persecution they suffered from, they have enjoyed freedom to worship and celebrate their religious rituals at this resettlement site. Moreover, they displayed their religion to the host society through preaching in different occasions. And also the resettlers attracted the host people by their virtuous attributes such as honesty which as described by the host people influenced them to accept and adopt the religion of new settlers.

Nowadays there are several Seventh Day Adventist Christians among the host Gamo society; a concrete evidence for the diffusion of cultural element, i.e., religious belief. The transmission of the religious faith is not only evidence but it also fosters their integration. Since they do have similar religion, they often share and celebrate different circumstances such as wedding ceremony, funeral ceremony, congregations and etc. according to their faith. For instance, it is a common practice to support any member of their religious group during his or her difficult times such as mourning.

Economic Practices - Among the Gamo society there is a traditional institution called iqqub which plays a great role for the development of the society. In the institution, there is a system of saving money through the ‘payment of a fixed sum weekly, bi-weekly, or monthly, depending on the agreement of the members. The recipient and also the amount he/she receives is decided according to a lottery system’ (Tolera, 1999:83). The pattern continues until it covers all members. Aredo (1993), states that the capital contribution varies according to the purpose of the

iqqub and economic status of its members. He also argues that iqqub practiced in the rural areas to a lesser degree and as it may be paid either in kind or in labor.

In addition to the trader's iqqub for saving and development of their business, there is also purpose specific saving system among the Gamo society in order to cover their expenses for holidays, especially for 'Meskel', the most popular festival. Asdesach Kibret, one of oral history informants, affirmed the adoption of this saving trend among the Amhara people from the host society. He stated that the Amhara people developed the habit of saving money through iqqub for different events but mostly for their expense on Christmas holiday. They began the iqqub before a year of the holyday.

In the institutions of economy, satisfying the need of customers has a great place. Trade is an element in the institution of economy to address the need of the customers. Even though the resettlers take part in the trading businesses, the host society is dominant. Both females and males participate in the trade but mainly females from the Gamo and Wolayta society permanently participate in the home to home trade[15]. The host people are well experienced on how to make money than the resettlers but improvements are being seen among the resettlers. In the FGD the resettler men youth confirmed their people's improvement on the business of trading by learning from the host people.

Marriage System - Family is also a traditional institution which is developed through marriage. In hosts' tradition, there is a wedding ceremony locally termed as '*Bulacha*'[16]. In the second kind of wedding ceremony, which is termed as '*ayife gato'* the parents of the bride invite them to

[15] Home to home trade is a kind of trading that the host society especially females supply some commodities such as fruits, vegetables, etc. at the place of their customer, i.e., at the house of the resettler of Amhara people. The medium of transaction may be through bartering or currency.

[16] There are two major types of wedding ceremony (Bulacha). The first one is through the involvement of elderly man. The groom or his parents on his behalf send an elderly man to arrange the marriage and decide for the wedding day. The second one is a type of marriage mostly preferred when parents refuse the marriage. Even in the early times without the will of the bride through abduction if she refuses to accept his request of marriage. But nowadays in their will they began to live together as a wife and husband without a wedding ceremony. After they live together at his parents place for three months, send a message with selected elderly man to her parents about her situation. Adjusting a time most likely near to '*Ufaysa*' (Christmas holiday) or '*Meskel*' holiday her parents invite them by a ceremony called '*ayife gato*'. Before this ceremony the groom is expected not meet and face with his wife's relatives referring this expectation they call the invitation to accept the marriage as '*ayife gato*' literally means 'let us look each other face to face'.

acknowledge their marriage after they have begun living together as a wife and husband, a similar event termed '*mels*' in Amhara community. But '*mels'* is slightly different from the host, i.e., the ceremony have to be held within few days after their marriage. But in the Gamo tradition, the event can be arranged after several years.

Adopting the culture of the host society, some Amhara children are being married without wedding ceremony and later invited by their family through '*Mels'*. This kind of marriage is a frequent feature for the marriage that lost consent of either one or both family of the spouse. This happens especially when the resettler Amhara woman marry a man from the host society. But in the absence of refusal for the marriage, the Amhara members have also started getting married without a wedding ceremony. A wedding ceremony is commonly arranged among the resettlers parallel to this recent trend. Some parents of resettlers declared the trend as significant because it reduces the cost of wedding ceremony.

Norm of Requesting Compensation - Conflict on the grazing land is common among agrarian societies. In the host Gamo society, there is a culture of requesting compensation for the damaged grazing grass/cereals, if the cattle of someone enters to the grazing land/farm and eat the grass/cereals. In their tradition they put a symbol, which is a tied up grass on a stick, at the protected grazing land as a sign to make out the area. If someone allows the cattle to this grazing land, the owner request for compensation calculating the damaged grass. The compensation ranges from 50-100 birr as per the repetitiveness of the action. If it is a trans-pass to the farm and destruction of crops they may excuse the owner of the cattle via warning unlike the case of protected grazing land in which case there is no excuse since there is sign. But if the case happens repeatedly they request compensation for the destroyed cereal in the farmland.

