

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

**THE IMPACTS OF DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTIONS ON CUSTOMARY
INSTITUTIONS OF FOREST RESOURCE MANAGEMENT**

AMONG THE BORANA OROMO OF SOUTHERN ETHIOPIA

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
OF ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN
SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY**

BY: HALAKE DIDA GOBESSA



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

JULY, 2010

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Acknowledgements

There were several individuals and institutions that contributed a lot to the completion of this thesis. I would like to extend my sincere gratitude and profound appreciations to those who played major roles for the completion of the research. First and foremost, I am extremely grateful to my adviser, Dr Tadesse Berisso, for his constructive guidance and comments in the course of producing the research paper. I really appreciate his kindness in providing me a lot of information and valuable reference materials of his own that are relevant to my research topic. My profound thanks go to School of Graduate Studies, Addis Ababa University and Environment and Coffee Forest Forum Organization for their kindness to facilitate the research fund for undertaking this study.

My heart-felt thanks go to Caaltuu Jiraanee, my wife, for her willingness to be alone and tolerance in shouldering responsibility of managing my children throughout my postgraduate study. Her regular advice and moral encouragements are one of the unforgettable things. I owe much to my elder brother, Galgaloo Diidaa, who heartily helped and encouraged me financially and morally in the course of my study.

I am very grateful to my Borana informants (teachers), Borbor Bulee, Nuruaa Diidaa, Sorooroo Raroo, Kuraa Adii, Diimaa Areeroo, Guyyoo Gobbaa, Rooba Jaarsoo, Dabbasaa Areeroo, Kanuu Jiloo, Halakee Bukunee, Boruu Duubaa and others, who thought me about the Borana culture, history and happenings. I am also thankful to different community members at the research site for their generosity. Last but not least, I appreciate the government and NGO officials who supported me with valuable information and materials.

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Acronyms

DA	Development Agent
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
IFRI	International Forestry Resources and Institutions
IPA	International Phonetic Association
ILCA	International Livestock Center for Africa
MoA	Ministry of Agriculture
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NRM	Natural Resource Management
OSSREA	Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa
PA	Pastoralist Association
PFM	Participatory Forest Management
SORDU	Southern Rangelands Development Unit
SOS	Save Our Soul Sahel
UN	United Nations
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Transliteration

All words of Oromo used in this thesis are spelled-out according to Oromo orthography, *Qubee* (alphabet). In this orthography, doubling of vowels is to indicate lengthening of vowel sounds and that of consonants is to show germination of consonant sounds. To familiarize with the readings in Oromo terms the following phonetic transcriptions are employed.

Vowels

Oromo Vowels		English Equivalent	
Short	Long	Short	Long
/a/ as in <i>nama</i>	/aa/ as in <i>baala</i>	/a/ as in bat	/a: / as in car
/e/ as in <i>mure</i>	/ee/ as in <i>beela</i>	/e/ as in bet	/3:/ as in turn
/i/ as in <i>bite</i>	/ii/ as in <i>diige</i>	/i/ as in bit	/i: / as in feel
/o/ as in <i>bor</i>	/oo/ as in <i>loon</i>	/o/ as in pot	/o: / as in door
/u/ as in <i>buna</i>	/uu/ as in <i>guure</i>	/u/ as in put	/u: / as in book

Consonants

There are some Oromo consonants that have different sounds from the English ones:

Oromo Consonants	IPA				
	IPA Symbols	Place of Articulation	Manner of Articulation	Air System	Example Oromo
/ny/ as in <i>nyaata</i>	/ñ /	palatal	nasal	voiced	ñaata
/q/ as in <i>qaalluu</i>	/ ɣ /	velar	ejective	voiceless	kaalluu
/dh/as in <i>dhiba</i>	/dʔ/	alveolar	ejective	voiceless	d'iba
/x/ as in <i>xurii</i>	/ tʰ /	alveolar	implosive	voiceless	t'urii
/c/ as in <i>canaa</i>	/č/	alveolar	ejective	voiceless	čanaa
/ph/ as in <i>kophee</i>	/pʰ/	bilabial	ejective	voiceless	kopee

Glossary of Local Terms

This list does not include words used once and their meanings given in the bracket. The meanings of the following words are according to contextual usage.

<i>Aadaa</i>	custom, tradition
<i>Abbaa</i>	father, head, owner
<i>Adaadii</i>	Shallow water wells
<i>Adulaa</i>	senior <i>gadaa</i> councilors
<i>Baddaa</i>	Forestland
Balhabat	local state representative during the Imperial period
<i>Coqorsa</i>	ownership title given to certain Borana clans over a portion of land with its water sources
<i>Gadaa</i>	generational classes assuming political, ritual and economic responsibilities
<i>Gadaammojjii</i>	senior elders (ninth <i>gadaa</i> grade) perform special rite of passage that enables them retired from political leadership
<i>Gammoojjil</i>	dryland
<i>Gumii</i>	assembly
<i>Hayyuu</i>	<i>gadaa</i> councilor
<i>Kaloo</i>	pastureland enclosed for calves
<i>Konfii</i>	digging stick of a deep well used by an initiator of that well at the first step of digging; it symbolizes ownership title of water source.
<i>Qaalluu</i>	hereditary spiritual leader come down from heaven
<i>Raaba</i>	can be <i>raaba doorii</i> (senior raaba, sixth <i>gadaa</i> grade) and <i>raaba didiqqaa</i> (junior raaba, fifth <i>gadaa</i> grade). It is one of the mobile ritual villages at preparatory grade to succeed the incumbent <i>gadaa</i> leader
<i>Seera</i>	law
<i>Sunsuma</i>	reciprocal respect and fear among certain Borana clans
<i>Tulaa</i>	deep water wells
<i>Yaa`a</i>	residences of mobile ritual villages
<i>Yuuba</i>	residences outside of mobile ritual villages

Abstract

This thesis is about the impacts of development interventions on customary institutions of forest resource management, among the Borana Oromo of Southern Ethiopia. The study is initiated as result of observation of deforestation of the Borana forestlands. There are, of course, natural factors that contribute to the deforestation, such as climate change. But the prime factors are the inappropriate development interventions into the customary institutions of resource management. This led to overpopulation, shrinking of the Boranaland and weakening of customary institutions. The results are pressure on forest, competition over forest resources and deforestation.

The study planned to assess the general impacts of development interventions on customary institutions of forest resource management and socio-cultural aspects of the community. The qualitative method based on primary and secondary sources were used in data gathering for the study. The primary data were generated from observation, in-depth interview, focus group discussion, case study and informal discussion; whereas, secondary data were collected through consultation of related literatures. To analyze those data, the researcher used theory of common-pool resources.

The results of the study depict that most of the ceremonial grounds and holy trees of the Borana are sited inside the forest areas. The mobile ritual villages of the Borana usually reside inside the forests to perform various cultural practices and thus, the belief systems attached to the forest grounds are the basic means of forest management. Moreover, different customary institutions at various levels and their members are responsible for forest management. However, development interventions such as urbanization, state structure and pastoral development programs and policies ignored the customary institutions of resource management and used the top-down development approach.

The impacts of inappropriate development interventions brought erosion of customary institutions, change of range ecology and shrinkage of the Boranaland that led to competition over forest resource and deforestation. Therefore, the thesis has emphasized the need for another alternative to recognize customary institutions of forest management and in such a way that the forest resources will be conserved wisely. By doing so, there are points to be considered before hand. The usually opposing structures of the customary systems and the state at the local level should integrate in the resource management systems. Or, the one that is presumed better in resource management should be given the independent authority to manage resources. After all, participatory development approach should be employed from the problem identification, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation phases.

Chapter One

1.1 Background to the Study

Deforestation, especially in the tropical forest of Central and South America, Asia and Africa is in alarming rates. Primary ancient forest areas are being destroyed and replaced by plantation forests which possess inadequate biodiversity growth, and, at worst, they are taken over by desertification (IFRI Research Strategy, 1998). Deforestation is one of the contributing factors for global environmental change, which becomes the major discourse of our world today (Bottcher, et al 2009). Bottcher further states that globally, by far, the highest green house gas mitigation potential in forest is reducing emission as a result of deforestation. This suggests that unplanned deforestation resulted in negative externalities, such as elevated risk of erosion, loss of biodiversity, flood and lowered water table, and increased release of carbon into the atmosphere of the world.

Globally, although levels of deforestation are relatively not arguable, the underlying causes have less agreement among scholars. The most frequently mentioned causes include population growth (Rudel, 1994); government policy (Rebetto and Gillis, 1988; World Bank, 1992); technology (Ehrlich and Ehrlich, 1991); commercial logging (Capistrano, 1994); national debt (Kahn and McDonald, 1994) and political instability (Shafik, 1994) cited in Gibson, et al, (1998).

