

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**CHANGE AND CONTINUITY: THE ROLES OF INDIGENOUS
INSTITUTIONS IN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT AMONG THE
TRANSHUMANT KARRAYU OROMO PASTORALISTS OF UPPER
AWASH VALLEY**

LEMESSA DEMIE

FEBRUARY, 2006

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BY
Lemessa Demie

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
APPROVED BY BOARD OF EXAMINERS

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR DEGREE
OF Master of Arts IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY**

EXAMINER

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Resource Management Among the Transhumant Karrayu Oromo
Pastoralists of Upper Awash Valley**

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Lemessa Demie

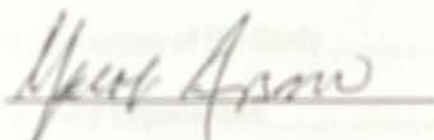
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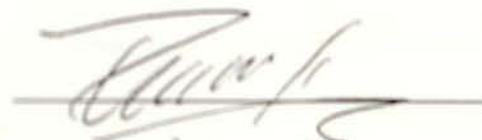
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Acronyms

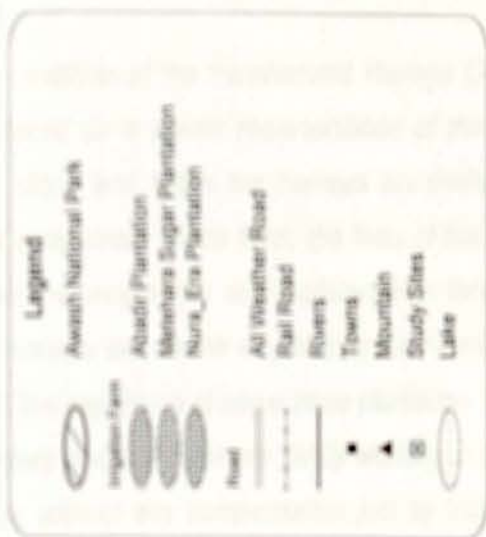
ANP	Awash National Park.
AVA	Awash Valley Authority.
FDA	Fentale District Administration
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
GTF	Gudina Tumessa Foundation.
HVA	Handles Veneering Amsterdam.
MSF	Metehara Sugar Factory.
MSP	Metehara Sugar Plantation.
NER	Nura Era Plantation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization.
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
ORT	Oral Rehydration Therapy
SPL	Seasonal Piece Rate Laborers
TGE	Transitional Government of Ethiopia
TLU	Tropical Livestock Unit
UAV	Upper Awash Valley

Glossary

<i>Aada</i>	culture.
<i>Abba Boku</i>	<i>gada</i> leader.
<i>Abba ganda</i>	village head.
<i>Abba Halanga</i>	council of elders.
<i>Angafa</i>	eldest son.
<i>Arfaasa</i>	beginning of the rainy season.
<i>Arara</i>	indigenous peace making institution
<i>Biya karrayu</i>	land of Karrayu.
<i>Damina</i>	clan leader.
<i>Debere</i>	institution of milk stock transfer.
<i>Dhibayu</i>	a thick stick that a husband prepares and gives to his wife after she gave birth of three or four children
<i>Gada</i>	generation based indigenous system of local governance.
<i>Ganda</i>	village.
<i>Gossa</i>	clan
<i>Gumma</i>	blood money.
<i>Hantilla</i>	milk stock transfer among the Afar.
<i>Harroessa</i>	a tree from which <i>siinnqee</i> is prepared
<i>Heera</i>	set of values that are derived from the <i>Seera</i> .
<i>Hirppa</i>	institution of giving livestock to poor members of the <i>Gossa</i>
<i>Jalla</i>	friendship
<i>Jiggee</i>	institution of team work or co-operative labor
<i>Kallo</i>	grazing reserves/enclosures.
<i>Kharimsime</i>	milk stock transfer among the Garri and Rendille.
<i>Korra</i>	general meeting or gathering.
<i>Kutisu</i>	younger son.
<i>Leede</i>	a tree from which <i>Dhibayu</i> is prepared
<i>Moggassa</i>	ritual whereby a non -karrayu person is incorporated in to karrayu clanship.

Morra	fatten cell obtained from entrails of slaughtered cattle
Odda	sycamore tree chosen for the performance of religious rituals and political actions.
Ona Gana	<i>summer/wet season grazing area</i>
Ona Bona	<i>winter/dry season grazing area</i>
Ona Birra	<i>autumn/dry season grazing area</i>
Qallu	oromo religious leader.
Qinchib	a plant camel devour with great appetite
Qondalas	soliders
Seera	law
Selfa	young men acting as scouting party in distant migration areas.
Siinqqee	long and thin stick that the parents of a girl to be married prepares and gives to her
Ummatta	ordinary Karrayu or non-Qallus
Waqqa	God
Waqqeffanna	believing God.

Map : Location of Study Area and Neighbouring Peoples



Abstract

The living condition of the transhumant Karrayu Oromo pastoralists in the Upper Awash Valley could be traced as a classic representation of the whole Oromo nation in the Ethiopia Empire. Since the 1950s and 1960s the Karrayu are confiscated their lands and water points by State-sponsored enterprises. Since then, the lives of the Karrayu have become worse and worse. The Karrayu are the people who are displaced from their possession without any compensation. Even today the Karrayu are on the way to lose their remaining possessions (lands) by Metehara Sugar Factory for the expansion of sugar cane plantation. The Worst of all is that even now the Metehara Sugar Factory and the State are jointly working in order to take the remaining property (lands) of the Karrayu without any compensation just by tricking the Karrayu through vague promises and fraudulent contractual agreements.

In the past when the possession (land and water) of the Karrayu had not been sequestered by forces external to the Karrayu, the indigenous institutions of the Karrayu were known for their importance of resources management. However, after the introduction of the State-sponsored enterprises in the territory of the Karrayu and the consequent alienation of their property by external forces the indigenous institution of the Karrayu became weaker and weaker. This happened because the indigenous institutions lost resources to be managed by them. How could one think of the strong existence of indigenous institution when the Karrayu lost their property and live in extreme destitution? It is impossible to find strong indigenous institution prevailing in the society in the presence of scarcity of resource. External forces alien takes the strong institutions of the Karrayu. Today there are only some remnants of indigenous institutions among the Karrayu for the resources management and other purposes. Therefore, the role of indigenous institutions in resources management among the Karrayu are weakened albeit not faded away.

The Karrayu were active at managing their resources properly and efficiently before the disruption of their traditional systems of resource management. Because of the intervention by the outsiders in the name of various enterprises, the traditional system of resource management and their indigenous institution were indeed weakened. But for any body who has an interest to retrieve and link the indigenous institutions for resource management and development, the time has not gone because there are still remnants of the institutions among the Karrayu communities. It is possible to retrieve their indigenous institutions but the paradox is that the largest portion of their resource

(land and water) has gone not to be returned to them and currently the Metehara Sugar Plantation has already finalized feasibility study in order to alienate additional land from the Karrayu for the purpose of the expansion of sugar cane plantation. However, while this kind of intervention and resource confiscation is continuing it is very much difficult to strengthen and retrieve indigenous system of resource management. Therefore, the further expropriation of communal grazing land by State-sponsored enterprises intensified the weakening of the traditional resource managements system. It is highly suggestive that the traditional pastoral production will continue to come under further pressure that nomadic way of mobility will be highly restricted and the occurrence of environmental degradation become inevitable.

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1. General Background

Indigenous institutions/knowledge is fundamentally local knowledge, which is unique to a specific culture. They are the information ground for communities, which facilitate communication and decision-making. Indigenous information systems are "dynamic and are continually influenced by internal creativity and experimentation as well as by contact with external systems. Indigenous knowledge systems include those defining the social, natural and physical environments as well as cognitive and ideational systems". Indigenous institutions /knowledge outline the starting point for indigenous decision making which is operationalized via indigenous organizations and make available the underpinning for indigenous innovations and experimentation (Flavier et al. 1995:479). Indigenous institutions/ knowledge are indispensable national resource and precious cultural assets. They are source of self-respect and possession in development and stimulate participatory decision-making and the formulation and successful working of local organizations. They are system of reality-wedded conceptions, which could facilitate communication among people coming from various backgrounds (Ibid: 479-480).

In the earlier period, greater part of development professionals underestimated indigenous institutions/ knowledge and the capabilities of local, chiefly rural populace. For this rationale, for the bulk of the professionals, "they" and "what they do not know" are still the predicament; and "we" and "what we know" are still the solution (Warren, 1995: xiii). In this thesis, I would like to present evidences for the strength, validity and convenience of indigenous institutions/ knowledge for the resource management among the transhumant Karrayu Oromo pastoralists before the intervention of State-sponsored enterprises and the eventual dwindling of their precious indigenous institutions, with the exceptions of some remnants on hand now, due to uninterrupted external pressures on them. The transhumant pastoralists are those types of pastoralists which are "not nomadic, which instead maintain permanent settlements, but who do move their livestock seasonally in order to exploit areas away from the permanent settlement sites". The entire village seldom moves with the herders in these instances (Jacobs and Schloeder, 1993:33).

All the way through the thesis the terms "indigenous institutions" and " indigenous knowledge", designate more or less the same meaning and used interchangeably. For the sake of this thesis indigenous institutions/ knowledge is a concept used to refer to rules' and social norms established to guide and shape interactions among individuals in the society. As clearly stated in the conceptual and theoretical framework

by indigenous institutions/ knowledge I principally refer to different rules and social norms, which govern social, economic and political relationships among the society studied in this research. Therefore, indigenous institutions/ knowledge is used to refer to those institutions established by local people themselves depending on their own coordinating custom as opposed to 'induced institutions,' i.e., those created by government and /or other development agencies in a top-down approach, with methods brought from without. However, local people construct these institutions by forming different collective work arrangements, rules, moral constraints, and decision-making systems (Getinet, 1994:8).

It has been acknowledged that development has not encountered adversities due to technical problems and lack of knowledge. However, development faced challenge because of absence of institutional capability and predicaments of co-ordination as to who should take part in, contribute to, and benefit from development projects. The term "social capital" has been coined in order to draw attention to the importance of local organizational capacity and portrayed as the missing link in development. Nevertheless, very recently development experts have "pointed to the need to understand the way in which institutions at different levels interlink and impact on each other (Leach, et al.1997; 1999); and in current climate of decentralization, with an increased awareness of the role played by local level institutions, and their interrelations with regional and national institutions, this has become even more important" (<http://www.geog.sussex.ac.uk/research/development/marena/pdf/wp4.pdf>).

As far as development and resource management are concerned in Ethiopia, the problem of the country is not scarcity of resource; since the country has huge amount of resource that has not yet been used. Nevertheless, the problem of the country is lack of knowledge on the side of the successive governments that they ignored the traditional ways of resource management of the people and went a long way in imposing on them different development induced enterprises which have no benefit to the local community other than demolishing the indigenous institutions/ knowledge which the society had used and depended on for centuries for resource management in the case of Karrayu transhumant pastoralists of Ethiopia. Therefore, resource management and development in this paper are interrelated concepts because of the fact that if the country has the capacity to manage its natural resource efficiently it is inevitably sure that the country will develop. Thus, any one worried by this nation has to work for the realization of proper resource management system using indigenous knowledge of the people. When resources are effectively and properly managed by using indigenous institutions development will be more of reality than a dream. Thus, resource management and development are related concepts and nowadays it became obvious that

development without proper management of natural resources is unthinkable. However, I am not saying that rural people invariably know everything more than modern science does. What I am precisely arguing about is that in numerous fields, indigenous institutions/ knowledge are far more relevant, valid, and useful than had been supposed. Hence, the supremacy and reputation of modern science as the last word on every façade of life is challenged as the indigenous institutions /knowledge is given due consideration and recognized for what it exactly means to the actors.

Development organizations have excessively abandoned the exercise of indigenous institutions/ knowledge in designing their development programmes. It is "not uncommon for them to brush aside the people's indigenous knowledge system and folk beliefs as more 'superstition' 'backward' ideas and 'pagan practices'". However, there is propensity to depend only on modern scientific inventions. Although there is no doubt that modern science has contributed much to human beings via technologies like Oral Rehydration Therapy (ORT) or improved seed varieties, the profound dependence on the technology has also harmful effects (Flavier et al. 1995:479)

Nevertheless, in the past few decades discount of indigenous institution /knowledge in many instances have ended up with the failure of development projects. From this time on wards, many professionals have started to look the value of recording the existing systems, working with and via the local systems to improve up on them (Warren, 1995: xv). In recent times, greater than ever number of academicians from both the west and developing nations become conscious of the reward of the indigenous institutions/knowledge. They argued that indigenous institutions / knowledge, which have been stored in abundance areas of the world over generations and millennia, are noteworthy national and international resources. Currently, there is a maneuver for the establishment of a global network of regional and national resource centers of indigenous knowledge (ibid: xvii).

This rethinking has brought about renewed interest on indigenous knowledge. Recent studies on ethno-science have dismissed as unfounded the allegations that indigenous knowledge is irrational. Techno-economic innovations based on indigenous knowledge have been tested through time. Indigenous knowledge is a science that is user-derived and not scientist-derived, and its utilization with development efforts could provide long-term advantages that would complement and enhance the contributions of modern day inventions (Flavier et al. 1995: 479).

Before few years, the academics functioning in the area of indigenous knowledge/ institutions were anthropology and geography. These days concern in indigenous institutions/ knowledge has been expressed in a mounting number of academic discipline such as ecology, soil science, veterinary medicine, forestry, animal science, aquatic resource management, botany, zoology, agronomy, agricultural

economics, rural sociology, mathematics, management science, agricultural education and extension, fisheries, range management, information science, wildlife management, and water resource management (Liebenstein et al. 1995: 441).

Modern inclination in pastoral development commemorates the honors and capabilities of indigenous management systems and environmental difficulties in the rangelands are supposed to be associated with the decline of these indigenous institutions/ knowledge. Thus, there is a demand for new institutions for pastoral development predominantly institutions which will promote popular involvement in the development process. Moreover, it is confirmed that these new development institutions will be more productive in nurturing popular participation on condition that they are depended on traditional unites and structures (Helland, 1977:72).

Pastoralism is usually referred to as a mode of production that is based on natural forage (Assefa, 2000:75). In arid and semi-arid areas, this needs periodic or constant movements to look for pasture, a reason that separates this type of livestock production from ranching and other forms of livestock husbandry (NOPA, 1992 cited in Assefa, 2000:75). All herdsmen should have "access to disperse, ecologically specialized and seasonally varied foraging needs of different livestock species and to afford a margin of safety against the vagaries of rainfall" (Markakis, 1993:1). The best defense in opposition to the scarcity of rainfall is access to vast area with more suitability of holding frequently available water (NOPA, 1992 cited in Assefa, 2000:75). This type of grazing ecosystem needs a large space so that pastoral societies are "highly segmented, mobile and have a very low man/land ratio" (Markakis, 1993:1).

Formerly, pastoralism was valuable in sustaining individuals to live on a "fragile resource base and marginal lands" even under difficult circumstances. It has established a strong livestock sector that bestowed important benefits to the economy of the country. Nonetheless, the elimination of pastoral communal resources by the government, the increasing of parks minimizing livestock grazing areas, the infringement of agriculture in to range lands and the avoidance of the traditional social institutions which were often an important part of pastoral systems are changes that have distorted the traditional pastoral systems and resource use patterns and practices in a extreme way (Ayalew, 2001:1).

Pastoralists in Eastern Africa and in other parts of the world have always existed in resource-poor and unwelcoming environments. The competence of pastoralist in managing to live on marginal lands down through the centuries is an indication for their distinctive survival potentials. By the mechanism of self-adaptation to worse situations, pastoral societies keep on using, in their own ways, whatever fringes of

resource base available for them. "The ability of pastoralists to survive on meager and scattered resources in the lowlands for such a considerable period indicates that pastoralists have long specialized eking out living in an environmental space marked by scarcity and hardships"(Ibid: 58).

African pastoral societies are exceedingly influenced by the general social, economic, political and ecological crises of the continent. They are exposed to forces that have a gigantic consequence on their eco-systems making them more susceptible (NOPA, 1992: vii, cited in Assefa, 2000:75). Pastoral societies are characterized by confrontation and adjustment they make to the complex and changing forces in their endeavors to guarantee the permanence of their survival (Assefa, 2000:75). An excellent exemplar pertaining to the case in point is the Karrayu who have acute shortage of pasture and water for their livestock. The establishments of State-sponsored enterprises such as Metahara Sugar Plantation, Nura Era Plantation and Awash National Park have brought about the reduction of land resources. The expansion of Metehara town and the ever-increasing size of Lake Basaqa have also contributed to the shrinking of resources. Lake Basaqa has enlarged over ten times from 3.3 square km to 35 square km within the last 30 years and the alkalinity of the water makes it inappropriate both for human and animal use (Buli, 2001:69). Before few decades, the Karrayu used entirely to rely on the river-watered pasture for their cattle and on the Awash River to water their livestock. Nevertheless, the Karrayu are deprived of their right to access these resources since the establishment of the mechanized farms on the Awash River. These factors are believed to have played their parts in reducing the Karrayu's landholdings. 'The result has been that the Karrayu are worse off today, socially, economically, politically and culturally than they were 40 years ago' (Assefa, 2000:75-76).

The Karrayu are one of the many Oromo groups who happened to be the leading victims of the introduction of mechanized farms in the riverbanks of the Awash. The Jille and Arsi Oromos and the Afar lost all the dry-season grazing land as well as fresh water to the various irrigation schemes. The consequences of these schemes on the livestock and the human population have attracted little, if any, attention from the government. Only a few foreign scholars have documented the loss in human and animal population when drought struck this country in the 1980s, and 1970s. The ecological consequence of the irrigation schemes on the Karrayu was devastating. The pastoralists retreat to the foothills of the Fantale Mountain had to use the rainy season grazing lands, both during the dry and rainy seasons, more intensively thereby precipitating the environmental degradation. The high population pressure from the agricultural groups, such as the Ittu, Argobba and Arsi, also created a shortage of land, which has had a devastating consequence on the Karrayu (Ibid: 76-77).

Accordingly, the inducement of the development schemes and establishment of the State sponsored enterprises altered the traditional land-use ways of the Karrayu. This led to the dislocation of the Karrayu from their long-established residence and the loss of their dry and wet season grazing areas. As a result,

the Karrayu were obliged to settle in areas that are highly infertile and unqualified for providing their livestock with pasture for long period. "This meant that they had to adjust themselves in terms of their patterns of resource use, resource tenure, modes of transhumance, and social organization to the conditions created by these external developments"(Ayalew, 2001:6)

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Historically, pastoral societies across the world have developed different kinds of management systems, ranging from simple to complex, to coordinate and regulate the activities of each member of the society. These systems depend on an intimate knowledge of their physical and social environment. Their most important aspiration is to advance production in the long run at lowest risk. The "simplest" pastoral structure is dependent on seasonal movement between wet and dry season pastures (transhumance) that is synchronized by climatic changeability, the requirements of their animals, and basic informal rules of occupation and tenure. The free moving disorganized "nomad" is a legend. The most "complex" system regulates these mobility by stringent "formal schedules, restrictions on numbers and types of animals, reserving or deferring pastures, assigning members to particular pastures and controlling the amount of time spent in one pasture" (Niamir, 1995: 245).

In spite of the fact that there is a very rich resource of indigenous institutions/ knowledge, they are dispersed in different local entities. Hence, they need to be retrieved from obscurity and darkness due to past attempts to discard their function in development. There has to be an organized program that would help identify, analyze, systematize and promote indigenous institutions/ knowledge for resource management and development (Flavier et al. 1995:480). It is progressively more apparent that earlier period approaches to development, which ignored indigenous institutions / knowledge, were not likely to be fruitful in alleviating problems of developing countries (Phillips and Titilola, 1995:475).

It has been mentioned that in today's environment where there is inefficiency in the operation of the state apparatus, and lack of well-developed private sector to bestow services, indigenous institutions still operate to give certain important services to the people in Ethiopia (Yigremew, 2000:46).The institutions that are created based on the people's traditional wisdom function to fill various development gaps left vacant by the state system and the private sectors. Various studies have indicated that the starting point in development processes and activities should be recognizing the indigenous institutions that exist close to the local people (ibid). In spite of this, however, not much attention has been given to the indigenous institutions to take part

in the development activities undertaken prior to the 1980s (Esman and Uphoof, 1984:47). They have indicated that one of the significant factors for the common failure of development projects in developing countries was the absence of establishing and strengthening indigenous institutions. Before the 1980s, indigenous institutions have not been given due attention in the development endeavors. In this regard Esman and Uphoof (1984:47) have noted the situation that indigenous institutions were viewed by different researchers as "technologically backward, as traditional; as conservative or as disposed to consumer rather than save and invest; as undisciplined or as 'peripheral' needing to be penetrated to become part of the modern nation state".

Even though indigenous institutions are created based on the real interests and needs of the people, and address different problems of the society, they have not been given due attention in the development activities undertaken by public and private sectors (Dejene, 2000: 12; Shiferaw, 2002:18; Yigremew, 2000:45 and 2001:275). In this regard, Bekalu (1997:1) argues, "in most cases community based organizations are not perceived as legitimate social and economic entities and are sometimes perceived as a threat to the function of the formal government structure". Later on, in the 1980s, the failures of centralized, top-down development approaches introduced at various times, have led to the search for alternative mechanisms to bring about sustainable local development that can actually improve people's lives. With these changing paradigms of development programs, indigenous institutions have been given more attention by development agents and researchers. Dessalegn (2002:103) emphasized it as follows:

There is currently a growing interest about 'civil society' (community-based organizations/indigenous institutions) in Africa among people in academic, international organizations and donor agencies. The donor community in particular is keen to promote voluntary institutions in the belief that road to democracy in Africa lies not in revolutions and class struggle but, the active involvement of civil society in political process.

It has been pointed out that indigenous institutions are subject to consideration by academics, researchers, and policy makers for sustainable local development and resource management at various levels (Yigremew, 2000:46; Dejene 2000:48). Various literatures have mentioned that indigenous institutions currently, have problems and limitations to actively participate in local development activities. They have been greatly hampered by a variety of what Dessalegn (2002:104) called 'internal' and 'external' constraints; the former referring to "resource access and managerial capacity" and the latter to the "policy environment". Indigenous institutions were and still are not given the place they deserve in defining and managing their own agenda. In this regard, Bekalu (1997:2) has pointed out that there is "little enabling political and legal

environment to back up the potential contributions of indigenous institutions or community-based organizations”.

In Ethiopia literature on the topic of indigenous institutions are scanty. Indeed, one could cite some of the recent works of Dejene and Getinet (1998) on the position of civil society organizations in development; Dejene Aredo (1997, 1993) on particular informal and semi-formal financial institutions; and Tirfe Mammo (1995) on indigenous knowledge, traditional practices and local institutions; and local development initiatives. There are also old literatures that include the works done by Salole (1986) and Eftychia and Peter (1966) on the role of (urban) *Iddirs*; Kebebew Daka (1978) on some 'voluntary' associations in urban and rural Ethiopia; and Fekadu Gedamu (1974, 1966) on 'Voluntary' associations and multi ethnic groups. I have come across a number of these sources, use them for this thesis, and leave others because many of them are done on urban and/or peasant indigenous institution, which are not highly related to pastoral communities. Hence, there are very little source on the indigenous institutions of pastoral societies in Ethiopia; however, some authors have explained certain things by passing when dealing with other aspects of pastoralism. Partly this is one of the reasons that inspired the study.

Although different researchers have studied the Karrayu, no systematic endeavor has yet been made to amalgamate the information to allow an analysis of the importance of indigenous institutions for resource management systems. So much so, the existing studies on Karrayu have not systematically exploited and addressed the change and continuity of the roles of indigenous institutions in resource management. Therefore, this is a pressing issue that deserves research and it becomes the core problem that the research is expected to resolve. It is in such a frame of reference that this research sets out to examine the change and continuity of the roles of indigenous institutions in the resource management among the Karrayu. However, studying the Karrayu's resource management system, as an isolated unit is very much difficult while their every day life and survival strategy is in one way or another influenced by external factors. These external factors include the expansion and the encroachment of neighboring societies namely the Afar, Argoba, Arssi and Ittu Oromos to Karrayu territory (Assefa, 2000:82); Karrayu's relations with State-sponsored enterprises, which alienated them from land and water points, such as Awash National Park, Metahara Sugar Plantation and Nura Era Plantation. Hence, the research attempts to highlight the interaction of the Karrayu with these external factors. Therefore, this research is aimed at filling the gaps through analysis of indigenous institutions, their roles and compatibility within the framework of current violent resource-based conflict transformation within the Karrayu as well as between the Karrayu and the aforementioned external factors.

1.3. Objectives

3.1. General Objectives

The main objective of the study is to describe and investigate the change and continuity of the roles of indigenous institutions in resource management among the Karrayu including environmental knowledge and management techniques. The study also considers a wide range of issues centered on socio-economic transformation and different survival strategies employed by the Karrayu and resource-based conflicts between the Karrayu and the neighboring communities such as the Afar, Argoba, Ittu and Arssi Oromos and also the development projects.

3.2. Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study are to:

- Assess the types of institutions relevant to resource management.
- Explore the status, roles and duties of the indigenous institutions in resource management.
- Analyze the transformation of the pattern of resource management among the Karrayu.
- Assess different adaptive strategies undertaken by the Karrayu in response to external pressures.
- Elucidate the socio-economic transformations of Karrayu pastoralism since the late 1950s after the establishment of State-sponsored enterprises (Awash National Park, Metahara Sugar Plantation and Nura Era Plantation) and the Karrayu's relationship with these enterprises.

1.4. Research Questions

1. What are the roles played by indigenous institutions in the resource management among the Karrayu?
2. What is the status of indigenous institutions in conflict mitigation between the Karrayu and the neighboring communities?
3. What are the different survival strategies adopted by the Karrayu in the face of mounting pressure from factors external to the Karrayu?

1.5. Rationale for the Selection of Research Site

Under Fentale District Administration, there are 18 *kebeles* where Karrayu and Ittu settle. These are Dheebiti (Fentale Dheebiti), Haro Qarssa, Ilalla-Karari, Tututi, Dega-Eddu, Qobo, Benti-Mogassa, Galcha-Ajotare, Kanfa, Fate-Ledi, Sara-Webba, Gidara-Kubi, Diresadan, Godo-Fafate, Turo-Badanota, Gara-Dima, Golala, and Algea. The collection of data for this research mainly focused at places called Dheebiti and Galcha-Ajotare *kebeles*. There are some reasons for the selection of these *kebeles* as a research site.

The reason for the selection of Dheebiti is that its residents still practice pastoralism as their mode of subsistence. Unlike the residents of Galcha-Ajotare *kebele* and few others, the residents of Dheebiti did not start yet farming as adaptive strategy, in response to the near impossibility of pastoralism in the area for reasons of resource scarcity. For this reason, I decided to explore the continuity of the roles of indigenous institutions in resource management among the residents of the *kebele* who continued holding onto pastoralism their age-old mode of subsistence. They still relied on pastoralism as mode of subsistence although some of the residents started farming as of 2005. However, the *kebele* is not suitable for farming because of unreliability of rain as experts of agriculture told the residents.

The reason for the selection of Galcha-Ajotare *Kebele* as a research site is that its inhabitants constitute the sedentarised group of Karrayu, who, due to land and water points alienation, are forced to be incorporated as wage laborers in the Metehara Sugar Plantation. Some of them started farming activities by using water that overflows from the Metehara Sugar Plantation. As a result, I wanted to observe the change of the roles of indigenous institutions for resource management and the adoption of different survival strategies. The residents of the *kebele* survive on wage labor and farming, which means the abandonment of the pastoral way of life and a consequent change of life style.

1.6. Research Methods

In order to come up with sufficient information, a combination of both primary and secondary sources of data collection was applied. In the process of gathering, analyzing and interpreting data, the study generally relied on qualitative research method. The following were some of the specific approaches under qualitative research framework.

1.6.1. Participant Observation: Boas (1911) and Malinowski (1932) can be credited with establishing fieldwork or participant observation as a legitimate anthropological endeavor. Perhaps due to the "influence of Boas and Malinowski, in academic circles field research or participant observation has continued to be

associated with Anthropology" (Steven and Robert, 1984: 3). Participant observation was the basic research tool in the collection of primary data. I have tried to observe all sorts of activities around the field site that have relevance to the themes of this study. This comprises observation of the settlement pattern, mapping topographic features, small scale cultivation, observation of grazing areas (*kallos*) and existing water points (ponds and boreholes), and observation of Awash National Park with the warden of the park, observation of Metehara Sugar Plantation, and Nura Era Plantation. I participated in different types of social gathering, meeting of the elders, *Arara* (peace-making ceremony) to get data on the transformation of indigenous social institutions. In addition, the daily routine of the social, cultural and economic life of the Karrayu was carefully observed at their villages and market place at Haro Adii (Addis Ketema) to collect information on their adaptive strategies and socio-economic transformation.

1.6.2. Unstructured and Semi-structured Interviews with Key Informants: - was put forward to selected elders, government officials and NGO staff to crosscheck the validity of the information collected through participant observation and to reconcile possible disparities in the research. In-depth interviews with key informants was made particularly to acquire data on existing indigenous institutions, land/pasture and water management systems, Karrayu relations with State-sponsored enterprises, and neighboring ethnic groups. These comprise Karrayu key informants, informants from Metehara Sugar Factory (MSF) officials (head of MSF Agricultural Department plus others), informants from Awash National Park (the Warden and four scouts), informants from Nura Era Plantation, informants from Fentale District Administration (head of Fentale District Administration, head of Neighboring Ethnic Groups Affairs and few others), and informants from Metehara town. The numbers of informants recruited for this method were more than 50 individuals and out of this, around 22 individuals were my key informants. During interviews with key informants tape-cassette recording were used to gather data effectively. In addition, intensive note-taking was undertaken at the times of interviews with key informants

1.6.3. Focus Group Discussions (FGDs): This method was employed to generate ideas from various individuals on different adaptive strategies, status of indigenous institutions for resource management, Karrayu relations with neighboring ethnic groups, and socio-economic transformation. By using this method, I also probe important points of already collected information through participant observation and in-depth interviews. Totally, I have conducted five FGDs and each FGD had 6 to 8 members. When selecting individuals for focus group discussions, attention was given to the composition of groups that fairly represent the different sections of the society taking age, sex, religion, level of education, social status in to

consideration. At the times of FGDs tape-cassette recording and note taking was conducted.

1.6.4. Secondary Data: Attempts were made to browse the studies carried out by different researchers. In addition, I tried to search for archival materials in different government offices including Fantale *Wereda* Administration, Metahara Sugar Factory and Awash National Park. From non-governmental organizations working at the study area, I attempted to gather information from Gudina Tumssa Foundation (GTF) and Care Awash. Besides, sources pertinent to the topic of the research were consulted in different libraries in Addis Ababa.

1.7. Significance of the Study

This research will contribute a lot by opening a fresh vista through people can look and recognize better the transformation of the role of indigenous institutions utilized by the Karrayu in the course of resource management. This research is also aimed to shed light on different survival strategies employed by the Karrayu. The study is also believed to contribute case material for comparative study of indigenous institutions in rural Ethiopia, and also introduces the area and the culture of the people being studied to the world of academia for further study. Furthermore, the research contributes to ongoing discussions about the transformation of the role of indigenous institutions in pastoral areas of Ethiopia.

1.8. Limitation of the Study

To the Karrayu elders it is embarrassment and humiliation to discuss about resource management issues. At the initial phase of the fieldwork, I was challenged to interview elders about the transformation of the roles of indigenous institutions in resource management. When I asked elders about resource management issues they tend to get depressed and keep silent for sometime before giving answers to the question I raised to them. Then I have to patiently wait until they were awakened from their silence. What I understood is that the Karrayu elders do not want to discuss about resource issues for it makes them nervous. The discussions they had with government and non-governmental organizations have not brought any change in the miserable lives of the Karrayu. Karrayu elders are less interested to discuss about resource issues and about its management because they have very little resource left due to the dispossession of their resources mainly by Awash National Park, Metehara Sugar Plantation, and Nura Era Plantation.