Alike the host Gamo society, the resettler Amhara people in recent years began to request for compensation for the destruction and loss in their farm/grazing land. But in the previous time, they left the case through warning so that the owner should not to let their cattle to go in to the grazing land/farm again. These customs that are adopted from the host society and are new to the receipt culture; the new cultural customs have become an important elements in the pattern of the social relationship of the resettler community.

Indigenous conflict resolution system - formerly in the resettler' custom at the end of the indigenous dispute resolution/shimgilina, both parties are responsible to offer coffee for the elderly man's (*Shimagile*) turn by turn. But nowadays by adopting from the host society, they began to collect some amount of money, which they will spend on the banquet, to the elderly persons who resolved the conflicts instead of the coffee. Exclusively, the money spent on the drink for the elderly persons. In the FGD the Amhara youth confirmed it as a recent custom adopted among the Amhara resettler. In the process of acculturation, when two cultures come into contact, admixture of the two cultures takes place. Hybrid culture develops in the course of the mixture. This is what happened here, i.e., the mix of the Amhara shimgilina with elements of paying money for the elders from the Gamo dispute resolution. This is a particular evidence for the existence of diffusion of non-material cultural traits.

Farming practice- The interaction between the two societies has also affected the style of farming. For instance, cattle's breeding is the main agricultural activity in the host society although they farm for crop production before the arrival of the Amhara resettler. They described their long term trend of farming as they have been farming for few hours only in the morning time. But now they farm for long period of time within a day like the resettler.

One of the features of diffusion is that: 'Though diffusion of single culture traits does take place, those that are functionally related tend to get diffused together' (Mathur, 2013:3). Similarly, in addition to the system of farming, the host people also adopt the material that the Amhara resettlers used for farming. Before they adopt the culture of farming with ox, which is mainly used for animal husbandry for market, they used a digging material called '*Tike'* and '*Ayile'* for farming. Those individuals who have been working in the house of the resettler learnt the culture of farming and how to prepare farming equipment's such as *Mofer*, *Kenber*, *Maresha* (plough) and etc. then they apply the culture in their society and have become fruitful in their farming(see appendix 1 for picture of farming equipment).

Besides the practice and equipment of farming, the two societies shared on the cereal crops they cultivate. The host Gamo society adopted the cereals such as sorghum, chickpea, millet, and oil seeds (sesame, and flax) which they previously did not grow. Similarly, the resettler adopted the planting of vegetables and cash crops such as inset, coffee, mango, papaya, banana, etc. Some resettlers confess that they did not know such cash crop and vegetable plantations before.

Social Values and Practices - Even though both groups argued that they adopt (borrow) element of hospitality from the other one, the elements of the adopted culture is different. The resettler and host societies assured a change in their style of serving people in the ceremonies like wedding, funeral, graduation, birthday and etc. For instance, the Amhara people conform to the tradition of giving respect and serving the people who came to them at the times of mourning from the Gamo host people. Likewise, in the FGD youth of the host society affirmed that they borrowed the custom of serving meal while returning home from the funeral ceremony. Contrary to the youth, the key informant from the host argued that there is no borrowed element in their funeral ceremony except that comes with the Seventh Day Adventist Church. He stated that the choir singing and preaching before burial and also the custom of singing while going to the burial site is the new habit that comes together with the Adventist faith. Some of oral history informants from the resettler argue that, the Amhara people adopted the habit of giving money while visiting those who give birth to a child, celebrates ceremony of graduations, birthdays and wedding at the expense of their previous trend.

The host society confessed their early weary trend of selling all cereals they produced just after harvesting. But now they are accumulating their cereals until the market values soars. Formerly, within 6 or 7 months after the harvest, they would have finished their food (cereal product) and even started to buy. But now they have learnt from the Amhara people how to save and use their cereals appropriately in a way that satisfies the need of the household until the next harvesting season.

Gift giving- recently, among the Amhara people the trend of giving gifts, i.e., clothes to parents of the bride have been started. The groom is responsible to buy and give clothe to the brides parent in the culture of the Wolayta people. The youth female resettler in FGD asserted that gift giving is a recent trend in wedding ceremonies that the Amhara adopt from the host society.

These all aforementioned elements of cultural traits and social practices that are diffused from the host society are not in their original form rather they are adjusted in a way that fits with the previous social patterns of the receiving Amhara community. Moreover, as per the argument of resettlers except the religion that a number of the host society adopted many years before, all patterns are shared and have become visible in the structure of the society in recent years. According to Gordon (1964), as cited in Balls, et al, (2009), the acculturation process were more

rapid among external traits (such as clothing, language, outward expression of emotions) while the more intrinsic personal characteristics (such as values, norms, or religious beliefs) would take longer to change if at all. Unlike to the argument of Gordon (1964) and Spencer (2012) on the less probability of belief systems in process of diffusion, the religious belief system and the institution remained diffused previously than other social and cultural patterns in the interaction of these Amhara resettlers and host Gamo society.

6.1.2. Material cultural traits

Material culture is a cultural pattern that can be seen such as language and communication, daily life, customs and materials such as food, clothing, buildings, tools, traditions and heritages, artistic expressions, groups and institutions.