In Ethiopia, deforestation and degradation of land resources are in alarming rate. For instance, about 100,000 hectares of forest and I billion tons of top soil are annually lost and eroded, respectively (Taddesse, 1995). These have reduced the forest area of the country from 40 percent over a century ago to less than 3 percent today (ibid). The main causes of deforestation are expansion of agricultural land, over-grazing, firewood collection, logging of poles for house construction and increased population (Badege, 2008). Although empirical data that reveal the rate of deforestation in the Boranaland could not be located, the case of the Borana has no much difference from the situation of their own country, Ethiopia.

There are still other scholars who argue that forest exploitation and other environmental harms are due to undermining the customary resource management systems by policymakers (Arizpe, et al, 1994 cited in Gibson, et al, 1998). As to this view, since the governments'

capacity to allocate enough resources for enforcing their laws at local level is rarely adequate, and on the other hand the local communities usually ignore central governments' rules and add the local institutions' rules-in-use, the role of people at the local level is crucial for sustainable forest resource management.

Regarding the latter issue, a lot of research findings from different networks of International Forestry Resources and Institutions Research Program, World Bank, UN, FAO and the like are currently encouraging incorporation of local enforcements in environmental management. Thus, the main focus of this thesis is to contribute somehow to this ongoing world concern in relation to Borana Oromo context.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Boranaland is relatively characterized by *gammojjii* (dryland) and *baddaa* (forestland) as well. That is why Borana frequently use in their ordinary conversations about the *baddaa-gammojjii* when ideally categorizing their lands. Although the Borana consider forestland as integral part of the pastoral land and their customary institutions give due attention to both dryland and forestland, this research gives emphasis on the forestland.

Like many other pastoral societies, the Borana have been commonly sharing and managing natural resources such as pasture, water and forest for ages. In line with this, they have established well-organized customary institution, such as the *Gadaa* institution - one of the famous indigenous African institutions that deal with almost all aspects of human society: economic, political, ritual and military (Asmarom, 2000). *Gadaa* is responsible to take various actions at different levels for the sustainable utilization of these resources. The upholding of resource management is achieved through vigorous structured assemblies. Bassi (2005) maintains that Borana are a society of assemblies that purposely engage in numerous meetings (e.g. clan meeting, pastoral coordination meeting, ritual meeting, general assembly, etc) at various levels to resolve issues related to social, economic, religious and political affairs. He further explains that whatever the case it may be, according to *seera-aadaa Booranaa* (Borana customary-laws), the Borana eventually reach on consensus without facing any physical challenge. Furthermore, Since the Borana indigenous institutions have wealth of skills and capacity to regulate access to the resources, many literatures depicted that

the Borana rangelands represent a case of an exceptionally efficient and well-managed dryland area (Watson, 2001 and 2003).

However, since incorporation of the Borana into the Ethiopian State, the successive Ethiopian governments have been putting pressures on the customary structure and weakening it by intervention of the state structure in operation at different levels (Yacob, 1997 and Bassi and Sora Adi, 2007.). Subsequently, the classical top-down development approaches practiced by government and Non-Governmental Organizations over the pastoral areas of Boranaland overlooked the customary natural resource management systems, which were finally resulted in severe environmental degradation and the declining of livelihoods (Gufu, 1998a cited in Watson, 2001; Hogg, 1993; Coppock, 1994).

The so far mentioned studies focused primarily on inappropriate development policies that led to rangeland degradation and its effects on livelihoods of the Borana society. They rather paid less attention to the impacts of development interventions on customary institutions of forest resource management; interaction between forest and people, and interaction between state structure and the customary one. This research, therefore, attempted to fill these gaps.

1.3 Research Questions

This research has raised several questions that have been addressed in the course of writing this thesis. Some of them are sited hereunder:

- Which institutions are responsible to manage forest resource in Borana custom?
- How did Borana customary-laws conserve forest lands before the interventions by other development actors?
- What do the Borana benefit from forest resources?
- Do Borana symbolically associate forest lands with any of their cultural practices?
- How often development agents incorporate the customary institutions into development activities?
- What are the major impacts of development interventions on forest resource management and socio-cultural affairs?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The thesis has got general and specific objectives, which have been attained through the discussions made in the interpretation of the data.

1.4.1 General Objective

- To investigate the impacts of development interventions on customary institutions of forest resource management with emphasis on *Areero* Forest.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

- To identify the major Borana customary institutions responsible for natural resource management, particularly forest;
- To illustrate on how the Borana customary laws conserve forestlands before development interventions;
- To find out major ways the Borana benefits from forest resources;
- To describe how the Borana cultural practices symbolize the forestlands;
- To investigate how often the development actors incorporate the customary institutions into development activities;
- To find out the major impacts of development interventions on forest resource management and socio-cultural affairs of the community.

1.5 Methods of Data Gathering

Generally, the method used to collect the necessary data for this research was qualitative method that includes primary and secondary sources.

1.5.1 Primary Sources

The primary sources were, of course, those individuals and events that have been consulted through observation, focus group discussion, informal discussion, case study and in-depth interview.

1.5.1.1 In-depth Interview

Key informants for this interview were knowledgeable members of the society with varying age groups who know the culture of the area very well. Relevant government and non-governmental officials were also consulted as informants. Since the forestlands have great linkage to the Borana ritual affairs, the leaders of the key customary institutions such as the *Gadaa* and the *Qaalluu* institutions were the most important.

The interview was semi-structured in which some guiding questions were used, but other questions were followed based on the responses of the informants. The actions and experiences of the selected informants in relation to forest, forest managements and development interventions were raised.

1.5.1.2 Observation

This instrument was used during the course of data collection period. Its main purpose was to observe the different environmental characteristics of the area, some practices of the people like consumption of forest products, forest resource coordinating meetings and other community meetings, cultural activities and so forth. What the people feel about the role of customary structure and the modern one were also observed. During the observation time, field notes were taken. This tool was used for generating questions during employing other tools.

1.5.1.3 Informal Discussion

The informal discussion method was used while observation taking place, and after the observation to get more information from the people about their knowledge of the development and its impact in the environment. It was conducted with customary leaders, government and NGOs officials, women, children (herders) and other community members. Its purpose was to understand what has been observed and to generate information from informants about what directly or indirectly challenges forest management and customary laws. It was used informally with the informants to understand their view about their indigenous knowledge and practices in conserving the environment. The discussions were informally opened during walking, chatting, or having some food together.

The use of this tool was with the hope that people would speak their mind freely when they are approached in an informal way. This requires establishing a good rapport with them.

1.5.1.4 Focus Group Discussion

Two focus group discussions were held to have general information about customary resource management systems and development interventions in the society under study and its implication to environment and their life. One group comprised customary leaders and customary historians. The other group contained only the male elders. The informants were included into groups on the basis of different roles they play among the community. Then, the data obtained from both groups were compared and checked with those obtained through other instruments.

This instrument was important to come up with a common understanding of the people regarding their customary systems and development interventions in their environment. The informants were encouraged to argue and reach consensus on issues related to their knowledge and actions. Guiding questions were used during the discussion.

1.5.1.5 Case Study

Case study was used to investigate the special cases occurred as a result of development interventions and others related to resource management. They enrich the argument of the thesis about changes in resource management, environmental condition and socio-cultural issues. The cases were obtained from leaders of customary institutions and an individual member of the community.

1.5.2 Secondary Sources

The secondary sources were variety of related literatures that were reviewed in the course of the research.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study investigates the impacts of development interventions on customary institutions of forest resource management. The results of the study may be significant in the following manner:

- First and foremost, the study would enrich the long-standing of academic discourse on the impacts of development interventions on customary institutions
- Secondly, it may also benefit the policy-makers, development actors, customary leaders and community in future development interventions.

1.7 Rationale for the Selection of Research Topic and Site

This study was mainly based on *Areero* Forest found in *Areero* district of Borana Zone, Oromia Regional State. It is situated about 700km south of Addis Ababa. This site is selected for the following reasons. First, it is one of the leading culturally valued forest grounds, next to *Liiban* where lots of holy trees and other ritual grounds are sited among the Borana community. Second, Boranaland is where I was born and brought up. I also used to work there for many years. In my life experiences, I witnessed when many areas previously covered with dense forest were deforested and used for other purposes, or totally changed into barren lands. Yet, *Areero* Forest is currently considered as the largest forest area coverage in the Boranaland and home for numerous endemic birds and other biodiversities. Finally, this area is where three Oromo groups, namely the Borana, Guji and Gabra inhabit together and so that I would like to examine how competition over the forest resources affects condition of the forest.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

This research is limited to the Borana customary institutions of forest management and the impacts of development interventions on them diachronically. In the course of the organization of this thesis, almost all research questions and objectives intended to be addressed have covered. Since the research has its own objectives to be focused on, there are issues pertinent to the Borana Oromo, such as the Borana gender division of labor, climate

change and its effects on range ecology, recurrent resource based inter-ethnic and inter-group conflicts that resulted in the shrinking of Boranaland, which are not thoroughly discussed here.

The research attempted to deal with how the Borana symbolize the forest and its resources within their cultural context. It analyzed major customary institutions of Borana Oromo and their roles in natural resource management. Another main concern of this research was the impacts of development interventions in the roles of customary institutions.