In addition, at the time of this research Metehara Sugar Factory is making feasibility study on more than 6000 hectares of the remaining lands of the Karrayu for the expansion of sugar cane plantation. This is the other reason for the depression of the Karrayu elders. Moreover, what counts for the depression and

resentment of the Karrayu elders is that the *wereda* and *kebele* officials are exacerbating the existing resource scarcity and aggravating the resource problem by instigating conflicts between the Karrayu advising the residents of different *kebeles* not to move from *kebele* to *kebele* to graze and water their livestock. This advice of *wereda* and *kebele* officials conflicts with the system of communal ownership of resource (pasture and water) among the Karrayu transhumant pastoralists. The aforementioned problems of the Karrayu somewhat made it difficult for me to easily communicate with the elders at the initial phase of the fieldwork. Later in the remaining two phases of the fieldwork, these problems of communication with the informants were solved through establishing good rapport with them.

However, throughout the fieldwork informants complained that they are tired of being asked about their hardships and miserable lives by various government and non-governmental organizations and nobody attempted to solve their problems. This hopelessness of the Karrayu somehow created difficulty on the gathering of primary data but I told them openly that they do not have to expect any support from me that I am an ordinary student and I am doing this research to get my degree from the university. I told them that the only benefit the Karrayu can get from the research is that the culture, tradition and hardship experiences of the Karrayu will be recorded and transmitted to the next generation, and the children of the Karrayu in the future will know about their past by reading the recorded information. When I told them this openly almost all of the informants were convinced.

1.9. Field Experiences

I have accomplished the fieldwork in three phases. During the first phase, I have undertaken some activities. These include rapport establishment and identification of informants, securing research permission from government officials at all levels, identification of study site and paying short visit to the site, and collection of preliminary data. Actual data collection was conducted in the remaining two phases. At the period of the second phase, I conducted intensive fieldwork to collect data from study site and various institutions in the area. I collected the majority of the data during this phase. After this, I returned to Addis Ababa to discuss with my advisor on the report. After having discussions with my advisor, I went back to the research site for the third phase to collect relevant information not obtained during the first and second phases of the fieldwork.

When I went to the field site the first question the Karrayu asked me who my name was and the second question was where I came from. I told them my name and my birthplace. When I told them my name, they understood that I am an Oromo. However, I told them that my being an Oromo should not be interpreted as

if I were an insider, so that they would not limit themselves to giving me only general information about the Karrayu. I told them that I may sometimes ask them the meaning of unclear concepts and if I simply pass some unclear concepts it could jeopardize the whole work and distort the information. Through out the fieldwork I got the opportunity of asking almost every question an outsider could feel like asking.

Finally, yet importantly, one of my major field experiences was the capacity and talent of almost all Karrayu informants to express their ideas and feelings in succinct and accurate manner. Be it children, boys, girls, men, women, elders are acknowledged and recognized for their articulate arguments and worldviews. It is fascinating how they keep the flow of ideas while describing various issues. To my surprise, there were times to when they suggested and offered me advice on how to collect data from them. Hence, I am not exaggerating if I say they were my instructors because I have learnt many things from them. A discussion of conceptual and theoretical literature review will therefore be the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter Two

Conceptual and Theoretical Literature Review

2.1.1. Concept of Institutions

It is very vital to offer the conceptual definitions of institutions and indigenous institutions around which this study rotates. Different literatures define institutions in diverse ways and hence, it seems difficult to clearly understand the term across disciplines. For instance, Dejene (2002:2) argued that it is evident that the working definition of institution varies from discipline to discipline. As a result, different authors have used quite different definitions each emphasizing the different aspects and characteristics of the general social, economic or political phenomena. Blasé cited in (Getinet,1994 :40) define an institution as "a behavioral rule...and considers particular political including legal, institutions that in one way or another influence, or are in turn influenced by the dynamics of economic growth". Widening the term to 'social institutions', Eggersson (1990:128) defines institutions as "formal and informal rules, norms and customs of a community that affect economic behavior, the organization of production, and economic outcomes". Ensminger (1990:7) argues that economic anthropologists define institutions as the "rules of the game". Others like North (1990:6), who have been pioneers of the new institutional economics, also define it as the "rules of the game in a society or more formally humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction".

Indigenous institutions/ knowledge could be defined "as system of knowledge and practice, developed over generations in a particular field of anthropological study, and as such unique to a specific culture or region. Some times referred to as system of 'local knowledge', 'traditional knowledge', or even 'commonsense knowledge', these system have mainly evolved outside or in contrast with western-oriented, 'scientific' or 'modern' system of knowledge and technology generated through universities, research institutes and industries"(Sikkerveer, 1995:513).

Indigenous institutions Knowledge include a well-built interdisciplinary orientation towards practice and experience, apart from 'Western' or 'Scientific' knowledge, which has developed on a rather separatist, mono-disciplinary basis. It is fascinating to note that from an anthropological and cultural relativist's point of view as Bronowski (1978) underlines that practice of science, comprising belief and magic forms a fundamental hallmark of all human beings, as there are both similarities and differences between 'traditional' and 'western' knowledge. The implication of such position "pertains to the conclusion, that both

western and indigenous science are the result of the same general, intellectual process of creating order out of disorder." Because such adaptive knowledge and practices are transferred across generations via the oral tradition, indigenous institutions /knowledge systems on contrary to some western stereotyping of the past. Hence, indigenous institutions /knowledge are not "simple", "static", "old fashioned" or even "archaic", however, they are rather "dynamic with elements of both continuity and change embedded in their adaptive capacity, selection mechanisms and appropriate use". In this frame of reference the term indigenous should not be confused with previous ideas that hold strong negative connotations from the colonial past encompassing Dutch terms such as *inheems* or *inlands* or the English terms "primitive", "native" or "aboriginal". Although the term indigenous previously indeed tended to refer to "rurality" and "backwardness" constantly in correlation with specific ethnic group but the term indigenous has recently come into view to draw attention to the uniqueness, the artisan and the rich heritage manner of specific cultures and communities in the particular locality. As a result, it is not astonishing that in recent times to a certain extent out of a "resentment or even rejection of western, often materialistic life-style several cultures around the globe have proudly adopted the term 'indigenous' to stress the values, attitudes and life style underlying their own cultural identity and uniqueness in a world that seems to glide to globalization and westernization" (Ibid: 513-514).

Institutions could be categorized as formal or informal institutions. Formal institutions embrace state-organized peasant associations and service co-operatives, and state legislature determining access to land and water. They are institutions supported by official administration. However, the main concern of this research is the informal institutions, which consist of kin networks, local cultural administrative structures, and customary rights to resources, indigenous practices of grazing and use of forests. Different researchers argued overwhelmingly that informal institution, particularly the "body of indigenous practice and rights and regulations governing those practices, represent good environmental practice". They must not be given "any less priority in development planning and practice than formal institutions" (<http://www.geog.sussex.ac.uk/research/development/marena/pdf/wp4.pdf>).

Indigenous institutions are informal institutions that contain local cultural forms of organizations (locally elected, appointed, or hereditary leaders and elders), customary rules and regulations associated to access to resources, and indigenous practices and knowledge's. These have been recently made known as worthwhile resources via which applicable and sustainable development could be attained (Ibid).

For example, Warren et al (1995) have discussed how indigenous institutions provide a good administrative institution through which to achieve development. Customary right to resources and

tenure were previously seen as rather chaotic and often leading to environmental degradation (Hardin, 1968). Now they have been seen to be flexible and facilitating environmental management (Ostrom, 1990, Bruce et al. 1994). Indigenous practices and indigenous technical knowledge have been seen as highly adaptive to precarious and changing microenvironments. They are risk-averse and hence highly suitable for many environments (Richards, 1985; Fairhead, 1992). If these local resources can be harnessed, then it is thought that they can be the means through which local, empowering and sustainable development can be achieved (Ibid).

Notwithstanding different conceptual definitions, the researcher will adopt the definitions referring to diverse social norms and rules that are set up to govern social, economic and political relationships and interactions that are intended to carry out different purposes and functions, and also guiding behavior at various levels, household or community levels (Getinet, 1994:8). Hence, indigenous institutions are used to refer to those institutions established by the local people themselves based on their own organizing principles and practices in contrast to 'induced' (modern/new) institutions that are created by government and /or other development agencies in a top-down approach of development programmes (Dessalegn, 2002:104, Yigremew, 2000:45 and Getinet, 1994:22). Therefore, the research emphasizes the indigenous institutions/knowledge set up by the local people based on the people's long-established customs, traditions and beliefs (social capital), which have kept going for a long time and are accepted as central part of their culture

2.1.2. Cultural Ecology

The inclination to adopt an ecological point of view in anthropological analysis started to gather impetus in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The terms of reference of this new perspective were the wide framework provided by Julian Steward when he defined cultural ecology as the study of 'the adaptive processes by which the nature of society and an unpredictable number of features of culture are affected by the basic adjustment through which man utilizes a given environment' (Netting, 1977:6). Cultural ecology has been described as a 'methodological tool for ascertaining how the adaptation of a culture to its environment may entail certain changes' (Bohannon, 1968:332).

The history of anthropological interest in ecology has been documented in a series of articles and chapters (Heim, 1962; Geertz, 1963; Sahlin, 1964; Netting, 1968; Vayda and Rappaport, 1968; Damas, 1969b; Anderson, 1974; Netting, 1974; Vayda and McCay, 1975; Bennett, 1976; Orlove, 1980; Ellen, 1982). There is no need to summarize the summaries. Rather it may be helpful to look at cultural ecology as a logical outgrowth of certain tendencies in anthropology, an effort to understand human behavior in a progressively wider and more inclusive frame of reference (Ibid:4).

Leslie White (1969 cited in Peoples and Bailey, 1988:80) argued that the development to human ways of life was propelled forward by technological advances-by what Morgan called "inventions and discoveries". To speak of progress, one must define a word on a purely technological basis. The main function of

technology is to capture the energy locked up in the environment of a people. White, therefore, proposed that "levels of evolution be defined by energy capture and use: systems in which more energy is captured and used per person per year are more evolved". White also further argued that as technology advances and as more energy becomes available to people, other changes in their way of life necessarily occur as well. Their family forms, economic organization, and political structures transform to make possible people to make use of the new technology efficiently. Hence, according to White, not every thing is equally important in socio-cultural evolution. Technology is the 'prime mover' of change, and is the 'prime determinant' of both the social and cultural dimensions of human life (Ibid).

Julian Steward (1955 cited in Peoples and Bailey, 1988:80) developed another evolutionary approach. He noted that White's grand theory, although useful for some purposes, revealed little about specific peoples. Steward agreed with White that "technology is an important influence on how human populations in general live, but he thought that White paid insufficient attention to the influence of local environment on the way specific populations live. If we wish to explain why people live the way they do in particular place and time, we must understand how technology and environment interact to influence their socio-cultural system, said Steward" (Ibid).

In the 1930s and 1940s, Steward proposed an approach that has become known as specific, or matrilineal, evolution. Two key concepts underlie his approach. The first is *adaptation*, or the relations between humans and their natural environments. Many, but not all, aspects of a human way of life are greatly influenced by a population's need to exploit its environment for food and other materials. The way a population adapts is generally determined by the environment itself, and by technology the people have developed to exploit it (Ibid: 81).

Steward's second key concept is known as *culture core*, or those aspects of a people's whole way of life that allow them to exploit nature effectively. These comprise socio-cultural features such as technology, pattern of settlement, and ways of dividing tasks, groups that cooperate in exploiting resources and methods that regulate access to land. He believed that technology and environment jointly determined the core elements of people's way of life. Supplementary elements of their socio-cultural systems are far less influenced by how they relate to their environment, such as legends, dances, art styles, and features to those socio-cultural elements that are largely immaterial for adaptation (Ibid).

The influence of White and Steward is still apparent in modern sociocultural anthropologists such as Elman Service and Richard Adams still investigate the overall course of sociocultural evolution. They thus follow the path laid down by White, although contemporary general evolutionists do not necessarily agree that technology is the prime mover of sociocultural change. Other scholars, called *cultural ecologists*, are more concerned with showing how the way of life of particular peoples is influenced by the way they relate to their environments. Cultural ecologists thus follow in Steward's footsteps, although modern adaptive studies are more sophisticated and quantitative than those conducted by Steward (Ibid).

2.1.3. "Cattle Complex" and "Tragedy of the Commons" Arguments

The "Cattle complex" and the "tragedy of the commons" arguments are the most noticeable and overarching paradigms vis-à-vis livestock production and pastoralists utilization of common land.

2.1.3.1. "Cattle Complex"

According to Herskovits (1929 cited in Ayalew, 2001: 55-57) the theory of the "Cattle complex" is meant to refer to the propensity of pastoralists to accumulate and retain cattle for their social value and prestige more than what is required for subsistence. The implications of this argument are the harmful effects on the long-term feasibility of the system as a result of the expansion of herd size beyond the carrying capacity of the resource base and the pastoralists' refusal to prices when the market gives them comparatively reasonable prices. Because of the scarcity of fodder or grass to feed their cattle, they face the consequences of physical downgrading and death.

According to Boku Tache (2000:16), in Herskovits (1929) works what has been powerfully manifested is nothing but the beginnings of the distorted portrait of East African pastoralists that Herskovits tried to integrated into the culture area paradigm and viewed East Africa as "an area characterized by a unified cattle culture where the pastoralists accumulate animals for their own sake and for prestige rather than for economic values". Nevertheless, it should be noted that the "cattle complex" argument has been destabilized by a number of scholars (Livingstone, 1977, 1985; Toulman, 1983 ; Lane, 1991) who are in favor of the view that pastoral "nomads" have both economic and non-economic (social value) reasons to build up the size of their herd. In view of the harsh nature of the ecology they settled on by owning a large number of herds and maintaining a buffer stock, pastoralists can "opportunistically" ride the environment roller coaster and resist the effects of droughts and other calamities. Thus, the herd maximization is regarded as tactic to keep away from the risks correlated with small size herd, and serves as a hedge against losses of cattle caused by raids and veterinary epidemics. Besides, economically it is one of the ways of wealth accumulation. Furthermore, it bridges and strengthens the ties of social relationships. For instance, livestock are used for gifts, mutual aid, blood compensation, sanctions, marriage arrangements and in all types of social activity (Ayalew, 2001: 55-57). Concerning the East African cattle herding habitat, Netting (1977:43) writes as follows:

Fortunately, we have an impressive series of studies by Evans-prichard, Gulliver, Schneider, Deshier, Dyson, Hudson, Goldschmidt, and others. They consider in detail the fact of pastoral life in well-defined environment contexts. These reports also compare the economic advantages of herding to alternative types of subsistence in the same habitat and analyze the adaptive function of specific social institutions. In general, they support the contentions that 'the social attitudes toward cattle are related to and may have arisen from subsistence or survival imperatives'

2.1.3.2. "Tragedy of the Commons"

According to Niamir (1995:249) one of the most prevailing myths of our period has been that of the "tragedy of the commons" arguments at first propagated by Hardin (1968). This argument asserts that when land is communally owned every individual has no motivation to curtail and limit his utilization of the resources, as a result leading inescapably to the abuse of resources. This notion was "falsely attributed to communal property when it really refers to open access land i.e., where there are no communal and social controls over the land". All lands are maintained either communally or privately in many traditional communities. However, the concept of 'vacant', open access or unclaimed land had been pioneered by colonialists and implemented particularly on range and forestlands because of the fact that maps of these places were usually depended on surveys made on one season and missing the pastoralists who are on transhumance. As long as there is no sustained claims to them, some areas could be seen as vacant, however, they were often "considered to be in the sphere of influence of certain tribes, or were the object of expansion and warfare between neighboring tribes." For instance, the Twareg and Fulni of Northern Burkina Faso, "in addition to having areas definitely divided between them, were continuously disputing rights to borderline areas" (ibid).

Moreover, the main feature of "tragedy of the commons" is stated as follows:

Common property will suffer loss and degradation as result of the abuse and over exploitation of resources by individual livestock owners. The individual usually tends to maximize his livestock. As a result, the more livestock owner benefits from maintaining a great number of herds, the more the communal land will be over stocked and overgrazed. Hence, the probability of people wanting to destock is generally low, thus accelerating the decline in the carrying capacity of rangeland (Hardin 1968, cited in Ayalew, 2001:55).

Researchers in pastoralism (both theorists and empiricists) highly refuted the theory of the "tragedy of the commons". They explain that natural resources in pastoral areas are not open to all the members of the community as they are assumed to be. However, indigenous institutions and rules are there to regulate the fair utilization of resources to all the members. In other words, responsibility of access to land is kept for members of a specific social group, group that decides who is going to use it and determine the extent to which they are permitted to utilize it (ibid).

Bonfiglioli (1992:8) quoted in (Ayalew, 2001:56) states that 'Anthropological research has demonstrated that African pastoralists generally have developed common property regimes of controlled access: their use of range takes place within a framework of rules, alliances, and agreements within or between tribes and clans'. Thus, the occurrence of the real "tragedy of the commons" is more associated with incidents when the rules, traditional social arrangements and institutional managing methods are collapsed because of

national incorporation and market integration. During this time, people will have less incentive to protect the resources from damage as individual interests will take priority over group interests. Therefore, the disintegration of the system is aggravated by the exploitative nature of the state on the pastoralist society (Ayalew, 2001:56).

According to Boku Tache (2000:18), although it sounds obsolete "the tragedy of the commons" concept is still influential on informing main policy interventions that attack communal resource-based communities. The proponents were indirectly calling for the individualization of the communal held resources. Lane (1998:6-8) cited in Boku (2000:18) stated that "the tragedy of the commons" idea had been used initially to justify policies for tenure reform, land privatization, the registration of title deeds and formal land use planning. Baxter (1990: Vi) cited in Boku (2000:20) contests that even if "in the west it is still argued that natural resources are best conserved when they are owned privately, there is no evidence at all from Africa that supports this argument; rather, all the evidence suggests just the opposite". In spite of the mounting scholarly criticisms of the "tragedy of the commons" idea, but its adoption in policy remains highly suggestive of "the colonizing power of western ideologies (ibid.) However, pastoralism is an appropriate and efficient adaptation to the arid and semi-arid environments generally inhabited by pastoralists and the crisis encountered by contemporary African pastoralism is caused overwhelmingly by externally imposed factors and inputs (Manger, 1996:224).

2.1.4. Pastoralists Survival Strategies

Pastoralism has proved to be flexible enough to meet changing circumstances. In situations of deteriorating economic resources, age-old strategies of livestock herding may need to change and adjust (Gufu, 1990:40). Survival usually necessitates the adoption of supplementary economic activities such as cultivation and trade. Pastoralists in the horn are becoming largely dependant on cultivation so that many of them involved in a mixed agro-pastoral economy (Assefa, 2000:95). For instance, the Obbu Borana of northern Kenya responded to socio-economic and political events by adopting cultivation as a new economic strategy. In the case of the Obbu cultivation was an opportunity to diversity food sources and give security for the decreasing herds so that families which grew their own food would not sell livestock to buy grain (Oba, 1990:40-41). At the time of 1983/84 drought the "Obbu resumed nomadism, after having been settled for nearly two decades in order to save their surviving livestock; which suggests that farming is not accepted as an alternative to pastoralism but, rather, as an economic strategy that would provide screen to help preserve livestock" (Oba, 1990: 40-41). This is highly indicative that farming and pastoralism seem to oscillate during the occurrences of drought (ibid).

Many societies experiencing famine have reacted to the problem a number of periods in their history. "Famine victims do not respond to stress from a position of ignorance, but from a position of knowledge." They have knowledge of both the tension processes their society suffers as well as the long-term repercussion of their individual actions. This indigenous knowledge is "neither fossilized nor stagnant. It is a means of survival. Traditional wisdom, like any system of knowledge, is constantly evolving, as are the factors causing famine and the political and economic context within which it is set" (Walker., 1995:148).

2.1.5. Indigenous System of Resource Management

The possession of natural resources (land, water, trees, other wild plants and wild life) has been an area concern and discussion for numerous studies in recent years. Resource tenure is defined "as a full and exclusive ownership of resources, or the right to use them without owning it (usufruct), or something between the two". Ownership includes the "right to use the resource, and the right to determine the extent and the nature of use by others". Resource could be individually or communally owned. Communal tenure implies that the "enjoyment of rights is not exclusive to one individual, but is shared collectively by a community" (Niamir, 1995: 248-249).

The most indispensable institutional structures by which societies traditionally achieved appropriate management of land resource was land tenure. African tenure systems differentiated noticeably between rights of access to natural resources and powers of control over their utilization. Access rights were at all times particular to a specified production function (grazing, hunting, cultivation, gathering of fuel wood and other forest products, transit, etc) and based on membership of a specific territorial authorities of that society such as village chiefs (Laban, 1995:200). However, the materialization of colonial and post-colonial administrative system in Africa have highly misrepresented the principles and rules on which access rights to land and vegetation were depended. Besides, the social and cultural foundation of indigenous authority were collapsed and left without being replaced by articulate government body. Likewise, long migration processes and outside influences put forth sever pressures on local customers' right systems (Ibid: 201).

The management of resources like land, water and vegetation ought to be embedded in the socio-economic and environmental milieu of the local societies (ibid: 194). In Africa environmental problems have been severe and prevalent. Thus, any solutions to them without taking part and consultation of the rural communities are not winning. Rather rural societies have to be encouraged to become in charge for the sustainable management of natural resources in their own neighborhood (Breemer et al.1995:97).

Countless studies, scientific as well as practical ones advocate the linking of local groups and institutions for land use and environmental control. This technique is regarded to be a compulsory stipulation for local resource management. In relation to this great consideration was given to the development and importance of local institutions/ knowledge (Breemer and Venema, 1995:5-6).

Tested and passed on by many generations, and well adopted to ecological conditions, indigenous practices and technologies are assumed to offer a sound base for development (Brokensha et al., 1980; Richards, 1985) Regional voluntary associations, too, are considered to be very important. They may contribute to the empowerment of rural groups. Local institution building is advocated (Ibid).

Before few decades, the local resource management has basically acquired the interest of both development practitioners and scientists, beneath various names such as community based management, village land management, grass-roots management, self-governance of common pool resources. These concepts look as if to have two features in common, although they may possibly diverge in highlighting and scope. Initially, they refer to united hard work of the local community to realize sustainable use of resources. Secondly, they refer to the cognizant and deliberate investments in the conservation, rehabilitation or development of natural resources (Breemer and Venema, 1995:3-4). The concept of local resource management could be achieved via the application of the participatory approach to the sphere of local use and management of natural resources. This approach desires that decision-making power and responsibilities must be given to the local community and the communities have to obtain noteworthy divide up in the benefits of their efforts. In line with this approach the "local forms of organization and management should be used to maintain and develop natural resources and effectively control the observance of desirable behavioral changes" (Ibid). "If local knowledge is to be the key to participation and local development, it is the outsiders who have to be convinced, it is outsiders who will have to translate and exploit Indigenous Technical knowledge in projects and programs" (Michael Mc Call 1987 cited in Stigter, 1995:419).

In substantial segment of Africa deforestation, degradation of the soil and impoverishment of flora and fauna leads to grave troubles. Nevertheless, among the crisis that harass African countries the harshest is interconnected to environmental crisis. This argument is acceptable for the explanation that in degraded environments development or even human survival is unattainable. Development practitioners became alert and awake of the relations between resource exhaustion and human sufferings. In addition, it became unmistakable that resource degradation happened due to immense sum because of man-made actions. For instance, resource degradation may demonstrate when rural people have no other preference, however, to make use of methods that degrade the environment (Breemer and Venema 1995:3-4). This is factual and

accurate for the Karrayu transhumant pastoralists (concern of the study) of Ethiopia that a large part of their land was alienated from them by the State-sponsored enterprises. Therefore, the Karrayu have no any other alternative other than degrading the very restricted resources they have at hand, unless other options are given to them

Pastoralists of arid and semi-arid Africa have informal and formal social controls over rangeland utilization; natural resource tenure; and means of enforcement of rules and regulations. By and large formal rules have a propensity to be enshrined in communal codes and traditions which are accredited by all members of the public. These rights and regulations put in order the action of individual members at diverse organizational levels: the herding unit, a group of herding units and the entire tribe. Several herding units have unequivocal domestic organizations for allocating everyday jobs and passing communal decisions. These encompass range scouts, a head man and a council of elders, and daily or weekly meetings along with all household heads. Nearly all pastoral societies put scouts ahead of the herd to monitor the range and to assess its quality, quantity and sustainability for livestock. In addition these scouts report on disease, existence of other herds and extra information indispensable for communal decisions. For instance, the Rufa'a al-Hoi of Eastern Sudan, the Somali nomads and the Wodaabe of Nigeria, have scouts where the scouts are on horseback (Niamir, 1995: 245-246). Quite a lot of pastoral communities in arid and semi-arid Africa do not have internal "police force", for the maintenance and enforcement of rules and regulations. But the enforcement of rules and regulations regarding resource management are made through their indigenous institutions. For instance, some of the rules on land use are so essential that they "appear to be taken for granted as inviolable, and are widely respected, by all groups". These principal rules are 'first come, first served', rights of historical precedence, and rights of continual occupancy. These rules collectively could be expressed as a 'fairness ethic', and do not need formal enforcement because they are included in the moral culture of all communities (ibid: 253).

Informal techniques are part of the social fabric of pastoral communities, where the kinship system and the rules and obligations established by the culture give the stabilizing force. 'Rights must be respected, duties performed, the sentiments binding to members upheld, or else the social order would be so insecure that the material needs of existence could no longer be satisfied'. The strength of indigenous institutions is so strong that "no one would even dream of breaking them" among the pastoralists of arid and semi-arid Africa. Social ostracism is a "powerful tool used by society to keep its members in line, and include social rebuke, shame, or different degrees of social isolation. The society also uses praise and social rewards to reinforce positive actions. The belief in and use of curses can be a powerful tool for ensuring adherence to rules".

Moreover, set of laws of give-and-take obligations are daily reinforcers of rules with reference to tenure, consumption and protection of natural resources. When the "social order and the moral culture" are smashed, these social enforcement rules lose the largest part if not the entire of their power (Niamir, 1995:253-254).

Among all pastoralists informal rules or principles of common sense are in existence. A number of rules are most likely to be common to all groups like "first come, first served". Pastoralists "tend to avoid areas already in use, and will keep at a certain distance of others, although studies tend to be vague about what this minimum distance is, and how it varies with resource stress. In addition, they will avoid areas just recently vacated by others, but the time allowed to elapse before a campsite or pasture is reoccupied again varies among the groups." Certain pastoralist groups have formal organizations for controlling and managing communal wells. For instance, among the Wodaabe of Niger wells are owned by lineage segments and others are permitted to utilize them in accordance with strict rules. Furthermore dry season camps are detached and 70 km far away from the well, Herds are moved every 20-30 days around the well to stay away from overgrazing. In general, formal and informal rules are fundamental in deciding the principles that govern day-to-day decisions made by the pastoralists. The exercise of formal and informal rule leads to the abstinence of the "tragedy of the commons" syndrome. Nevertheless, no satisfactory studies have been undertaken on this aspect, "its neglect has enhanced the myth of irrationality and irregularity among pastoralists" (ibid: 247-248). The description of the study area and the people will thus be the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter Three

Description of the Study Area and the People

3.1. Background to the Oromo

Historical, anthropological and linguistic source have associated the Oromo to the Eastern Cushitic peoples who have been in the Horn of Africa as far as their history is recognized (Buli, 2001:21). Bates (1979) cited in Buli (2001:21) states that the Oromo are extremely very old race, the aboriginal stock possibly on which "most other peoples in this part of east Africa have been grafted." The Oromo are the biggest solitary ethnic group in Ethiopia as well as in east Africa. Although census information are not trustworthy, the census of 1994, estimates that the Oromo make up about (40%) of the Ethiopian populace. However, it must be renowned that the estimation number-wise of the Oromo people varies among scholars between 20-30 million (Hirut, 2000:47)

The Oromo were categorized into two confederacies referred to as Borana and Barentuma between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries (Assefa Jaleta, 1993:1, Buli, 2001:22). Borana is supposed to be the elder brother of Barentuma. The former settled in the central, southern and Western parts of Oromia whereas the Barentuma occupies the eastern and rift valley areas of Oromia. Both of these confederacies have 'sons' that Borana begot Mecha and Tulama while Barentuma begot Tumuga, Humbana, Ittu and Karrayu (concern of this research). Karrayu, who is the son of Barentuma, begot two sons known as Dulcha and Baso. Dulacha is said to be the elder son and Baso is the younger son of the Karrayu (Buli, 2001:22-23). Detail explanation of Karrayu Gossa institution will be presented in chapter four.

The Oromo have experienced very much trauma and apprehension during the twentieth century due to invasion, colonization and partition. Vis-à-vis the European colonization of the largest part of African communities, the Oromo were conquered and colonized by the Abyssinians all through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As of king Sahle Selassie (1813-1848) to Emperors Menelik II (1867-1913) and Haile Selassie I (1930-1936; 1941-1974), the founder of the modern Ethiopian Empire dishonestly and immorally plundered the Oromo people and "recklessly sacked Cushitic cultures, including that of the Oromo's, in the manner comparable to their European colonial counterparts (Zahar 1994). Unique cultures were decimated and local leadership was destroyed (Levine 1972)" (Hamdesa, 2000:80).

In the 1950's and 1960's in the period of Emperor Haile Selassie (1930-1936;1941-1974), the devastation of Oromo culture happened all over the empire.

The overall policies of suppressing Oromo culture and language sharpened during the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie. The new policy directives called for the expansion of (Orthodox) Christianity, the predominance of Amharic culture and language throughout the empire, and the formulation of quick and effective mechanisms of Amharanizing the majority of Oromo's before they could develop their own consciousness and cause problems (Ibid: 80-81).

Before the introduction of Christianity and Islam in the nineteenth century the Oromo had their own indigenous religion by way of worshiping *Waaqa*(God). The belief in *Waaqa* and the follow-on concepts of it dominates the Oromo-world outlook. "In their daily conversations, in their construction of proverbs, songs and riddles, the concept of *waaqa* occupies a central position" It was asserted by countless scholars that Islam was received by the larger Oromo society as a resistant against Abyssinian nationalism, "symbolized by the Orthodox Christian religion, and as an institutionalized channel for expressing opposition to the system of Amhara rule" (Hirut, 2000:67; Mirgisa, 1993: 41; Braukamper, 1980). Had it not been that the Oromo indigenous institutions are demolished and obliterated by factors peripheral to the Oromo, Oromo land might have reached good level of advancement by means of its democratic aboriginal institutions.

Asmarom (2000:93-94) accurately acknowledged that democracy is not a solely western experience. It was not introduced in some finite ancestral European cradled and distributed to other parts of the world. This distribution is, of course,

taking place today but that was not the case prior to the end of the colonial era. The colonialists had no interest whatever in disseminating democracy or in recognizing its existence among the peoples they conquered. Democracy as a political system, was invented again and again in the history of human kind and each time, sociological and cultural features emerged, that help us to gain a deeper understanding of the methods by which humans sought to ensure popular participation in government and to prevent dominant individuals or lineages or classes or ethnic groups from concentrating power in their hands (Ibid).

The Oromo people are one of the many peoples in Africa who created and produced their own diversity of democracy and, as such, their institutions have a say to our understanding of this feature of the human legacy (Ibid).