Clothing style - acculturation theory states that when two cultures come into contact, a hybrid culture can develop. Moreover, the hybrid culture could be drawn not only from both cultures but also from those that do not belong either of them (Mathur, 2013). Similarly, both the host society and resettler argued that their wearing styles have been changed since the times of settlement but it represents the culture of neither the hosts nor the resettler. This showed that, after the two cultures mixed, formation of a new clothing style which is being followed by the two societies. (See appendix 1 for the picture of the earlier wearing style).

Food - the cultural food of the resettler was adopted by the Gamo societies in the area. Even though they do not use it as their everyday meal, the host societies used injera in different occasions such as wedding, funeral ceremony, birthday party, and graduation parties. Similarly, the resettler adopted the cultural food of the host societies such as Bulla, Ittima, Fosese, Kurkufa, Godere, coffee (a type of coffee which is made from the leaves of coffee tree), sweet potato, Kurt[17] and etc. Although the Amhara society adopted the food of host society, the latter accused the former for their refusal to eat the food that they serve to them unlike their food injera. I noticed this critic of the host Gamo society when I was at the place of my host informant. They served to me their cultural food, i.e., coffee (which is prepared from the leaves of the coffee tree and other cultural spice) and bread which is prepared using maize flour and bulla. When I start

[17]Kurt, i.e., eating of raw meat which is a type of cultural food among Gamo and Wolayta people (it is also common in different parts of the country). Although eating uncooked raw meat is a taboo among the Amhara society, they adopted it from the host society.

eating, they appreciated me and complained that if they were the 'Gondere'[18] they would have not eaten.

Cultural utensils - the Gamo people adopt yeast, *Agelgil* and baking oven (*Mitad*) from the Amhara (see appendix 1). *Agelgil* is a traditional food container to carry ready food from place to place, for instance to farming place. Previously, as one oral history informant woman from the host, they had been using the leaf of the plant Inset to take away the lunch to the farm for farmers at their working place. I observed *Agelgil* at the house of the Gamo host society and they asserted that they were using it. In the oral history interview, a woman from the Gamo society asserted as they did not used yeast to prepare their food before the arrival of the Amhara resettlers. But nowadays, since they adopt their injera and *'Difo dabo'* which requires yeast for its preparation, they began to use the yeast. The same informant affirmed that they also borrowed the baking oven/'*mitad*' and also called '*Geber mitad*' from the '*Gondere*' while they prepare bread, i.e., *'Difo dabo'*.

6.2. Favorable Situations and Barriers for Diffusion

The first and the most favorable situation for the diffusion, i.e., for the host society's to take the culture of the resettler is their interaction through work. Most children of the neighboring society have been hired as farmers and herdsmen in the home of the Amhara people. The elder host society members asserted that their children learnt the trend of farming while they live with the Amhara resettler. They also adopted how to prepare farming equipment such as *Mofer*, *Kember*, etc. Then they apply it when they return to home after they finish their work contract. In addition, they also stated that attending different ceremonies and occasions such as wedding and funeral ceremony also create a high probability of adopting the cultural practices and food items. Some Amhara students who attend class at Wolayta Sodo argued that they adopt cultural food like *Fosese* and *Kurkufa* while they live with the students of Wolayta in their rental houses rather than with their interaction to Gamo people.

In contrary to the favorable conditions, there have been situations that create barriers of diffusion of social and cultural traits from one to another. According to Spencer (2012: 14) 'to know with some degree of predictability which things, ideas, and behaviors are likely to be accepted by a

[18] Gondere is the name that the host society used to refer to the resettler of Amhara people.

particular culture, those critical variables affecting diffusion such as relative advantage, compatibility, and observability should be understood.' So, if cultural traits or societal elements are not considered as beneficial, not compatible with the existing social pattern and not observable they are less likely to diffuse.

What I have observed as a major barrier for diffusion in the interaction of resettler and host is the lack of desire or interest among Amhara resettler to take the culture of the other society rather preferring to keep their trend of cultural practices. Linton (1936), as cited in Mathur (2013), argues that diffusion to take place the presented new culture element has to be accepted by the receiving society. The reluctant of the resettlers to accept the cultural element of the host stands against diffusion of culture. Since they are isolated in their pattern of settlement the less probability and frequency of contact to observe one's cultural and social pattern also had its own influence. Similarly, Mathur (2013:2) while discussing the features of diffusion says that: 'diffusion of any culture trait depends upon contact between societies. It is least likely that a society, which exists in complete isolation, incorporates traits that belong to other societies'.

6.3. Observable Changes on the Socio-cultural practices

Culture changes because of both internal and external forces and the mechanisms of changes can be discovery, invention, and cultural diffusion. So, when a culture comes into contact with other cultures, it can change. However, culture changes not only because of direct or indirect contact between cultures, but also through innovation and adaptation to new circumstances (Doda, 2005).