1.9 Organization of the Research

This study is organized into seven chapters. Chapter one introduces the general themes of this thesis. It comprises background to the study, statement of the problem, research questions, objectives, methods of data gathering, rationale for the selection of research topic and site, organization of the research and limitations of the study.

Chapter two is review of related literature. It includes theoretical framework of the thesis and highlights key concepts such as development, institution and forest.

Chapter three deals with the background to the Borana people, their land and the *Areero* district, where the main focus of the study area.

Chapter four and chapter five present analysis of customary institutions and resource management. Its major contents are micro and macro institutions; and managements of forest, water and pasture resources.

Chapter six examines impacts of development interventions on Borana customary resource management, such as urbanization, state structure and pastoral development programs and policies.

Chapter seven is summary and conclusion of the research. It comprises a brief summary of the thesis and discusses the change and continuity in customary managements of forest, water and pasture resources and conclusion.

Chapter Two

Review of Related Literature

This chapter is review of related literature. It deals with theoretical framework and concepts of development, institution and forest.

2.1 Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

2.1.1 Theory of Common-Pool Resources

There are various theoretical models that deal with natural resource management. Among others, theory of common-pool resources is employed in this research for data analysis. It deals with common property resources such as forests, pasturelands, irrigation systems and fisheries.

The management of these resources has been controversial among scholars as it leads to problems of collective-action. Ostrom et al (1994) in Cox (2008), for instance, finds out problems of resource appropriation and provision. As to this view, an appropriation problem can result in overconsumption of a subtractable resource where an individual benefits from personal consumption at the expense of the community and the condition of resource. A provision problem can result in under provision of the infrastructure needed to appropriate a resource. Since it is difficult to exclude the free-riders from benefiting from the efforts of contributors, the provision problem can be occurred.

According to Hardin's (1968) theory, 'tragedy of the commons', a set of pastoralists inevitably fascinated in the overuse of their pasture. This concept was thought for many years to be typical for common-pool resources not owned privately or by a government. Since Hardin thought that the users would be trapped in their tragic overuse of a resource, he advocated two solutions to prevent future tragedies: state control and individual ownership (Basurto and Ostrom, 2009:255). Then in such a way that the common property resources was ignored until the mid-1980s, and the resource property regimes were deduced into state control and private ownership in different parts of the world.

For this theory, overharvesting frequently occurs when resource users are totally anonymous, do not have a foundation of trust and reciprocity, cannot communicate, and have no established rules. This resource generates a highly predictable, finite supply of one type of resource unit (for example, forest produces only hardwood timber) in each relevant time period, whereas users are assumed to be homogenous in terms of their assets, skills and discount rates and cultural views. As a result, this theory universally assumes that anyone can enter the resource and harvest resource units. Users are viewed as able to gain property rights only to what they harvest. The resource is assumed as open-access property (Ostrom 1999: 2).

This theory was applied in all common-pool resources, regardless of the capacity of resource users to communicate and coordinate their activities, until the work of National Academy of Sciences' Panel on common property (National Research Council, 1986) strongly challenged this approach.

Since that time, the conventional theory of common-pool resources was challenged from different parts of the world. That is, lots of findings of empirical studies have come up with the new era that recognizes local users themselves have constructed institutions to use their natural resources sustainably (Baland and Plateau, 1996; Berkes, 1989; Hanna, et al, 1996; Ostrom, 1990 cited in Gibson, et al 2005). As Basurto and Ostrom (2009) quoted (NCR, 1986, 2002; McCay and Acheson, 1987; Dolsak and Ostrom, 2003; Basurto, 2005), traditionally, many smaller groups that use common pool resources have developed diversity of norms and rules that enabled them to solve problems of overharvesting. The empirical studies also revealed that mere blueprint solutions imposed by external authorities cannot solve problems of resource management and many other central problems of development, rather participatory resource management is needed (Pritchett and Woolcock, 2003). Further, once the formal institutions grabbed the ownership of forests from the local people, then the people perceived that the forest as a property of the government rather than as local common property. Thereafter, they developed a loss of ownership, which is considered as a means of escalating the deforestation processes world wide (Arnold and Stewart 1991; Jodha 1986; Messerschmidt 1983; Poffenberger 1990) cited in Ostrom (1999).

According to data collected by a network of scholars associated with the International Forestry Resources and Institutions Research Program, the successful outcomes on the commons are through identification of multiple factors such as characteristics of the resource, characteristics of the group, institutional arrangements and external environment (Gibson, et al, 2000; Foteete and Ostrom, 2004).

In Ethiopia, the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 1995, Art 40(3), states the right to ownership of land as follows:

The right to ownership of rural land and urban land, as well as of all natural resources is exclusively vested in the State and the peoples of Ethiopia. Land is a common property of the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia.

Furthermore, according to Proclamation No. 456/2005, Art 5(3), the Ethiopian Government being the owner of rural land, communal rural land holdings can be changed to private as may be necessary (Bassi and Sora Adi, 2007).

However, as to Borana custom, land belongs to the common property of a whole Borana though the Government's Department of Agriculture claims State ownership and responsibility for the management of forest resource (Boku Tache and Irwin, 2003). In this thesis, thus, the model of common-pool resources and its used complexities were used to investigate impacts of interventions on the role of customary forest resource management among the Borana Oromo.

2.2 Conceptual Framework

2.2.1 The Concept of Development

Globally, many people have various views about the term development through time and space. McMichael (2004) states that the concept of development emerged during the colonial era, while it may have been experienced by nineteenth-century European as something especially European, over time it came to be viewed as a universal necessity.

But in the nineteenth-century, development was understood philosophically as the improvement of humankind. Practically, development was understood by political elites as

social engineering of emerging national societies. It meant formulating government policy to manage the social transformations shaped by the rise of capitalism and industrial technologies. So, development was identified with both industrial and market expansion and regulating its disruptive social effects. These effects began with the development of rural populations by land enclosures for cash cropping, creating undesirables such as threatening, restless proletarians, and unpleasant factory towns. Development meant balancing the apparent inevitability of the technological change with the social intervention-understood idealistically as managing citizen-subjects experiencing wrenching social transformations (ibid).

According to Esteva (1992), the end of World War II came up with division of people of the world into developed and underdeveloped nations. It was a time when an American president, Truman, came to office on January 20, 1949, and initiated a new program that envisaged scientific advances and industrial progress of developed nations for improvement and growth of underdevelopment areas. Thus, this era was considered as the era of development. But the America wanted to make entirely explicit its new position in the world. It was under this context that a term 'underdevelopment' was invented and changed the original meaning of development.

Subsequently, a term 'development' is currently used by most people to express the opposite of what they intended to convey. That is why everybody gets confused while dealing with the word. Many people often employ this connotative word so as to less polite condition of one's life. Development is like a decayed matter that generates pests. But its irony is now getting clear to everybody to examine it on the basis of various contexts (ibid).

Esteva further states various suggestions given on development by different people. For instance, Nyerere proposes development as the political mobilization of a people for attaining their own objectives, it is what people do for themselves rather than what others do for them; Rodolfo Stavenhagen proposes ethno-development or development with self-confidences, conscious that we need to 'look within' and 'search for one's own culture' rather than using borrowed and foreign views; Jimoh Omo-Fadaka proposes development from the Bottom-up realizing that all strategies based on a Top-down design have failed to achieve their explicitly intended objectives; others suggest participatory development.

Apart from this, according to Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, modernization theory, a theory of development, states that development can be achieved through following the processes of development that were used by the currently developed countries. As Decorse and Scupin (2005:480) quoted Rostow (1978), one of the most influential scholars of modernization theory, who argues that although modernization first occurred in the West, it can occur in all human societies regardless of some preconditions they face. For Rostow, there are five unilineal evolutionary stages of development through which every society develops from traditional societies to modern ones. One key factor in Modernization Theory is the belief that development requires the assistance of developed countries to aid developing countries to learn from their development.

However, proponents of modernization came under attack by a number of critics. For instance, some critics of modernization theory agree that the applied modernization model could not produce technological and economical development in the third world countries. They further agree, although relief and education projects sponsored by first world countries to support third world countries were implemented, they remained underdeveloped. Finally, modernization theory was taken as 'ethnocentric' or 'westerncentric' by some critics (see for example, Decorse and Scupin 2005:481).

Likewise, Watson (2003) narrates hereunder the case she quoted from a development worker in Borana Oromo of Ethiopia:

...Interviewer: what does it mean when you say you work with 'the community'? Development worker: we support traditional institutions and organizations like the 'gada.' Peasant Associations were imposed during the Derg-regime (1974-1991) and bypass traditional institutions and the elders.... They cause problems and make people destitute... There is evidence to show that 'tradition' still works. For example, the traditional deep wells are still working, whereas the modern ones are mostly broken.

As to this view, development practitioners did not incorporate the indigenous knowledge of local people into development activities. Then the water points established by developers were immediately failed to achieve their objectives as oppose to the traditional deep wells.