3.2. The Karrayu Oromo

As far as oral tradition is concerned, the Karrayu originate from Meda Wollabu, an area located between Borana and Bale provinces. Meda Wollabu is believed to be a common place where all Oromo trace their origin. Literally speaking Meda Wollabu means a natural pond or body of water (Ayalew, 2001:152). The Karrayu could be classified as one of the pastoral societies of the Oromo. They share analogous linguistic and cultural affiliation with the entire Oromo. The Karrayu are transhumant pastoralists who up to present

depend a great deal on the management of livestock as a means of nourishment and capital. They exist in "grass shelters and their diet is heavily dependant up on milk, and grains supplement this diet whenever the milk yields decline. It could be said that they have not been integrated into more developed society of the local communities, most of townspeople still considering them to be dirty, poor and unworthy of any form of respect" (Jacobs and Schloeder, 1993:239).

The Karrayu reached the region of Fantale Mountain some 200 years back coming from the highland areas. It was just as a result of the violent character of the Afar that they were incapable to stretch further in to the Afar Triangle in their pursuit for land, that is, "north and east of Fantale Mountain and the confluence of the Kesem and Awash rivers" (Ibid). This reason leads to the settlement of the Karrayu in the areas of Lake Basaqa, Sabober plains and Metahara. Up until now, Karrayu land holdings and lifestyles are still to some extent alike to those of the earlier periods. However, there are quite a lot of modifications to them. At the moment the Karrayu lead a more sedentary life that herds, assets and composition have been declining along with milk yields and during certain periods they have to depend on grains to supplement their diet. Karrayu land property has shrunk restricting them to a lesser vicinity in which they manage to survive. The primary factors for these transformations have to do with large-scale agricultural developments and the establishment of a conservation area in the constituency of Fantale (Ibid: 239-240).

The Dullacha and Basso had their possession of particular territories up to the last one or two generations. The neighborhood of the Basso in those periods extended from the Dega Iddu vicinity east of Mount Fentale and included the entire area of the land at present controlled by the Awash National Park and the area of the small Fentale (Tino Fentale) On the other hand the Dullacha had occupied the areas such as Chercher, Melka Ijlo, Kogne, Arole, which are occupied by the Argobba today and the area of the Kesem River which they identify as Bulga. The Dullacha at the time had a "settlement pattern that they divided into two, namely, Amagne Wore Bulga, (regular inhabitants of the Bulga Area) and Dulecha wore sapansa (regular inhabitants of the Sapansa Area). Sapansa refers to one variety of acacia species (*Acacia senegal*) and the area where it abundantly grows" (Ayalew, 2001:165-166). In view of the fact that the region of the land alienated by the State-sponsored enterprises for the most part belonged to the Basso tribal section, the members of this division were pressed into the territory of the Dullacha (Ibid).

Prior to the introduction of Islam into the Karrayu territory in the 1970's before the Ittu migration and settlement there, the Karrayu practiced their own time-honored religion known as *Waqefata*. However, after the coming of Ittu migrants in the 1970's Islam spread hastily in the area of the Basso Karrayu section than

the Dullacha section. This is due to the fact that the settlements of Ittu migrants were just about totally in the part of the area traditionally occupied by the Basso. In the course of time, displacements and population movements caused the Basso and Dullacha to mix of the traditional sense of territoriality that had existed before. The inspiration of territoriality did not exist between the Basso and Dullacha even though the members refer to their own customary habitats as their territory. All grazing and watering resources including land for settlement are equally accessible to all Karrayu. Consequently, Islam also began to get foothold among the Dullacha even if not at the rate it did among the Basso (Ayalew, 2001: 154-155, 166). Notwithstanding such developments,

The Karrayu still continue to practice their Gada ritual, their centuries-old social and jural institution. Islamic Law (Shariah) and the Gada have certain contradicting features associated with the rule governing their spiritual life and their duties. However, the Karrayu entertain the view that inasmuch as the Gada is their long-standing tradition and system of rule, the Shariah Law cannot nullify it, which is only a recent introduction. It cannot be denied, though, that the steady spread of Islamic practices is a factor in the gradual erosion of the Gada system (ibid: 155).

Several of the Karrayu "still practice their ancestral Animist religion with a few being converts to either Christianity or Islam, where as the Ittu have been almost completely converted to Islam" (Jacobs and Schloeder, 1983:33). As far as my observation at the field site is concerned Islam religion has not yet profoundly altered the original pattern of Oromo culture, hence, until now most local characteristics, specific Oromo beliefs and peculiarities of Oromo values are persisting. Partly the reason for the persisting of Oromo values and Oromo ways of perceiving the world is the fact that the majority of the Dullacha section of Karrayu is still adherents of the indigenous Oromo religion called *Waqqefata*.

3.3. Other Peoples

During the 1950s and 1960s the Karrayu land had been occupied by the Karrayu as a dominant group. Nevertheless, during the last three to four decades, the Ittu Oromo who used to be the immediate eastern neighbors of the Karrayu continued to migrate and establish permanent residences in the traditional Karrayu land.

The Ittu are only recently arrived to the area around Fentale and north of the Awash River. In the early 1950's, competition within their own tribes as well as with the Issa's forced several village groups to seek permission from the Kereyu to settle in the area around kobo. Over the years, more and more village groups have moved slowly in to the conservation Area, specifically around Sogata, Mijassa, Gebaba and Nura Hira, thereby taking up more kereyu land (Jacobs and Schloeder, 1983:33).

Two essential factors could be traced for Ittu migration into the Karrayu land. First after securing the permission of the Karrayu few Ittu pastoralists begun to come into Karrayu land to search for pasture for their cattle on temporary basis. Since the last days of Menelik II this way of getting into and out of the Karrayu area continued. In addition, limited number of Ittu set up permanent settlements in the Karrayu

territory via marriage, friendship and affinities. Moreover, informants stated that permission given to Ittu to settle in Karrayu land is partly because of Karrayu's interest to counter balance their conflict with Afar pastoralists. Second during the early periods of the Dergu regime (1974-91) a large number of Ittu migration was undertaken aggravated by the droughts of 1973/74 and 1984/85 and also because of continuous inter ethnic conflicts with Issa of the Somali. These pastoral and agro-pastoral Ittu migrants came from west Harerge, mainly Habro district with specific localities known as Mulu, Measso, Assobot, Kora and parts of Boredie. The number of Ittu migrants into the Karrayu territory has kept growing and their number now are close to the Karrayu (Ayalew 2001:13). Muderis (1998, cited in Ayalew 2001:14) shows that "on the basis of the survey of 90 households, puts the current proportion of the Karrayu and Ittu population at 58% and 42%, respectively." But, it is highly suggestive that the Ittu could outnumber the Karrayu in the future because of the continuing migration of the Ittu.

People from different places who have settled in the Karrayu territory for long periods may be incorporated into one or the other of the clans through a ritual called *Mogassa*. They are required to undergo this ritual in order to meet the obligations and there by secure benefits that come with being a legitimate member of a given clan. The foremost of such obligations and privileges has to do with the payment of blood prices (*gumma*) in murder cases. Hundreds of people from other groups have thus become incorporated in to karrayu claniship through the ritual of *Mogassa* (Ayalew, 2001:167).

Another category of people residing in the Karrayu land are the Somali (Issa and Gadabursi) who migrated to the area beginning from the end of the reign of Menelik II. They came to the area as railway workers during the construction of Addis Ababa- Djibouti railway. Initially, small numbers of Somali settled permanently in this way and were incorporated into Karrayu claniship via the same ritual stated above. But, later the number of Somali inhabitants in the Karrayu territory increased as their relatives and kinsmen came for visiting and settled there permanently. Similar to that of the Ittu, the Somali also intermarry with the Karrayu. Hence, this affinal ties are responsible for the growing number of the Somali settlers in the Karrayu land. Their number is estimated to be 2000, dwelling in the Karrayu land (Ayalew, 2001:14).

According to the census of 1994 the entire population of the Fentale District (i.e. Karrayu and others) was 116, 149. From this total number, 55,853 are Karrayu and Ittu who occupied the rural areas of Fentale district. Towns' people residing in Metehara and Haro Adi is 23,762. There are also 36,534 Plantation workers, staff and their families living in labor camps and residential quarters in the compounds of the Metahara Sugar Estate. The majority of the labor force that was hired to work in the plantations during their original development is "made up of people from the Kambata ethnic group" (Jacobs and Schloeder, 1993:34). Several of them have at this moment settled permanently in the area, owning houses in the district of Haro Adi and Metahara, or living in the plantation's labor camps.

3.4. Location

This research is about the role of indigenous institutions in resource management among the Karrayu. To this end, in particular, the area of rural part of Karrayu land, currently known as Fentale district, which is located on the edge of the upper valley of the Awash River Basin, will be the pivotal of the study. The Karrayu inhabit the Upper Awash Valley, a part of the Great East African Rift Valley. Karrayu land, according to the administrative division of the current regime, is put in Oromia Regional state, Eastern Shewa zone and Fentale District. It is located at a distance of 200 km East of Addis Ababa. The neighboring groups of the Karrayu territory are the Afar in the north, Arsi Oromo in the South, Ittu Oromo in the East, the Argoba in the West and North West. The Fentale District is geographically located between $30^{\circ} 30' - 40^{\circ}$ longitude East and $8^{\circ} 42' - 9^{\circ}$ latitude North (Ayalew, 2001:13). The railway and asphalt road that linked nucleus of Ethiopia (Addis Ababa) to Djibouti and Asab port passes via Karrayu land.

Regarding the traditional territory of Karrayu land there is no written records. However, according to Ayalew (2001: 108) the Karrayu "lived near Fentale Mountain, the some- what flexible boundaries being the upper northern slopes of Fentale Mountain, then following the ride line west to Dinkuku valley and liala Sala, and south to the Awash River. The river and its flood plain formed the southern boundary, followed by what is known today as the Nura Era Farm to the West and finally north in the western reaches of the Kesem River. But nowadays the Karrayu land holdings have shrunk, containing them to a smaller area in which to subsist. The radius for their movement has become very limited. Their total territory is no larger than 1,000 km². The maximum distance in any one direction is no greater than 40 km, which any healthy herd could cross in just one or two days" (Ayalew 2001: 108).

3.5. Physical Features

3.5.1. Mount Fentale

The physical characteristics of the Karrayu land exhibits varied features. Dominating the scenery in the study area is Mount Fentale. "Its creation, along with several subsequent eruptions from its crater has contributed to the general structure of the area surrounding it (Jacobs and Scholoder: 14). Mount Fentale, is the highest elevation in the area with is about 2007 meters above sea level. In addition, it has a crater with 35 meter depth and 3.5 kilo meter width. There had been extensive lowland plain in the Karrayu land and this plain land was the source of life for the stocks of the Karrayu for it has rich vegetation cover and grass. Nonetheless, this low land plain had been alienated from the Karrayu by the government-sponsored

enterprises. In addition to Mount Fentale and Metahara plain there are two rivers that cross the Karrayu territory known as Awash and Kesem (Bulga) Rivers.

3.5.2. Awash River

The Awash River originates in the highland area around Addis Ababa. From there it first flows southeastward and then eastward into the Koka Dam Reservoir and up on parting the reservoir it then changes its route and flows north and then eastward all the way through to the Rift Valley, until it reaches the Afar Triangle. Therefore, it once more changes its path to flow north-northeast ward, across the desert region of the Triangle, end in the heart of the Danakil Depression in Lake Abe (the lowest vicinity of the Afar Triangle). There are quite a lot of minor tributaries that nourish the Awash River but with only some exceptions they are seasonal rather than permanent" (Jacobs and Scholoder: 20). "Currently the Awash River Basin is the most developed part of Ethiopia in terms of commercial irrigated agriculture, having 70,000 ha's of land already under cultivation and on estimate of potentially irrigable land being close to 206,400 ha's" (Ibid:39).

3.5.3. Kesem/Bulga River

The Kesem/ Bulga River has its origins in the highland east of Addis Ababa in the area of Sheno. Nonetheless, its watershed is quite small and as a result, large sections of the river are acknowledged to recurrently dry up throughout the dry season. Downstream from the Awara Melka plantation this predicament has been compounded due to the plantations high irrigation needs and as a result the Kesem no longer has surface flows during the dry season (Ibid:22). Kesem/Bulga River is found along the border of the Afar, Argoba and Karrayu. Thus, recently this river created conflict among Argoba, Afar and Karrayu. They leared each other, and as a result, they largely never water their stocks there.

3.5.4. Basaqa Lake

Another important physical feature of the Karrayu land is Basaqa Lake. It is located along the Addis Ababa-Assab highway, immediately south of Fentale Mountain and west of Metahara. "It occupies a small rift between two opposing sets of faults and as a result water is able to percolate up through the porous lava blocks to form a large standing body of saline water. This flow of water apparently has its origin in the volcanic bedrock aquifer, although it is believed to some extent, the fluvial sedimentary aquifer is probably in hydraulic continuity with the volcanic bedrock aquifer" (Jacobs and Scholoder: 22). Because of its high salt content, the lake could not be used for watering livestock as well as human consumption. It has a great pressure on the environment and its people.

Lake Basaqa has never been known for its potable water, either for livestock or humans. What it has been known for is its ability to increase its size which has resulted in a significant loss of grazing land to the Karrayu, its ability to contaminate local wells, its effects on the agricultural schemes and the transportation system, and a gradual loss of some of its aquatic life (Ibid:74).

The lake is extremely expanding from its original size of 3.5 square kilometer to 35 square kilometer in the last 20 years. This increase has resulted in a significant loss of dry season grazing surroundings for the Karrayu transhumant pastoralists. The specific causes cited for the expansion of the Lake Basaqa were/are "poor irrigation practices and the poor state of the irrigation infrastructure at the Abadi Farm which allows a large volume of water to escape the canals and enter the Lake basin (also the aquifer); and, the degradation of Lake Basaqa's catchments area from overgrazing by livestock which has resulted in a loss of vegetation, a loss of organic matter and structure, and soil compaction." (Ibid: 22-23).

3.6. Climate

Concerning climatic condition of the Karrayu land, the area is situated in what is described in Ethiopia as the semi-arid or 'Gollis' zone, a zone, which has been defined as those areas, which take delivery of an annual rainfall between 400-700mm. The inadequate amount of rainfall is as a result of being placed inside a low pressure convergence zone more frequently referred as the Inter-Tropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ) (Jacobs and Scholoder:12). The occurrence of rainfall in the Karrayu land is very much sparse and erratic in that it comes only two to three times in a year. The main and largest rainfall is locally known as *Ganna*, which occurs from July to September. Another rainfall season of a year is locally referred as *Afrasa*, which happens from February to April. Rainfall occurs during two separate rainy seasons the "small" rains and the "big" rains. The "small" rains, which habitually start in February and go to the end of April, are a "result of the convergence of moist southeast winds from the Indian Ocean with the dry northeast airstreams. In general rainfall during this time is unreliable, and usually falls as a light rain". The "big" rains, which are more consistent, occur from July through September and are a "result of very wet winds from both the India and Atlantic Oceans meeting over the highland areas". Powerful thunderstorms repeatedly occur during this season and may occasionally consequence in flash flooding" (Jacobs and Scholoder: 12). Regular sunshine, united with high temperatures and unreliable rainfall has resulted in high evaporation rates in this constituency (Ibid: 14)

3.7. Soil

According to Jacobs and Schloeder (1993:23, 146) the soil types of the Karrayu land are distinct because of considerable mixing between types (Figure 6). There one can find an extensive under-layer of dense

welded tuff which has since been covered by either a thin coating fine, wind-blow dust of lacustrine origin, thick layers of alluvial and/or colluvial deposits, and/or dense layers of ash and volcanic debris. Both the Awash River and Lake Basaqa are responsible for large depositions of alluvial sediments over the welded tuff layers, which extended up to the base of Mount Fentale. The reason for this is that the Awash River has changed its course on many occasions over time; Lake Basaqa's area has, on at least two occasions, been ten times larger than its present size.

Jacobs and Schloeder (1993:26) classify the soil types of study area in to three major categories:

1. Soils of volcanic origin: It consists regosols and andosols, soils whose parent material are derived from basalt gravel of colluvial origin, and those that are the result of the eruptive nature of the parent rocks. These soil types are found at the base of Mount Fentale and throughout the Metahara area.
2. Ancient alluvia and Colluvia soils: These include two soil types first, solochaks which occur on alluvial and colluvial slopes and are found in the marsh areas of the hot springs. Second, histosols, which have a thick organic horizon and are found in permanent swamps and marshes. These are commonly found in the Ilala sata plains and in all the hollows bordering the Awash River where the water flows permanently in numerous channels.
3. Recent alluvia soils: These consist of fluvisols that is soils developed from recent alluvial deposits and which are found along the banks of the Awash River and on irrigated farms.

The following chapter of the thesis will discuss about the description of major indigenous institutions among the Karrayu and their change and continuity in the face of extensive external pressures.

Chapter Four

Descriptions of Major Indigenous Institutions among the Karrayu Transhumant Pastoralists

The Karrayu transhumant pastoralists had governing indigenous institutions that successfully administered and managed the day-to-day activities of the society and served to hold complex issues of great social and economic importance. Among the very fundamental things that the indigenous institutions had functioned and still to some extent are functioning include resource management, resolution of inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic conflicts, coordination and organization of collective labor, and the arrangement and undertaking of different ceremonies linked with religious and ritual life of the community. Indigenous institutions, which are created, based on people's long-established customs, values and beliefs perform a wide range of economic, social, cultural and political functions among the Karrayu before their weakening due to external pressures by the introduction of State-sponsored enterprises such as Awash National Park, Metahara Sugar Plantation and Nura Era Plantation in the Karrayu territory as well as the superimposition of successive Ethiopian government administrative structures. The most common indigenous institutions which are useful to certain extent today among the Karrayu for resource management as well as to perform a wide range of social, cultural, economic and political functions are *Gada*, *Gossa*, *Qallu*, *Arara*, *Siinqqee*, *Debere*, *Hirppa*, *Ganda* and *Jigjee* institutions.

4.1. The *Gada* Institution

The *Gada* is the most studied indigenous African institution. The sixteenth-century Abyssinian ecclesiastic by the name of Bahrey (1654) is the first writer on the *Gada* institution. In addition, travelers, diplomats, and social scientists studied the *Gada* institution during the 19th and 20th centuries, many of them recognized and confirmed it that it is distinctively democratic. For instance, W. Ploweden (1868), who traveled in the area in the 19th century, acknowledged that among republicans' systems, *Gada* is superior. Astime Giorgis (1966), another Abyssinian writer at the end of the 19th century, wrote that the *Gada* institution unites and mobilizes all members of Oromo society into a formidable and indestructible force. Paul Baxter (1978:151), a British anthropologist, writes "They [Oromo's] have especially captured the imagination of travelers and ethnographers because of their ancient, enduring and complex systems of age-grading, *Gada*, which, it has been consistently reported, has also served as the basis of a uniquely democratic political system" (Hamdessa, 2000:84-85).

According to Asmarom (2000:127) 'Gada is a method of ensuring that all groups take turns in assuming the authority and responsibility to perform domestic labor, take part in wars, lead their people, make laws, adjudicate conflict and, after partial retirement, sit in judgment of the ruling *Gada* class and give legislative leadership to their people. All these activities are performed sequentially during a major part of the life cycle. As such, *Gada* is an effective method of distributing authority and responsibility across the whole life course. It is the tool that people use to realize their commitment to inter-generational equity'. The *Gada* institution is a system of generation classes that succeed each other every eight years in assuming political, military, judicial, legislative and ritual responsibilities (Ibid:104). He also stated that '*Gada* is an elaborate, well-constructed system for distributing power among all the generational segments of the society. All generations enjoy different kinds of power at different stages of the life course' (Ibid: 128). Writing about the *Gada* institution, Asmarom (2000:103) argues:

It is the heart of the political-military organization and of those ritual systems that are connected with the life cycle. So deep is the people's identification with this institution that it stands at the core of the Oromo cultural identity. It continues to play that role today and serves as the Oromo national icon even in areas where the institution has lost some of its functions under the weight of colonial rule, cultural assimilation, religious proselitization, and a communist revolution. Any institution that can withstand such onslaught does, I believe have some staying power.

For the purpose of this thesis, I would like to limit myself to the discussion of the change and continuity of roles of the *Gada* institution in resource management aspect of the Karrayu transhumant pastoralists only because of the fact that mentioning the whole function of *Gada* in the Karrayu life is beyond the scope of this thesis. In the past the *Gada* institution was a very lively and energetic institution, which used to take part with a noteworthy responsibility in the social, political and religious lives of the Karrayu. This institution has become weaker in various vicinities of the Oromo because of its substitution by modern government administration.

According to Karrayu elder informants, H aji Boru Ruqessa, Haji Hawas Abomssa, Boru Waday, and other participants in the focus group discussions (FGDs) there are five *Gada* classes among Karrayu community. Every *Gada* class governs the Karrayu society for eight successive years. The Karrayu society is genealogically divided into five *Gada* classes. The five *Gada* classes' are Robelle, Dirmejji, Melba, Michille, and Halchissa. The two Karrayu clan divisions, Dullacha and Basso have their own independent *Gada* rule and regulation. The *Gada* institution organizes the Karrayu into five *Gada* classes (*Gada Shenan*), which turn by turn take political, social, economic and religious power and responsibilities every eight years. At the period of the transfer of power from one *Gada* class to the other the *Abba Boku* who hand over his power to the incoming *Abba Boku* shaves his hair at the spot. In the past when Karrayu *Gada* was so strong the

livestocks of *Abba Boku* (Gada head) were grazed and watered separately from livestock of the ordinary *Karrayu*. This separation happened due to his position i.e., to express their respect to the *Abba Boku*. For the *Abba Boku* various kinds of gifts and jewellery were provided by the society on different occasions. The order the *Abba Boku* issued must be implemented that this is similar to that of prime minister or president of a country in the formal government system. Any kind of problems that occurred in the society was informed to the *Abba Boku*.

There is no major difference among the Gada rituals of the Dullacha and Baso. Nevertheless, there are some modification and changes in the Gada rituals of the Baso because the majority of the Baso became followers of Muslim religion compared to that of the Dullacha. With regard to herd property the Baso are more destitute than the Dullacha and because of their destitution, the majority of the Baso are incorporated into the plantation agriculture and settled around the plantation. Informants explained that there are many deviations on the performance of Gada rituals of the Baso Gossa from the tradition. There is a lot of absenteeism from the Gada ritual by the members of Baso clan. When undertaking the Gada rituals everything is done hastily, many steps are skipped, and they are making the Gada rituals simply for the sake of doing and in order not to be blamed that the Gada power transfer is suspended or interrupted during their time. On the side of the Dullacha the Gada ritual is performed well and in accordance with *Karrayu* tradition. There is no absenteeism, and everything is elaborate that the steps and procedures of the ritual are consistent, and started according to schedule.

According to my informant, Tedecho Boru the Gada institution has profound change and weakness in the last 30 years.

I could not tell you there is exactly Gada institution at present when compared to the past. A generation younger than 30 years old knows very little about *Karrayu* Gada. In the past when the *Karrayu* Gada was so strong it is prohibited to cut flowers let alone big trees without the permission of the Gada leaders. But now many individuals cut big trees for charcoal making and firewood without the consent and permission of Gada leaders. In the past when the *Karrayu* Gada was very active the death and birth of individuals in the *Karrayu* is traced by five Gada classes taking power one after the other, which means the institution serves as a calendar. Now *Karrayu* elders are very much distressed and unhappy for the weakness of the Gada institution.

With regard to the management of natural resources such as pasture, water and forests the Gada institution have lost almost all of its powers nowadays that the breakdown of the socio-political system has eliminated the enforcement powers that the Gada leaders had before. A case in point is that the practice of privately enclosing communal grazing lands and the cutting of trees to make charcoal and firewood magnified and become beyond the control of the Gada leaders. This is highly suggestive of the weakness of the Gada institution because in the past when the *Karrayu* Gada was so strong, there was no private

enclosing of communal grazing land and trees were not cut down without the consent and permission of Gada leaders.

The current Abba Gadas are Qumbi Gada (Dullacha) and Fentale Waday (Basso). Both *Abba Gadas* are living at Harro Qarssa Kebele. However, as a traditional rule the *Abba Gadas* of Dullacha and Basso could not settle at one place together. Boru Wady said this happened due to scarcity of resources. As a rule when one of the *Abba Gada* settles at Fentale, the other one resides at Tututi. *Abba Gadas* are not consulted nowadays by the *Karrayu* to move their livestock from one area to the other. The past respect given to the *Abba Gadas* is not given nowadays. The power of the *Abba Gadas* is limited to the *Gandas* where the *Abba Gadas* reside. For instance, both *Abba Gadas* of Dullacha and Basso are living at Harro Qarssa *kebele*, and then the residents of this *kebele* bring any case to these *Abba Gadas* to be resolved. Nevertheless, individuals conflicting in other areas take their cases of any sort (dispute on resource issues and other things) to their own government appointed *kebele* officials. They do not take their cases to *Abba Gadas* residing at Harro Qarssa. This indicates the reduction of the power of the *Abba Gadas* from administering the whole *Karrayu* land.

During focus group discussion *Karrayu* informants forwarded ideas for the revival, strengthening and reconstruction of Gada institution by explaining that the Gada institution has been weakened due to its destruction by successive Ethiopian regimes.

We want to request Chaffee Oromia to assign budget for the strengthening, revival and reconstruction of our Gada institution. We think Chaffee Oromia like our Gada and if so it should have to support us and help the strengthening of Gada. We like our Gada very much. We have interest to be administered by Gada side by side with the formal government administration. We have interest to select and use important elements from Gada institution and leave few others. Hence, we need our representatives administer us via Gada rules and regulations by getting positions in the government organs.

4.2. The Gossa Institution

According to Baxter (1968 quoted in Bull 2001:22) 'each of the several Oromo groups cherishes, as part of its oral tradition, descent from an eponymous ancestor or family stock named Oromo or *Orma*; that they are each and all *ilma Orma* i.e., literally 'children of' or 'descendants of' *Orma* or the *Orma* family.' 'The Oromo often say *ilma Oromo*, *afan Oromo* and *biyya* [land/country] Oromo referring to common ancestry, common language and common territory. *Afan Oromo* is a Cushitic language belonging to Afro-asiatic family of language' (Hirut, 2000:48). It is to be recalled that in the topics discussed earlier it was very well stated that from the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries the Oromo had been organized in two confederacies referred to as Borana and Barentuma. Accordingly, Borana is believed to be the elder brother of Barentuma. Both

Borana and Barentuma have 'sons' that Borana begot Mecha and Tulma while Barentuma begot Tumuga, Humbana, Ittu and Karrayu (One I study in this research) (Asseffa Jalata, 1993:1; Buli, 2001:22).

During in-depth interviews, Tedecho Boru and Fentale Gelo explained that Karrayu, who is the son of Barentuma, begot two sons, Dullacha (the elder) and Basso (the younger). Then Dullacha and Basso constitute the two major Gossa of the Karrayu. Dullacha has two 'sons' called *Shanan Dayyu* (Five Dayyus) and *Boora saden* (the three booras). In addition, each of these is branched in to smaller Gossa. On the other hand, Basso has three 'sons' known as *Torban ilu* (the seven ilu), *Torban Koyye* (the seven koyyes) and *Abbayyi-Diga Boerre-Kuufaye*. Again, each of these is divided in to smaller Gossa's.

Among the Karrayu, the Gossa institution plays very important functions in the life of each individual member in various social happenings like marriage, mourning ceremonies, initiation and rituals of its members. Gossa institution also has significant role in protecting its members from any threat that comes from outsiders, in resolving critical problems that its members may face. For instance, at the times of marriage Gossa contributes in cash or in kind to the bridewealth. In addition, if someone from a particular Gossa kills a member of neighboring ethnic groups, it is the Gossa who pays all the necessary compensations referred to as *Gummaa* (blood price) to the victims' relatives of the neighboring ethnic groups by discussing about the conflict through the *Arara* institution (peace making ceremony). The relationship between Gossa and the individual member is reciprocal. That is, to get all the necessary protection and assistance one may need from one's Gossa, an individual must fulfill his duties and obligations as required by his Gossa. As a rule, all members are expected to respect the rule of Gossa and abide by its norm, take part in all activities that need the participation of members.

The Gossa institution has its own system of administration. The head of Gossa institution is known as *Damina*. In the Karrayu society, every Gossa has its own *Damina* and the recruited *Damina* from every Gossa stands for the protection of the individual rights and obligations, values, manner and moral conduct. *Daminas* are selected from each of the Gossa depending on their capabilities. *Damina* resolve problems and conflicts within and outside the Karrayu Gossa. The *Damina* is charged with different responsibilities. First, he keeps the peace and welfare of the Gossa; protects individuals from discrimination and injustice; calls up on the elders to reconcile disputants; looks after the appropriate performance and integrity of individual and group herding management practices. Second, responsible to bring the head of a household to a charge if he does not care for the wellbeing of his own family. Third, *Damina* is responsible to penalize individuals who do not manage their livestock properly.

The leading authority in making decisions among the community on issues of resource management and other matters, the *Damina* is sometimes called by the name *Abba Halanga* (decision maker). The households who lost their livestock as a result of drought and animal diseases were able to restock through the *Damina*. The *Damina* make the *Gossa* members contribute some animals in order to help the households who lost their livestock. Among the *Karrayu*, *Gossa* institution has paramount significance in coordinating and organizing every *Gossa* member of the *Karrayu*. When problems faced their *Gossa* members each of them contribute in kind or in cash to alleviate the problems their individual *Gossa* member encountered. The contribution varies depending on the degree of seriousness of the problem, in that when the problem is heavy the whole *Gossa* is expected to contribute whereas if the problem is of little scope some of the *Gossa* members are asked to lend their hands by the *Damina*.

The power of the *Damina* is not restricted to a *Ganda*. On the contrary, the *Damina* of a *Gossa* is responsible to the members of its *Gossa* no matter whichever *Ganda* they live. For instance, the *Damina* at the *Dheetrili kebele* is responsible to the member of its *Gossa* living at the *Galcha kebele*. The members of the *Gossa* conduct the election of the *Damina*. They elect the individual to be their *Damina* particularly after a thorough discussion and consensus on his capacity to organize the *Gossa*. The individual who became *Damina* must know efficiently and fully the culture and the tradition of the *Karrayu*. After the *Gossa* elected their *Damina* a bull is slaughtered. The elders touch the *Damina* by the blood of the bull, praise him and give him whip (*alanga*). Elders' praise the *Damina* as follows:

Abawtu baalee!
Eebawtu maajarsi!

When you curse, have the power to destroy
When you bless, have the power to make it flourish

In the past before the weakening of the *Gossa* institution, *Gossa* is responsible in controlling the property of the members of its group's. In the past, the *Karrayu* consult and convince the *Damina* why they are selling their livestock before they take their animals to market. For instance, head of the household could not sell his cattle without discussing and getting the consent from his *Gossa*. However, in recent times, they rarely consult the *Damina*, this kind of control does not exist, and an individual can sell his property without *Gossa*'s consent. The intervention of the *Gossa* nowadays comes late and *Gossa* tries to control its members after half or all of the property of the household is destroyed up on the request by his wife or children. The intervention is therefore, superficial that the *Gossa* does this for the sake of doing.

4.3. Qallu Institution

In the older literature the Qallu institution was known as "Abba Mudaa or Abba Mudana; the term being derived from one important ritual-Muda-in which the Qallu is the principal figure. Abba Muda simply means the 'father' or 'owner' of the Muda, ritual. It is important to realize that Qallu and Abba Mudaa refer to one and the same type of ritual leader in Oromo political and ritual life"(Asmarom; 2000:94). The Qallu are the ritual leaders of the Oromo. They are 'showered with gifts and, in turn they give their blessings. They are empowered to oversee the election of Gada leaders but they and their kin are forever barred from holding such office. They may not bear arms or shed blood' (Ibid: 2001).