Because of the interaction and integration of the two societies in Zefine-Menuka, the diffusion of social and cultural elements has been observed. The diffusion of these traits resulted in the change of the social and cultural practices that the society had been practicing before. All cultures are constantly experiencing changes, i.e., materials, ideas, and behavioral patterns which are the three basic components of culture undergo constant modifications. Some components of cultures may die out, new ones are accepted, and existing ones can be changed in some observable way (Spencer, 2012). If there is integration, diffusion of cultures is inevitable. In the integration and diffusion of socio-cultural elements of society, the previous cultural and social practice undertakes changes. What happened in the social and cultural practices of Amhara

resettler and the neighboring Gamo host society in Zefine-Menuka can be an illustration for this effects of integration and diffusion of culture.

According to Balls, et al (2009) individuals exposed to a new culture undergo a process of change in their worldviews, their attitudes, their values, and their behaviors and that these changes show varying patterns across individuals as a function of their migration and generational history. Comparing with their past social and cultural practices, the Amhara resettler witnessed an observable changes in their social and cultural practices. The role that individuals have in the society describes the structure of the social system since the role of individuals is one component of the social structure. According to my informants, the roles of female in the society were majorly changed through time. Formerly, women work with their husband in the farm even by holding their children on their back or keeping them under a tree. Similarly, elderly peoples asserted that in the early times when they came to Zefine-Menuka, females were participating in the farm and other ceremonies of farming especially in harvesting season such as *Liklako*/*Ribrabo* which is a frequent task in the harvesting season.

However nowadays almost all females are not active and their role is mainly in the house activities such as cooking and managing the home. I observed a ceremony called *Ribrabo*/*Liklako*[19]. I did not observe a female; only males were working in a self-help group called *debo*. There have been different suggestions for this change of female's role in the society. Some of my informant argued that it is because of the diseases in the area such as malaria. The FDRE government special attention and treatment to the females also influenced it in the view of some informants.

In the early social practice of the Amhara people parents are responsible to arrange marriage for their children but now the youth is free to select his or her mate. So, now they are free to marry whom they want. Youth groups of the society in the FGD argued that this habitual change in mate selection as a benefit they acquired from the host society. They justified that this is particularly true because in their homeland north, marriages are being arranged by their parents to their sons and daughters yet.

[19] *Liklako* also called *Ribrabo* is a process of preparing the threshing floor with a dung of cow, which is locally termed as awudima, to thresh Teff and maize. Mostly the first process, i.e., watering of the ground and covering it with straw or chaff is called Ribrabo. Then the process ends by covering the ground with the mixture of water and dung which is called Liklako.

The other area of change is language. Even though it is the same Amharic language, the accent and pronunciation and also some words are unique to the origin. So, the way of speaking and the vocabulary they used are different. The new generation that born in the resettlement site cannot understand and recognize such unique words. One of my informants, who came recently from North Wollo, confirmed that there is a difference in the language that is spoken in the north and here in the resettlement area, Zefine-Menuka. She also stated that she faced some challenges to understand the accent used in Zefine-Menuka.

Elderly people asserted that their clothing style had been significantly changed compared to their earlier style. In FGD the females reflected on the difference of the wearing style from what they observed from the late comers and their relatives who visited them occasionally. The dressing style of males who come from their origin is mostly shorts while females wear a green dress. Most of them travel bare foot but some wear a shoe called '*Sekote shoe'*. In FGD with men, one of the members who visited his parents place confirmed the difference in the dressing style. In Bugina Wereda he observed men who dressed shorts and smeared butter on their hair when they went to the market, which is completely different from the practice in Zefine-Menuka.

There have also been changes in several cultural equipment that the two societies use such as pots, dishes made of clay. These all were almost abandoned and replaced by other modern equipment that belongs neither to the host nor to the resettler culture. Some informants had also reported that they observed some cultural changes between the Amhara resettler in Zefine-Menuka and their homeland in north.

Mulat Altaseb, key informant from the resettler, described the dressing style, the housing style, the habit of accumulation of wealth, and the trend in different ceremonies as a point of disparity from the Amhara people in the north in their homeland. Even though he was not sure what caused the modifications in cultures, i.e., whether their interaction with the host society or the success and the wealth they earned. He confirmed the existence of both social and cultural changes. One of the oral history informants, who has visited his place of origin recently confirmed the existence of differences in the social practices (e.g. the role of female in harvesting season especially in the process of preparing threshing floor, i.e., Liklako and Ribrabo, is still same in the north) and cultural traits. In addition, he claimed the existence of a

big gap in the life style and standard of life by assuring that life is better in Zefine-Menuka because of economic improvement.

Rudiger and Spencer (2003:5) argues that successful integration requires meaningful interaction between migrants and the receiving society, which means integration must be conceived as a two-way process. Such a process will change not only the migrant's perspective and way of life, but also effect structural change in the receiving society. Similarly, the host Gamo society also affirmed on the existence of observable change on the culture and social elements of their social system. Since culture comprises the whole way of life of a society, every shared elements of the society is cultural component. The host Gamo people confirmed the change in their farming system comparing with their previous one. The time they spent on farm and also the equipment they used for farming was changed.