Thus, the modernized systems of water development program implemented in the Boranaland have less life than the traditional one. So the failure of this project supports the views of the above scholars which consider development as bottom-up approach; what people do for themselves rather than what others do for them and a search within one's own culture rather than using borrowed and foreign views.

2.2.1.1 Development Intervention Program

Traditionally, there are two competing approaches used in community development. These are Top-down and Bottom-up community development approaches.

Top-down Approach of Community Development

The top-down approach has been practiced predating the bottom-up one (Larrison, 1999). Macdonald (1995) in Larrison (1999) states that the top-down approach is structured around the use of professional leadership provided by external resources that plan, implement, and evaluate development programs. Community development programs using this approach typically focus on providing professional leadership to the development process tied with supportive concrete services. Through the process of beneficiaries following the external leadership and accessing the services offered by the outsider, changes within community beneficiaries' perceptions, behaviors and ultimately their standard of living are believed to occur.

However, multi-research findings in different parts of the world portrayed that most strategies based on a Top-down design have failed to achieve their explicitly intended objectives. For instance, although lots of efforts were made on infrastructural improvements and livestock services in the Borana rangelands since 1960s, the impacts of top-down development interventions have been far below the expectations, and they ironically resulted in changes in customary resource management systems, degradation of rangelands and recurrent dependent on relief and rehabilitation (Coppock, 1994; Gufu Oba, 1998a; Hogg, 1993; Helland, 2000; Boku Tache, 2000).

Bottom-up Approach of Community Development

This community development approach comes to exist as a result of failure of the top-down development approach employed overtime in different cultural settings (Rubin & Babbie, 1993; Midgley, 1993; David, 1993; Billups, 1990) cited in Larrison (1999). Blanchard (1988) in Larrison (1999) outlines some strategies to be operationalized in the bottom-up approach of community development. These strategies include comprehensive community participation, motivating local communities, expanding learning opportunities, improving local resource management, replicating human development, increasing communication and interchange, and localizing financial access. Larrison also suggests that for practitioners using the bottom-up approach as structured by social development theory, participation in community discussions, opportunities to learn, and the sense of empowerment that comes with knowledge are the necessary predecessors to accomplishing the stated and implied goals of community development.

Besides, it is clear that the problem of development was not lack of knowledge; rather it was lack of identifying the capacity of different institutions at different levels, and how they inter-link with and influence one another (Crewe and Harrison 1998; Chambers 1997 cited in Watson 2001). Watson further insists that since the local people are very close to their environments, priority should be given to indigenous institutions to sustain the management of natural resources.

Hogg (1993) maintains that the consequences of national interventions on the role of customary institutions and marginalizing them in different societal affairs are principally popular in African historiography and anthropology, particularly common among the pastoralists in the Horn of Africa. Thus, this view suggests that the community-based development interventions are recommended to maintain sustainable development.

2.2.2 The concept of Institution

According to Watson (2001), institutions include organizations, rules and regulations that determine the access to natural resource. They define the individuals' rights to resource and kind and extent of using that resource. They are also established practices; for instance, practice of environmental management. Besides, North conceptualizes institutions as 'the

rules of the game' and 'players of the game' (North, 1990 cited in Watson, 2003). This is to mean that 'groups of individuals bound together by some common purpose to achieve objectives.' Jha (1999) defines institution as "standard ways of doing things which consists of three major components: norms serving as goal, roles constituted by norms and pattern behavior attached to norms and roles."

Many scholars have distinguished between formal and indigenous institutions. For instance, in Ethiopia, formal institutions are those backed up by official legislature such as 'Peasant' Association and Service Cooperative, and state legislature determining access to land and water (Watson, 2001). However, Watson argues that although theoretically Borana customary institutions can be included under informal institutions, practically they are not informal as the Borana officially come together to elect leaders of their institutions.

On the other hand, informal institutions are part of indigenous practices and rights and regulations that governing those practices that represent good environmental practice. So, less attention should not be given to them while planning and implementing development activity. Indigenous institutions are all structures and practices that determine access to, type, degree and time of utilizing resources, and arbitrate resource-based conflicts. As a result of these definitions, policy-makers, researchers and developers have currently reached the consensus that the indigenous institutions are key tools to be employed in development programs so as to maintain sustainable resource management (Richards, 1985; Fairhead, 1992; Ostrom, 1990 and Chambers, 1997 cited in Watson 2001).

2.2.3 The Concept of Forest

Forest can be categorized as natural and plantation. Although applying simple definitions of forest at local level have dangers, different countries and organizations in various parts of the world have defined forest in different ways on the basis of its historical existence, area coverage or height of trees constituted in it. According to the Clean Development Mechanisms of the Kyoto protocol, the global current definition of a forest is an area of greater than 0.05-1.0 ha with a minimum tree crown cover of 10-30%, with tree defined as a plant with the capacity of growing to be greater than 2-5m tall (UNFCCC, 2002 cited in Sasaki and Putz, 2009).

Subsequently, participating tropical countries in the UNFCCC adopted forest definitions from specified ranges as to their needs. For Kenya, a forest is an area of a minimum 1ha with a minimum tree crown cover of 30%, and with a minimum tree height of 2m tall; for Ethiopia, a forest is an area of a minimum 0.05ha with a minimum tree crown cover of 20%, and with a minimum tree height of 2m tall, and so forth (FAO, 2005 cited in Sasaki and Putz, 2009).

Chapter Three

The Borana Oromo and Their Land

This chapter highlights the Borana people, their land, kinship systems, Inter-clan relationship and the *Areero* district.

3.1 The Borana Oromo

The Borana are one of the major Oromo groups. According to Oromo myths of origin, the Borana are being thought of as *hangafa* (senior-born) of the Oromo nation (Fekadu, 2004; Gemetchu, 1995 and Helland, 2000). Helland further states two cultural practices of Oromo that indicate the seniority of the Borana: one, until recent times, pilgrims of Oromo from different corners of the Oromoland travelled to Borana to present cattle gifts to the senior *qaalluu* of the Borana and in response they received his blessings on the *muuda* ceremony. Second, in many other of the Oromo groups, Borana clans are designated as the most ritual leaders.

The Borana Oromo are predominantly a pastoral people. They reside in Guji and Borana Zones of southern Ethiopia, and northeastern Kenya. According to Bender (1976), the Borana Oromo speak a southern dialect of Oromo language, which is categorized under Lowland East Cushitic language of the Afro-Asiatic family. Bassi's *Foreword to Leus' Borana English Dictionary* (Leus, 1995), suggests that population of Borana in southern Ethiopia is about half a million and those in northern Kenya is about 100, 000.

3.2 The Origin of Borana: An Oral History

According to *Dabbasaa Areeroo*, a Borana elder and scholar, the word Borana comes from the Oromo term *Booro*. It is name of a place that covers almost all western and northern parts of present Somalia, starting from *Hargeessa* in the north and down to *Mombassa/Bombaasa* till Tana River in the south. As to this view, the *Booro* country used to be the land of Oromo as a whole. It was divided into four administrative regions: *Bombaassa*, *Taabdo*, *Sarar* and *Walaabu*. *Walaabu* region includes the present southern part of *Baalee* Zone and northeast of

He further narrates that *Heroo Abbaabiyyaa*, a Borana *gadaa* leader, belongs to *Warr-jiddaa* clan of *goona* moiety led a Borana group to occupy the land between *Daawwaa* and Sagan Rivers. This population movement was mainly due to population pressure and famine over the *Booro* land which followed by mass death of human and livestock. He also tells that *Dhaddacha Taabdo* was a political center for the Borana Oromo similar to present *Dhaddacha Gumii Gaayoo* (holy tree of assembly of the multitudes).

Meanwhile, many Borana informants confirm that another population movement headed by *Abbayii Baabboo*, a Borana *gadaa* leader (1657-1665), was taken place. This group also occupied the areas which had already been inhabited by the *Heroo Abbabiyyaa*'s group. This movement was also done due to climate change, as well as to superimpose cultural practices on the *Heroo*'s group as they weakened the Borana Oromo cultural practices. Here, there is another version that appeared in many literatures of the Borana and suggested as if the *Abbayii Baabboo*'s group were the first Borana group who occupied the present day of the Boranaland. But, many Borana elders prove that *Abbuu Lakuu*, a preceding *gadaa* leader (1649-1657) of *Abbayii Baabboo* conducted the *Buttee*, ceremony at *raabaa* grade, around *Meegga*, and then he headed the war of *buttaa* to Gabra Oromo lived at Haadhi, situated in present day of Ethio-Kenyan border.