Qallu are considered the spiritual leaders of Oromo religion. The Oromo believe that Waqqa (God) speaks to them through the Qallu. Informants explained that as Muslims believe in messages of the Prophet Muhammad or as Christians believe in the words and messages of Jesus Christ, the Oromo believe and respect the orders and the words of the Qallu. According to Bull (2001: 28-29); Assefa Jalata (1993) the Qallu institution is 'the flesh and bone of Oromo traditional religion called Waqeffannaa'. The Qallu is the same to a bishop in Christianity and an Imam in the Muslim religion. Qallu is regarded as the most senior person in the lineage and Gossa. He is the most respected in the society and considered pure and clean. The Qallu, even though, has no political authority; he certainly has a significant role in the society. During the transition of "Gada class from one Gada grade to another, the Qallu oversees the general procedure of the traditional rites, anoint and bless the participants" (Bull, 2001:28-29). In every political and ritual performance of any Gada class, the presence of the Qallu is obligatory. His presence as a religious figure reinforces the moral binding of the people to Gada politics (Ibid).

According to my informants, Roba Fentale, Gelo Gurracha, and Delale Measso the Qallus do not consume the milk and meat of camel. They also said the Qallus do not eat the meat of edible wild animals. The non-Qallu Karrayu who consume the milk and meat of camel and of other wild animals are known as *ummatta* (ordinary Karrayu). Whenever someone asks the Karrayu about the Qallus, the immediate answer is that "Qallus are individuals who do not drink the milk of a camel". They do not go to the detail and mention that the Qallus do not consume the meat of camel and of other wild animals.

Qallus jechuun warran sarran qallat hindhuqre

Qallus are those individuals who do not drink camel's milk.

The reason for the Qallus abstaining from both drinking the milk and eating the meat of a camel is linked to the legend of a camel disappearing with a girl mounting it. There was a girl of a Qallu who was unmarried even if

her age was gone beyond the age of marriage. She stayed with her parents for long because she did not have a husband. When her parents move from place to place in performance with the demands of their pastoral life they put her on the back of a camel when she got tired of walking on foot. What happened next was as much soul rending as it was down hearting. No sooner did her parents help her mount the camel that the camel took to its feet and disappeared. The parents then bent on searching for their lost daughter, but to no avail. They could not tell if the camel with their girl on its back had either faded into the thin air above or sank into the earth below. Since then, the *Qallus* did not drink the milk nor did they eat the meat of camel. However, before this incident the *Qallus* preferred and did use among other things the milk and meat of camel. Informants said that even the *Qallus* believe that *Waqqa* (God) creates camel for the consumption of the *Qallus*. Nonetheless, after this incident and still now the *Qallus* never consume the products of camel and wild animals at all. *Qallus* believe that bad things will happen on them if they consume the by products of camel and wild animals. They explained to me what happened recently to the *Qallu* called Tedecho Shiffta due to his drinking of camel's milk. After he drank the camel's milk, his mouth and tongue were seriously injured and in effect, he was virtually unable to eat food and drink water up to the time he was cured latter by the prayer of *Qallu* elders to *Waqqa* (God). They said *Waqqa* (God) gave mercy to him due to the prayers of the elders.

According to one of my key informants, *Gelo Gurracha Qallus* are those individuals who become *Qallus* by birth. He as well said that in other areas *Qallu* might be those individuals who have spirit dwelt on them. However, the *Qallus* in the *Karrayu* area are those individuals who have no any spirit dwelt on them and their function is simply begging *Waqqa* (God). He said *Qallus* could not cure patients but their main function is begging *Waqqa* (God) to avoid disasters and catastrophes and bring good things to the community. He expressed what *Qallu* means as follows:

*Qallu jichaan umamaan kamaa jille wana qabani. Wani Qallu kunii yookaan waa ilaalee,
 calaa wala laataa waa hirtamu. Inni kan inni baakuu, waqqa kadhachuu duwwaadha. Yoo kadhatee
 waqqa nifhaqadhaaf.*

Qallu are those individuals who are given special quality by birth. *Qallus* do not have any magical power. Nevertheless, what *Qallu* knows is begging *Waqqa* (God). *Waqqa* (God) hears them.

The *Qallus* belong to some *Gossas* in the *Dullacha* and *Basso* of the *Karrayu*. For instance, in the *Dullacha Gossa* there are two *Qallu* sub-*Gossas*. These are *Gurracho* and *Mullata*. Both *Gurracho* and *Mullata* sub-*Gossas* are not wholly *Qallus*. However, half of the *Gurracho* are *Qallus* and the other half are *ummatta* (ordinary *Karrayu*). Similarly among the *Mullata* half are *Qallus* and the other half are *ummatta* (ordinary *Karrayu*). Those parts of the people who are categorized as *ummatta* (ordinary *Karrayu*) in both *Gossa* drink the milk and eat the meat of camel. They also eat the meat of edible wild animals in the society. Therefore,

those individuals in the Gurracho and Mullatta sub-Gossa who drink the milk and eat the meat of camel and other wild animals are known as *ummatfa* (ordinary Karrayu), whereas, those part of the Gurracho and Mullatta sub-Gossa who do not consume the by-products of camel and wild animals are called *Qallus*.

In the Oromo culture peoples of other ethnic groups (non-Oromo) could change their identity to Oromo by means of *Moggassa* institution. The same is true in the Karrayu society because they are Oromo. The Karrayu make non-Oromos members of their clan through the *Moggassa* institution. Accordingly, *Qallus* in the Gurracho and Mullatta sub-Gossas could make people of other ethnic groups part of their clan by *Moggassa* institution but both could not make these individuals *Qallu*. Informants stressed that Karrayu of different Gossas and even the other half of the Gurracho and Mullatta could not in any way become *Qallus*. They underlined that becoming *Qallu* is beyond the will of human beings and only *Waqqa* (God) gives it.

The *Qallus* in the past were not buried in graves dug by humans. When the *Qallus* died the Karrayu simply put the deceased on the open space by covering the corpus with the fatten cell (*morra*) obtained from the entrails of slaughtered cattle. After that, the sky becomes cloudy and a wave of wind will take away the dead body. This situation continued up to the death of the *Qallu* by the name called *Sunnee*. After all formalities were fulfilled the Karrayu as usual put the corpse of the deceased on the open space. Wave of wind refused to take the corpse of *Sunnee* and Karrayu begun burying *Qallus* by digging holes in the earth. Informants linked the refusal of the wave of wind to take the deceased body because of the sins of the *Qallus*. They stated that in the past the *Qallus* did not engage in conflict with any body. The *Qallus* never insult individuals and even when others insult them, they responded positively and went to the extent of praising those who insult them. However, informants explained that other individuals do not engage in dispute with the *Qallus*; instead, the *Qallus* have great honor and reputation in the community.

The community used to tell the *Qallus* whenever problems happened such as epidemic diseases, war, scarcity of rainfall and so on. The *Qallus* begged the *Waqqa* (God) for these problems to be resolved. During FGDs informants said that the *Qallus* make rituals once in a year on the top of *Gaara Fentale* (Mount Fentale) by slaughtering a bull. During the ceremony, they beg *Waqqa* (God) for the well-being of the society. They denounce epidemic diseases and neighboring ethnics who are at war with them. They also beg *Waqqa* to give them rain. The *Qallus* have their own *Gandas* and the Karrayu call these areas as *Ganda Qallus*. Whenever scarcity of rainfall happened in the Karrayu land, the Karrayu go to the *Ganda Qallus* in mass and request the *Qallus* to pray to *Waqqa* (God) to give them rain. The mass of people who go to the *Ganda Qallus* asks the *Qallus* to pray for them in this way:

*kuufi tonaa'ee, horif tu jalaa wan nyaatu dhahee,
karaaf waqqa akka kuuf kadhattan.*

The land became dry, our livestock starved due to the scarcity of rainfall. We came here to ask you to pray to Waqqa (God) to give us rain.

After listening to the requests, the Qallus responded to the community in this way:

Waaqni isin haa dhaga'u. Ani waa homaa harkaa hinqabuu. Rabi isin haa dhaga'u

We want Waqqa (God) to hear your voice. We have nothing on our hand. We say Waqqa (God) hear your voice.

There are instances when the Qallus curse the community as they feel that the community did not honor and respect them. They ask Waqqa (God) not to give rain and Waqqa (God) stop the rains. During this time, the communities go to the Qallus and ask them for forgiveness.

4.4. The Arara Institution

In the Oromo culture, there has been a rise of immense interest in the Oromo indigenous techniques of conflict resolution. The Oromo work very hard to manage conflict on three different stages: "to prevent social conflict from occurring; if it occurs, to prevent it from escalating; and if it escalates, to make peace between the conflicting parties through the intervention of the *Jarsa biya* (elders of the community)" (Hamdesa, 2000:82). In the Karrayu society eldership is not merely a matter of physical age. Nonetheless, any married man who can articulate Karrayu social life in terms of *heera*, *seera* and *aada* could succeed in getting the status of elderly and a political figure. Eldership is the "ability to handle cases of dispute and others skillfully, speak persuasively, and have a dignified personality in treating each and every individual, poor or rich, equally" (Buk, 2001:25-26). During participant observations I observed that the elders in the Karrayu society at the levels of sub-Gossa could resolve and give solutions to minor cases like disputes between individuals within the same Gossa or sub-Gossa, disputes between husband and wife and the like. However, cases related to homicide and issues that are addressed with neighboring ethnic groups such as Afar and Argobba, plantation scheme and the Awash National Park are referred to the famous elders from the two major Karrayu Gossa known as Dullacha and Basso. The elders from the Dullacha and Basso jointly act as a single entity in order to defend the interests of the Karrayu as a whole.

Arara institution is the widely used institution for adjudication of both civil and criminal disputes. The main advantages of Arara institution as compared to the formal justice system mentioned by the informants during the focus group discussions are less costly, easily accessible, simple in procedure and formality,

effective and efficient, less time consuming, impartial and free of corruption, highly participatory and transparent to the public in the locality. The members of the *Arara* institution are selected based on personal characteristics such as truthfulness, generosity, and deep knowledge of customary laws, which the community considers as the centers of its value. Most of the collective or individual conflicts in the civil, criminal or commercial fields are resolved through the informal institution known as *Arara*. The institution handles most of the minor and serious issues presented to it. They stated that in most situations, the institution itself takes the cases voluntarily without any formal invitation from the disputants to mediate the disagreement to restore peace and stability. Any type of conflict resolution tribunals are held publicly in their proceedings, so that every adult member of the society could participate and any bypasser can attend the proceeding of dispute resolution.

The *Arara* institution has a big role to play in conflict resolution whether the conflict is within their own ethnic group or with members of other ethnic groups. The Karrayu still prefer to take many of their cases and grievances to *Damina* who make decisions with elders instead of taking their cases to *kebele* or *Wereda* court. *Arara* institution, except two things, settles many cases of conflicts in the Karrayu society. The first refers to the conflicts between the Karrayu and neighboring ethnic groups such conflicts are taken to Fentale District Administration (FDA), particularly when their livestock are looted by the Afar they appeal to the FDA in order to see their livestock returned. At this time, they also try to negotiate with the conflicting party on their own to retrieve their livestock. Secondly, female students themselves appeal cases of early marriage of girls who are attending schools to FDA in order to cancel the proposed marriage. In addition, sometimes cases of female genital mutilation are also brought to FDA. Beyond these other intra-Karrayu conflicts are resolved through the *Arara* institution and are not mostly reported to government institution.

It has been found that the *Arara* peace-making ceremony between the Karrayu and non-Oromos such as the Afar and Argobba is to some extent different from the *Arara* peace-making ceremony between the Karrayu and Arsi and Ittu Oromos. Let me first begin with the *Arara* Peace-making ceremony between Karrayu and non-Oromos (Afar and Argobba). I would like to illustrate the *Arara* Peace-making ceremony between Karrayu and Afar because more than any one else the Karrayu mostly confronted with the Afar and make *Arara* peace-making ceremony with them. The *Arara* peace-making ceremony between the Karrayu and Afar is undertaken by the slaughtering of bull. For instance, if the Karrayu kills the Afar, a bull is slaughtered at the village of the Karrayu. The elders of the Afar side come to the village of the Karrayu and live in the newly built house up to the end of the *Arara* peace-making ceremony. In addition to the bull to be slaughtered during the ceremony the Karrayu who killed the Afar is asked by elders to give one hundred

livestock and 2000 Birr in cash as blood money (*Gumma*). The nearest relative of the deceased is called by the elders to take a look at the bull before the slaughtering. Satisfied, after observing the bull and checking whether the bull is fatten and appropriate, the person tells his assent to the elders to slaughter the bull. After the bull is slaughtered, half of the meat of the bull is given to the Karrayu and the other half to the Afar. Both sides eat their shares.

In order to feed the elders of both sides and other participants in the *Arara*/peace-making ceremony, the *Gossa* members of the individual who killed the Afar contributed money to buy grains for the food. They also contribute milk and butter for use in the food preparation. *Khat* is also bought from the towns of Metehara or Haro Adi for the elders. Sugar, salt and coffee are some of the materials bought for the peace-making ceremony to prepare food and drinks for the elders. Cigarettes are also bought and given to those elders who smoke. Cloth is also bought for the elders to sit on at the peace-making ceremony and the 2000 Birr will be put on the cloth. At the times of in-depth interviews informants stated that all expenditures the *Gossa* members contributed for the performance of the *Arara* /peace-making ceremony would be deducted from the total amount (blood money) decided by the elders on the killer. Expenses for food, drinks, stimulants (*Khat* , coffee, sugar, and cigarettes), salt, milk, butter, food, cloth and so on are added together and subtracted from the total amount the elders decided to be paid as blood money (*Gumma*).

Although in theory 100 livestock and 2000 birr are decided, in practice after deducting all expenses in most instances around 35 livestock and 2000 Birr is finally given as blood money (*Gumma*). From the 2000 birr given as blood money, there is the share of the elders of both sides. The rest of the money will be provided to the relatives of the individual who is killed. The Afar side after collecting the blood money (*Gumma*) in kind and cash go to their home and this is the end of the *Arara*/peace-making ceremony. Beginning from this period both sides do not search each other for retaliation. The same procedure is followed when the Afar side kills the Karrayu and when they solve the problem through *Arara*/ peace-making ceremony.

However, the *Arara*/peace-making ceremony between/ among the Oromo groups (Karrayu, Arsi and Ittu) is to some extent different from the *Arara* ceremony described above. My key informant Haji Hawas Abomssa shortly explained that the *Arara*/peace-making ceremony between the Karrayu, Arsi and Ittu as follows:

Waxan Oromo Sarraaya aitta. Chiqa qilaa karnani hinchisan. Antalas nikennu... garascha kessaa baasani, garaschaaas uranni, harka lamaani walqabachiisu. Damma fidani harkarraa wafaradhiisu. Chiidhaa garaa walqibani, aaman waluru; erbee (bile) tokkora teessisu; namoonni kun yeroo hundaa ja laawaa walhiraaleen.

The *Arara*/peace-making among the Oromo is different. In addition to the slaughtering of a bull, each side exchanges gifts. The stomach of the slaughtered bull is pierced and through the hole thus created across the stomach, both sides thrust and shake their hands. Both sides lick honey from each

side's hand. Both sides dab/smeared each other's stomach by butter. Both sides drink each other a cup of milk. Both sits on small leather put on the ground together. Since that time both sides do not find each for revenge.

Roba Fentale Gelo stated that there is great transformation in the social interactions among the Karrayu. He says that in recent past the social relationships between the Karrayu of different clans and *Gandas* used to be interesting that everybody likes each other, give respect and dignity to each other. But nowadays these situations are somehow transformed and become more complicated. He said at this moment, minor disputes between the Karrayus are being taken to the formal court of the state. He expressed the condition as follows:

Currently some of the Karrayu run to the court of the government for minor misunderstandings. However, in the past let alone minor problems even big problems are resolved by *elders/Jaarssa toyal*. I think it is better for the Karrayu to solve their internal disputes through traditional conflict resolution mechanism than bringing the case to the state courts and complicating the situation and spending their time for nothing.

Roba also said that now the majority of the Karrayu resolve their internal problems through *Arara*/traditional peace-making ceremony. He underscored that almost all of the disputes between /among the Karrayu are linked to the competition over resources (land and water). He argued that had it not been that there is no resource scarcity Karrayu will not have anything to dispute on. The extreme shortage of resources obliges them to compete over resources and sometimes leading them to conflict.

4.5. The *Sinqqee* Institution

According to Hamdesa Tuso (2000:91-92) the Oromo have developed a multifaceted method concerning the role of women in conflict resolution. In the Oromo society, women are the only groups that are secluded from physical assault by any party in any conflict. They are "sacred humans. Thus, women play important roles as messengers of peace; they organize themselves and physically intervene between conflicting parties in case of violence; they mobilize the community to respond to the situation of conflict quickly and appropriately, and they serve as a moral voice in times of social turmoil".

In the Karrayu *Gada* system, most of the time women are not active participants as men are. However, to participate in the social, political, economic and religious activities of the society women have their own rights. This tradition is referred to as *Sinqqee*. *Sinqqee* is a long and thin stick that women carry. In the Karrayu tradition, whenever a woman is carrying her *Sinqqee* she is immune to any kind of attack or ill-treatment because it is believed that the *Sinqqee* safeguards her and bestows her with dignity and prestige. By holding her *Sinqqee* a Karrayu woman could acquire whatever things she requests. For instance, at the times of incidental problems such as a house destroyed by fire, epidemic diseases and other problems

women request for offerings from the society to the person or family who encountered the crisis. This contribution could be in kind such as cattle, sheep, goats, camel, and now a days in cash. This support is rendered in order to make a person recover from his/her problems. In addition, Karrayu woman carries her *siinqqee* during different occasions like when informed of the outbreak of conflicts within or outside the Karrayu. Whenever, she sees conflicts within the Karrayu between individuals, she could suspend the conflicts by using her *Siinqqee*. Although there was no instance where the group in conflict turned down the *siinqqee* woman's peace initiatives as far as I investigated, my informants were certain that, at least in principle, up on finding men who fail to honor the *Siinqqee* and refuse the requests for discontinuation of the conflicts, those individuals or groups will be punished by Karrayu elders.

Another way of empowering women in the Karrayu culture is awarding them *Siinqqee* gifts, which could come either from her family or from relatives. These gifts consist of a cow with calf (heifer), sheep, goats and camel. On her in-laws side they provide her an offerings of cattle on condition that she is virgin. The day after the wedding ceremony is concluded; the bride and the bridegroom go to the bridegroom's family cattle herd and select the animals they want to begin their marriage lives with. At this time, the bride has an authority to point out the animals she selects by using her *Siinqqee*. Hence, it is via *Siinqqee* institution that the Karrayu woman acquires property, which protects her from dependence on her husband. These gifts are her sole property so that she can do anything with this property to the extent of selling it without informing and consulting anybody else including her husband. Although the women are not equal participant compared to men in the Gada power sharing, they have their own mechanism of exercising their power and rights. Through *Siinqqee*, tradition women demonstrate their status, dignity and prestige.

Karrayu women informants during FGDs and in-depth interviews explained that the *Siinqqee* institution is mostly undertaken for two basic reasons. Firstly, at the time when drought and famine, epidemic diseases, war and other natural problems strike the area for long period of time, women get out of their village in group bringing with them *Siinqqee* and then gathered around large trees *odda* (sycamore) or about river banks or on the top of distinguished hills. After this, they pray to *Waqqa* (God) seeking for solutions to the aforementioned problems. Second, the function of *Siinqqee* institution is to express the resentments of social/moral hardships women encountered in the society. This occurs due to an infringement up on the socially recognized rights of women by men. By using *Siinqqee* institution women punish the one who offended the right of any member of them and guarantee peace and order to the society. This institution is undertaken combined with songs, rituals and dances used as a means of delivering a group expression or reverencies to *Waqqa* (God). This is conducted in order to bring peace, prosperity, health and so forth to the

society. Therefore, among the Karrayu women have separate indigenous institution known as *Siinqqee*. It is also a set of ritual ceremonies linked with women's social life and used as dispute resolving institution.

Siinqqee is prepared from a tree known as *Harroressa* (*Celtis africana*, *Grewia mollis*). This tree has many branches and the selection of the tree is linked to the hope of having many children. After the *Siinqqee* is cut from the branches of the tree, its cover is removed and different jewellerys such as rings made from the shells of bullets will be fit both on the top and on bottom of the *Siinqqee*. Butter will be daubed all over the *Siinqqee* in order to make it smooth, glossy and attractive. For the girl to be married her parent prepares the *Siinqqee*. The *Siinqqee* is given to the girl at the time when she comes out of her parent's house to go to the bridegroom's house after the wedding apparels wearing ceremony is accomplished. My informant, Hawi Hawas, underlined that in the Karrayu tradition a girl could not be married without having *Siinqqee* on hand. Thus having *Siinqqee* on hand at the time of marriage is mandatory. Whenever a married woman wants to visit her parents, she goes to the villages of her parents by holding her *Siinqqee* and she returns home by taking her *Siinqqee* with her.

In the Karrayu tradition, after his wife gave birth to their third or fourth child, the husband prepares *Dhibayu* for her. *Dhibayu* is prepared from a tree called *Leede*. The difference between *Siinqqee* and *Dhibayu* is that *Siinqqee* is a thinner long stick, whereas, *Dhibayu* is a thicker one. Informants stated that after *Dhibayu* is prepared and given to the woman by her husband, she holds both *Siinqqee* and *Dhibayu* together when she visits her parents and participates in different ceremonies. Before having *Dhibayu* the woman visits her parents and participates in different ceremonies by only holding the *Siinqqee*.

When her husband dies, a woman shortens her hair and breaks her *Siinqqee* and *Dhibayu*. But later, her elder son or other person would prepare and give her another *Siinqqee* and *Dhibayu*. The person who prepares and gives *Dhibayu* to the widow should be a good person in his personality and behavior. This is due to the belief that the *Dhibayu* is considered as praise and bad individuals are not worth offering praises. When the husband and wife walk together, the wife holds her *Siinqqee* and the husband holds *Dhibayu*. *Siinqqee* is considered as a sign of married woman and unmarried girl never holds *Siinqqee*. Similarly, during different ceremonies and change of settlement areas, the married man holds *Dhibayu* in his hand. However, it should be noted that a man could not hold *Siinqqee* at all. Informants stated that for a girl holding a *Siinqqee* is an indication that her status is changed from unmarried to married one. Thus is a turning point in the life of a woman in the Karrayu community.

Sinqqee and *Dhibayu* have significant values among the Karrayu people. At the time when disasters such as epidemic diseases, scarcity of rainfall, conflicts with neighboring ethnic groups (Afar and Argobba) and so on happen the Karrayu women curse these disasters by using their *Sinqqee* and *Dhibayu*. For the purpose of cursing these problems and praying to *Waqqa*, the women gather around big tree or at the top of a mountain or a near by river. For instance, the Karrayu frequently disputed with the Afar and at the time when the dispute escalates, the women gather at the big tree or at the top of a mountain or along river sides and brandish their *Sinqqee* and *Dhibayu* in the Afar direction to curse them. Similarly, at these areas women pray to *Waqqa* (God) to give to their land adequate rain, to avoid epidemic diseases and other problems, by putting all the *Sinqqees* and *Dhibayus* at one place together. Still holding *Sinqqee* and *Dhibayu* is continued in the Karrayu society. However, they said that some of the Karrayu who have converted to Islam stopped holding of *Sinqqee* and *Dhibayu*. They also said that there are Muslims who still now hold *Sinqqee* and *Dhibayu*. Informants underscored that the majority of the Karrayu still followed the old age tradition and there by preserving the *Sinqqee* and *Dhibayu* institutions.

Women do not hold *Sinqqee* while doing routine activities at home and out side. A woman holds *Sinqqee* at the times of thanks giving, at changes of settlement areas, when she goes to the villages of her parents and on her return. When the woman goes to the villages of her parents and when she wants to take livestock from her parents, she puts her *Sinqqee* on the back of the livestock she selected without consulting her parents. Beginning from that time the livestock on which she puts her *Sinqqee* would be her property, her parents give the livestock to her, and they could not do otherwise. However, most of the time the parents of the woman can call her to give her livestock (s) and when she is called to take the livestock (s) she does not put her *Sinqqee* on the livestock (s).

Women put *Sinqqee* and fresh grass in front of the livestock, on the ground and the livestock pass over the *Sinqqee* and the grass. During this time, the women beg *Waqqa* (God) to multiply their livestock and avoid diseases from their livestock. They underlined and believed that *Sinqqee* is an important tool to beg *Waqqa* (God) to multiply and avoid diseases from the livestock. Therefore, the *Sinqqee* institution has resource management significance in the sense that women use it to tell to *Waqqa* (God) about the problem they encountered related to resource scarcity such as shortages of pasture (grass) and rainfall.

4.6. The Debere institution

This institution is known as an institution of milk stock transfer. Ayalew (2001:137) explains the *Debere* institution among the Kenya and Ethiopia Oromo pastoral societies. He indicates that the Afar have identical

institution and further states that it also exists among West African pastoralists in Niger and is referred to as *habanae*. The Borana and Gabra call the institution with similar name as the Karrayu do while the Garri and Redie in Kenya call it *kharimtime*. One of the neighboring ethnic groups of the Karrayu, the Afar named the same institution *handilla*. In all cases, the common characteristic of the institution is that the stock transfer arrangement rests on voluntarism, kinship and mutual gain among self-selected partners (Ibid).

Among the Karrayu society, the *Debere* institutions have existed since antiquity. *Debere* is given to poor relatives most of the time by his/ her *warra* (family) and sometimes by his/ her *Gossa* members. The father mostly gives *Debere* to his son or daughter after they are married when and if his son or daughter does not have milk-giving livestock to feed their children. *Debere* is also given between brothers. Sometimes *Debere* could be given between individual belonging to the same *Gossa*. However, the giving of *Debere* does not need the organization or the involvement of the *Damina* (*Gossa* leader) because giving *Debere* depends on the good wishes of the giver. Those individuals who have better number of milk-giving livestock could give one or more animals to the other so that the latter could benefit from their milk. But after milk giving is blocked the animals must be returned to the owner. Again, if the owner is willing he could give another milk-giving animal (s) to the person in question.

As a traditional rule, milk is the only benefit the recipient of *Debere* is entitled to. The giving of one or more offsprings of the animals, which are given as *Debere* depends only on the good wishes of the owner but as a rule the person, should return the animal (s) with their offspring to the owner. If the persons who receive and give the *Debere* live in different *Gandas* the one who receives *Debere* should come and settle at the area where the giver lives. There are a limited number of instances where *Debere* could be given to the individuals living in different *Gandas* without the need to change their site of residence on the part of the recipients.

Therefore, the *Debere* institution could be understood as a mechanism of pastoral strategy to effect a reasonable distribution of wealth and cements the fabrics of harmony among the Karrayu society. In other words, it is customary way of somehow balancing economic inequality among the Karrayu community. Today the *Debere* institution is very much weakened and for the best part destroyed leaving behind only very few exceptions. The collapse and decline of this valuable institution is related to the fact that the Karrayu have been alienated from their pastureland and Awash River because of the establishment of State-sponsored enterprises such as Awash National Park, Metehara Sugar Plantation and Nura Era Plantation. Because of these establishments, the resources (pasture and water) on which the Karrayu used

to depend were confiscated and this resulted in the destruction of their livestock from droughts and famine due to scarcity of water and pasture resources. Therefore, with this critical problem at hand, it is difficult for the *Karayu* to give or transfer animals to others. This means that resource scarcity leads to the erosion of traditional institutions handed down from ancestors. What is more, this situation is very much in line with the tenet of Cultural Ecology which claims that variation in cultural patterns are the results of peoples adaptive responses to the variation or change in either the social or natural ecology (Peoples and Bailey, 1968: 60). Likewise the *Karayu* are forced by the changing social and natural ecology to leave aside their previous ways of life of which *Debere* is one, and thereby give a new color, a new variety to their cultural pattern.

3.7. The *Hirppa* Institution

Hirppa is an institution of giving livestock to the poor member of the *Gossa* by his *Gossa* members. The leader of a *Gossa* known as *Damina* is responsible for organizing the members of his *Gossa* for the contribution and assistance to the poor member of the *Gossa*. The *Damina* and clan elders discuss about the amount of livestock to be given and the individuals who give the assistance. Mostly ten up to fifteen households in the *Gossa* are selected to contribute. The remaining *Gossa* members could be requested for support some other time when the need arises. On the selected households, the *Damina* decides depending on their capacity. According to their wealth, these selected ten up to fifteen households give from camel to goat or sheep.

It has been understood that once the *Damina* on the selected households makes the decision they must give the support whether they like it or not. The *Damina* asks the households by sending *Qondalas* (soldiers) to collect the assistance from each house and mostly the households provide the support on their own will. Nevertheless, if there is/ are individual (s) who refuse the *Qondalas* reports to the *Damina* and the *Damina* orders the *Qondalas* to bring the decided livestock by force. The *Qondalas* go to the house of the nonconformists capture the owner, bind his body with rope, and beat him. After that, they select the best animal from his herd, slaughter it, and eat the meat on the spot. Finally, they take the animal decided on him by force and bring to the *Damina*. After gathering all the animals from the individuals, the *Damina* gives the animals to the poor person. Mostly the livestock given to the poor individual reaches from ten to fifteen. Once the animals are given to the poor person these animals are his own property and he could use the animals for whatever purpose he wants. The givers could not claim their livestock back.

Hirppa institution still exists among the Karrayu community. However, compared to the past *Hirppa* institution, at present it is weakened and the extent of *Hirppa* giving is minimized. The main reason, for the weakening of *Hirppa* institution is the destitution of the majority of the Karrayu and the increasing difficulty for *Gossa* members to support too many poor people. Informants linked the weakening of *Hirppa* institution to the adoption of different adaptive strategies by the Karrayu. They said in the past if an individual in the *Gossa* is poor, the person has no any other alternative other than depending on his *Gossa* members. However, nowadays poor individuals attempted to support themselves by engaging in different adaptive strategies such as wage/ daily labors, farming, charcoal production and sale, trading and so on.

4.8. The Ganda Institution

Among the Karrayu community on average a total of four to ten homesteads, establish a *Ganda* (village). The arrangement of *Ganda* encampment among the Karrayu society depends on *Gossa* (clan) seniority. Both within the Dufiacha and the Basso sections the senior clans settled on the right side while the junior clans settled on the left side of a given area. Thus, whenever a *Ganda* is set up in Karrayu land the arrangement of encampment adheres to the succession of clan seniority. According to Buli (2001:28-29) *Ganda* is the smallest unit of local organization in the Karrayu territory. It has little to do with *Gossa* administration. The *Ganda* is temporary herding camp that constituted a group of people who herd together. Individuals who make up a *Ganda* might have different *Gossa* affiliation. However, it is a place where there is a great social tie because every member of the *Ganda* interacts in every day social life. The name of a man or an elder member of a group who encamped at the particular place for the first time identifies that particular *Ganda*. This person is known as *Abba Ganda* (the 'father' or head of the *Ganda*). The main responsibility of the *Abba Ganda* is the regulation of herding rules like the promotion of equal accessibility of resources to every member of the society.

One of the main reasons for the beginning of farming in the Karrayu kebeles is related to the beginning of farming by the dwellers of the Metehara and Haro Addi towns on the lands of the Karrayu. In response to the competition from the urban dwellers, the Karrayu began to hold their own individual land by the way of farming. However, it is not all of the Karrayu kebeles who started farming, though many of the households in a good many kebeles started engaging themselves in farming. According to my informant, Roba Fentale even there is competition and sometimes conflict among the Karrayu over landholding for farming activity. But the competition among the Karrayu is not mostly between families or close relatives who settled in a *Ganda*. Mostly settlement pattern of the Karrayu is such that close relatives (*Gossa* members) settle in the same *Ganda*. Members of the other *Gossa* of the Karrayu may settle and live with the members of different

Gossa. But if one asks a person, for instance, who lives in Dheebiti *kebele* as to where his *kebele* is; he will respond by mentioning the name of the Ganda (*kebele*) where his Gossa members settled in large numbers. Let me give a living example, in Dheebiti while I was interviewing a person whom I knew to live there. I know he has a family and house at Dheebiti where he lived for many years; I asked him where his Ganda (*kebele*) is. To my surprise, he responded that he is from Haro Qarssa *kebele*. The *Damina* (clan leader) of his clan is at Haro Qarssa and his cooperation at times of problems is with Haro Qarssa where his Gossa members live in large numbers. This is simply just one example, and it should be known that there are many cases of this sort in the Karrayu areas.