In addition to the above, they also asserted on the change of some cultural practices such as divorce. Nowadays females can share half of the property of her marriage on divorce. The society claims that this is both as a result of government policy and integration with the resettler society. Like to the resettler the host people also confirmed the change of their wearing style. Formerly females wear cultural clothes that are different from the today's dress. And also the former cultural clothes of males were abandoned by the today's trousers (see appendix: 1 for the former wearing styles of the host people). Because of the change on the elements of social system the people affirms on the observable change on their social and cultural practices.

For the achieved change on the culture and social practices of both the resettler and host society there was influences of internal and external factors. Internally, because of the change in attitude towards one's culture and externally the influence of outsiders. The people's interaction and integration with other people and the influence of urban life was visible. In addition the change in policy of the government also influenced the change of the way of living of the study society.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion and Recommendation

7.1. Conclusion

This study was conducted on the socio-cultural integration and diffusion of the cultural traits between Amhara resettler who come from South Gonder, Wollo, Gojjam, and Shewa to Zefine-Menuka resettlement site in Boreda Wereda, Gamo Gofa zone, SNNPR and the host communities. The resettlement was one of the early schemes that carried out during the imperial regime in the late 1960s. The resettled people were transported in two trips in 1968 and 1971. The scheme won the consent of the resettler but not that of the host society. It was sponsored by Seventh Day Adventist Church although the government supported the scheme by covering the transportation cost of the resettler from Addis Ababa to Abela in the 1st trip.

Even though it was not the direct factor for the scheme, the frequent drought and religious persecution in their homeland had a crucial influence in the resettlement of the people. But the major push factor was population pressure which was resulted from the concentration of people at Debretabor where large number of people came from different parts of northern area because of drought, religious persecution, and searching for education and better way of life. In line with the population pressure, shortage of farming land, degradation of land, and the lack of educational facilities influenced the scheme majorly. These push factors were almost mutually inclusive. Whatever the case, these people allowed to resettle with the assumption of resettling large number of people who were followers of new religion, i.e., Seventh Day Adventist Protestant Christian and those who were landless.

Unlike to many early resettlement schemes, feasibility study was conducted by the representative individuals although it was not comprehensive and it was not carried out by qualified researchers. The study was mainly focused on identifying the amount of available land and its suitability for farming. Like most of the early resettlement schemes in the country, the launch did not consider the informed consent of receiving society and also without any infrastructural facility before relocation. In addition to lack of infrastructural facility and social services in the receiving area, the resettlers suffered from threats of wild animals, and recurrent drought in the first few years of the resettlement.

As per the desires of resettlers, the religious freedom, owning of large plot of farm land, educational facilities and the dreamed better life situations were fulfilled. On this base one can say the resettlement scheme was successful. Since the times of resettlement the Amhara resettlers interacted with the host societies through markets, schools, churches, and other circumstances which paved the way for integration and diffusion of cultures. Acculturation is a process through which mingling of cultures takes place. So, for the mingling of cultures, acculturation theory asserts that, first hand continuous and demonstrable contact had to have between cultures. Integration also needs interaction. These circumstances of interaction through strong friendship in the school compounds, in the markets, in the churches and employer-worker relationships contributed significantly for the integration and diffusion of culture of the two societies.

Socio-cultural integration is measured by proficiency and usage of host language, identification, interethnic social contacts and religiosity (Ersanilli and Koopmans, 2010). The existence of intermarriage, although it was mainly unidirectional, the development of language skills, and good attitudes of resettlers towards the host society and vice versa clearly shows the existence of integration between these two distinct societies. But, there are some exception, i.e., there are situations that shows hostile feeling of the host towards resettlers and resettlers attitude to keep themselves and their culture away from the host. In line with the integration some cultural traits and social elements were also diffused from one to another. According to Herskovits (1955:472), as cited in Mathur (2013), ‘diffusion is the study of achieved cultural transmission’. Similarly, because of their long term interaction and integration among the resettler and host society in Zefine-Menuka, cultural elements diffused from one to another. The diffusion of culture and their integration with the pre-existing culture in turn resulted on observable changes in the culture and social practices of the two societies.

Through the course of time that the resettlers spent in the resettlement area, their social and cultural practices had undergone several changes. The social and the cultural elements, i.e., the social institutions, values, roles and statuses of the social system were changed because of the internal and external forces. Internally, with the invention of new ideas and customs among themselves and externally in their interaction with the host societies in the area, the pattern of social and cultural practices of resettlers and hosts at Zefine-Menuka were appreciably changed. Although the change did not meet with the expectation as per the time they spent in the area with

a society who has distinct cultural and social structure, the study discovered the existence of changes in the cultural and social elements.

There were barriers to their interactions such as isolated and grouped pattern of settlement of resettlers, large number of resettlers (the amount of resettled people), and the wide difference in the social and cultural patterns. These were the major factors which could probably limit the degree of interaction, integration and diffusion of social and cultural elements from the resettlers to the host society and vice versa. Interestingly, the integration and diffusion was selective, i.e., those cultural traits or societal elements that were not considered as beneficial, not compatible with the existing social pattern and not observable were less likely to diffuse. For instance, the resettler society borrowed and adopted different cereal items, language (although it is not by all individuals), and etc. from the host society in such a way that it becomes compatible with the existing social patterns. They also adopted some elements in their social practices such as indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms, marriage system, patterns in different ceremonies like funeral, birthday, etc. And also observable cultural traits such as food preferences, and cultural utensils were also diffused from host society to resettlers and vice versa.