As to *Sorooro Raroo*, an outstanding elder, there are a lot of Borana cultural practices that signify the historical homeland of Borana, *Liiban* (a part of *Booro*). Among other things, the cyclical mobility route of ritual villages of *gadaa* to *Liiban* land and existence of senior and holy shrines and ritual places there; collecting all *gadaamojjii* ritual sticks from eleven *gadaamojjii* ritual places in Dirree Land and finally send to *Ardot*, *gadaamojjii* ritual place in *Liiban*; and praising seniority of *Liiban* land to all of the Borana lands on many cultural songs. He further suggests that Borana turn face or head to the east direction (*Liiban*) on various cultural practices, which symbolizes the direction of birth place of Borana. For instance, the faces of people while accepting blessings, the head of livestock during slaughtering, the head of spears while putting on the ground on ceremonial occasions, the head of bed, the head of a buried body and the face of gateway of *gadaa leader*'s cattle enclosure all face to the eastward. Besides, during the various ceremonies Borana have the following songs that honor the seniority of the *Liiban* land:

<i>Liiban hangafa lafaa jilti duuba hin obbaatu;</i>	Seniority of <i>Liiban</i> land makes it the owner of all ceremonies;
<i>Boruu hangafa Waaqaa lafti duuba hin bariitu;</i>	<i>Boruu</i> is a senior son of God with whom dawn starts;
<i>Fiixee hangafa namaa jilaa dura hin ideemne.</i>	<i>Gadaa</i> leader is a senior of man who leads every ceremony.

3.3 The Borana Land

Traditionally, Boranaland has been divided into two major geographical regions: *Dirree* and *Liiban*. *Liiban* is a territory between *Daawwaa* and *Gannaale* Rivers (see fig. 1). This land is considered as a sacred land with many holy shrines where series of ritual ceremonies have been performing in each *gadaa* period by the mobile ritual villages of *Gadaa*, *Raaba* and *Qaalluu* since early period (Ibrahim Amae, 2005). *Dirree* is a Boranaland to the west of *Daawwaa* River. It includes the *Baddaa Sadeen* (three forest systems), *Booqee Sadeen* (three crater lakes of rock-salt) and *Tulaa Sallan* (the nine clusters of deep water wells), see fig. 1.

Historically, the Boranaland had been much wider than the present. According to Borana elders, the Boranaland has bordered *Dhaddacha Taabdo* (northeastern of present Somalia) to the east, Sagan River to the west, *Gadab* to the north and *Bombaasa* to the south. However, they further mention that boundary of the Boranaland has been shrinking through time from the south, north and east due to pressure from neighbors; particularly it is highly reduced to the west because of expansion of the Somali groups and from the north by expansion of the Guji Oromo.

The Borana elders remark three major events that reduced the boundary of Boranaland from the east: First, evacuation of a Borana group headed by *Abbayii Boobboo* from *Booro* in the mid-seventeenth century shrank the eastern border of the Boranaland to *Dhaddacha Warr-aab*, Luuq (southwestern present Somalia). Second, Italian conquest of Ethiopia shrank it to *Dooloo* and lastly, ethnic federalism policy of current Ethiopian government reduced it to *Liiban* district of Guji Zone, Oromia National Regional State.

Borana elders narrate that few years before the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, some camel keepers of Somali groups such as the Garri, Digodia and Merrhan crossed the Juba River

towards *Liiban* region of the Boranaland. To graze this part of the Boranaland, these groups first conducted series polite discussions with Borana *balbahats* to get access to Boranaland for short period of time and then they were allowed. Immediately, the Italian invaders comprising a number of armed Somali people invaded the Boranaland and Ethiopia as a whole. It was during that time large population of Somali expanded over the eastern parts of the Boranaland. During the Italian conquest, the relationship between the Italian colonizers and the Borana was not good as the Somali played the media role and misguided both the Borana and the Italians. Soon after the Italian evacuation, the Somali militia that had got military chances from the Italian invaders opened war on Borana and chased the Borana away totally from *Liiban* region and other places in the southeastern parts of *Dirree* region (example, see Fekadu, 2004 and Solomon, 1991). Subsequently, even though the Borana managed to reoccupy some parts of *Liiban* region, many areas of their land such as *Eelqur*, *Eeldheer*, *Qadadduma*, *Cillaaqo*, *Karayaa*, *Jimaa*, *Dooloo*, *Fiiltu*, etc, were remained under occupation of the Somali groups.

Until the fall down of the Ethiopian Military Regime (1991), the Somali groups were given the use right in the above mentioned areas in the name of Boranaland under the state administration of Borana. However, in 1994, when the ethnic federalism policy of Ethiopia put in place, the above mentioned areas, along with other areas from *Liiban* and *Dirree* regions of the Boranaland were given to the Ethiopian Somali Region (see Yacob, 1997).

There are many literatures that confirm the shrinkage of the Boranaland through time. For instance, Gufu Oba (1996) confirms that the Boranaland has been reduced to *Dirree* plateau, *Liiban* and *Baddaa* escarpment in Ethiopia and, in Kenya, to the arid plains of *Golboo*, which run from the base of Ethiopian escarpment in the north to Isiolo in the south since nineteenth century. Fekadu Adugna (2004) adds that Boranaland have been shrinking from the east since mid-seventeenth century. Asmarom (1973) states that “the population of Borana used to be extended over the regions presently occupied by the Somali and to a lesser extent by the Guji.” Asmarom further states that as early as 1910 the Borana used to live on both sides of the *Gannaale* River at *Dooloo* area. Helland (2000) suggests that since the mid-twentieth century when the Somali crossed the Juba River on their way south, the Borana have been continuously pushed back towards the west. This process of expansion included the newly

formed Somali Region in Ethiopia over the territories which have been bitterly contested by the Borana and the Somali since World War II (Ibid). The Borana people have still songs to remember the former boundary of their land. Among others, *Diimaa Areeroo*, *abbaa seeraa* (“a father of law”) narrates the following songs regarding the boundary of Borana land:

- a) *Dhaddacha Taabdo dameen lafa geette;* Branch of acacia of *Taabdo* has touched the
Dhaddacha geettee boqotaa wal-eedde. ground;
Where cattle have rested in the shade of acacia
to wait for others arrival.
- b) *Dhaddacha Taabdo dameen dagalfatte;* Branch of acacia of *Taabdo* has grown
Borbadaa taabdo bobbaa ganaffatta. sideways;
For the used up pasture of *Taabdo*, cattle have
been got out at dawn to distant pasture.
- c) *Gadab Muummee lafaa;* *Gadab* land is a limit boundary of Boranaland;
Gadaan muummee namaa. *Gadaa* is a supreme governance body of a
Borana person.

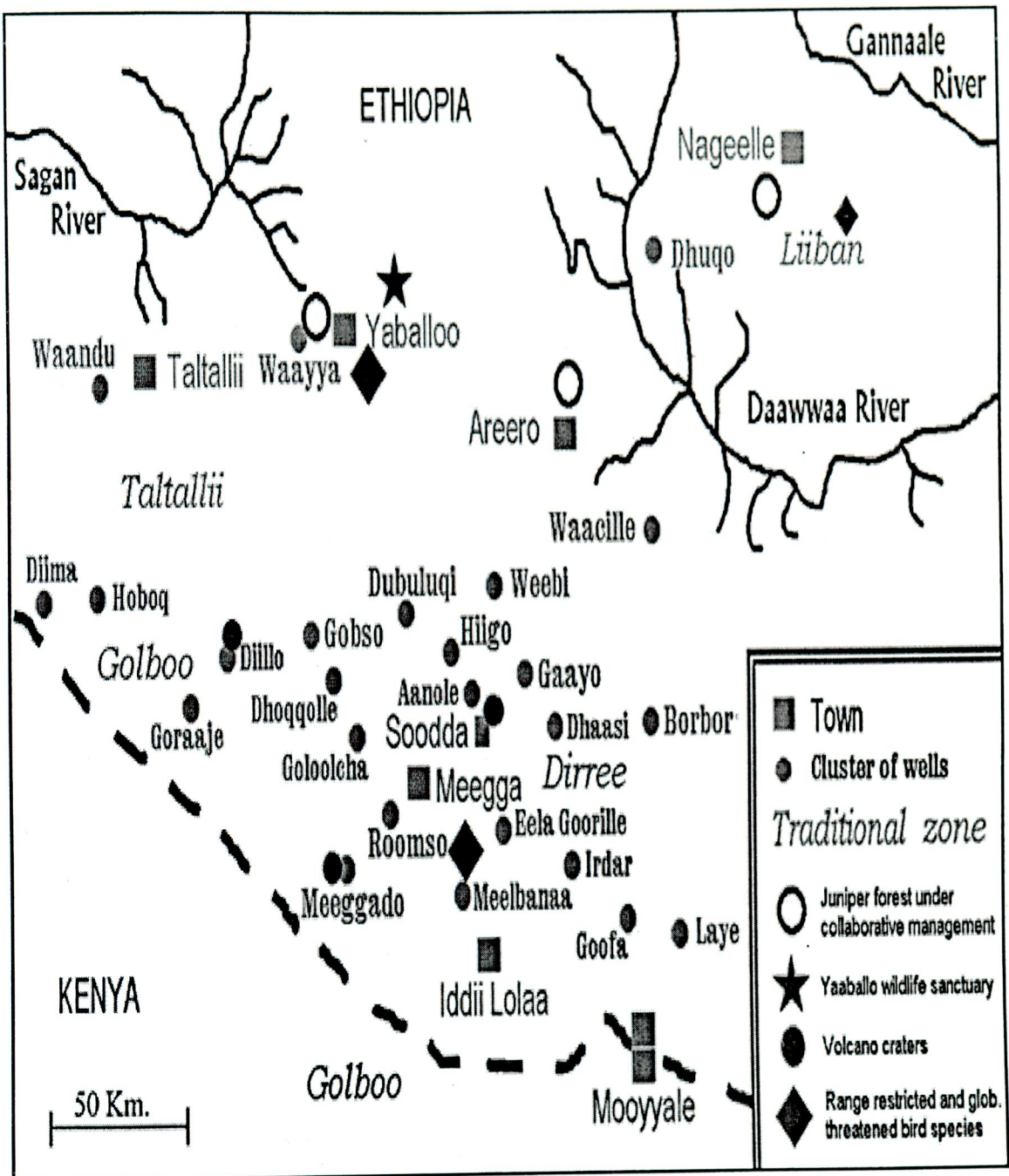


Fig. 1 Community conserved areas and indigenous conservation (Source, Boku and Bassi, 2008)