Another very important thing is that every Gossa of the Karrayu has its *Ona Gana* settlement and *Ona Bona* settlement. *Ona Gana* settlement is somehow a permanent settlement for different Gossa of the Karrayu. For instance, Ganda Gelo Fentale /Ganda Elman Bossat at the Haro Qarssa *Kebele* are permanent settlement for that specific Gossa. When girls of that Gossa marry they leave their original Ganda for those of their husbands, but the boys who married will stay in their parent's Ganda. Obviously the Karrayu move from place to place with their livestock, and when for instance the residents of the Ganda Gelo Fentale/Ganda Elman Bossat leave to Ona Bona area in search of pasture during the dry season the other clans will not inhabit the now vacated *Ona Gana* settlement of Ganda Gelo Fentale/Ganda Elman Bossat because others know that it is the area of the Gossa Ganda Gelo Fentale/Ganda Elman Bossat. So the other clans leave this site and go to other area and the area will stay unoccupied until the residents of Ganda Gelo Fentale return to their site during the ganna/summer/ season. However, this does not work in the case of *Ona Bona* settlement because any Karrayu clan could occupy and reside in the huts left by other clans and live there until they leave the area. On the other hand, the *Ona Gana* settlement and the huts built there will wait unoccupied until the clans return from their migratory area of *Ona Bona* areas. Therefore, the *Ona Gana* settlement of each clan of the Karrayu is recognized and known by each clan. However, the *Ona Bona* settlement is free to any Gossa of the Karrayu to be inhabited when they migrate from place to place. Even sometimes, they do not know who have left from the *Ona Bona* settlement. The Karrayu who started farming are holding individualized land among them. The competition for land is not mostly among the households of the same Gossa who settled in the same area but between the Gossa living in nearby Gandas. The competition is not only for farming but also for making *kallos* (reserving grazing pasture for dry season).

Nowadays, local government is organized into zone, *wereda* and *kebele* administrations. This is very much different from how pastoral indigenous institutions are coordinated and organized. In the case of the

Karrayu the coming of kebele administration has created problems on the use of pasture and water points. The wereda and kebele administrators ordered the Karrayu community not to move from one *kebele* to other *kebeles* in search of pasture and water for their livestock. Observing the advice, some Karrayu have started preventing the livestock's of other *kebeles* from grazing and watering in their *kebele*. At the time of this study, the Karrayu are facing this critical problem. The emergence and recurrence of conflict between different *kebeles* of the Karrayu seems to be part of the systematic divide and rule policy of the current government.

4.9. The Jigjee Institution

Jigjee is an institution of team work or co-operative labor. This team work is experienced by those groups of the Karrayu who do some farming activities side by side with pastoralism. As Assefa (2000:80) argues "in addition, to herding livestock, a few Karrayu households have recently started cultivating vegetables (tomatoes, pepper and cabbage) on a small-scale in irrigated fields on the bank of the Awash River".

Four to five households get coordinated in order to perform farming activities effectively by combining all their own in each of their partner's farm and work turn by turn until they accomplish their tasks. The duration of work on each individual's farm or other activities is the same, i.e., two to three days during which the person is expected to provide food, drinks and *Khaf* for his partners. Other partners' wives are supposed to help the host's wife in the preparation of food, drinks and other necessary things for the farming (Ayalew, 2001:344). Also Karrayu women work jointly to construct their house which in their culture is the responsibility of women. In addition, a group of women farm vegetables near the house in order to produce supplementary food for their families. Therefore, this institution supports the Karrayu to minimize the labor constraints they used to face due to their practicing of farming and pastoralism together. Of course, this institution was created after the dispossession of their land and water points by State-sponsored enterprises. Change and continuity on the indigenous resource management systems of the Karrayu due to huge external pressures will be the subject of discussions in the next chapter.

Chapter Five

Change and Continuity in the Indigenous Resource Management Systems of the Karrayu

Karrayu's access to land was planned and controlled customarily by indigenous institutions. This traditional mechanism of land resource management by indigenous institutions existed unaffected by external intervention until the 1940s. According to Ayalew (2001: 108) Pre-Menelik II rulers of Shoa have made certain amount of external pressure on the Karrayu and the Karrayu have paid to them tribute in oxen and ivory. However, the formal give up of the Karrayu chiefs was in the period of Menelik II (1867-1913). From this time onwards, tribute payments became regular. Moreover, stress on the Karrayu was augmented and amplified as a result of Emperor Haile Selassie's new land grants policy of the 1940s. This led to the expropriation of large amounts of Karrayu land by declaring it as 'vacant' land. In the early 1960s as part of the implementation of the policy of commercialization of agriculture, the Imperial regime started confiscating extensive section of the Karrayu land in order to deliver it to irrigation agriculture on state and private farms (ibid). The entire land area traditionally used by the Karrayu was estimated to be 150,113 hectares. However, today it is reduced to around only 60,000 hectares. This is largely due to the expropriation of land since the late 1960s. The scarcity of land to the Karrayu was further aggravated by high population pressure since 1970s due to the migration of Ittu from west Harerge to the Karrayu land. This problem is also exacerbated because of high population growth rate of 2.5 per cent in pastoral areas (ibid: 109).

5.1. Indigenous Pasture/Land Management Systems

5.1.1. Former Pasture/ Land Management

Before the alienation of pasture land and water points by different State-sponsored enterprises, land and other resources associated with it were communal property of the whole community. Everybody had full right to use the land and its associated resources like water, forest and games freely. Access to pasture land is customarily managed communally that Karrayu land is easily accessible to all Karrayu. The set of laws managing the right to use pasture on Karrayu land is straightforward. 'Being a Karrayu automatically entitles a person to have free access to natural resources in the area, and every Karrayu has the right to graze his livestock wherever he wants within the Karrayu territory. Pasture is free and cannot be monopolized by any particular group or person' (Ayalew, 2001:109).

Nevertheless, non-Oromo have to secure approval and permission in order to utilize the Karrayu land from

the village leader (*Abba Ganda*). The village leader is also expected to present and discuss the issue with other village leaders. The final decision about giving permission or denying permission was given after concerned village leaders agreed. When they agreed the non-Oromo individual will be given permission to get in to the Karrayu land. After getting consent to live in the Karrayu territory new-comers are compelled to adhere to Karrayu rules and regulations concerning land tenure, use of natural resources (pasture and water), and other traditional rules and norms. Until recently it was not difficult for non-Oromo speakers to enter the Karrayu area, however, consent could be denied in some occasions for instance when the entry-seeker's cattle are diseased and for if any of the entry-seekers relatives' had murdered an Oromo (Ayalew, 200:109-110; Lane, 1995). Currently, however, Karrayu informants explained that it is very much difficult to give a land to newcomers for living in the Karrayu land due to the shrinking of resources resulting from land and water point's alienations by State-sponsored enterprises and for fear of additional pressure on the remaining very limited pasture and water resources.

Assigned by the elders and *Damina* a team of range scouts (*seifa*) guides the movement and monitors the state of the rangeland before allowing herds to use it. The men selected as *seifa* should be reliable and capable of walking long distances. The *seifa* checks how much pasture and water points are available and whether the quality is good enough for the different livestock types. *Seifa* also estimates how long the animals can stay on a particular rangeland and checks whether there are rival groups or diseased animals in the area. In addition, *seifa* assesses if an area has recently received rainfall.

5.1.1.1. The Three Ecological Grazing Vicinities

My Karrayu elder key informants, Haji Hawas Abomssa, Haji Boru Ruqessa, Qumbi Gada, and Fentale Wadlay stated and others during FGDs endorsed that before the confiscation of Karrayu land by different government-sponsored enterprises, there had been three ecologically differentiated pasture areas, which were governed by indigenous systems of resource management. These ecologically differentiated grazing areas were the following:

- A) *One Gana* (Summer/wet season grazing area)
- B) *One Bona* (Winter/dry season grazing area)
- C) *One Birra* (Autumn/dry season grazing area)

The dynamics of movement of the Karrayu pastoralists across these three ecologically different grazing areas could be mentioned as one mechanism of pastoral adaptation and these ecological areas are differentiated by three main elements such as rainfall regime, pasture and water availability, and the spatial

and temporal movements of herd and men. These ecologically differentiated areas are interrelated and the first one based on the second and the third factors (Bull, 2001:31).

A) Ona Gana (Summer/Wet season grazing area)

Abovementioned informants stated that this portion of grazing area comprises the foothills of the Fentale Mountain and stretched up to the borderlands of Bulga River in the West and Gran plain in the east. The Ona Gana roughly consists of areas of Dheebitti, Alakka, Haro Huuba, Midhadu, Haro Qarsa, Gababa, Gonniti, Dhaga Heddu and Gabober plain, etc. The vegetation type of the Ona Gana is largely covered by tall grassland interspersed with few big trees. Generally, the Ona Gana region is rich in germinal family diversity and could fall into the classification named open grassland area (Bull, 2001:32)

B) Ona Bona (Winter/dry season grazing area)

This section is situated between the Ona Gana and Ona Birraa that it is a transitional site between the two grazing areas. The Ona Bona comprises the area from Muka Sara in the West to the Awash Sebat Kilo in the east consisting Summa plain (which is today located in the Awash National Park). This grazing portion has both shrubs and grass varying in intensity from place to place (Ibid.)

C) Ona Birra (Autumn/dry Season grazing area)

This vicinity of grazing site includes a wide and long strand of land on the either side of the Awash River. The vegetation type common to this area includes *Acacia nilotica*, *Acacia syal*, and *Acacia tortilis* dominating this riverine area with palatable undergrowth, and tall grasses (Jacobs and shloeder 1993). The pods and leaves of this kind of vegetation are palatable to all species of livestock. This area was a strategic site for livestock and human during the dry season that trees at the area were large to provide protection against the sun. This grazing area comprises more than fifteen ritual places (holy grounds along the Awash River (Muderis, 1998: 53, Bull, 2001:32).

5.1.1.2. The Patterns of Movement across the Three Grazing Areas

A) Ona Gana (Summer/Wet Season grazing area)

Haji Hawon Abomsa and Haji Bora Rugessa explained that the Ona Gana grazing lasts for four months from June up to mid-September. They stated that these months are the period at which Karrayu land gets large amount of rainfall and the time at which the area abounds in pasture and water for the livestock. However, after mid-September the rainfall stops and that the pasture and water resources get minimized hence making movement to the next grazing area a necessity.

B) *Ona Birra* (Autumn/dry season grazing area)

According to above-mentioned informants at mid-September, livestock are taken to the *Ona Birra* grazing area by bypassing the *Ona Bona* grazing site. Bypassing the *Ona Bona* grazing area and marching to the *Ona Birra* grazing area was made for two basic reasons. The first factor is that livestock could not stay at *Ona Bona* grazing area because at this (dry) time the *Ona Bona* area has no sufficient water for the livestock. Hence, water in the Karrayu land depletes faster than pasture as a result livestock should be taken to the *Ona Birra* area, which is located along both sides of the Awash River, to easily graze stocks on the fresh pasture and water livestock's from Awash River and several *Malka Sa'aa* (water points for cattle). The second reason is that the *Ona Birra* season in Karrayu traditional religion is a period of thanks giving to *Wagga* (God) by conducting several ritual activities. According to Karrayu traditional religion ritual performances to the *Wagga* (God) are conducted around big rivers and *odda* (sycamore) tree. Hence, at this region there are more than fifteen ritual places along the Awash River and big trees suitable for the performance of the ritual activities.

C) *Ona Bona* (Winter/dry season grazing area)

They also stated that the pasture at the *Ona Bona* grazing areas are reserved for future time that in order to graze livestock while on the way back to *Ona Gana* grazing area from *Ona Birra* region after accomplishing their ritual performances.

5.1.2. Current Pasture/ Land Management

5.1.2.1. *Kallo* (Pasture Reserves)

There are two types of *kallo*: individual level *kallo* and communal level *kallo*.

5.1.2.1.1. Individual Level *Kallo*: are small and fenced *kallo*s at the settlement areas of the Karrayu. Without getting permission from the owner of the *kallo*, another individual can not graze his livestock from the individual level *kallo*s. Because these individual level *kallo*s are small and are meant to be grazed by recently born livestock and by those who gave birth to their offsprings recently. Besides, expectant mothers from the livestock will also graze in the *kallo*s because they cannot go to long distances for grazing. In addition, livestock that have contracted diseases are let to graze on the individual level *kallo*s. Most of the times making sure that recently born small livestock are grazing on the individual level *kallo*s are usually the task of children. The children staying at the settlement area are responsible for guarding their *kallo* and grazing small livestock in the *kallo*. The individual level *kallo*s are sometimes source of conflict between the Karrayu. Because each household fences his *kallo* and as a result the movement of the livestock becomes

difficult as every household prevents the livestock of others from passing through their *kallos* or graze in it.

§.1.2.1.2. Communal Level Kallos: is a big *kallo* that is reserved for the dry season by agreement reached among the residents of one or two *Gandas*. Unlike the individual level *kallos*, the communal level *kallo* has no fence to protect the entrance of livestock. Informants stated that Dheebiti and Harro Qarssa have a big *kallo* which is reserved as dry season pasture for the two *Gandas*. The residents of the two *Gandas* graze their livestock by consulting together that they start grazing and stop grazing at the same time. The *Ganda* officials charge those individuals who are caught grazing their livestock on the communal level *kallo* without the knowledge of others. This means it is strictly prohibited to graze livestock on the communal level *kallo* without the consent and discussion with the residents of one or two *Gandas* who have established the *kallo* together.

The *Karrayu* did not exercise the practice of reserving grazing pasture (*kallo*) before the alienation of their land by State-sponsored enterprises. However, nowadays they are accustomed to do so after Gudina Tumesa Foundation (GTF) gave them trainings. GTF is an indigenous non-governmental organization working among the *Karrayu* society. Therefore, reserving *kallo* is as recent phenomena aging only four or five years. These grazing reserves (*kallo*) are used to sustain livestock during the dry season and drought when the normal rangelands are exhausted. Gello Guracha, one of my informants, elaborates the situation as follows:

The GTF has given and is still giving us training continuously about reserving a portion of grazing pasture (*kallo*). After training and education is given to us, for instance Hoj Roba saqalee, Nure and Borayu are best examples from Chaxdill who have reserved *kallo*. However, because there is cooperation among the *Karrayu*, those individuals who have *kallo* are requested by their neighboring *Karrayu* to graze their animals and even other *Karrayu*'s came from far away places hearing information about the existence of *kallo* here. The owner of the *kallo* allowed grazing to those who requested and due to this the *kallo* depleted within short period of time. But, nowadays some of the owners of the *kallo* have started to refuse the grazing of other individuals particularly those who come from different *kebeles*. This is partly because the *wereda* and *kebele* administrators advised the *Karrayu* to do so and the depletion of their *Kallo* within short period of time when they grazed livestock of others in their *Kallo*.

Pasture/ land problem of the *Karrayu* community is due to the alienation of land by different State-sponsored enterprises and recently the problem is exacerbated due to pressure from *wereda* and *kebele* administration. One of my key informants Tedecho Boru explained the problem in the following way:

At present, the *Karrayu* land is divided up by *kebele* administration. This *kebele* administration is alien to the *Karrayu* society. Due to the division of different *Karrayu Ganda* into *kebele* administration, now there is serious problem between different *kebeles* over pasture and water resources. There is incident of fighting between the *Karrayu* over pasture resource because they complain each other not to graze and deplete the resources of other *kebeles*. *Wereda* and *kebele* officials that they inform residents of different *kebeles* to save pastures of their own *kebele* for dry season (*Kallo*) aggravate this problem. As a result, herders are obliged to travel with their camels to the remote areas such as Jille area, Borana, Sidamo, Siraro and Shashemera. In the past when land of the *Karrayu* was not, alienated camels were kept through out the year

According to one of my key informants Tedecho Boru a "bomb will soon explode" in the Karrayu land in the near future because of conflicts over pasture and water resources among the Karrayu, between the Karrayu and Ittu, and between other neighboring ethnic groups and the Karrayu. The main source of this conflict among the Karrayu and between the Karrayu and Ittu would be the imposition of *kebele* administration on the Karrayu transhumant pastoralists. Informants explained that *kebele* administration is more favorable to farming society than it is for the pastoralist society that moves here and there with their cattle in search of water and pasture. The worst of all is the fact that the *wereda* and *kebele* officials frequently order each *kebele* not to move and deplete the resources of other *kebeles*. This is totally against the tradition of the Karrayu society in which pasture and water are used communally. In the past, the Karrayu managed their pasture and water resources according to the *Gada* tradition but now they are being forced by *kebele* administration to replace this system of resource management though it is alien to them overall.

Hardin (1968) and the proponents of his model of the 'Tragedy of the Commons' (Picardi and Seifet, 1976; Baden and Stroup, 1977; Whitaker and Wienergren, 1978; Lamprey, 1983 cited in Ayalew 2001:238) stated that "the principal cause for rangeland degradation among pastoral nomads is poor land husbandry emanating from the fact that grazing lands are communally owned while livestock is privately held". However, the condition of the Karrayu is different in this specific case. The Karrayu were "forced to overstock the already limited areas of grazing left to them and degrade the rangelands, above all else, due to the mounting pressure from the expansion of irrigation schemes which continued to expropriate their dry season grazing land" (Ibid). Moreover, in relation to this, Blaikie (1985:130, quoted in Ayalew 2001:238-239) mentioning the arguments for and against the "the Tragedy of the Commons" provided the problem of environmental degradation a political economic dimension as follows:

Conditions of inequality ... are an essential driving force in the over-use of common land. This inequality is often underpinned by encroachment of the privatization of land, which forces marginalized people to use the commons more intensively and contributes to the shrinking potentials of the commons themselves. It is these conditions of impoverishment which make regulations from above difficult.

What is happening today is that the Karrayu are using up the resources more for current individual consumption and little is spared for tomorrow. To put it in a nutshell, they started to maximize individual utilization of resources. So there will be a potential for the incidence of the "tragedy of the commons" among this particular society. However, the "tragedy of the commons" could happen not necessarily because of what is being done by them but due to the alienation of their resources by agents mentioned earlier. In the

past when the resources of the Karrayu were plenty and land and water points were not alienated, there was not anything like the "tragedy of the commons" in the Karrayu land because the management of resource was done by different existing indigenous institutions. But it is the weakening of the existing indigenous institutions that further exacerbated the incidents leading almost to the "tragedy of the commons". Therefore, the development of the real "tragedy of the commons" is linked to the declining in importance of the rules, traditional social arrangements and institutional management systems. At this time people have lost the incentives to protect the resources from being destructed as individual interests tend to take priority over the groups.

Karrayu transhumant pastoralists in the past had strong and very active indigenous institutions, which played the role of resource management. These natural resource management institutions of the Karrayu are interwoven with their own social institutions. As government institutional influence has grown in the Karrayu land, the indigenous institutions have been undermined, but then, the government institutions have not served to fill in this vacuum. Due to this reason resource, utilization in the Karrayu territory is under-regulated. The best case in point is that in cases where resources are perceived to be 'owned' by the state, this institutional vacuum has ensured that they become 'open accesses' and are heavily exploited.

In the past, by their intimate knowledge of the physical environment, the Karrayu pastoralists have devised techniques for managing their resources. Rules and regulations enshrined within the Karrayu traditions ensure the smooth functioning of the system by coordinating the activities of each member. However, today the indigenous systems of Karrayu production have undergone gradual change. The Karrayu are faced with environmental and economic stress because of resource scarcity due to the introduced development schemes. They are forced to make permanent choices between production systems. Nowadays, it is possible to find the Karrayu households who retain the old system, those that have completely abandoned it for crop production, trade, wage earning and the vast majority of the society that are somewhere in between. All of these non-pastoral techniques of the Karrayu are used to deal with the prevailing resource scarcity. In the past the Karrayu had three grazing zones and the resource stress was usually of a temporary nature (droughts passed and local overstocking was alleviated with a move to fresh area), and now these techniques are eventually rejected.

Recently indigenous resource management systems of the Karrayu have generally been weakened due to factors such as intervention of development schemes, imposition of kebele administration by displacing the indigenous institutions, crop expansion, social disintegration, and decreasing resource capacity. Generally,

indigenous socio-political structures have lost much of their power and replaced by *kebele* administration appointed by the government. Hence, traditional leaders in the Karrayu society no longer have the power to enforce grazing controls. Individual households are now finding it necessary to abandon cooperation with others, to cut corners, and to strike alone in search of decreasing and scarce resources. The only active form of cooperation the Karrayu make today is the function of their being forced to conduct long journey as far as Jille area, Borana, Sidamo, Ghasamane and Siraro in search of pasture for their camels. They went to these areas jointly in order to defend the attacks against them from neighboring ethnic groups and others they may possibly face on their long journey. This cooperation exists according to informants because of the fact that there are remnants of indigenous institutions that survived the demolishing impacts of the continuous external pressures.

The Tsembaga are a group of about 200 Maring-speaking people living in the Madang District of the Australian administered Territory of New Guinea. According R. A. Rappaport the Tsembaga use the Kaiko ritual to keep trophic demands of the people and their pigs within the carrying capacity of their territory (R.A.Rappaport 1964:8). The overall process involves the mass slaughtering of pigs in ritual that lasts for one year so that the land will be relieved from the ever-increasing pressure of the pig population. The Karrayu's wisdom and rational strategy of adaptation does not call for the mass slaughtering of their camels whatsoever. Instead, at a time when the carrying capacity of their land could no longer support the demands of their camels, they take their camels away from their territory and into the lands occupied by other groups of people, mainly the Jillee Oromo. The carrying capacity of their land dwindles drastically a month or so after the end of the raining season (summer). And this period is for Jillees a time to harvest their tract of land for Karrayu camels to travel along. The other reason, which favors this strategy of the Karrayu in maintaining a positive relation with the carrying capacity of their lands, is that there is no complaint from the Jillees because what the camels do not go for the grass or crop residue that the Jillee cattle depend on for their survival. On the contrary, the camels devour with great appetite a plant named "Qinchib" (*Euphorbia tirucalli*) which cattle avoid like a plague. Qinchib is noted for having a milky substance, which can cause, up on touching the skin of other animals, a maddening inflammation. That explains why the Jillees see no threat in the herd of Karrayu's camels that stay in their territories for months. What is worth noting here is that at the end of the dry seasons the Jillee lands will start to be busy with crops, thus the period when the major rainy season sets in almost all over the country. Accordingly, when Karrayu camels are at last back at home the increasing amount of rainfall and the high temperature will help the vegetation to grow at high rate and thereby increase the carrying capacity of the land. And this carrying capacity of the land will withstand

the pressure from the camels until the raining season lasts. But by the time the raining season is gone, the *jillee* lands will once again be free to entertain the Karrayu camels. This is how the rational and ecology friendly cyclical strategy of the Karrayu operates, establishing new pattern of life.

Although the major cause for the weakening of the roles and functions of indigenous institutions for the resource management of the Karrayu transhumant pastoralists has been the alienation and confiscation of pastureland and watering points by State-sponsored enterprises, it alone is not a sufficient reason. Nonetheless, over the last five or more decades the Karrayu transhumant pastoralists have been gradually absorbed into the Ethiopian bureaucratic national administrative structures. Because of incorporation and absorption into national administrative machinery, the Karrayu indigenous institutions were set on a state of gradual weakening and losing of their original importance. Instead, successive government supported structures have promoted the interests of their respective regimes while demonstrating very little concern for the needs of local community. The unbalanced relationships between the Karrayu transhumant pastoralists and the state structures eventually led to the weakening of the indigenous institutions of the Karrayu. When social cohesion and indigenous institution have been weakens, and then communal collaboration for resource management is no longer possible.

To put it concisely, even if the land and watering points of the Karrayu have not been alienated by State-sponsored enterprises, the Karrayu could not have escaped the weakening of their indigenous institutions. In other words, their incorporation into the bureaucratic administrative structures of Ethiopia and the superimposition of government institutions by State designed structures weakens the age-old institutions though the scale of the destitution may not be the same. Therefore, reinstating local tenure over natural resources in the case of Karrayu transhumant pastoralists will not automatically revive and strengthen indigenous institutions though it will help pave the way. Hence, the indigenous institutions of the Karrayu are still a long way off from a complete collapse and at this moment still exists indigenous institutions with some remnants of the past. Informants stated that another important reason for the weakening of the Karrayu indigenous institutions was pressure from Islamization of the Karrayu community specifically the Basso Gotta. Ittu Oromo migration into the Karrayuland from west Harrerge has contributed much to the spread of Islam among the Karrayu society.

The *kebele* institutions are strange to the Karrayu traditional social organization. They came to the forefront during the period of Derge (1974-1991) that *kebele* administration serves largely as state functionaries to implement government policies at grassroots levels. At this time, political and development agenda of the

government were implemented in line with official policy, with little concern for community involvement and ignoring the role of indigenous institutions in political and development agenda (Buli, 2001: 30; Ayalew, 2001: 178). The major responsibility of *kebele* officials comprises enforcing government administration, collection of tax, recruitment of the military and justification of government authority through propagandas and agitation. For the Karrayu they bring no benefit and in most cases, they are in direct conflict with the indigenous institutions. As the *kebele* administration represents government's coercive power, the Karrayu view *kebele* officials as deviant from Karrayu norms, and allying with their traditional enemy, the state. They were formed by dissolving the smallest traditional Karrayu territorial unit, the *Ganda* such that there is conflict of roles between the two systems (Buli, 2001:30).

5.2. Water Resource Management System

Before the establishment of State-sponsored enterprises in the region, the Karrayu communities relied almost entirely on the waters of the Awash River for their livestock as well as for themselves. Nevertheless, after the coming of State-sponsored enterprises, the Karrayu were denied access to the Awash River and many of the watering points. Later on the Karrayu were obliged to heavily depend on less reliable water sources such as ponds and boreholes. However, these ponds and boreholes are not sufficient in view of the ever-growing scale of the human and livestock population. Informants stated that it was the responsibility of *Abba Gadas*, *Damina* and elders for proper management of water resources and safeguard them from contamination.

According to my key informant Haji Roba Rukessa it is difficult to separately look at water problems of the Karrayu society from that of pasture and he elaborates the problems of water as follows:

In the past, the Karrayu had no problem of water sources for their livestock. There were two rivers, Awash on the side and Bulga/Keem on the other side and more than 20 other smaller manmade streams at the present day of Lake Basaqa. When government-sponsored scheme came Hawas (Awash) was diverted and used for plantation agriculture. Worst of all, polluted water from plantation agriculture is made to drain to Lake Basaqa area and contaminated the streams we have used in the past and Lake Basaqa grew and took large area of our pasture land and demolished smaller manmade streams in the area. Bulga also became a bone of contention between the neighboring ethnic groups such as Argoba, Afar and Karrayu. Hence, all neighboring groups refrain from watering their livestock there for fear of conflicts and looting of their livestock. However, nowadays ponds and boreholes are established in different *kebeles* of the Karrayu and these ponds are sources of conflict among the Karrayu themselves because each *kebele* refused to water livestock of other *kebeles* from the ponds of their *kebele*. Partly, this problem occurred because the boreholes are operating by a diesel engine and any individual who wants to water his animals should contribute financially to the resources required to run.

During the period of focus group discussions informants explained that in the period of Emperor Haile Selassie I, the Karrayu requested the state to solve their water problem even at the cost of dropping other

promises given to them at the time of the alienation of their land and Awash River. But no solution was given to the water problem of the Karrayu. After the fall of Haile Selassie I regime the Karrayu appealed to the Dergue government for solution to the problem of water but the latter also did not solve their water problem. Even currently, no solution is given to this long standing water problem. Informants said there are few boreholes and ponds constructed by the past two regimes and the current government also constructed few boreholes in different Gardias of the Karrayu but these constructed boreholes and ponds are not sufficient for the watering of livestock and human consumptions. They said due to extreme scarcity of water, the majority of the Karrayu water their livestock and drink for themselves from dirty water of Lake Basaqa and Gaicha pond. Related to the scarcity of water and their drinking of the contaminated water the Karrayu communities have the following poem:

*Bishaan gaari rufuufnaa bifi keenya makaraadhaa,
Jaudanna mi rakanna dhugre bishaan kun saqarsadha,
Acharra qibaa nu faa dhukkuti garadha.*

We do not get clean water, our land is miserable, it is out of our will that we
drink the stink-infected water, and we are eventually infected by stomach
disease.

According to one of my non-Karrayu informants from the town of Metehara the water problem of the Karrayu is very serious. He explained the problem of water scarcity and the watering of livestock and the drinking of the Karrayu from the dirty water of Gaicha pond and Lake Basaqa as follows:

Let alone the dwellers of the Metehara town, the livestock of the dwellers of the town do not drink these two water points. But the Karrayu and their livestock had been using these polluted water points for long time. The crime committed against to the Karrayu is the first of its kind on human beings as long as I know. They have no possibility to water their livestock from the Awash River since the Metehara Sugar Plantation prevented their access to Awash River. The only alternative the Karrayu have is to use the dirty water of Lake Basaqa and Gaicha pond due to the reason that those few established boreholes are insufficient.

Haj Hawas Adomasa said that the problem of water of the Karrayu and shortage of pasture for livestock is exacerbated due to the enlargement of Lake Basaqa because of the underground sewerage of dirty water from the Metehara Sugar Factory. He said in the past the Karrayu used to graze their livestock on the area now taken by Lake Basaqa and also the Karrayu water their livestock in the area of Lake Basaqa by simply scratching the soil to water the salty water of the area and fatten their livestock. He said the "Metehara Sugar Factory was not satisfied by the alienation of our land and Awash River. It also prevented the Karrayu from grazing and watering their livestock at the area now occupied by Lake Basaqa by diverting dirty water from the factory and filling up the area with it". In addition to the alienation of the pasture land and watering points, Lake Basaqa expanded alarmingly to the extent that it will in the near future slice the transportation highway that link Ethiopia to Djibouti.

The boreholes constructed by governmental and non-governmental organizations at different *Gandas* are managed through Water Committee. For instance, the water committee at Dheebiti *kebele* (research site) is composed of four to five individuals. But informants indicate that most of the time the number of the committee members has decreased to two or three individuals. This is because the committee members do not get any benefit and because they want to avoid disputes with the Karrayu who water their livestock from the boreholes on payment.

In the past the Water Committee at the Dheebiti *kebele* decided the amount to be paid by each individual watering his/her livestock at the borehole, by a guess, or based on observing the exact number of livestock. But since 2003 this payment is decided by the Water Committee according to the exact number of the livestock the individual is watering (by counting the number of the livestock). They said this change is made because the price of fuel used for running the borehole has risen. The payment is one Birr per head of livestock per day. Still payment for small livestock like goat and sheep is made based on guess work by Water Committee.

The watering of livestock on the borehole is based on first come first served principle. This is in line with Niamir (1996:247-248) arguments that among all pastoralists informal rules or principles of common sense are in existence like "first come first served". As a rule, individuals who could not pay can not water their livestock from the borehole. Sometimes the water committees may permit poor individuals to water their animals without payment, but this is not always welcomed. As a result, poor individuals mostly water their animals from dirty water of Lake Basaga and Gaicha pond. The Karrayu residents of other *kebeles* while passing through the Dheebiti could ask the Water Committee for permission to water their livestock without payment and with luck could secure permission, but this does not always work. But if the herders of other *kebeles* stayed there for more days than normally tolerated they will be charged to water their livestock.