In contrary to the peaceful interaction, social and cultural integration there is uncertainties in the interaction of the resettler society with the host society in the receiving area. Relationship between hosts and resettlers had become tense among the new young generations although the conflicting situations had ever been there since resettlement time. The young generations of the host societies feel that they are unfairly treated in comparison to the incoming resettlers who own large plot of land at the expense of the host society and have better living conditions.

In addition to the hostile feelings of the host young generation against the resettler society, the interaction and integration of the two societies is declining. It is true that language is a key element of culture and it is also a key for interaction and communication of individuals in the society. In the early times since the medium of instruction in the school was similar, i.e., Amharic the then generation has high probability for interaction while they spent in the school compound. But now it is hard for the two societies new generation to interact and integrate via language because both of them learn in their mother tongue in a separate school. The other possibility of adopting language from individuals of the host society who were hired as a farmer

and herdsman were dropping. This is because the Amhara people lean towards bringing landless, poor and volunteer Amhara farmer from their homeland. And also the host people refuse to be employed at the resettlers place in view of the fact that they become competent in their economy. And also those poor told not to work for the resettlers.

Besides, there is complication of identity and belongingness among the new generation of Amhara people. Pankhurst and Piguet (2004) argue that 'the younger generation born in the resettlements, seems to have developed a new sense of belonging, more centered on local identity rather than on their parents homeland.'(P: 14). Contrary to their argument, the generation that born at Zefine-Menuka identified themselves as belonging to Amhara although they did not have a desire to go to their parents homeland except for visiting.

Even some new generation argued about identity crises that they are facing because of their ethnic identity of being 'Amhara'. They are considered as 'Amhara' after their parents who are from the northern Ethiopia even though they were born and grown-up among the Gamo people in southern Ethiopia. They claimed as the hosts did not recognize them as Gamo people at the same time the northern people did not know and recognize them as their people. So, they complained that such kind of situations created uncertainty on their identity.

Acculturation has emphasized the fact that across generations, members of ethnic groups differ in their level and speed of acculturation (Balls, et al, 2009). Based on the study findings and observable circumstances, I noticed the integration and diffusion of the socio-cultural pattern of the resettler Amhara people with the host Gamo society as having three phases. In the early times of resettlement phases the two people have good interaction and integration but based on the social security that one provides for the other. Especially, the peace and security that the host society acquired as a result of the arrival of the resettler people, which was the good deed that the elderly people acknowledged for the resettlers yet. Moreover, environmental security threats such as bandits and wild animals fostered their bonds.

The second phase showed the integration of the two societies through acquiring one's language, intermarriage although it is minimum and unidirectional, trading including the home to home business and the employed of host society in the place of resettlers as farmer and herdsman. According to W. Perez & Padilla (2000), as cited in Balls, et al, (2009), second and third

generation individuals tend to exhibit greater levels of acculturation to the host culture than first generation members of an ethnic group. These variations in level and speed of acculturation are not surprising since they tend to be related to length of residence in the "host" area as well as to the greater exposure to acculturating institutions (schools, churches, social groups) often experienced by second and higher generation members.

In the last phase of the youngsters and teenagers, the relationship has become much tense and also their exposure to acculturating institutions decreased. For instance, almost all of the resettlers' children attend their school starting from elementary at the urban places with their mother tongue and in English. Thus situation decreased the new generation's interaction with the host people. Since their interaction is doubtful, the possibility of integration in the new generation is questionable.

Even though the resettlers have been interacting mainly with the Gamo people, there was also interaction and integration with the Wolayta society mainly via trade and to a lesser extent in schools. Moreover, because of the interaction and integration they had some social and cultural elements diffused from the Wolayta people and integrated to the Amhara resettlers' socio-cultural traits. Inter-marriage is the major way of integration of the Wolayta society, especially in big towns such as Sodo, with the resettler Amhara people.

On the basis of my own field observation and also the information I collected from different sources, I can conclude that the major way of interaction and integration of these two societies have been the economy. Other than farming, majority of the host societies participate in the home to home trading business, i.e., in providing different vegetables, cash crops like coffee and fruits to the resettlers since the times of resettlement. Because of the poor economic status of the host people relatively to the resettlers, in the early times specifically after they became strong in their economy, i.e., few years later the time of resettlement, the children of the receiving society employed as part time and as contract workers/sharecroppers in the place of the resettlers. The poor economy of the host society is because of the shortage of farmland (the farmland owned by the host society in the area is too small to feed the large size family) for the dense population of the area as the informants stated. Thus, in order to fulfill their basic needs, they have been employed at the resettlers' home that integrated them well.

Furthermore, the two societies integrated economically through contract cattle breeding and gardening. In the dry season and because of lack of grazing land, some Amhara people gave their cattle's to the host people, who are good for cattle protection. Through different payment style and contract agreement, the resettlers give their cattle to the host until they pass the challenging season for their cattle.