3.4 Kinship System

Asmarom (1973) and Bassi (2005) maintain that the Borana descent system is patrilineal and segmentary. Borana as a whole are divided into two exogamous moieties, *Sabbo* and *Goona*. The *Goona* are also divided into *Harooressa* and *Fulleelle*. The *Sabbo* and *Goona* moieties are further divided into three and fifteen *gosa* (literally “clan”) respectively (see fig.2). Each clan again segments into several *mana* (Literally “house”).The house also segments into numerous *balbala* (literally “door”). The door segments into *Miilo-aanaa* (Literally “lineage”). The lineage again segments into *warra* (extended family). The extended family finally segments into *orooro aabbaa-warraa* (individual family).

The Borana Moiety Systems

Borana

I. Goona Moiety		II. Sabbo Moiety
a. Harooressa	b. Fulleelle	
1. Daaccituu	1. Arusii	1. Digaluu
2. Maccituu	2. Hawaxxuu	2. Maxxaarrii
3. Odituu	3. Qarcabduu	3. Karrayyuu
4. Galaantuu	4. Halchaayyaa	
5. Siraayyuu	5. Warr-Jiddaa	
6. Bachituu	6. Malliyyuu	
7. Koonnituu	7. Danbituu	
	8. Noonituu	

Fig. 2 The Borana Moiety Systems

3.4.1 Borana Inter-clan Relationship

The Marriage System

The above mentioned moieties and clans interact with one another in the social, political, economic and religious affairs of the Borana. For instance, the Barana marriage system is an exogamous that is carried out between *goona* and *sabbo* moieties (see Bassi, 2005 and

Asmarom, 1973). Thus, the all men of *sabbo* and *goona* relate to each other as *Soddaa* (in-laws) even between those who did not practice actual marriage. But the marriage of *Qaallittii* (a ritual wife of *Qaalluu*) of *Karrayyuu* of the *sabbo* moiety is an only exceptional endogenous marriage among the Borana. The *Karrayyuu qaalluu* marries *qaallittii* from *Maxxaarrii-meettaa* clan of the *sabbo* moiety. This is because it is believed that a girl from *Maxxaarrii-meettaa* was sent down from the heaven to Borana with the *Qaalluu of Karrayyuu* and then they married each other. The both moieties have equal share of political leadership in each *gadaa* period (see section 4.2.1.1 of chapter four).

Political and Well Alliance Clans

Some of the Borana clans form alliance to share water wells and political participation in *gadaa* office. This is because a number of some clans are very small to raise economic support for their representative councilors in *gadaa* office and mobilization of manual labor and finance for excavation of deep wells. For instance, *Digaluu* and *Maxxaarrii*; *Daccituu*, *Maccituu* and *Odituu*; *Galaantuu*, *Siraayyuu* and *Bachituu*; *Koonnituu* and *Qarcabduu*, *Arusii* and *Hawaxxuu*; *Halchaayyaa*, *Warr-Jiddaa* and *Malliyyuu*; *Danbituu* and *Noonituu* are the well alliance groups (Boku, 2000). Boku further states that if one of these clans starts excavation of a new well, its allies must provide support of oxen known as *horii maalaa*. Thus, these clans relate to one another *gosa maalaa* (well alliance clans). This contribution legitimates members of those groups to get access to water from their allies' wells. Political and other water sharing systems among the alliance clans will be discussed at length in chapters four and five, respectively.

Sunsuma

Another inter-clan relationship is *sunsuma* that shows reciprocal respect and fear between *sunsuma* clansmen. *Sunsuma* literally means the three hearth stones used in the Borana traditional houses. One of these is relatively big, and it is placed in front of others next to gate-way in the house. It is named *baru/ sunsuma boroo* and represents *abbaa warraa* (“father of household”). The remaining two named as *hulluuq* (to pass through) and placed parallel to one another beyond the *baru*. They represent *haadha warraa* (“mother of

household”). Thus, the *sunsuma* relationship symbolizes the cultural and social relationship between husband and wife.

Each of Borana clan has at least one clan considered as their *sunsuma*. The *sunsuma* relation can be either between clans from the same moiety or across moieties (see Bassi, 2005). The *sunsuma* people address each other by the name *soddaa nagayoo* (relative of peace). If one asks his fellow *sunsuma* about something, one cannot refuse to give even his/her single son. Besides, during crisis or misfortune a Borana family usually receives he-goat from their own *sunsuma* for sacrifice. This is a belief system to be saved from a danger and enjoying the prosperous life. For the respectful relationship between *sunsuma* men, if two people quarrel with one another and then a guilty person takes the case to his disputants' *sunsuma*, the *sunsuma* will go between and settle the case with blessings.

In addition to, the excavation of *tulaa* water wells are culturally initiated by the ceremonial blessings of a *sunsuma* man. This is attached to the Borana belief system that implies that as a result of the blessings the newly excavated well will have abundant water. For this reason, at least a *sunsuma* person can use water from his/her fellow *sunsuma* water point.

3.5 The Areero District

Areero is one of the 13 districts of the Borana Zone, Oromia National Regional State. It is bordered on the south by Dhaas, on the southwest by *Dirree*, on the west by Yaaballo, on the northwest by *Dudda Daawwaa* and on the north by *Malkaa Sooddaa* Districts of Borana Zone, and on the northeast and on the east by *Darmii Daamaa* and *Liiban* Districts of Guji Zone, respectively. The *Daawwaa* River separates *Areero* District from Guji Zone (see fig. 3). *Mata-Gafarsaa* is the capital town of *Areero* District and situated at a distance of 100km to the east of *Yaaballo* town, capital town of Borana Zone. *Yaaballo* town is found at 575km south of Addis Ababa.

According to *Areero* District Rural and Pastoral Development Office, the total area of the *Areero* District is about 4, 548.72 km². Of this, about 29, 000 ha is forest land, and altitude range is from 1, 320m – 2, 495m above sea level. About 82% of the district area is characterized by semi-arid climate while 18% of it has a semi-highland climate. The mean annual rainfall is approximately 500mm. The long rainy season of the district is *Ganna*

(March-May) and the short rainy season is Hagaya (Oct-Nov). Rainfall in both seasons is highly variable in timing, amount and distribution. The mean annual temperature of the district is about 20°C

Data from the District Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Office indicate that a total population of the district is about 74, 119 of which 32, 879 are female and 41, 240 are male. There are 15 pastoralist associations (PAs) in the district and one urban location.

Ethnically, out of the 15 rural PAs of the district, the Borana Oromo inhabit in ten PAs. The Guji and the Gabra Oromos inhabit in the remaining five PAs, of which three belong to the Gabra and two to the Guji. This categorization is merely for administrative purpose; not to restrict the mobility among them as far as they are pastoralists.

Nearly all of the Borana Oromo in this district are followers of Oromo indigenous religion (*Waaqeffannaa*) though a few of them who reside in and around the town embraced Christianity and Islam. Although the Guji Oromo also used to follow the *Waaqeffannaa* Religion, they are now undergoing mass conversion to Protestant Christianity. In contrast, the Gabra are all followers of Muslim Religion. Town dwellers are drawn from diversified ethnic groups of Ethiopia that have different religious background.

Pastoralism is the dominant livelihood system of the people in the district and thus, livestock remains to be the vital source of food and income. In addition to, three PAs located adjacent to the *Areero* Forest are considered as agro-pastoralist areas of the district, though the weather condition of the area is less favorable for crop production. Traditionally, cattle were and continue to be the most favored livestock among the Borana pastoralists. However, these days, due to changes on rangeland ecology, the rearing of goats and camels are increasingly carried out as a means of diversifying herds. Besides, in areas adjacent to forest systems, Borana started crop cultivation to diversify livelihood. On the other hand, the Guji and the Gabra Oromos are agro-pastoralists and camel keepers, respectively.