5.3. Herd Composition and Management

NOPO (1992:24 cited in Assela 2000:93) argued that herds are an integral part of social life and ideological values, guaranteeing both the survival of individuals and the continuity of institutions. It is true that because of the loss of herds, the indigenous institutions of the Karrayu are weakened from time to time and their influence on resource management is diminishing from time to time, as time goes by.

5.3.1. Cattle

Diminishing pasturesland and watering points caused a reduction in cattle population. The fact that camels stay longer without water and also move a long distance in search of browse and water contributed to the

growing size of camel stock and gradually the Karrayu's dependence on camels for their subsistence (Asefa, 2000: 79-80). "It seems that the Karrayu are caught between pincers, namely, they wish to have as large herds of cattle as they could, because it is a symbol of status. However, due to an extended dry season, diminishing pasturelands and the high price the camels attract, both in terms of their sale and the sale of their milk, the Karrayu would go for having more camels than cattle" (ibid).

Informants accentuated that before land and water points' alienation of the Karrayu by various State-sponsored enterprises, the Karrayu rear more cattle than camels, donkeys, goats and sheep. They explained that cattle were culturally more important than any other animals in those good old days when pasture and water are abundant in the Karrayu territory. They stated the number of camels has been on the rise compared to that of cattle. In the past few decades, camels outnumbered cattle due to the fact that cattle could not resist the pressure resulting from diminishing pasture and water because of land and water points' confiscation.

According to Henskovits (1929 cited in Ayalew, 2001: 55-57) the theory of "Cattle Complex" illustrates that pastoralists accumulate and retain cattle for their social values and prestige rather than purely for economic purposes. The theory states that herd sizes are expanded beyond the carrying capacity of the available resource and the pastoralists refuse to accept reasonable prices when market gives them. Nevertheless, the situation of the Karrayu transhumant pastoralists of Upper Awash Valley is contrary to this theory since they are inclined to rear more camels, goats and sheep than cattle. The Karrayu are interested to rear more camel herds as much as they could because camel could resist the extreme resource scarcity at the region and can move to remote areas in search of browse. In addition, the Karrayu are giving due attention to the rearing of goats and sheep because the goats and sheep reproduce themselves in a short gestation period and could be ready for sale to resolve urgent problems.

Still today, the Karrayu cultural attachment to cattle is by far greater than that of camel and goats and sheep. However, due to scarcity of resources they are determined to reduce their cattle population. The Karrayu of the study area have already brought relatively better cattle breeds from Borana in collaboration with GTF. GTF usually assigns individuals and rent car for the Karrayu to bring cattle breeds from Borana that consume less and are less vulnerable to the vagaries of climate than the breed presently held by the Karrayu. The Karrayu households who are in need of cattle breeds give money to the assigned individuals to bring cattle for them. This indicates Karrayu's interest to have a limited number of cattle breeds than having large number of the former breeds. Hence, the condition of the Karrayu is opposite to the arguments

of "Cattle Complex" that pastoralists tend to have more cattle for social value than what is required for subsistence and do not respond to market when they are given reasonable prices. However, the circumstance of the Karrayu demonstrates that there are no cattle population accumulated for the sake of social values and other reasons mentioned in the theory under discussion. As a result, the theory of "Cattle Complex" is not applicable to the Karrayu of the Upper Awash Valley.

5.3.2. Camel

The Karrayu started rearing camels about three generations ago. Before that the Karrayu did not have camel. The Karrayu adopted camels from the neighboring Afar. At the beginning the Karrayu who first adopted camel were those who are closest neighbors of the Afar. The Basso clan of the Karrayu and few of the Dullacha clan who are closest to Afar in boundary adopted camel initially but most of the Dullacha clan adopted camel later. After the Karrayu who border with the Afar adopted camels and began herding them, the Karrayu who are far from the boundary of Afar do not even know as to what a camel looks like. This happens because in those good old days when the resources were plenty in the Karrayu land, they did not move with their livestock to long distance due to the abundance of resource at their locality. But today as a result of resource scarcity the Karrayu move to remote areas with their camels. Informants say that a Karrayu called Bulga Taya from the Abadir area heard about the significance of camel from the Karrayu bordering with the Afar and went to the Afar area and bought camel and returned to Abadir. He was the first person to have camel in the Abadir area. After he reached Abadir, his camel disappeared and returned to its original owner. Bulga Taya went to the Afar area and asked the Afar including the Afar from whom he bought the camel for his camel. The Afar responded that they did not see the camel. The Afar from whom Bulga Taya first bought a camel told Bulga that he had another camel to sell and at last the Afar resold the same camel for the second time to Bulga. At the beginning when they began rearing camels the Karrayu could not easily identify their camels when they disappeared. However, nowadays it is very simple for them to identify even small camels let alone bigger one's if they disappear for long time from their sights.

Since the Karrayu started to adopt camel when resource was plenty, therefore, it is most likely that the Karrayu did not adopt camel with a view to managing the scarcity of resources through rearing camel. That means if the Karrayu adopted camel after the alienation of their resources it may hold true. However, since the Karrayu adopted camel when their resource was intact and plenty then the initial choice of camel for the Karrayu is not to manage the scarcity of resources. According to informants, the Karrayu needed camel at the initial period of the adoption for the transportation of their materials when they move from area to area with their livestock and when they change their settlements rather than for managing the scarcity of

resources. In addition, the Karrayu are interested to drink the milk and eat the meat of camel. Nevertheless, after the confiscation of their resource by State-sponsored enterprises the Karrayu started to understand the benefit of herding more camel than cattle. The reason is that camel could resist the hardship of resource scarcity. Therefore, the Karrayu started to look at the resource management purpose of herding more camel after the alienation of their resources in the 1950s and 1960s.

The focus of the Karrayu on the production of more camels is because of different reasons. First, camels could resist hardships and stay for a considerable length of time without water and leaves. Camels could also travel long distances to search for water and pasture. Second, the Karrayu depended on camels for their milk and meat. They use their milk for food but nowadays it is rare that the Karrayu slaughter camel for food except for special occasions like marriage and Arara /peace-making ceremony. Third, the Karrayu sell the milk of camel along the roadsides to the customers who come from Adama (Nazerit) and Walinchiti towns to buy milk by using cars. They sell a liter of milk for two Birr. This money covers portion of their expenses. Fourth, when the Karrayu sell their camel at market they get good price. The price of an average camel ranges from 1500-2000 Birr. The Karrayu sell male camels, rather than female camels in most instances.

The Karrayu sell their male camel for three main reasons. First is in order to cover different expenses at the time of marriage and to give money in cash to the family of the bride. Second, the existence of two or more male camels in the herd of the household causes difficulty for reproduction that when two or more male camels are herd together they engage in conflict with each other and disturb the entire herd. Third, the Karrayu sell the male camel when it gets older and replace it by the young ones. However, the Karrayu sell female camels after all alternatives are exhausted and if their problem is very urgent and if there are no other things to sell to solve the problem. Concerning the period of the introduction of camel into the Karrayu land, further studies would be necessary to verify this because some Qallu informants stated that camel are initially created by Wajjaga(God) for the consumption of the Qallus. Ceasing the consumption of the by products of camel by the Qallus started after the camel disappeared with the unmarried girl (for detail information look at Qallu institution in chapter four)

3.3.3 Donkey

The coming of donkey to Karrayu land is a recent phenomenon. The Karrayu adopted camel before donkey. Informants stated that the Karrayu probably adopted donkey from the Tuluma /Walinchitti areas. Before the adoption of donkey, the camel has paramount importance for the Karrayu for transportation purposes. The Karrayu used donkey instead of camel for the transportation of grass, water, wood, charcoal and other

materials. The Karrayu used donkey to fetch water from boreholes and other sources for their own consumption and for their livestock. The Karrayu also go long distance with their donkey to bring grass for their livestock from the inaccessible areas like the top of Mount Fentale and from deep gorges where livestock could not go and graze. In addition, the Karrayu used to sell wood and charcoal at the town of Metehara and Haro Adi or along roadsides by transporting it on donkey's back. They also used donkey to transport their household material when they change their settlement areas.

The price of camel in the past is not very expensive and every household of Karrayu has camel to use it for aforementioned purposes. Nevertheless, nowadays almost every Karrayu households has donkey to use it for the function of transportation of water, grass, wood, charcoal, and house materials when changing settlement areas. The Karrayu also benefited from donkey by selling their offsprings. Therefore, one can see a marked transformation of the Karrayu from using camel for transportation to donkey. According to informants, the introduction of donkey to Karrayu land is very recent. To be more specific, it happened after the confiscation of their resources. Therefore, it could be analyzed in a way that this transformation is related to the fact that when the Karrayu lost their cattle due to scarcity of resources they shifted their focus to camel keeping. With the change in use of camel from transportation to its use for milk and sometimes for meat, the Karrayu transferred the burdens of transportation to donkey. Hence, the wise resources management systems of the Karrayu could be seen here that they began to keep more camels because they resist hardship, they consume their milk and sell the surplus to other customers along the roadsides. Therefore, immediately after they recognized the importance of camel for economic purposes the Karrayu shifted the transportation duties of camel to donkey. However, this does not mean that the Karrayu do not use at all camel for transportation. Indeed the Karrayu do not use female camels for transportation. The Karrayu give the responsibility of transportation to donkey because they do not use donkey milk and meat as food.

The preference of the donkey for transportation to camel is also linked to the scarcity of resources as a result of which the Karrayu go to remote areas, beyond the boundary of the Karrayu to graze camels. If the Karrayu keep their camel at the settlement area, they have no resource to feed them. However, donkeys could find sufficient or at least the minimum level of what they could live on near by the settlement area. It is worth recalling at this juncture that, unlike camels, donkeys could survive on ash and dried up faeces. That way the Karrayu brought into their way of life a new element, namely the adoption of donkey which replaced camels for transportation purposes. The Karrayu thus could use the donkey for transportation because they are not taken away to remote areas by herders like camels are. Then the Karrayu adjust themselves to use

donkey for transportation because they are accessible around the settlement and they depend on the resources of the settlement areas. Another very important factor is price. The price of camel and donkey is not equal. By selling one camel, a Karrayu could buy two or three donkeys. Once again cultural ecology could be of great help in conceptualizing this new development in the Karrayu way of life. The introduction by Karrayu of new elements into their culture is the result of their adaptive response to the demands and challenges that both the social and natural environment throws at them. Accordingly what led the Karrayu to rear camels for subsistence reasons, and later on adopt donkey for year-round domestic services is an extra-cultural factor namely the environment. Thus, as per Julian Stewards stance, the new elements in and the current pattern of life in the Karrayu could be explained in terms of ecological pressures, demands, and forces that forced them to respond with new or at least modified adaptive strategy. And this is in line with Julian Steward's argument (1955 cited in J. Peoples and G. Bailey, 1988:81) that the explanation for some aspects of cultural variation could be found in the adaptation of societies to their particular environments.

5.3.4. Goat and Sheep

The Karrayu have started rearing goats and sheep before the confiscation of their resources by State-sponsored enterprises. However, in the past the number of goats and sheep in the area was limited because tall grasses used to hinder the movement of goats and sheep. In those days when the grasses were tall the Karrayu browsed goats and grazed sheep in areas where grasses were already grazed and shortened by cattle. But nowadays they have begun to herd many goats and sheep. Informants at the period of focus group discussions and in-depth interviews underscored that the reason for the growth of goats and sheep population is related to the scarcity of resources. They stated that feeding of goats and sheep is easier than camel and cattle as they can depend on small resources. Because they are small animals, they need proportionately less food than cattle and camel. The other reason is that goats and sheep are like money in a pocket. Hence, when the Karrayu face urgent need for cash, he/she may take and sell his/her goat and sheep at the town of Metehara and Haro Adi. These days the Karrayu get good price for their sheep and goats from the Arab investors who operate meat factory in Haro Adi.

Tedecho Bona, one of my key informants explained that the inclination of the Karrayu to rear more goats and sheep is related to the fact that goats and sheep increase their numbers within short period of time. This is due to the reason that goats and sheep gestation period is short juxtapose cattle and camel. It is known that the gestation period of camel, cattle, and goats and sheep is roughly 13, 9, 5 months, respectively. Regarding the reproduction of these livestock, Netting (1977:54) stated that "though camels can endure drought better than other livestock, they reproduce slowly, and it was the goats and sheep that

could replenish their numbers most rapidly when favorable precipitation conditions resumed". The Karrayu strategy of increasing the number of goats and sheep is an indicative of their resource management skill by understanding the capability of goats and sheep to replenish their number rapidly than cattle and camel. Thus, the inclination of the Karrayu to rear more goats and sheep after the alienation of their resources by State-sponsored enterprises is highly suggestive of their creative adaptive strategy and resource management capacity. The discussion of the next chapter will be about the Karrayu relations with State-sponsored enterprises (Awash National Park, Metehara Sugar Plantation and Nura Era Plantation) and neighboring ethnic groups (Afar, Argobba, Arsi and Ittu).

Chapter Six

Karrayu Relations with State-sponsored Enterprises and Neighboring Ethnic Groups.

6.1. Karrayu Relations with State-sponsored Enterprises

6.1.1. Karrayu Relations with the Awash National Park

The Awash National Park is situated east of Addis Ababa at a distance of some 200km and located at the point where the Ethiopia Rift Valley joints with the Afar Triangle between latitudes N8°45' and N9° 15' and longitudes E39°45' E40°5'E. It is approximately 752. 4km² in size and is bordered to the west by the edge of the Sobober plain, to the south and east by the Addis Ababa-Assab Highway and the Awash River, and to the north by the Kesem River and the Filwcha springs. The main entrance gate is 207 km from the capital city, Addis Ababa (Jacobs and Schneider, 1993:7-8).

The Awash National Park was the first to be established in 1969. Selection for the Awash National Park was justified for the following reasons. Firstly, the majority of the area under concern was already secluded as a private hunting reserve for his Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I and as a result there were a plenty of game in the vicinity. Secondly, "from a physiographic and geological point of view, it is an extraordinarily interesting area where the rift valley fans out . . . and from the view point of scenery, wildlife and its proximity to the capital, this reserve with modified boundaries . . . would seem eminently suitable as a national park representative of the dry lowland type" (Ibid: 6).

Its establishment placed it within the classification of a 'strict conservation area'. In Ethiopia a "strict conservation area" is defined as an area which "excludes all kinds of human use of that area like settlement, exploitation of natural resources, grazing of livestock, mining etc..., except as required for the management of the wildlife and conservation"(Ibid). As a result, the subsequent evacuation of Karrayu and Afar pastoralists from their traditional land was implemented. The Karrayu were displaced from their lands, and taken to their proposed but unfulfilled settlement with their livestock outside the park territories. After the alienation the Awash National Park was given 75,600 hectares of land. In order to implement the resettlement plan of the Karrayu 1500 hectares of land that lies outside the traditional grazing vicinities of the Karrayu was bought by 60,000 Birr at an area known as Borchata. In addition, 31.3 hectares of land was decided to be provided to the Karrayu as "compensation" around the Kesem (Bulga) River from private land reserve of Emperor Haile Selassie I. However, the land is very much dry without water and the land

exacerbated conflict because it is located in the traditional grazing places of neighboring ethnic groups (Buli, 2001, 57).

From the total land claimed by the park (75,000 Hectares) 70% (52,000 hectares) was important dry season grazing land. This is the area we refer to in this research as *Ona bona* and *Ona birra*. The remaining 30% (23,000 hectares) is Wet season grazing area, which is referred as *Ona Gana*. Even though, the pastoralists reclaimed some of their lands in the wake of the drought of 1974/5 and 1984, the park still holds strategic grazing areas and water points. The total land that the park holds could maintain 30,240 TLU (Tropical Livestock Unit), which could easily support 2086 households or 13,976 people. This makes up 68% of the total current population of the area (Bull, 2001:57).

During FGDs Karrayu elder informants elucidated that before the introduction of Awash National Park and other State-sponsored enterprises in to the area the livestock of the Karrayu did not move to remote places away from settlement areas. This was because of the abundance of grass at settlement areas and its overgrowth to the extent of hindering the movement of livestock. However, at the moment due to extreme scarcity of resources the livestock sleep on the dry lands during the day and at night the livestock are grazed in the "territory" of the park by hiding from park scouts. They explicated the situation that "If someone throws stone in the park during the nighttime the stone rest on the head of the livestock before it drops on the earth". While humans sleep at night, the Karrayu and their livestock march to the park to "steal" grass. In the meantime they are also expected to defend their livestock from the attacks of such wild animals in the park as lions and hyenas. In addition, they have to defend themselves and their livestock from shootings by park scouts. They graze their livestock in the park by tolerating all these difficulties and consequences of walking during the night. Another fascinating thing is the fact that at night the livestock know the sound of shooting of guns. When the livestock hear shootings, they run out of the park. The survival of the livestock of the Karrayu during the dry season depends mainly on the "theft" of grass from the park "territory". After grazing their livestock in the park at night the Karrayu have to take their livestock out of the park territory before the nighttime is over. This is due to the fear that the park scouts could injure or kill them and their livestock or make them pay for it by capturing their livestock...

Most of the times the park scouts capture the livestock of the Karrayu and make them pay fines. When I was visiting the park with the Head of the Park, I observed many Karrayu begging the head of the park and park scouts to secure the release of their captured livestock. There were Karrayu who got back their livestock in exchange for their guns because they do not have money to pay in cash. When they get money, they receive their guns after paying the penalty in cash. It is a great worry for the Karrayu that if the livestock remain arrested by the park scouts for two or three days the livestock may die from hunger and thirst. For the Karrayu, paying fines and taking back their livestock is part of their life. There are also instances when the Karrayu fight with the park scouts in order to defend their livestock from being captured.

One of the informants expressed their relation to the park as "defending force by force". Because the Karrayu are armed they sometimes fight with the park scouts to enable the livestock escape from the park scouts. There are instances when the livestock of the Karrayu run energetically to the park territory in the day times. Herders try to stop their livestock from entering in to the park during the day because of fear of attack from the park scouts. But sometimes the livestock become impatient and uncontrolled for the herders and get into the park territory forcefully. Another problem regarding pasture is that during the wet season the grass in the Karrayu areas do not have the chance to grow properly because the livestock compete to graze the pasture before it sprouts. The grasses have no chance to grow to the expected level. The Karrayu relate resource scarcity to the population growth of the Karrayu, the coming of the Ittus to the area and the alienation of their resources by the State-sponsored schemes. The Karrayu are unable to move from place to place with their livestock because of the attacks from the Afar and the Argobba. They say the Karrayu could not push the Afar and Argobba easily because both are armed to defend themselves.

According to Lane (1995:11) there is "an atmosphere of mistrust and antagonism between residents and park authorities – an atmosphere that is not conducive to future possible collaboration on joint use of resources and participatory management of the park". The Karrayu perceive the park negatively bemoaning cattle seizures and fines that a stock captured grazing in the park is liable to fines of 10 Birr for a cattle, 15 Birr for camel, 5 Birr each for goat and sheep. Informants during in-depth interviews and FGDs affirmed their relations to the park as follow:

Our attitude towards the park is negative. We have asked the park several times to hire some members of our community as its employees because there are no members of our community employed there except two individuals. But the park authorities are not in a position to do so as our educational level is not compatible with the criterion set by the Federal Civil Service Commission and therefore almost all workers of the park come from other areas.

According to the warden of Awash National Park, in many of the studies explaining the predicaments of the Karrayu, the Awash National Park and the State Farms are typically held responsible for the reduction of the area's pasture and water resources. However, because of the fact that the Awash National Park's boundary is porous, it is difficult to view the park as closed for grazing their animals or its pasture beyond their reach. The thing is that as a result of mounting internal and external pressures on them and the consequent resource scarcity the Karrayu are attempting to survive their livestock through "stealing" grass during the dry season from the park. By this mechanism they are attempting to manage the scarce resource. Beginning from its establishment the relationship between Awash National Park and the Karrayu is full of complaints and misunderstandings (letters of complaints by various institutions were written to Fentale District Administration with a message denouncing and accusing the entrance of Karrayu and Ittu to graze

per livestock in the park territory. (See the annexes)

6.1.2. Karrayu Relations with Metehara Sugar Plantation

Emperor Haile Selassie I due to imperial land grants gave Karrayu land to two brother of an aristocratic family named Bazabih Sileshi and Mesfin Sileshi in the 1950. Bazabih Sileshi was provided 200 *gashas* (8000 hectares) and Mesfin Sileshi was given 100 *gashas* (4000 hectares). The latter after using the land for limited period returned it to the state explaining that such pastoral land was not rewarding. Nevertheless, the former altered his method of produce extraction from gathering of taxes to the development of an agro-industrial enterprise in partnership with four Greek investors. This enterprise was called P. Sams -Bazzabih Sileshi reported to the state that he had altered his land to Metahara Plantation after setting up the company with an initial capital of 1,500,000 Birr. Because of fierce resistance from the Karrayu, the company had rarely operated peacefully (Buli, 2001:52).

The Ethiopian government's bureaucratic structure was highly expanding after World War II due to administrative and military reforms. The number of the army was increasing and the state very much needed money to finance these administrative and military institutions. Hence, the state was looking for any investment activity. In addition, "beginning from the Italian occupation, the entire economy of the country was rapidly entering the market economy so that any speculations could gain a reward. As a result, the Second Five Years Development Plan (1963-1968) envisaged the development of the Awash valley through large scale commercial farming" (Buli, 2001:53). This condition created a favorable opportunity for international companies such as British firm, Mitchel Cotts, Dutch company, and Handles Veneering Amsterdam (HVA) (Ibid).

After its evacuation from Indonesia due to land nationalization, the HVA was searching for a new investment activity in other areas. Accordingly, HVA sent its delegates to Ethiopia and among the large-scale agricultural concessions, which were the first to function in the Upper Awash Valley, was the HVA established on the plains of Wonji in 1951. The establishment of Wonji Sugar Estate led to the forceful eviction of Jille Oromo pastoralists. A second sugar estate was established in 1958 at Shoa. The two companies were often called as Wonji-Shoa, which merged to become H.V.A. Ethiopia from H.V.A United. Within a short period of time the profitability of sugar and the increasing demand in Ethiopia inspired H.V.A Ethiopia to begin to search for another comfortable place in the Awash Valley for a larger sugar estate and factory, which, in turn, led to the establishment of Metahara Sugar Estate in 1965 (Ayalew, 2001: 193; Buli, 2001 53-54). The HVA expanded its tentacles with new name: HVA-Metahara. The H.V.A. Metahara found

the area "most conducive for large-scale agro-industrial expansion because of its fertile soil, warm temperature, proximity to the Awash River, which made the irrigation easier, and the ideal location of the area along the Ethio-Djibouti rail way" (Ayalew, 2001:193).

Accordingly, a new agreement was signed between the Ethiopian government and HVA, Metahara, in June 1965. The agreement granted for HVA Metahara, 10,000 hectares of Karrayu land from either side of the Awash River. 10,000,000 Birr initial capital was needed to begin the venture from which 49% was offered to Ethiopia shareholders (ibid). The lion's share of the Ethiopian side went to the aristocratic families and different government sectors. The interest of the local people has never been considered. The Karrayu seem to have been severely disadvantaged compared with the Afar, since, in the case of the latter, the aristocratic family of Sultan Ali Mirra, at least, got shares in the Cotton plantation (Bull, 2001:54).

According to the concession, the 10,000 hectares included the land and plantation that had been registered by Metahara, P. Samis-Bazabih Silieshi S.C. Ltd. Hence, the Ethiopian state had to buy the land and properties on it from P.Samis-Bazabih Silieshi S.C. Ltd. in order to give it for the concession. Thus, the government paid the following payments for Dajazmach Bazabih Silieshi, first, 1,314,065.00 birr for price of the purchase of land, second, 1,135,349.82 birr for the price of the purchase of properties on the land due to the plantation, and third, 1,500,000.00 birr for additional payment. Therefore, in sum a total payment of 3,949,414.82 birr was given to Dajazmach Bazabih Silieshi (Bull, 2001:54). "Such amount of money was amassed by Daj. Bazabih at the expense of the Karrayu, since, it was they who lost the land but somebody else got paid for it" (ibid.)

The massive eviction of the Karrayu pastoralists was launched between 1964 and 1969 when caterpillars and bulldozers moved in to level pastoral settlements and surrounding forests. This was done to arrange the way for the development of irrigation agriculture (Ayalew, 2001:196). HVA Metehara began its work by preparing the land for sugar cane plantation in 1965. The land was used for cane-sells planting, establishment of a Sugar Factory and construction of residential quarters for workers. The establishment of the factory was finalized in 1968 and the production started in 1969 (Bull, 2001:55; Raggassa, 1993).

According to my informant, Haj Hawas Abomssa the Metehara Sugar Plantation area was the settlement places of the Karrayu transhumant pastoralists. He said before the introduction of the Metehara Sugar Plantation the area was an important grazing and watering area for the Karrayu. The Karrayu spend most of their time in this area for three reasons. First, the existence of abundant pastures and second, the presence of Hawas (Awash) River. Third, the existence of many ritual places of the Karrayu at the area of Hawas (Awash) River. He said the Karrayu did not follow their livestock at this area and they sit under a tree shade to play and discuss about various issues. He said sometimes the Karrayu move their livestock to water from the Bulga (Kisem) River due to the reason that the River was considered to have high

mineral content. According to my informant the Metehara Sugar Estate first begun, the work of sugar cane plantation at the Abaddir area and during this time the Karrayu appealed to Haile Selassie government to suspend the alienation of their land. Informants said the actual resistance of the Karrayu begun when the Metehara Sugar Estate expanded its project, began Sugar cane plantation at the Galcha area, and blocked the Karrayu to access the Hawas (Awash) River to water their livestock. They said the Karrayu beaten the white men who were working to start the plantation at the Galcha area. The Haile Selassie government sent military forces and the Karrayu were surrounded and their resistance was suppressed by armed forces. Informants said immediately after the suppression of the Karrayu by military force the Haile Selassie government began to cheat the Karrayu by giving false promises. During focus group discussions the Karrayu informants explained the situation as follows:

When the representatives of Haile Selassie government talked with us about the alienation of our land and the banks of Hawas (Awash) River we resisted them too much. But they did not want to listen to our problems. We told them if we lose this area for sugar plantation our life will be lost. You have already taken by force Abaddir area. We have no other alternative to graze and water our livestock. In addition, this area is our vital grass; our life is impossible without Hawas (Awash) River. The government representatives have misled us by mentioning false promises. They promised to divert the Awash River to water our livestock and grow grass for the livestock. They promised us to construct many boreholes for human consumption. They said every Karrayu household will be given a quintal of sugar per month, employment opportunities will be provided for those Karrayu who are interested to work in the sugar plantation, opening of schools for our children and health centers. They promised that our lives will be better off than the past but after they took our land and the Hawas (Awash) River none of the promises were fulfilled. What the Karrayu got from Metehara Sugar Estate is *segara* literally means faeces. Metehara Sugar Factory diverted waste water from the factory, dirty water from the washes of the clothes and toilets of the workers in the Factory. The waste water that comes out from the MSF entered to Lake Basaqa and Galcha Pond. Lake Basaqa is unsuitable for the consumption of humans and livestock due to the mixing of dirty water from MSF. Galcha pond is also unsuitable because of its mix with waste water from MSF and has bad smell even to pass around. However, because we have no any other alternative we are drinking from it and watering our livestock from the Lake Basaqa and Galcha pond. Many of the Karrayu go to health centers due to water born diseases. Our livestock are also diseased because of similar problems.

Metehara Sugar Plantation has surely claimed great amounts of pasture traditionally utilized by the Karrayu. The hostility of the Karrayu on Metehara Sugar Factory is much higher. The MSF have not involved in the improvements of the lives of these people. Even their employees in general come from outside the region. During my interview with the head of Agricultural Department of the Metehara Sugar Factory, I asked him why his organization did not employ significant number of Karrayu people and if at all, his organization has employed them they are at the position of guards and other inferior positions. His response was that "they do not have a culture of work". Nevertheless, this reason seems unacceptable because of the fact that Karrayu are pastoralists since long ago and they are not expected to know agricultural work because they have not trained themselves in such a way. But if asked how they practiced and lived on pastoralism for long time in such a harsh environment, the Karrayu pastoralists could give training on how they used their

indigenous institutions for resource management since antiquity until their land and water points were alienated by State-sponsored enterprises. However, blaming the Karrayu people as "having no work culture" for farming is nonsense, irrational and illogical argument. It is similar to blaming the professional of one discipline for not having the knowledge of other disciplines.

Ayalew (2001:177) rightly predicted and put the worries of the Karrayu about further expropriation of their remaining land. He writes "the general state of fear and apprehension still prevailing among the Karrayu who still feel that even their remaining land is subject to expropriation". Even today at the time of this research, Metehara Sugar Factory is conducting a feasibility study in order to alienate Karrayu land for additional sugar cane plantation. According to Agricultural Department Head of the Metahara Sugar Factory this feasibility study does not deny the ownership of the land of the Karrayu. Their plan is to organize the transhumant pastoralists near the new project in to cooperatives and then, through these cooperatives the Karrayu sell the sugar canes to the sugar factory and benefit themselves. According to him, the main objective of the new project is to get sugar cane in sufficient amount in order to make the factory most competitive for future market by increasing the sugar production for the society. Thus, he stated that the main objective of additional land encroachment is to meet the increasing sugar demand in Ethiopia. He also stated the new project benefits the Karrayu in two phases. In the initial phase, the Karrayu near the new project will be employed as workers in the sugar cane plantation. In the second phase, when the Karrayu learn the works they will take-over the new project, sell the sugar cane to the sugar factory, and benefit themselves. After the accomplishment of the preliminary study the Metehara Sugar Factory is undertaking feasibility study on over 6000 hectares of new land. He further stated that the factory has invested around 5 million Birr for the feasibility study of the new project by foreign experts and after the accomplishment of the study, the factory will invest large amount of money requesting the government for capital. According to Factory officials, their relation with the Karrayu society is negative. "Our relationship with the Karrayu is full of complaints for the alienation of land. However, the complaints of the Karrayu come from the time of Emperor Haile Selassie I and Derge period up to now".

According to the Head of Agricultural Department of Metahara Sugar Factory, there is a lot of suspicion on the Karrayu side about the new project and this is because of their history. But to assure them they have signed a memorandum of understanding with the regional government of Oromia, the Eastern Shoa Zone and the Wereda. Although the factory has done this, they have got much resistance from the Karrayu. Hence, the MSF have to do a lot to convince. I asked the Head of the Agricultural Department about their plan in case the Karrayu refuse to accept the proposal of the new project. He replied, "we leave it because

we do not have to repeat the mistake committed by our factory in the past; but we still continue to work to convince them. Hence, the inception of the new project is both to fulfill the high demand of sugar in Ethiopia and to benefit the Karrayu by incorporating them in to the new project in two phases as mentioned above".

According to informants, the Metehara Sugar Factory is requesting the Karrayu inhabitants of six *kebeles* to hand over what little land was left in their hands from the previous confiscation for the expansion of sugar cane plantation. These six *kebeles* are Qobbo, Gaicha, Beni, Gedera, Dere Sedan, and Tore Bodenota. They said in the past when the Metehara Sugar Estate confiscated the land of the Karrayu the promises were verbal and none of them was kept. Today the Metehara Sugar Factory changed its tactics, signed preliminary agreement to study the lands productiveness, and had many meetings with the Karrayu elders and the government representatives to convince the Karrayu to let go the remaining land on which they are settled and their livestock are grazing. Informants stated that when the Metehara Sugar Factory requested the Karrayu in different meetings they did not accept the promises given to them. They say "we know our past particularly how the factory deceived our forefathers by giving them false promises and the factory can not deceive us for a second time. The factory and the government may take our land by force but never again through false promises".