The other economic means that integrated the two people was market. There are three market places that help the Amhara people to create relationship with the host Wolayta people in the Humbo Wereda and Gamo people in the Boreda Wereda. These market places open a door for all people to interact well and exchange their societal and cultural attributes. Some merchants from the two societies also trade together as partner in the business and also by supporting each other in their businesses.

Lastly, the host society reflected on the significance of resettlement for poverty reduction, food security, and enhances tolerance among culturally different and diversified people who may come together because of the resettlements. However, they strongly argued that the scheme have to consider the will of the receiving society and have to be based on research particularly the availability of sufficient resources both for the host and resettling societies. They also argued that the resettler and host people also have to be willing and actively participate in the scheme if the launch had to be successful and effective. Even my FGD informants argued the success and also recommend intra-regional resettlement based on the experience at Gumgumta resettlers in the Wereda.

7.2. Recommendation

Based on the finding I recommend the following issues to be held by concerned individuals:-

First, I would like to recommend a planned, voluntary, and pre-studied and infrastructural facilitated scheme of resettlement by concerned bodies with active participation and informed consent of receiving and resettler societies in order to achieve success on the resettlement.

Second, I would like to recommend for further studies to be held by scholars on:

- socio-cultural integration of resettlers and host society in the study area and on different resettlement sites to provide better and deep insight on the long term impact of resettlement on the life of both the resettlers and host society.
- Moreover, I recommend further investigation on the integration and relationship of resettlers each other and also diffusion of cultural traits.
- On language preference of the people. Even though they are Gamo people, the host society in the research site prefers and speaks Wolaytigna. Deep investigation needs to disclose the reason behind it.

Thirdly, as we know Ethiopia is a country where farmland is the main resource for over 80 % population. The number of population in the country is highly growing which may result in higher population density and shortage of farmland as a result. There are many people who are landless and also who have small plot of land that cannot feed the family under it. This is what I discovered among the host society in the research site. But, in contrary to those landless farmers and those who have small plot of land, there are some resettler individuals at Zefine-Menuka who owns large plot of land in two different place, i.e., at the resettlement site and at their homeland. So, in order to avoid this kind of double benefit at the expense of large number of landless farmers, detail investigation had to be made to provide viable land resource management. The investigation had to be on the resettlers who are volunteer for the resettlement and on those individuals who lately came to the resettlement site to visit their parents and became immerse.

Fourth, I discovered that there are few criminals who came and live among their previously resettled relatives by hiding from the legal system. So, I recommend that the government should provide a structure that forces those resettlers and late comers to bring a letter that describes their identity assuring that they do not have other land in their origin. The receiving areas also have to request for legal document that shows the identity of the people while entering and joining the people either permanently or temporarily.

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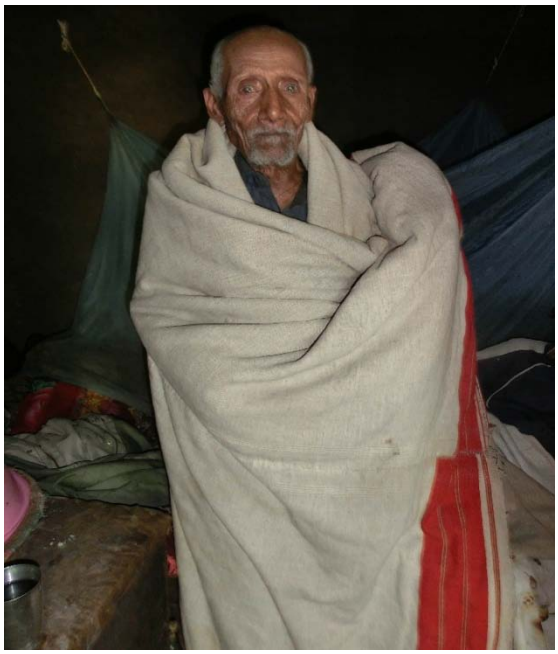
Appendix 1

The cultural dressing among the Amhara women, i.e., *'Goda Qemis'*

The Gamo female dressing in the early times

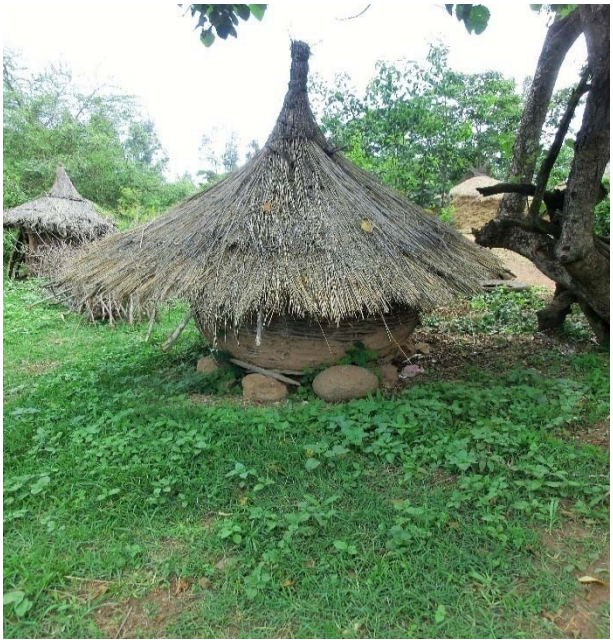


‘*Gabi*’ and ‘*Kutta*’ the Gamo man dressing from left to right respectively

‘*Tike*’ the smallest one and ‘*Ayile*’ the largest

A traditional oven to bake *'Difo dabo'*or *'Geber mitad'*

'Agelgil'