BORENA ZONE ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION

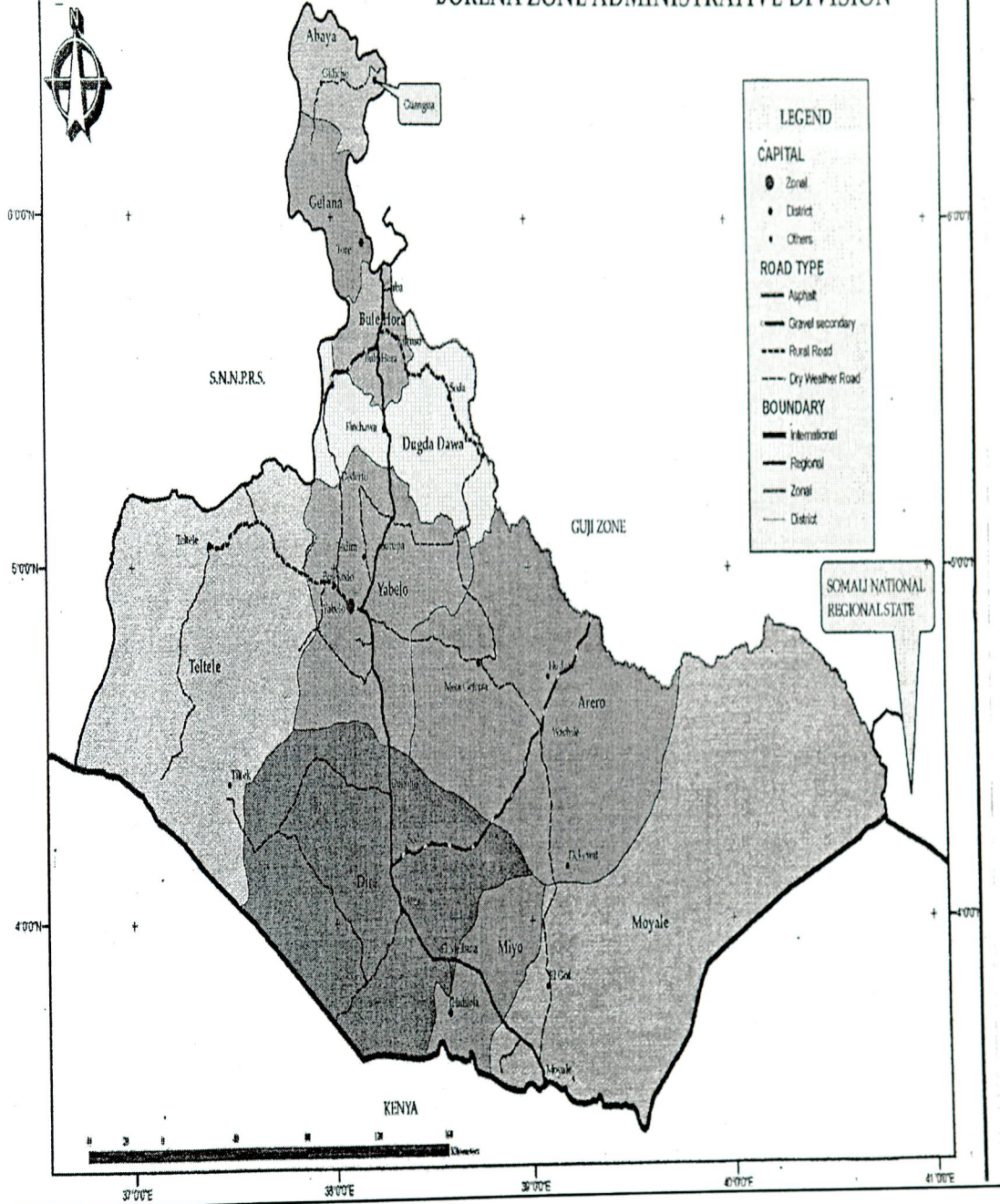


Fig. 3 the map of Borana Zone (source, Borana Zone Finance and Economic Development Office)

3.5.1 The *Areero* Forest

Particularly, since the proclamation of No. 225 and 227 of the 1965 both natural and plantation forests of Ethiopia came under the state ownership (Hirpa, 2006). Subsequently, *Areero* Forest became one of the National Priority Forests found in southern Ethiopia. It currently came under the supervision of Participatory Forest Management system. According to Borana elders, the *Areero* Forest was used to be home for many wild animals such as rhino, buffalo, elephant and giraffe before 60 years. But because of expansion of firearms by highland immigrants and Italian invaders, many of these wild animals were killed and others fled to neighboring country, such as Kenyan National Park. On the other hand, there are still endemic birds like *waayyuu-dharroo* (*Rustolis turaco*) and others which are attracting researchers and tourists.

As to Borana elders, Borana were the only people used to reside in the *Areero* Forest before Italian conquest of Ethiopia. However, the Guji and the Borana Oromos have been residing in and around this forest since then. Thus, the both are now considered as direct user groups of the *Areero* Forest. Apart from this, there are transhumant users such as Gabra, Garri (Somali group) and other Borana and Guji who are taken as indirect users. The Gabra and the Garri are camel keepers. Of all these groups, Borana are the largest group in terms of population.

Most of the Borana cultural beliefs are attached to this forest, as will be discussed in-depth in chapter five. Mobile ritual villages of the Borana are often inhabited in the areas of *Areero* Forest to perform various cultural practices. The Borana custom usually forbids a settlement inside the areas of the dense forest as it affects the forest, and so that their settlements are found around or in the open area of the forest. However, the belief systems of other groups are less related to this forest. For the agro-pastoralist, Guji, forest has wet areas favorable for crop cultivation, and for the camel keepers, Gobra, forest areas have plenty of trees for the camel fodders and thus, they want to establish their settlements inside the forest. Borana elders, therefore, blame them for establishing settlements inside the forest.

Besides, before a settlement will be established on a given area, Borana usually send a person who assesses the feasibility situations (availability of pasture and water, number of current users, physical and health conditions of livestock) of the new area. Then if he finds

something attractive there, he will consult customary leader(s) of that area to guide him where to settle according to pastoral coordination of the previous settlements. But, the other groups sometime do not abide by the Borana systems of pastoral resource use. Because of these reasons, there have been experiences of resource-based conflicts among the *Areero* Forest user groups. This competition over resource is one of the causes of deforestation.

Chapter Four

Analysis of Customary Institutions

The primary focus of this chapter is analysis of different institutions, and their resource management system is also introduced. But the detail description of resource management will be dealt with in the next chapter. Broadly speaking, the Borana customary institutions have been categorized into two forms: micro and macro institutions. Both could be further divided into many branches. Each of them has a responsibility for natural resource management and other societal issues at various levels. For the purpose of this study the macro institutions to be discussed are *Gadaa* and *Qaalluu* institutions. The micro ones include *Ollaa*, *Ardaa*, *Reera*, *Madda* and *Dheeda*. All these institutions have their own leaders and members who have divisions of labor to manage natural resources, particularly forest.

Members of these institutions such as, herders, firewood collector and a passerby, have to report to their close supervisor when they observe anyone committing illegal exploitation of their common resources. Then the supervisor gives balanced judgment on the case in accordance with customary laws. If it is not settled at his level, he will take the case to the next administrative body. For this reason, there is no independent body that oversees the forest management; rather management of forest needs a collective action.

The Borana residence can be separated into *Yuuba* and *Yaa`a*. *Yuuba* residence comprise majority of the Borana people who reside in different places of the Borana territory. *Yaa`a* residence is relatively few people who frequently mobile and reside in ritual places until they finish their term of office. The Borana *yaa`a* can be categorized into *Yaa`a Gadaa*, *Yaa`a Qaalluu*, *Yaa`a Raabaa*, and *Yaa`a Gadaamojji*. Those who reside in *yuuba* will often join a *yaa`a* in one way or another; those in *yaa`a* must be graduated to *yuuba* after specified time period. For instance, a one who is outside of a mobile ritual village may join one of these villages through election to be a *gadaa* councilor, to assist a *gadaa* councilor of his respective clan in *gadaa* office, or to perform certain ceremony with members of the ritual villages. Members of the mobile ritual village have usually fixed period to complete their term of office and then re-join those outside their residences.

Any disputable issue of the Borana is first dealt with by *jaarrota* (council of elders) and *Lichoo jaartii* ("the past *gadaa* councilors") at different geographical units of the *yuuba*. If not resolved at that level, it will be judged procedurally at the ritual villages, and then finally will be resolved at *Gumii Gaayoo* (assembly of the multitudes).

4.1 Micro Institutions

Borana settlements throughout their territories are randomly distributed; not based on family unit or clan corporate, it is rather based on the mere social organization for a resource sharing (Hogg, 1993; Helland, 1991; Yacob, 1997; Watson, 2000). The main focus of this topic is to describe different micro institutions and to inject how they interact with one another in dealing with societal affairs and resource management. These institutions are, of course, structures of the *gadaa* institution which are situated in different localities of the Boranaland. The selections of leaders of these institutions are informally conducted by the members of their respective units with reference to ability of persons to play in the leading roles.