The Metehara Sugar Factory (MSF) officials said that the new project plan would not take the land of the Karrayu. The land on which the factory will expand the sugar cane plantation will continue to be the property of the Karrayu. According to the factory officials it is the Karrayu who will pay taxes to the government on the land on which the factory will develop sugar cane plantation. The MSF is responsible for the farming of the sugar cane and all other necessary things for the growth of the sugar canes. The Karrayu are responsible for taking care of the sugar cane from damage. After the sugar canes are ready for harvesting the Karrayu will sell it to the MSF. Therefore, the relation between the Karrayu and Metehara Sugar Factory will be a relation based on sugar cane selling and sugar cane buying. The Karrayu will be hired by MSF as guards and workers in the sugar cane plantations of the new project. When the Karrayu sell the sugar cane to the MSF, the MSF will deduct expenses that are paid for the growth of the sugar cane such as salary of the plantation workers, expenses of machines and fuels and so on from the sale of the sugar cane. In short, all the expenses that are paid by MSF during the cultivation of the sugar canes will be deducted from the total amount of the money the Karrayu earn from the sale of sugar canes.

According to informants the Karrayu are not accepting the promises made by MSF related to the contractual agreement of selling sugar canes to MSF. The Karrayu have already proposed what they think is

acceptable to them. They argued that the proposal of the MSF does not in any way respect and fulfill the rights of the Karrayu. They proposed that the MSF should pay 6000 birr per hectare per year to each household who would be evicted from their settlements due to the expansion of the new project for sugar cane plantation. They said, "if we accept the promises of the MSF and sign the agreement the MSF may mention a lot of things as its expenses for the growth of the sugar canes and finally give to Karrayu, who are displaced from their settlements, very low amount of money by exaggerating its expenses."

Informants said that while the debate between the Karrayu and MSF continued, the MSF asked the inhabitants of the six kebeles for their cooperation so that MSF could carry out an experiment on the land to know whether the land is productive or not. The Karrayu refused to see any experimentation conducted on their settlement and grazing area because they suspect that the MSF could use the money it expended for the experiment on as a pretext to alienate their land. Later, the Karrayu and MSF reached a consensus that the MSF will not use the soil experimentation expense as a pretext for the alienation of the land. Accordingly, the MSF make the soil experimentation by foreign experts. Both parties agreed that after the soil experimentation process is finalized the MSF would leave the land to the Karrayu if both will not agree on the contractual agreement they will sign later. After this, both have signed a temporary agreement only for testing the productivity of the soil. However, I could not find the copy of the temporary contractual agreement signed to test the productivity of the soil from the MSF, Fentale District Administration and the Karrayu elders. I attempted to get the copy of the temporary agreement from the elders who participated in the signing ceremony but the elders did not know whether a copy of the agreement should be given to them.

Informants expressed that the inhabitants of the Karrayu of the six kebeles will not, in any way, be going to accept the promises of the MSF and of the government representatives because, the proposals are disadvantageous to the Karrayu. They said even during different meetings conducted between the Karrayu and MSF, moderated by government officials who came from Eastern Shoa Zone of Oromia, there were instances when the Karrayu representatives left the meeting room by disagreeing with the issues raised during the meeting. The situation until I left the field site, August, 2005 was that the Karrayu did not accept the promises of MSF and the government officials.

According to the Karrayu tradition, all the Karrayu land belongs to all the Karrayu and their land holding system is communal. This means the areas of six kebeles selected for the sugar canes expansion also belong to other Karrayus residing in another kebeles. Hence, the proposals and promises of MSF are in

conflict with the traditional Karrayu landholding system that the proposal incorporates only those Karrayu who settled in the six *kebeles* and excludes the rest of the Karrayu living in other *kebeles*. The thing is that when the Karrayu in the six *kebeles* are displaced from their settlements and grazing areas, they will put additional pressures on the rest of the Karrayu residing in the remaining *kebeles* and amplified the grazing land scarcity several times. The worst of all and even surprising is that the MSF has not considered the communal landholding systems of the Karrayu and make their project proposals benefiting the whole Karrayu. What the MSF attempted is the policy of dividing the Karrayu in to two: those six *kebeles* who are near the project to benefit and those 12 *kebeles* to be excluded from the benefits of the project. I think this is a very futile exercise. Suppose the Karrayu residing in the six *kebeles* agreed with the MSF to give their land for the sugar cane plantations and get the promised benefits from the MSF. I think this may cause conflict between the Karrayu of the six *kebeles* and those of 12 *kebeles* as the latter may want to be included in the benefit of the land, which belongs to all the Karrayu. Second, after giving the land to the MSF the Karrayu of the six *kebeles* do not have any other alternative for grazing and watering their livestock and even for settlement other than going to the sites of the remaining 12 *kebeles*. I think this would not be acceptable by the residents of the 12 *kebeles*. Therefore, the MSF must not have to attempt to take the land of the Karrayu and even the MSF should pay compensation for the already alienated land and water points.

On the media, at different times, Metehara Sugar Factory declares that it has profited several millions of Birr every year. MSF boasts also that it is exporting sugar. By killing thousands of the livestock and many of the Karrayu by starvation and water born diseases resulting by drinking the stool-infected water entering into Gatcha pond and Lake Basaqa, the MSF is profiting several million Birr. I think this, in no way is rational. One could say that it is profiting while those displaced from the area are dying due to its activity. This kind of marginalization and exploitation could be traced as the first of its kind and unprecedented in the history of humankind that the displaced are thrown without any compensation as far as I know. The MSF is unsatisfied by the previous alienation, became blinded by several millions of profits, and continued the mission of taking the lands of the Karrayu. I think the current land alienation is ridiculous and tantamount to saying that the Karrayu have no natural right to live in their land.

6.1.3. Karrayu Relations with Nura Era Plantation

An Italian citizen called signor Pascal Montanari set up the Nura Era Plantation (NEP) in 1964. At the initial period the Nura Era Plantation was planned to start its activity on 150 *gasha* (6,000 hectares) of land, however, in practice only 90 *gasha* (3,600 hectares) was used for the plantation of mainly cotton as well as

fruits and vegetables, which depended on the Awash River until the outbreak of the Ethiopia Revolution in 1974. After the Revolution, it was transformed into a fruit and vegetables farm. Now the Nura Era Plantation is functioning as an independent establishment under an umbrella organization known as the Upper Awash Agro-Industrial Enterprise (Ayalew, 2001:202). When the NEP was originally established the place was dominantly settled by the Arsi Oromo Pastoralists. However, the transhumant Karrayu pastoralists were the indigenous dwellers of the area who had lived there much earlier, spanning a period of three to four generations. "The Karrayu and Arsi Oromo pastoralists had a long history of conflict arising mainly from competition over scarce pasture and border disputes. In the course of time, the Arsi Oromo managed to drive the Karrayu further north, taking over their settlements in the surroundings where the Nura Era Plantation was later established" (ibid: 202 - 203).

The Nura Era Plantation was established on the land of the Karrayu and the Arsi, that half of the plantation is on the territory of the Karrayu while the other half is on the land of the Arsi. Informants stated that Jajabba Hela and Dalio are places that demarcated the boundary between Karrayu and Arsi before the introduction of Nura Era Plantation. Some Karrayu are employed to inferior positions like guards in the Nura Era Plantation. Some Karrayus who settled around the farm began farming by using water that overflows from the plantation but most of the time the workers of the farm block the water from the Karrayu and make their plants useless. Karrayu informants said that the Nura Era Plantation officials do not need the Karrayu to practice farming. This might be due to the reason that the Nura Era Plantation wants to get cheap labor from the Karrayu. It has also the interest to expand the plantation and does not want the Karrayu to hold land by practicing farming and become a challenge to the future expansion of the plantation. One of my informants Haj Hawas Abomssa explained the relations of the Karrayu and Nura Era Plantation as follows:

Some Karrayu households around the Nura Era Plantation have started farming on new lands and the lands abandoned by the Nura Era Estate Farm due to loss of fertility. However, the Nura Era Plantation officials because of jealousy blocked the water from the Karrayu and make their crops dry up. Today the Nura Era Plantation officials attempted to re-visit the Karrayu households who are engaged in small-scale farming around the plantation. The households are refusing to stop their farming activity and the Fentale District Administration is intervening to settle the dispute between Nura Era Plantation and the Karrayu.

6.2. Karrayu Relations with Neighboring Ethnic Groups

6.2.1. Karrayu- Afar Relations

During in-depth interviews, Karrayu informants acknowledged that the conflict between them and Afar started since long years ago. They said it is difficult for them to specifically trace the time when conflict with the Afar began but they said they knew their forefathers were in conflict with the Afar long ago. They have

long history of conflicts such that each regards the other as a traditional enemy. In the past before the land alienation of both groups by Awash National Park, Plantation Scheme and others, most conflicts and the murdering of individuals were linked to culture. They explained that the Afar murdered their members in the past, for reasons which in most cases, were not related to competition for pasture and water resources. They also confirmed that the Karrayu murdered the Afar in most instances in the past not associated with competition for resources. Hence, killing each other on both sides was considered as courageous and pride. The present situation and the transformation of the cause of the conflicts between the Karrayu and Afar will be discussed below.

According to Alemu Tesema the Neighboring Regions Affairs Head of the Fentale District Administration the main conflict resolution strategy attempted so far is the founding of the Peace and Negotiation Committees in both weredas and at kebele levels. He stated that 12 and 10 people constitute the committees at the wereda and kebele levels, respectively. Permanent members of the committee at the wereda level are wereda administrator, head of militia and the police commander. The remaining nine members are selected from elders of the local community. The same Committee was established from the Afar side (Awash Fentale). He further stated that since 2003 the Neighboring Regions Affairs Department officially set up at the regional, zonal and wereda administration levels in Oromia. These offices are responsible for handling all issues related to the neighboring regions. According to Alemu, at the moment a committee of elders is formed from Karrayu and Afar side to oversee the situation, meet and discuss every 15 days. He also said the Officials of the Neighboring Office Affairs of both sides meet and discuss once a month. However, when conflict breaks out the committees of elders and officials go to the problem area without waiting for the regular meeting of every 15 days and a month respectively.

Alemu said the office in collaboration with Care Awash (NGO) conducted a conference in 2004 to identify the main cause of the conflict between Karrayu and Afar. During the conference, around 180 elders from Karrayu and Afar participated excluding district officials and police of Metehara Fentale and Awash Fentale. The participants of the conference underscored the main cause of the conflicts between Karrayu and Afar to be theft. Alemu said before the undertaking of the conference many people believe that the main cause of the conflicts between the Karrayu and Afar is related to resources (water and pasture) competition. He also said that the participants of both sides did not deny the problems of resource shortages and conflicts linked with resource scarcity at the border areas of both groups. He said when each side went to the border areas for grazing and watering their livestock at the BulgaKasem River, individuals of both sides returned to their

villages by stealing the livestock of each other when they get the chance. He also said there are individuals from both Karrayu and Afar sides who go taking with them food and drink that would last them for considerable days, to each other's territory intent on stealing livestock.

According to Alemu there are elders from Karrayu and Afar sides who want peace and work jointly for peace and stability. However, he said while these elders are striving to make peace if one person from Afar side kills the Karrayu or steals the livestock of the Karrayu the whole Karrayu say the Afar kill our member or stole our livestock. The Karrayu blame the crime to all Afar people and not to the specific individual who committed the crime. The same is true from the Afar side if the Karrayu man kills their individual or steals their livestock. The killing of individuals/theft of livestock disrupts the whole process of peace and stability between Karrayu and Afar. This also holds true to the relationship between Karrayu and Argobba. The Joint Peace and Negotiation Committee was initially congratulated for making a truce between Afar and Karrayu by facilitating the retrieval of stolen property from both sides and taking some legal and administrative measures against individuals accused of committing crimes. Nonetheless, the prejudiced character of both sides of committee members to favor the position of their respective sides minimizes the credibility of the joint peace and negotiation committee.

Alemu said that there is a tradition, from both Karrayu and Afar sides that encourages the killing of individuals and raiding of livestock. From both sides those who kill and steal are regarded as bold and courageous and are given honor and dignity from their own community. He said it is very difficult for the local administration to capture the thieves and those individuals who killed others from both sides. He said this happens because both sides hide individuals who committed crimes and the police cannot capture these individuals and bring them to justice. He said that for the police the problem is one of getting evidence to prove that these individuals committed theft or killed others. Moreover, the problem is exacerbated because each wants to retaliate.

During focus group discussions with Karrayu informants the major source of disputes between them and the Afar these days is highly linked with stealing and raiding of animals by few individuals from both sides than conflicts on pasture and water points. There are few individuals from both sides who offend the Afar and Karrayu societies and thereby involve them in conflicts. Informants stated that individuals from both Afar and Karrayu sides who are the major participants in the looting and raiding of livestock must be brought to justice because if these kinds of incidents are to continue they might have the potential to be the source of conflicts. According to informants from Fentale District Administration, the possession of firearms by both

groups escalates the conflicts and causes further the killing of individuals. However, informants further stated that the possession of firearms by Afar and Karrayu is viewed as a cultural heritage and to have firearms is a source of dignity and pride. Thus, in both societies possession of firearms serves the purpose of important social value than that of mere self-defense.

The conflicts between the Afar and Karrayu have great repercussion on the rural economy and the livelihood of the people. Informants from the Karrayu side explained that there are several occasions in which the grazing land in their border lands of northern and eastern sides were left unused for some period for fear of conflicts. They stated that they were not in a position to water their animals from Bulga (Kesem) River because of the fear of conflicts with the Afar and Argobba. Informants further argued that there are certain instances when they successfully watered their animals in Bulga (Kesem) River and grazed their livestock into borderlands of Afar and Argobba. Nevertheless, this is done only by being large in number and well-coordinated to defend any attack either from the Afar or Argobba. The direct impacts of conflicts between neighboring ethnic groups is that markets were disrupted for sometime that led to disruption of inter-group exchanges. Even after the conflicts are somehow settled, for sometime markets are conducted under police protection. Moreover, interethnic conflicts around Awash valley sometimes resulted in the interruption of social services that caused the evacuation of government employees such as teachers, development agents, health experts and others.

In the past at the times of peace, certain individuals of the Karrayu and Afar form a kind of friendship known as *Jallas*. Some individuals who establish these ties from the two groups equally use the pasture in their border areas. In addition, the Afar was attending the local market in Metahara while the Karrayu went to the market in Sabure of the Afar. In addition, there was market called Kollo near the Bulga (Kesem) River, which is attended, by the Karrayu and Afar. Moreover, intermarriage was widely practiced between the Afar and the Karrayu. After individuals of both sides become *Jallas*, they introduce themselves to the relatives of each other's. Informants said individuals from both sides who have *Jallas* could move in the territories or villages of the other side freely when there is no conflict, and with their *Jallas* when there is conflict between both groups. When there is serious conflict, between Karrayu and Afar, the individual of both groups' moves with their *Jallas* and nobody touches them.

6.2.2. Karrayu-Argobba Relations

The Argobba are sedentary and agricultural societies who also raise a considerable number of livestock. In the past, the Argobba were not livestock herders but later by establishing relations with the Karrayu, they

took some livestock from Karrayu and started cattle rearing side by side with farming. The Karrayu informants said that today the Argobba are better of them regarding livestock property. The main cause of the conflict between Karrayu and Argobba at the moment is the stealing and raiding of livestock. Informants explained that conflict over resource (water and pasture) competition still exists but conflict over the stealing and raiding of livestock of each side exceeds the conflict over water and pasture. My informant Haji Hawas Abomssa explained the Karrayu-Argobba relation as follows:

Our relation is sometimes peaceful and sometimes in conflict. Wrongdoers (baileges) on both sides instigate the conflicts between us. Most of the time the Argobba have *shifas* (looters) and they even kill each other and so it will not be surprising if these *shifas* (looters) kill and confiscate the property of the Karrayu. These *shifas* (looters) confiscate the livestock of the Karrayu and sold them to distant places or keep the livestock at their villages. In addition, when the Argobba meets the Karrayu with good quality gun, they tend to kill the person, if they can, take the gun, and sell it. Nowadays the gun could be sold beyond 2000 birr and it is good income for the Argobba. In addition, when the Argobba suspect that the Karrayu person has money on his person they kill him and take the money. Because of these reasons, both of us are in conflict all the time. If we make peace today next day, we are in conflict. They kill us and we kill and take their livestock in revenge.

The Karrayu and Argobba never inter-marry between them. There is *Jalla* (friendship) between the Karrayu and Argobba. The Karrayu do not trust their Argobba *Jalla* and there is a saying in the Karrayu community related to this:

Louif Argobbaan hin amananan

You cannot trust Argobba and cattle

According to informants, this saying is related to the fact that if the owner of the cattle stands in front of his cattle trusting that the cattle does not attack him it is highly likely that the cattle may stab him with its horns. They try to use the same logic for the Argobba that if someone walks in front of his Argobba *Jalla* (friend) trusting that he does not kill him, will soon find that any time the Argobba gets the opportunity they do not refrain from killing their Karrayu *Jalla*. The indication here is that it is difficult to trust the Argobba even if they give you food and drinks at their villages. Because after they give you food and drinks, they wait for you in the forest hiding themselves to kill you while you are on your way to your village. Informants said that they do not put their guns on the ground while they are in the villages of the Argobba and they are always ready to defend themselves from the attack the Argobba could make at any time.

According to Aamu Tesema, Head of Neighboring Ethnic Groups Affairs at Fentale District Administration, conference was held in 1997 to bring peace between Karrayu and Argobba. Since then the conflict seems somewhat calmed down and reduced compared to the conflict between Karrayu and Afar. The participants of the conference underlined that the main cause of the conflict between Karrayu and Argobba is stealing livestock by both sides from each other. There are also instances when both sides are engaged in disputes

over water and pasture which is further worsened by the age-old tradition which honors killing a man. The official says that though their conflict is not serious currently, both sides are engaged in dispute over boundary demarcation of the area called *Awa Godana*. The Argobba are incorporated to Amhara Regional State. Both sides claim *Awa Godana* as theirs. Nevertheless, for the Karrayu their territory extends as far as the villages where the Argobba are now living let alone the disputed site.

6.2.3. Karrayu-Arsi Relations

There used to be conflict between Karrayu and Arsi Oromo. These conflicts were believed to be instigated by external factors agents who wanted to gain benefit from them. Buli (2001:78) stated one of the causes of the conflicts between the two Oromo groups in the following way:

The grant to the Karrayu of 200 gawaa of land around Nura Hira, which used to be a common grazing ground for the Arsi and Karrayu, by Haile Selassie II the fame of war between these Kinsmen. War began between the two. The first war of its kind termed as *Lola Nura*, devastated the two, in 1975. This was also the year when war began between Karrayu and Afar, on the one hand and Karrayu and Argobba on the other. With the intervention of an external force, the state, the traditional conflict management of the Karrayu pastoralists and their neighbors become inefficient (Buli, 2001:78).

Informants underlined that during the last ten years, there has almost been total absence of violent encounters between Karrayu and Arsi and, except very few minor clashes between individuals. They underlined that the prevalence of a peaceful atmosphere currently manifested between Karrayu and Arsi is linked mainly to the growth of Oromo nationalism in all areas of the country. The growth of Oromo consciousness and awareness all over the places has greatly contributed for the peaceful relation of these neighboring Oromo people. Pan-Oromo identity and sense of common belongingness is highly mounting.

Haj Hawas Abomessa indicates that the Karrayu-Arsi relation before the period of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) was full of hostility and frequent wars. He expressed the earlier conditions as follows:

We used to treat the Arsi as our *dina* (enemy) and the Arsi were also doing the same. The Arsi fought the Karrayu in alliance with the Amharas from Axum and sometimes with the *Feteno Derash* (military) forces of the state. In one of the wars with the Arsi, I was badly injured on my hand. In the past the Oromo people were fighting against their self as a result of the misdeeds and mischievous interventions of those who are gaining a lot at the expense of the Oromo. I now believe that this will no longer happen.

According to the same informant the Karrayu and Arsi after long period of hostility and war, made an overall peace and conflict resolution agreement during the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) with the mediation of the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF). He said, "the OLF advised the Karrayu and the Arsi not to fight each other again as in the past. Both of you are the sons of Oromo. In the past others instigated both of you to fight each other for their advantages". He said during the *Arara* (peace-making) ceremony several bulls were slaughtered for the festival. At the ceremony both sides promised and took an oath never to raise

weapons against each other in the future. He illustrated the *Arara* (peace-making) ceremony that has laid foundation for peace and security between the two in the following way:

OLF initiated the peace making between the Karrayu and Arsi by bringing both groups together. It taught their history that both are people of same ethnic group (Oromo). It said you do not have to fight each other. For the peace-making ceremony, both have slaughtered bulls to prepare big feast. Individuals with knowledge of law were called to make an oath between the two groups not to fight each other in the future and forget what happened in the past. Starting from that day on, they marry each other and support each other when problems arise. Today both know their identity and history. Their identity is Oromo and their history is the history of Oromo people.

Today, one can not observe a conflict and war between both groups although minor resource disputes could occur among individuals on areas bordering the two groups.

6.2.4. Karrayu-Ittu Relations

The Ittu Oromo used to be the eastern neighbors of the Karrayu before the introduction of Awash National Park. Most Ittu inhabitants in the Karrayu territory migrated to the area over the last forty years, particularly since the mid-1970s. The reason for the coming of Ittu to the Karrayu land is discussed in chapter three. Here, however, I would like to demonstrate the Ittu-Karrayu relations over resource utilization. It is obvious that the probability for the occurrence of conflicts is far greater at the times of scarcity than when resources are abundant. When resource is scarce, it is likely that the Karrayu themselves could potentially dispute let alone with others. The scarcity of the resource of the area has been highly amplified due to expropriation of land and water points by State-sponsored enterprises. The coming of the Ittu to the area also exerted additional pressure on the existing scarcity of resources. Then it is not surprising if temporary conflicts at individual or family level sometimes happen between Ittu and Karrayu as well as among the Karrayu. Informants say the sources of the conflicts among the Karrayu and between the Karrayu and Ittu individuals are mostly related to the starting of farming side by side with pastoralism. The enclosure of communal lands for farming purpose by the Ittu and some Karrayu are the sources of conflicts. However, such conflicts are so minor that they are not to be appealed to the government institution as they are solved by the *Arara* / peace making ceremony.

The Karrayu and Ittu have long established peaceful relations. Both have marriage alliances, settle and live together in the same *Gardas*. Informants suggest that the Ittu are out numbering the Karrayu because of high migration to the area. When Ittu kills their member or raids the livestock of the Afar or Argobba in revenge for their livestock taken by them, both Afar and Argobba say the Karrayu has killed them or raided their livestock, not the Ittu. The thing is that both Argobba and Afar concluded that the Karrayu have attacked them even when attacked by the Ittu. There are also instances when the Karrayu complain about

Chapter Seven

Adaptive Strategies of the Karrayu Community and the Socio-economic Transformations

Karrayu pastoralists have gone through several changes due to external influences and internal dynamism. The external factor like the establishment of development schemes has been the major reason that led to the minimization of resource base in the area. All of the development interventions started in their region reflects the interests of the central government. However, the needs of the local people have been neglected. The development schemes have altered the pastoral land use system leading to the reduction of significant grazing lands. The dwindling of the natural resources of the Karrayu like pasture and water indicated the change in their mode of life. For example, in the past the Karrayu were largely based more on cattle than any other livestock such as camel, sheep, goats, and donkey. The growth in the number of camel among the Karrayu has been a recent phenomenon that has been the direct consequences of ecological change and the inability of cattle to resist the diminishing pasture and water resources. This marked change in the Karrayu's tradition of rearing and using livestock can very well be explained within the theoretical framework of cultural ecology, which argues that "cultural adaptation involves the mechanism of natural selection—the more frequent survival and reproduction of the better adopted" (Vadya and Rappaport in James Clifton 1967: 497). Accordingly, in a situation such as the Karrayu territory where pressures both internal and external are mounting on the ever-diminishing resources, rearing camels is more adaptive to the deteriorating ecological qualities of the land than rearing cattle.

7.1. Adaptive Strategies and Economic Transformation

7.1.1. Wage and Daily Labor

After the introduction of State-sponsored enterprises and the subsequent land alienation, some Karrayu households supplement their income by engaging themselves in wage employment at the Metehara Sugar Plantation and Nura Era Plantation. Hence, the integration of some Karrayu to these plantations is due to the loss of much of their natural resources and to win their daily bread. As a result some Karrayu households who settled near the enterprises have been integrated to the development schemes. According to informants, in addition to scarcity of pastureland and water points, the droughts of 1973/74 and 1984/85 contributed a lot to the incorporation of the Karrayu in to the schemes due to the loss of their livestock to these droughts. Therefore, destitution and hopelessness have led the Karrayu to be engaged in wage labor,

a job that the existing culture does not approve.

Informants stated that the majority of the Karrayu who are integrated in to the schemes are employed as Seasonal Piece Rate Laborers (SPR). The Karrayu who are employed on this condition mainly work as guards of sugar cane plantation. They are not allowed to work in positions as cane cutting, watering and weeding the plantation because they are thought by the scheme officials as unfit for these works. The reason for their discrimination is that the Karrayu have "no work culture" and no education. The Karrayu informants working in the schemes as guards stated that they are employed only on temporary basis and they have no opportunity to be permanent employees. They say schemes officials could "fire them at any time if their eye color bores them". They said the majority of the workers in the schemes come from other areas like Hadiya and Kambata. They also admit that in the Awash National Park, there are only two Karrayu who are employed as park scouts. The rest of the park employees come from other distant places. The Karrayu also started to engage themselves as daily laborers in activities such as washing vehicles and selling sand collected from the riverbanks. Some individuals earn their income by working as brokers in market centers and by trekking the animals sold in one market to the other.

7.1.2. Charcoal and Firewood Selling

Karrayu transhumant pastoralists already have an adaptive strategy on which they depend in times of drought and other problems. Many poor Karrayu make charcoal and collect firewood and sell them at nearby towns and along highways. According to Karrayu informants, the Karrayu started the practice of charcoal and firewood selling after the drought of 1973/74. They say they adopted the experience of selling charcoal and firewood from Shoa Amhara and Ittu Oromo. Informants explained that charcoal and firewood selling has been chosen as an adaptive strategy to cope with the crises and problems experienced due to heavy loss of livestock after the great drought struck the area. During the period of focus group discussion informants elaborated that they know for sure that forest clearance and de-vegetation have repercussion on the environment and lead to land degradation. However, they have no any other alternative other than doing so and if they stop selling charcoal and firewood, their family will be starved. They remember their past when their indigenous institutions were strong, resources were plenty, and the norms and regulatory means of resource control were so strict that those individuals who violated the rules and cut flowers, let alone big trees without the consent and permission of the Gada leaders were subjected to various punishments and sanctions. Currently, however, the destitution of the majority of the Karrayu society and the absence of any other alternative led to the collapse of the indigenous controls of the cutting of trees for charcoal and firewood. Regarding the dire condition of the people under study, Jacobs and Schloder (1993:243) write as

below:

Today, almost all Karrayu women sell firewood in the market, either on a weekly or daily basis. This income goes to buying grains for the family, cooking utensils, and odd pieces of clothing. Some men are also involved in selling firewood, but they sell it along the main highway instead, and it is often still the women and younger children who are responsible for the actual harvest of it.

However, Karrayu informants during the field research stated that the Karrayu gave up the making of charcoal as a result of the government representatives and elders urging of the society about the long range side effects of clearing forests on the environment.

7. 1. 3. Farming

At the times of FGDs informants described that farming in the Karrayu land comprises two things, leasing out their plot of land to people from the towns and conducting the farming by themselves in areas such as Galcha. Galcha Galcha is situated near the Metehara Sugar Factory and most of its households make their living as wage laborers in the factory and plantation. In this area, water from the plantation agriculture is released into open land in order to avoid the overflow of cane plantation. Hence, the Karrayu who dwell in this site use the water to irrigate small plots of land shared among themselves. The utilization of this water creates disputes between the Karrayu and the factory. Informants complained that the factory forbids them from using the water for irrigation purposes stating that it would drain extra water out of the irrigation canal. Primarily the strip of land was divided among a limited number of Karrayu who first got job in the Plantation and gradually settled in this area building houses there for it is nearer to their work places. However, nowadays, because most of the Karrayu have already become very poor, the original settlers at the Galcha area started to share the land with these latecomers for house construction and for irrigation of small plots of land.

Currently, there are evidences, which suggest that many households have begun farming at the Dheebiti kebele. Initially, when I selected this kebele as a study area, I thought that there are no farming activities as in other kebeles in the Fentale District Administration. I was of opinion that I may find indigenous institutions, which are relevant for resource management in the particular site. Nevertheless, at the present, many households are engaged in farming as adaptive strategy because pastoralism can no more be a way of life for the Karrayu. However, even now the majority of the households at the Dheebiti Kebele are still engaged in pastoralism as a mode of subsistence. The dwellers of this kebele carry out farming although different agricultural experts have told them that the area is not suitable for crop production. They simply engaged in farming mainly to hold their individual lands and fence *killos* for their animals as dry season pasture. The trend is going to be individualizing the common property of land and it is a sign of competition

over land individualization. The beginning of farming by the residents of the Dheebiti against the advices of the experts indicates the magnification of the problems of the people and that there is not any adaptive alternative that they would try to sustain their lives. On the other hand, the beginning of farming by many of the Karrayu is linked to individual ownership of land because of extensive pressures from the residents of Metehara and Haro Adi towns who have already taken some lands from the people for the same purposes. Therefore, the active engagement of the Karrayu farming is, therefore, intended to protect their lands from being taken by others for farming as well as for settlements.

7.1.4 Education

Today, the Karrayu have started sending their children to school. According to informants, the main objective for sending their children to school is to have employment opportunity for their children in the government institutions and support them in the future in the face of dwindling resources as a result of land alienation. The Karrayu informants thank Gudina Tumsa Foundation (GTF) for the expansion of education with the establishment of two schools, one at Dheebiti and the other in Metehara town. In addition, they are very much depressed and unhappy with the government's decision to revoke GTF's license. According to my Karrayu female informant, Guye Etemo Fentale, girls have started education at these schools opened by GTF at Dheebiti and Metehara town. She stated that GTF has built dormitories for both girls and boys at Dheebiti School, where they also provided meals. Guye explained that four female students appealed to the Fentale District Administration in refusal of the marriage arranged by their parents to marry them to older men. The four girls, after the marriages were cancelled up on the decision of the *wereda* officials are currently following their education at GTF School. Even before the coming of GTF to the Karrayu land few Karrayu households particularly those settled near the State-sponsored enterprises and working in the schemes have sent their children to schools. Nevertheless, their number is limited. At early stages of land and water points' alienation the Karrayu were not in a position to send their children to schools as today because they have some property at hand. However, today they say the fate of their children should not be similar with them. That is why they send their children, even the girls to schools.

7.1.5 Trade

Currently, the Karrayu are engaged in various trade activities as an adaptive strategy after the alienation of their resources by State-sponsored enterprises. Some of these trade activities will be briefly discussed below. The Karrayu trade cow, ox, goat, sheep, camel and donkey with their Afar counterparts. Obviously, Karrayu and Afar are traditional enemies to each other. During the period of serious conflict between the two groups, the trading activities suspend for certain period. However, after the conflicts somehow abate the

activities usually resume. Even when there is no serious conflict between them, both could not freely get into each other's territory and move here and there to trade except those groups from both sides that have *Jallas* (friends).

Most of the time, the livestock trade between Afar and Karrayu is undertaken in the border areas of the two groups. The center of their contact is a place known as Haleme (near Bulga River) around Saboure. This trade is conducted in such a way that the livestock seller will not receive money immediately. But after the livestock is sold at Karrayu market (Haro Adi) or Afar area the message is sent to the owner to collect his money at the center of their contact. Mostly the trading activity between the two is undertaken by the *Jallas* (friends) from both sides and between relatives because the Afar and Karrayu have marriage ties.