'Sherfa'

'*Gotera*' the previous and the modern one from left to right respectively

'Maresha'

'*Kember*' and '*Mofer*' from left to right respectively

Baleweld or Baleigziabher Orthodox church built by 2001/2002G.C

Seventh Day Adventist church at Zefine-Menuka

Working with Maize Sheller machine of a farmer at Zefine-Menuka

'*Segno*' market at Kodo Awisato Menuka

Youth's playing Volleyball at '*Segno*' market

Meeting of four kebeles of peasant association or '*Agelgilot*' at Zefine-Menuka

Part of members of FGD among the Amhara youth with the researcher at left

Part of Mesa market at Mesa Buniteza kebele

Appendix 2: Sample Informed Consent Form for All Interview of the Study

I want to thank you for taking the time to meet with me today. My name is Kidist Paulos, MA student at Addis Ababa University and I would like to talk to you about cultural integration of your society with the resettler/host society. I need your opinion, comment, suggestions, view, and experiences when participating in your community and about the resettlement scheme that brought the Amhara resettler people to Zefine-Menuka. Specifically, as a partial fulfillment for my MA education I tried to uncover and write the integration and exchange (diffusion) of social and cultural traits from the resettler Amhara society to the host society and vice versa. So, I am requesting you to inform your point of view for the completion of my paper which in the future contributes for the better system of resettlement in the country from your experience.

The interview should take less than an hour. I will be taping the session if you are willing because I do not want to miss any of your comments. Although I will be taking some notes during the session, I cannot possibly write fast enough to get it all down. Because we are on tape, please be sure to speak up so that I do not miss your perception, opinion, comments and view. All responses will be kept confidential. This means that your interview/FGD responses will only be shared with the academic staffs and I will ensure that any information I include in the study report does not identify you/your name as the respondent unless you let to do so. Remember, you do not have to talk about anything that you do not want to and you may end or terminate the interview at any time.

Are there any questions about what I have just explained? If you have any I am here to clarify.

Are you willing to participate in this interview?

Appendix 3: Guideline Questions of the Interview in the Study

3.1. Guideline Questions for FGD

- Do you speak Amharic/Wolaytigna? If yes, how did you learn it? If No, why?
- How do you explain your society's relationship with the Amhara/Gamo society?
- Do you have any close friends from the Amhara/Gamo people? If yes, how did the relationship originated?
- Is there any social and cultural practice that the Amhara/Gamo people took from the Gamo/Amhara (resettler) society? If yes, what are they?
- What benefits and disadvantages did the Amhara resettler and the host society experience by the coming of the resettler society/people?
- What do you think about resettlement? (For the host society).
- Have you observed social and cultural difference with the northern people from your observation on the late comers and/or if you ever visited your parents origin? (For the resettler society).

3.2. Guideline Questions for the Oral History Interview with the Resettler Society.

- What is the reason that triggered you to come to here/Zefine-Menuka?
- How did you heard (know) about Zefine-Menuka?
- When did you come to the resettlement site?
- What are the challenges you experienced since the times of resettlement and how did you cope up with it?
- What are the benefit and disadvantage you experienced from the resettlement?
- How do you explain your relationship with the host society?
- What is the observable exchange in cultural and social structure with the host society?
- How do you explain the observable socio-cultural structure change while comparing with the past and the situation at the homeland?
- How do you describe the relationship you have with the homeland and relatives there?

3.3. Guideline Questions of Oral History Interview with the Host Society.

- How do you explain the situation of the area before the coming of the Amhara resettlers?
- Have you been informed about the resettlement scheme? If so, are you voluntary?
- How do you explain the resettler people and their relation with the host society?
- Is there any social and cultural practice that your society took from the Amhara people? If so, what are they?
- Is there any case of conflict with the resettler people since the time of resettlement of this people?
- What are the benefits and disadvantages (challenges) you experienced by the coming of the resettler people?

3.4. Guideline Questions With the Key Informants (in addition to the questions used in the oral history interview, and FGD)

- How was the whole scenario of the resettlement?
- How do you explain the condition of the area before the resettlement of the Amhara people?
- What is the role of local people and government in the resettlement scheme?
- What are circumstances that pave way for the integration of the resettlers and host society?
- What were incidents of conflict in the relationship of the two societies?
- What are the diffused social and cultural elements from the host to the resettler and vice versa?
- What are the challenges for the interaction, integration and diffusion of socio-cultural attributes between the two societies?

DECLARATION

I the undersigned declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for any degree in any University and all the sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Submitted by

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Student Name Signature Date