During interviews with informants, they stated that some Karrayu started trading *Khat* (*catha edulis*) recently as an adaptive strategy. They buy *Khat* from Melehara and Haro Adi towns and take it to different camps of Melehara Sugar Plantation and to different rural *kebeles* of Fentale District Administration. Some Karrayu households have started planting *Khat* around the Abadir area. Karrayu women sell butter at the market of Haro Adi. Some women also buy butter from different *kebeles* in the area and retail it at the Haro Adi market. Women do business by trading long grass called *Amayu*. This long grass is used for making different household equipments. They bring *Amayu* from the Afar area and sell it at the market of Haro Adi. The Karrayu women sell *Qochechche* at the market of Haro Adi by manufacturing it at their villages. *Qochechche* is a vessel used for storing milk and carrying milk from place to place. It is made beautifying it by different jewelries.

Karrayu women sell vegetables such as onion, tomatoe, and pepper at Haro Adi during the times of harvest. They sell vegetables partly from their harvest of the small-scale farming particularly around the Galcha area using the overflow of water from Melehara Sugar Plantation. In addition, the Karrayu women get vegetables on the plots of land they rent to individuals from the town of Melehara and Haro Adi. Karrayu men formed legal associations (*wadda*) for the selling of stone and sand at different *kebeles*. They extract sand along the riverbanks of Burchi, Cembibia, Daga Edo, and Qobo. During the fieldwork, I observed Karrayus around the Galcha area digging stone from the ground.

7.1.6. Camel Milk Selling

Karrayu who have camels sell their milk on roadside in the morning and in the afternoon, a car comes to collect milk from Karrayu. The selling of the milk of the camel is known as *Mamila*. Sometimes *Mamila* refers to customers who buy milk of a camel. Because the Karrayu herders go to long distance with their

camels, the herders come out to the roadside to sell the milk of a camel. One liter of camel milk is sold for two birr. However, the Karrayu never sell the cow's milk because it was a taboo. Today let alone for sale there is not enough cow's milk even for household consumption. In the past the staple diet of the Karrayu was milk and they consumed grain food as supplementary and for luxury. Nonetheless, nowadays the grain has become common food for the Karrayu. The Karrayu mix the grain flour with water to drink as milk for themselves and for small children. The Karrayu deceive small children by feeding them grain flour mixed with water. Today children are forgetting the taste of a cow's milk. The cows of Karrayu do not give sufficient milk today because they are not grazed and watered properly due to the scarcity of pasture and water.

7.2. Social Transformation

Chewing *Khat* (*cattha edulis*) has become a major social activity for the men among the Karrayu. Groups of Karrayu men buy bundles of this plant and gather at hotels of Metehara and Haro Adi towns to chew. A mild intoxicant that contains amphetamines, *Khat* produces a relaxed feeling of openness and euphoria to the drug speed. *Khat* hurts not only the health of the addict but also minimizes productivity, distorts the economy and damages the fabric of the society (International Institute of Rural Reconstruction (IIRR, 2004: 97).

Khat speeds the heart up to 40 beats a minute faster than normal. This overworks the heart, interferes with the body's ability to absorb vitamins, and leads to various other health problems: gastritis, constipation and kidney failure. It also results in loss of appetite, lack of sleep, and mental problems. Someone who is 'high' on *Khat* becomes talkative, dreams the impossible and makes expensive claims (ibid).

In the past, the Karrayu elders hold their meeting for reconciliation, marriage and other arrangements in the villages under the big tree (*adiba*). But, nowadays any discussion of the elders is conducted in the hotels at the Metehara and Haro Adi towns by chewing *Khat* and drinking Coca Cola. Coca Cola is the favorite drink for many Karrayu. When they order soft drinks, they say '*izaa guuraachaa*' meaning the 'black one' in order to differentiate it from Pepsi. This may be related to the fact that in Oromo culture *Waqqa* (God) is reflected as black (*Waqqa Guumacha*). In Oromo culture, when a person asks for water to drink he/she says *bishan guuraacha* (black water), otherwise, the person is given milk. Thus, black is a favorite color among the Karrayu as well as in Oromo culture. It has created a comfortable business for the hotels at Metehara and Haro Adi towns to sell so many Coca Cola each day. The hotels prepare places where the Karrayu sit and chew *Khat* throughout the day. *Khat* chewing has already become a new trend and culture throughout the Karrayu land. But it is the men who chew *Khat* and I have not seen a Karrayu woman chewing at the Metehara and Haro Adi hotels. The women are working all their best at the villages to tackle the problems

they are facing because of resource scarcity.

Khat chewing was non-existent among the Karrayu in the past. The *Khat* chewing ceremony was restricted at the villages' level when started among the Karrayu but nowadays the situation is changed and the majority of the Karrayu chews it at hotels. Different concerned bodies have attempted to convince the Karrayu not to spend their money on *Khat* and soft drinks but the *Khat* chewers say that "they do not ask any body to buy *Khat* for them". There are instances where the Karrayu fled to towns leaving their livestock behind as a result of serious addiction to *Khat*. In economic terms, it is expensive.

During FGDs informants underscored that the chewing habit is a recent development among the Karrayu. They associate the introduction of *Khat* chewing in to the area to such things as the coming of the Ittu Oromo to the Karrayu land, their interaction with peoples of Metehara and Haro Adi and with workers of Metehara Sugar Plantation and Nura Era Plantation. However, the major reason for spending most of their time on the ceremony in Metehara and Haro Adi towns is an attempt to forget their miseries and harsh living conditions at home that emanate from scarcity of resources following land and water points alienation.

The Karrayu love their cattle more than anything else and their livestock are in severe problem because of lack of pasture and water, encroachment of farming society and conflicts with neighboring groups. One of my informants at Fentale District Administration explains the love the Karrayu have for their livestock that "the Karrayu does not bother very much for the death of relatives. But they grievously mourn for the hardship and deaths of their livestock. The Karrayu never flog their animals and when they get their livestock are killed or injured by the park scouts they weep very much because of their love for them. They have deep-rooted love and affection for their livestock". Therefore, the coming of the Karrayu to towns seems to be related to the fact that they do not want to observe the hardships and sufferings of their livestock from lack of pasture and water. Hence, the problem the Karrayu are facing today is very much devastating that it deserves the attention and support of government and non-governmental organizations at large in order to save their lives and their livestock.

This reminds me of the English people in London during the first half of the 19th century (Industrial Revolution) when they were drinking alcohol to forget the hardship they were facing due to urbanization and industrialization. Most of the factory workers drank alcohol and went on Manchester streets to forget their miseries and hardships at home.

It is not surprising that returning from exhausting toil to 'home' is such dirty, crowded, ugly surroundings; English workers drank heavily to forget both work and home. 'Gin is the quickest way out of Manchester'

is an English saying dating from the industrial revolution and English describes the streets of Manchester as full of drunkards (Chapple:117-118)

Analogous to this is most of the Karrayu transhumant pastoralists in the Awash Valley of Ethiopia spend most of their time chewing *Khat* at the town of Metahara and Haro Adi in order to forget the misery of resource scarcity at their villages, which came about mainly due to alienation of land and water points by State-sponsored enterprises. Hence, the transhumant Karrayu pastoralists fled to towns of Metahara and Haro Adi to spend day times and sometimes sleep in towns though sleeping in towns was in the past very much prohibited in their culture. Therefore, it is highly suggestive that *Khat* chewing and sleeping in towns come due to the dispossession of their resources. As gin is used to be the quickest way out of Manchester for the English people and Streets of Manchester was full of drunkards, *Khat* is the quickest way out of the villages for Karrayu pastoralists, and the towns of Metahara and Haro Adi are full of Karrayu *Khat* chewers now. The main difference between the English people and Karrayu is that the former were engaged in industrial activities, while the latter are transhumant pastoralists. The problems and sufferings that the Karrayu are facing is due to the interventions of the outsiders in their region. But the hardships and sufferings of the English people happened in the first half of the 19th century due to industrialization and urbanization.

What I am trying to relate and look at is their indigenous adaptive strategy to forget misery and hardships. The English people drink Gin while the Karrayu chew *Khat* in order not to remember the misery of their livestock and of themselves. Yet, despite the analogy, the English people of the 19th century suffered with a better solution in sight for the next generation and the industrial revolution brought about a dramatic change in the lives of the English people whereas for the Karrayu's no solution is foreseeable and it could be predicted that they face a more chronic living condition in the years to come. The Karrayu case is completely different in that their suffering is taking place in the 21st century and with no solution in sight. The fact that these people do not have someone who would lend them ears and confront the officials who plot to further displace them is one of the terrifying situation of our time. Hence, with the *Khat being* taken as an escaping mechanism, the eventual loss of ownself due to their coming to towns, and their inability to look after their traditional institutions and livestock will be inevitable.

Chapter Eight

Summary and Conclusion

8.1. SUMMARY

The most important goal of this study is to look at the transformation of the roles of indigenous institutions in resource management among the Karrayu transhumant pastoralists of Upper Awash Valley. To this end, attempts were made to describe fundamental indigenous institutions of the society. The most common indigenous institutions/ knowledges among the transhumant Karrayu Oromo pastoralists which are useful to a certain extent at present for resource management as well as under take a extensive range of social, cultural, economic, and political functions includes *Gada*, *Gossa*, *Qallu*, *Arara*, *Siinqee*, *Debere*, *Hirppa*, *Ganda*, and *Jigjee* institutions.

Before the appropriation of the Karrayu land by various State-sponsored enterprises, there had been three ecologically differentiated pasture areas, which were properly and effectively managed through indigenous institutions. These ecologically differentiated grazing vicinities were Ona Gana (summer /wet season grazing area), Ona Bona (winter/ dry season grazing area), and Ona Birra (autuman / dry season grazing area). The grazing of livestock across these areas was the intrinsic hallmark of Karrayu pastoral life. Nonetheless, after the disruption of their movement along the three zones by the external forces, the Karrayu currently adopted two types of land / pasture management system. These are individual level and communal level *kallos* (pasture reserves). Individual level *kallos* are small and grazed by the livestock of the owner at the settlement areas. Recently born livestock graze mostly on the individual level *kallos*. However, the communal level *kallos* are big, reserved for dry season pasture by the agreement of one or two *Gandas*. The residents graze their livestock jointly in consultation with each other. However, individuals caught grazing their livestock in the communal level *kallos* with out the knowledge of others are charged by *Ganda* officials.

With regard to water, before the establishment of State-sponsored enterprises in the area, the Karrayu depended almost totally on the water of the Awash River for their livestock and for themselves. However, later after the introduction of the enterprises they were forced to highly rely on less reliable water sources like ponds and boreholes. Due to the extreme scarcity of water in the region, the majority of the Karrayu water their livestock and drink for themselves from Galcha pond and Lake Basaqa contaminated by dirty water from Metehara Sugar Factory. Today the boreholes constructed by governmental and non-

governmental organisations at various Gandas are managed through Water Committees. As a rule, individuals who could pay are allowed to water their livestock from the boreholes. Due to this payment, poor Karrayus mostly water their livestock from dirty water of Lake Basaqa and Galcha pond.

Before land and water points alienation the Karrayu rear more cattle than camels, donkeys, goats and sheep. However, today diminishing pastureland and water point has caused a reduction in cattle population. The capability of camel to stay longer days without water and moves a long distance in search of browse and water contributed to the growing size of camels. The Karrayu needed camels at the initial period of their adoption more for transportation purpose as well as for the milk and meat. Nonetheless, after the appropriation of their resources by State-sponsored enterprises in the 1950s and 1960s the Karrayu began to understand the benefit of herding more camel than cattle because camel could resist the hardship of resource scarcity.

The coming of donkey to Karrayuland is a recent phenomenon after the alienation of their resources by State-sponsored enterprises. Karrayu used donkey instead of camel for the transportation purposes. Today almost every Karrayu household has donkey to transport water, grass, wood, charcoal and house material when changing settlement areas. The transformation of the Karrayu from using camel for transportation to donkey is related to the fact that when Karrayu lost their cattle due to scarcity of resources they shifted their focus to camel keeping. The Karrayu could use donkey for transportation because they are not taken away to remote areas by herders like camels. They adjust themselves to use donkey for transportation since they are accessible around settlement and depend on the resources of the settlement areas. The Karrayu started rearing goats and sheep before the alienation of their resources. At that period, the number of goats and sheep in the region was small; however, today they began to rear many goats and sheep. The increment of the number of goats and sheep is related to the scarcity of resources that feeding of goats and sheep is easier than cattle and camel. In addition, to their short gestation period which contributed to the growth in their numbers, goats and sheep are like money in the pocket for the Karrayu for they could sell them at any time to solve their urgent problems.

The establishment of State-sponsored enterprises such as Awash National Park, Metehara Sugar Plantation, and Nura Era Plantation have brought about great reduction of land and water resources to the transhumant Karrayu pastoralists. The relationship between Awash National Park and the Karrayu is characterized by livestock seizures and the payment of fines and the Karrayu perceive the park negatively bemoaning cattle seizures and fines. The Karrayu attempt to survive their cattle through "stealing" pasture from the park.

Metehara Sugar Plantation has claimed large amount of pasture traditionally used by the Karrayu and denied them access the the Awash River. The resentment of the Karrayu on MSF is much higher because other than dispossessioning their resources it did not engage in the improvement of the lives of the Karrayu. Generally, the employees of the MSF come from outside the area and if at all, the Karrayu are employed in the MSF they are at inferior positions. Moreover, the MSF diverted waste water from the factory and pollute the water in the area. This made the lives of the Karrayu more miserable. In addition, at the period of this research the MSF is making preliminary study to alienate over 6000 hectares of new land of the Karrayu. The Nura Era Plantation was established on the land of the Karrayu and Arsi. Half of the plantation is on the territory of the Karrayu while the other half is on the land of the Arsi. Some Karrayu are employed in this plantation to inferior positions. Some Karrayu households living around the plantation started farming using water that overflows from the plantation; however, the NEP blocks water from their land.

The alienation of the resources (land and water) of the pastoralists (Karrayu, Afar, Arsi, Argoba, and Ittu) by the State-sponsored enterprises had significant impact on their traditional resource management system. The fierce competition on the remaining small resources between these groups has highly affected the age-old traditional resource management mechanism of the pastoralists. Before land and water points alienation conflicts between neighboring ethnic groups in the Awash Valley was largely not over competition for resources. In fact, it was related to cultural values. The cultural values were neighboring ethnic group's desire for dignity, fame, courage and bravery by killing individuals from the other. However, after alienations, the conflicts are instigated due to competition between them over the existing shrinking resources and each group fights to control access to pasture and water. Thus, conflicts among the neighboring groups became a means of survival than what had been the case before the dispossession of their resources. Nevertheless, the recent cause of conflict between the Karrayu, Afar, and Argobba is largely linked with stealing and raiding of livestock from each other. Nonetheless, still conflict over competition over resources is there and high though relatively less compared to conflicts due to stealing and reading of livestock. After the introduction of State-sponsored enterprises and the subsequent alienation, the Karrayu supplement their income by engaging themselves in some adaptive strategies such as wage and daily labor, farming, charcoal and firewood selling, education, trade, and camel milk selling.

8.2. Conclusion

Until recent decades, the Karrayu had very-strong indigenous institutions/ knowledge which were created based on the people's long-established customs, values and beliefs that perform a wide range of economic, social, cultural and political functions. Their pastoral land tenure and mobility-based production and indigenous political and social institutions were efficient in preventing environmental degradation, resource competitions and conflicts over resource utilizations. However, the capability of the transhumant Karrayu pastoralists in maintaining their land tenure, economic security, mobile livestock economics, and their cultural identity have been gradually weakened and eventually eroded. The weakening and gradual erosion of their indigenous institutions have come about mainly by the intervention of State-sponsored enterprises and the superimposition of successive government structures. Thus, the weakening of the indigenous institutions is basically the result of external factors. The Karrayu existence as transhumant pastoralist society is very much threatened now than at any other time in their history. Since the 1950s and 1960s, their grazing lands are being continuously lost to State-sponsored enterprises mainly to Awash National Park, Metahara Sugar Plantation, and Nura Era Plantation. The Metahara Sugar Plantation is about to finalize expansion study to further alienate grazing lands of the Karrayu.

The external pressures lead to the sedentarization of the transhumant Karrayu pastoralists. Therefore, what stands as one of the major findings of this study is that when the ecology changes due to both external and internal factors, the Karrayu, instead of succumbing head on into the undesirable consequence outlined in the "tragedy of the commons", adopted a new strategy where by they start rearing camels and then taking them, in search of pasture, away from Karrayu land into distant territories. In so doing, they relieved their land from the additional pressure the camel herd could exert, and there by managed to keep in balance the carrying capacity of their land, which is severely depleted during the dry seasons. The Karrayu return home with their camel herd during summer season when the rain coupled with high temperature help the vegetation sprout, and grow, to such an extent that the carrying capacity of the land increases to meet the demands of the now back camel herd. This recent pattern in Karrayu way of life can best be explained in terms of the tenets of cultural ecology that the explanation for some aspects of cultural variation could be found in the adaptation of societies to their particular environments (Netting, 1977:6; Bohannon, 1988:332).

The ethnographic findings of this study also invalidate Herskovits (1929) theory of the "Cattle complex". The theory elucidates that herd sizes are enlarged beyond the carrying capacity of the existing resource and the pastoralists rebuff to accept rational prices when a market offers them. Yet, the state of affairs of the

Karrayu is contradictory to this theory in view of the fact that they are inclined to rear more camels, goats and sheep than cattle. The Karrayu are interested to rear more camel for the reason that camel could resist the excessive resource insufficiency in the region and can travel to distant areas. Moreover, the Karrayu give due consideration to the rearing of goats and sheep because they could be sold to resolve pressing financial problems. There are no cattle accumulated and retained for social values and prestige in the Karrayuland. Consequently, the theory of "Cattle Complex" is not applicable to the Karrayu.

Successive Ethiopian governments have been alienating the resources (land and water) of the Karrayu making them the most forgotten people in the Empire. They are currently leading a miserable life because of resource shortages for their livestock and for themselves. Milk is a basic food item for the Karrayu, therefore, the dying of the livestock because of hunger and thirst means the dying of the Karrayu as their life society depends on their livestock. If their natural resources (land and water) continue to be alienated by the enterprises, the indigenous institutions will have no function in the absence of natural resources and the livestock they used to manage in the past. Therefore, the restoration of indigenous institutions in the absence of the natural resources and livestock is difficult in the case of the Karrayu. Another point, which makes the restoration of indigenous institutions difficult is the tightening of government institutions like the *kebele*, which give instructions to pastoralists not to move from village to village, and this clearly destroys the Karrayu's pastoralist mode of life. This type of interference by the government is an indication of the government's interest to weaken the indigenous institutions and alienate the remaining lands for further expansion of the State-sponsored enterprises.

In the past few decades, degradation of indigenous institutions was concluded with the failure of development projects. This prompted many academicians to record the importance of indigenous institutions, working with and linking them with development activities (Warren, 1995: xv). However, in the case of the Karrayu, no meaningful development effort has yet been attempted let alone linking the indigenous institutions to development efforts. The thing is that the successive Ethiopian rulers were highlanders who came from farming/ peasant backgrounds and had little or no care for pastoralist societies. Their policies towards pastoralism focused on sedentarization of the pastoralists and alienation of their resources for parks and other purposes. The same rule applies to Karrayu pastoralists where the government, rather than attempting to link or use indigenous institutions for development efforts, but focused on dismantling pastoralism and replacing the indigenous institutions with the *kebele* institutions. The weakening of the indigenous institutions of the Karrayu is part and parcel of the weakening and gradual

replacement of the indigenous Oromo institutions. The Amharization policy of the past governments has weakened the indigenous institutions of the Oromo. Yet it is believed that the Karrayu and the Borana are better off than other parts of the Oromo society in preserving their indigenous institutions. Hence, *Gada* institution and its ritual ceremonies are more apparent among the Karrayu and Borana than in the other parts of the nation.

The problems of the Karrayu will be resolved when the Karrayu have access to political power with their Oromo brothers in the other areas of their fatherland. Without political freedom, it is unthinkable to solve the entire problems, which the Karrayu are currently facing. The economic problem of the Karrayu has been increasing from the day when the land and water points were alienated. One could not expect any progress in the future in the life of the Karrayu under the current trend. It is ridiculous to visualize the revival of the indigenous institutions when the Metehara Sugar Factory is further alienating the remaining land. Without having real economic and political freedom to stop land alienation and many other impositions, it will be difficult to work for the revival of indigenous institutions among the Karrayu. One has to survive first to think about the growth and revival of indigenous institutions. Today, the Karrayu are not living rather it is others who are living comfortable lives at their expense. I believe, Karrayu's problem will be solved and the roles of their indigenous institutions for resources management and other purposes could be enhanced when the entire Oromo nation gets economic and political freedom.

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ጉዳይ:- በአዋሽ ቤሔራዊ ፓርክ አካባቢ ስለተከሰቱ የዝርፊያ ድርጊቶች ይመለከታል።

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The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
The Ministry of Education and Science

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ፈንፈኔ

ጉዳዩ፡- በአዋሽ ብ/ፓርክ ላይ እየተፈጸመ ያለውን ጥፋት ይመለከታል።

እንደሚታወቀው ሁሉ የአዋሽ ብ/ፓርክ በከፊል በኦሮሚያ ብሔራዊ ክልል ውስጥ የሚገኝ ሲሆን፣ በአሁኑ ወቅት በክልሉ ውስጥ በተለይ ለገበንቲ፣ ሙዳ፣ እጅተሪ ተባለው በሚጠሩ ቦታዎች የሚኖሩ አርብቶ አደሮች ከፍተኛ ቁጥር ያለው የከብት መንጋ ወደ ፓርኩ በማስገባት የፓርኩን የተፈጥሮ ገዕታ እያጠፋ ይገኛል።

ከዚህ ጥፋት የላካባቢው ሕብረተሰብ እንዲታደግ የአዋሽ ብ/ፓርክ ጽ/ቤት በተደጋጋሚ ለወረዳ አስተዳደርና ፖሊስ በማገኘት ከፃፋቸው ደብዳቤዎች መካከል የተወሰኑትን በመጥቀስ በቁጥር 81/110/86 ነሐሴ 1 ቀን 1996 ዓ.ም. ለፈንታሊ ወረዳ አስተዳደር ጽ/ቤት የጉዳዩን አሳሳቢነትና፣ አስከፊ ገዕታ በመግለፅ በፃፈው ደብዳቤ እስካሁን ምንም ዓይነት አስተዳደራዊ እርምጃ ያልተወሰደ መሆኑን አሳስቧል። የዚህ ደብዳቤ ኮፒ ከዚህ ደብዳቤ ጋር ተያይዟል።

በዚህ መሠረት እየተፈጠረ ያለው ችግር እየተባባሰ ሐዲ የዱር እንስሳት ሀብቱን በኋለኛት አፋፍ ላይ እያደረሰ ስለሆነ አፋጣኝ እና ዘላቂ መፍትሔ የሚያስፈልገው መሆኑን እያስገነዘብን፣ የባለሥልጣኑ ጽ/ቤት ለሚመለከተው ወረዳ በአስቸኳይ አስተዳደራዊ እርምጃ እንዲወስድ መመሪያ እንዲሰጥልን አናሳስባለን።

ገልጻዊ፣
ለአዋሽ ብ/ፓርክ
ጎቱ



ከሠላምታ ጋር



የኢትዮጵያ ጥምረት ማህበረ ሰነድ
የትምህርት ሚኒስቴር
The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
The Ministry of Education and Science

13/137/13/15

ሰነድ ለመረጃና የተፈጥሮ ሀብት አስተዳደር ባለሥልጣን
አዲስ አበባ

06 ጥቅም 1997

ጉዞ፡ የአየን ቤሐራዊ ፖርቲ ሕልውናን እየተፈታተኑ ያሉ ችግሮችን በጋራ ስለመገናኘት፡

እነሆ በአየን ከተቋቋመች ሁለት ፖርቲዎች አንዱ የሆነው የአየን ቤሐራዊ ፖርቲ ላለፉት
11 ዓመታት የአገሪቱን የተፈጥሮ ቅርስ ወብቆና አልምቶ ለተተኪው ትውልድ በ ለማስተላለፍ
ባሻገር ጥረት ውስጥ ጉልህ ሚና ሲጫወት ቆይቷል። አሁንም እየተጫወተ ነው።

ሆኖም ከቅርብ ዓመታት ወዲህ በተፈጠሩት ከፍተኛ ሰው ስራ ችግሮች የፖርቲ ሕልውና
አላላጠ ደረጃ ላይ ይገኛል። በተለይ በፖርቲ ውስጥና በፖርቲ ዙሪያ ከጊዜ ወደ ጊዜ እየተስፋፋ
የመጡት በሌላ ጽርፍተኛና በግልሰሰኞች የሚሰሩት የልማት ሥራዎች፣ በኩባት አርቢው
ሕብረተሰብ ለማግኘት እየደረሰ ያለው የግዞት ግር ፍልጋ ጫና፣ በፖርቲ አካባቢ እየተስፋፋ
የመጡት የአየን ስነ ስራና የመተካራ ከተሞች አለመገኘት እና የከተማው ሕብረተሰብ
ለማገድ እንዲታዩ ለሌት ከጥን ግር ፍልግት ማግኘት በፖርቲ ውስጥ እየደረሰ ያለው ጫና ከብዙ
የጥሪ ሊጠቀስ የሚችል ጥና ጥና ችግሮች ናቸው።

ሕወት ስንት ደግሞ የፖርቲን ግጥም አካል የላይኛው አየን አገር አንድስትረ ጽርጅት
በደቀተው ሥር በግስግስተ የሰነድ አገዳ ተክል ለማልማት በአንቅስቃሴ ላይ እንዳለ ከፖርቲ
ጽሕፈት የደረሱ መረጃዎች ይጠቀማሉ። ይኸውም በ05/01/97 ዓ.ም በራዲዮ መልእክት ረመ/97
የተላለፈውን መረጃ መጥተስ ይቻላል።

ይህ ሁኔታ በዚህ ከተጠላ አገሪቱ አለፍን ከምትላቸው ወኪይ የምህዳረ ተጠናዎችና ፀታዎች አንዱ
ሆነውን የአየን ቤሐራዊ ፖርቲን የተፈጥሮ ቅርስ በአጭር ጊዜ ልታጣ እንደምትችል አሁን
ከላት ተጨማሪ ሁኔታዎች መረጃት ይቻላል።

ለዚህ ሁኔታው ከከተማው ውጭ ወጥቶ ለረጅም ጊዜ አገሪቱ ከፍተኛ የሆነ ውጭ በማውጣት
ወብቆ ያቆየችው የተፈጥሮ ቅርስ ሙሉ በሙሉ ከመጥፋቱ በፊት በእናንተ በኩል አስፈላጊው
የሌላ ጋዜል ዘገይት ተደርጎ ፀታው ድረስ በመገኘት ለችግሩ መፍትሔ የምናረፋልግበት
ሁኔታ እንዲመጥን እናሰባሰባለን።

ከሰላምታ ጋር



[Handwritten signature]
ዶ/ር አንበሳት ግጥማት
ጥበቃ መምሪያ ጋዜል

ገልጻዊ፡

ሰነድ የተፈጥሮ ሀብት ማስተዳደር ሚኒስቴር
አዲስ አበባ

የአየን ቤሐራዊ ፖርቲ ጽ/ቤት
ጉ-፩



ቁጥር ከዋ 7/113/96
ቀን 2/2/96

ሌሊት ልዩ ልዩ ጥበቃ
ጥያቄ

ጉዳይ፡- በአሽ ልዩ ልዩ ጥበቃ ድርጅት ላይ እየደረገ ያለውን ጥፋት ይመለከታል።

የአሽ ልዩ ልዩ ጥበቃ ድርጅት በኢትዮጵያ ካሉት ልዩ ልዩ ጥበቃ ድርጅቶች አንጋፋውና ሀገራዊና አለም አቀፋዊ እወቅና ያለው እንደሆነ መጠን ከሚደርሰው ሰው ሰራሽ ተጽዕኖ የጥበቃ ስርዓተ-ምህጻር ጠብቆ ለባቆየት መንግስት አስፈላጊውን የሰው ጉዳይ፣ የሰጠትና የመሰረተ ልማት እውታር በመዘርጋት እንደሚጠቀም ይታወቃል።

ይህን እንደ ጥበቃ ከጊዜ ወደ ጊዜ የሌላው ሀብታሙ በሚደርሰው ከባድ ተጽዕኖ በርካታ የጥበቃ ክፍል ተፈጥሮዊ ይዘቱን እያጣ በመሆኑ የጥፋት ጉዳይ የዳር እንስሳትም ለአልቂትና ለሰደት እየተደረገ ይገኛል። በዚህም ያካተተ መጀመሪያ ጥበቃ ሲመሰረት ከሰበጠ ይታወቃል። ይህም በአሁኑ ወቅት ከጥፋት ጉዳይ የሚከተለውን የጥበቃ ክፍል ብቻ አስፈላጊው ጥበቃ እየተደረገለት የቀሩትን የዳር እንስሳትን በቅርብ ጠብቆ ለማቆየትና ጥበቃ ለማስጠበቅ መስራቱ የሀገር ሊኮንሚን እየደገመ ለደህነት ቅንጣጥ የሌለውን ደርሻ እንዲያደርገው እንደሆነ የማህበራዊና ሳይንሳዊ ጠቀሜታዊ እንደተሞላ ጥርት በመደረግ ላይ ይገኛል። ይህ አሁን የቀረጠ የጥበቃ ክፍልም ቢሆን በተለይም በሌላው የኢትዮጵያ ልዩ ልዩ ጥበቃ ድርጅት ከባድ ጉዳይ ላይ እየደረገለት ይገኛል።

የጥበቃ ጥፋት ጉዳይን ለማቆም ቀን ለሌላት እየሰራን ቢሆንም ጉዳይ ከአትማትን በላይ እየሆነ መጥቷል። ለብርቱራዎ ወደ ጥበቃ ክፍሉ ቁጥር ያለው ከባድ በተለይ አትማት ቀን ለሌላት ለማቆም ላይ ይገኛል። ይህ ሁኔታ የዳር እንስሳትን መኖርና መጠለያ እያሟጠጠና መራቱን እየፈቀተ የጥበቃውን መስሪያ ቤቅን የሚቀንስ ከመሆኑም ባሻገር የጥበቃ ህልውና እደጋ ላይ የሚተላለፍ አዘግጦል እየተገኘ ነው።

በዚህም ይህ በመሆኑ ጥፋት ጉዳይ የዳር እንስሳት ሃብቶች ያለባቸውን በቅርብ መስራቱ ጥፋት የሆነ ጥበቃ ክፍል ከመተካቱ በፊት የገዢ ቤቱ ይህንን አገገብጋቢ ጉዳይ ከገምትት ወስጥ አስገብቶ የጥበቃ ጥፋት በዚህ ችግር ዙፋን ለሚደርገው እንዲቀንስ አስፈላጊውን እገባ በማድረግ ሀብታሙን ከባድ ጉዳይ ጥበቃ ጉዳይ የሚቆመውን መኖሪያ እንዲፈለግ እናሳስባለን።



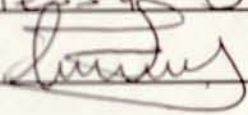
ከሰጥታ ጋር
[Signature]
አረጋ መኮንን
የአሽ ልዩ ልዩ ጥበቃ ድርጅት ኃላፊ
Awash National Park Warden

ገልጻል
ዳር እንስሳት ጥቅም ላይ የደረገው የአሽ ልዩ ልዩ ጥበቃ ድርጅት
አዲስ አበባ
ለጥፋት ሻጥ ያን ጥገና
አዲስ

DECLARATION

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

Name Lemessa Demie

Signature 

Place and Date of submission:

Addis Ababa University

February, 2006