4.1.1 Warra

A *warra* is often the minimal unit in a village that includes nuclear family (a father, a mother and unmarried children). It is sometimes taken as the extended families, father and his married children. When it refers to the extended families in the village, it usually served as section, which will be discussed in the next topic. The head of this unit is called *abbaa warraa* (head of family); the family named as *warra ebeluu* (family of so and so). Head of family manages properties of household and other issues pertain to his household.

In addition to, a family member has to report to head of family when s/he comes across illegal exploitation on a forest resource. Then a family head takes the case to his close supervisor. The family head has also prior responsibility to conserve trees in or around his cattle enclosure and house compound.

4.1.2 Moggaa/Soloola/Shanacha/Labata

These terminologies are interchangeably used with slight difference to indicate a section in a village that comprises a family or usually more than that. For instance, the *moggaa* is often

one to two families; whereas, *soolola* and *shanacha* which are synonymous used to indicate combination of a number of extended families or other unrelated families.

The most determinant point for the people in this section is that they commonly share a single cattle enclosure. They are collectively herding and watering livestock, sharing house furniture and food if necessary. That is why Borana say, "Ollaan *mana walti aanu* - The best villagers are those who share neighboring houses." *Abbaa Moggaa/soolola/shanacha* (head of a section in a village) is an immediate neighbor who is in charge of the section in any social affairs. He may be selected on the basis of his old age, wealth, knowledge of customary systems, or leadership position in customary system.

A head of a section in a village represents members of his section at village level. He also resolves conflicts in the section; if not settled there, he will take it to fellow villagers, particularly to a village head. From a day a village encamps on a given area, the head of the section is responsible to manage land at his territory with its adjacent area outside the village. No one is allowed to use trees over those areas without his knowledge; even village head has no right to encamp a new-comer in a section of his village without consulting a head of that section.

4.1.3 Ollaa

The *ollaa* (village) is the collection of sections when the village is big, or it can be a section when it is small. *Abbaa ollaa* (head of village) is often the most popular man among his villagers in terms of his charisma to organize, analyze and manage things according to *aadaa* Borana (Borana custom). But sometimes wealth and ascribed status, especially from father to son are considered.

The *ollaa* is territorial organization whose members help each other during crisis (disease, famine, war, etc.) and during happiness such as wedding, child birth, naming and other events. Members of village can also help each other on problems related to herding and watering. For instance, if someone faces shortage of labor on herding, s/he will be allowed to affiliate with his fellow villagers. Furthermore, if someone encounters problem in getting access to water for his clan does not have water wells over a given area, Borana custom of water sharing systems will allow him to join his villagers and use from their clan's water

point. In case of a missed livestock in the bush or at a water point, the fellow villagers can again help each other in searching for it.

Head of village is the immediate supervisor of natural resources found in the territory of his village, herding grounds and watering points. He also represents his fellow villagers at important occasions. For instance, if a person or a village wants to join his village or to settle near by of his village, he should be the first person to be consulted.

After all, any Borana can freely move out from his old village and can join the new one. But reasonable pre-discussions and agreements have to be made with the heads and villagers of both villages. This is mainly because the resources in the both sides are the common properties that need the pre-discussions.

4.1.4 Ardaa

Ardaa is a particular site that is inhabited by a village or cluster of villages. When it is resided by cluster of villages, it may be termed as *Reera*, which will be elaborated in the next topic. *Ardaa* is a small grazing territory where its residents can commonly share water, pasture and other resources within the context of *aadaa seera marraa-bishaan Booranaa* (Borana customary-laws of pasture and water). Elders from a village or villages usually hold residential meetings on how to manage and share resources in their territory. Members of an *arda* also help each other on burial, name-giving, wedding and other ceremonies. A head of the *arda* is village head when it is resided by one village; and he is head of cluster when it is inhabited by several of villages.

4.1.5 Reera

Reera is the cluster of villages which are found in a specified site, or two or more close sites inhabited by people who can use water from the same sources and their herds can use on the same grazing grounds. It is where the inhabitants usually limit carrying of the notification of the deceased person and other messages. *Abbaa Reeraa* (head of cluster) is a famous man or if possible a retired *gadaa* councilor selected from the members of each village in the *reera* area. He represents the members of his fellow cluster at the next larger territorial unit, *madda*.

People in the same cluster have also regular meetings to consolidate the natural resource management systems in their unit.

Head of cluster arranges the smooth grazing relationship between his cluster and the neighboring clusters. For instance, between adjacent clusters there are usually common grazing lands which are not allowed for settlements and need continuous discussions among the users. Even though each water source has its own care-taker and individual member of the community is responsible to manage forest, head of cluster oversees whether the management goes according to the customary systems.

Regarding this, during my field work I took part in the pastoral coordinating meeting at *Dureettii* wells on January 14, 2010, inside *Areero* Forest. On the meeting misuse of water wells and settlements inside the forest were reported by water care-takers and other community members. The meeting was facilitated by head of *Dureettii* cluster. Finally, the participants decided removal of the illegal settlements from the site within a week and re-arranging the watering rota. Thus, a head of a cluster is responsible to settle conflicts that are not addressed at village level and others within his territory. If the case also not resolved, he reports it to the elders of the next territorial unit.

4.1.6 Madda

It is a wider territorial unit than *reera*; its concept is derived from a permanent water source. It is made up of combination of clusters, which often surround the water well at its center. A *madda* is administered by the council of elders drawn from different clusters of that *madda*. In other words, they are heads of all clusters surrounding a permanent water source. They usually meet at water point to discuss how to share water and pasture among residents in their unit, or with other new-comers who come from other *madda* in search of better resources. On such meetings, relevant topics such as, a number of cattle kraals, where the new-comers should encamp and water their cattle are identified and affirmed. If the new arrivals may be over the capacity of a particular *madda*, they should agree and let others use resources from another *madda*.

Conflicts not settled at the *madda* level will usually be taken to mobile ritual villages of *Qaalluu*, *Raaba* or *Gadaa*, which is found at the nearest site to the contested *madda*. In

principle, issues not resolved at *Madda* can be appealed to mobile ritual villages of *Qaalluu* → *Raaba* → *Gadaa* → *Abbaa Seeraa/ Gumii Gaayoo*.

4.1.7 *Dheeda*

This is wider unit than *madda*. In most cases it blends several *maddas* that are managed independently by council of elders drawn from different *maddas*. The word *dheeda* literally means grazing. So, the word is sometime taken as grazing land limited to specific unit. The Boranaland has seven major *dheedas*. They are *gomolee*, *Malbee*, *Golboo*, *Dirree* and *Wayaama*. These *dheedas* are found in *Dirree* region of Boranaland. The other *dheedas* found in *Liiban* region of Boranaland are *Golba* and *Diida* (Boku, 2000).

Gomolee - includes areas in the north of *Areero-Yaaballo-Taltallee* road that bordering the Guji Oromo in the north and the Konso and the Burji in the northwest. The *Areero* and *Oobda* Forests are situated in this part. A person from this part of the Boranaland called *Kontoma*.

Malbee – covers territories in the southwest of *Yaaballo* down to *Dilloo* up to *Taltallee*. It shares border with Kenya and most of its area favorable for wet season grazing land. A resident from this area called *Malbituu*.

Golboo – The arid land mainly used for wet season grazing area which runs from the base of Ethiopian escarpment in the north to Isiolo, Kenya, in the south. A resident of this part of the Boranaland called *Golbituu*. The hill land forest of *Gaamadu* demarcates *Golboo* from *Dirree* and *Wayaama* parts.

Dirree – Includes parts of south of *Areero*, west and southwest of *Dhaas* and almost all parts of *Dirree* district. In other words, it covers areas of nine clusters of *tulaa* wells (see fig. 2). A resident from this part termed as *Dirrituu*.

Wayaama – its weather favors for wet season grazing area which runs from the *Daawwaa* River in the north, *Areero* and *Dhaas* in the west, *Mooyyale* in the south and Juba River in the east. A resident from this area called *Wayaamtuu*.

Golba Liiban covers area between the *Daawwaa* River and the hill land of *Manquubsa* Forest system and *Diida Liiban* includes the all parts of *Manquubsa* Forest system and its surroundings.

4.2 Macro Institutions

The macro institutions come under this topic are the *gadaa* and the *qaalluu*. Both are the leading institutions that mainly playing independent role among the society. For instance, *gadaa* is leading the political role of the Borana, and the *qaalluu* is leading the religious affairs. The major role of *gadaa* institution is leading the Borana as a whole. To lead the community, the Borana *gadaa* has established various institutions that have their own leaders at different lower levels. The power of *gadaa* system is highly decentralized that exercise from periphery to center, rather than from center to periphery (Bassi, 2005). Therefore, leaders of various territorial units have full power to manage forest resources and other societal affairs. If they cannot resolve the contested issues on resource management at their levels, they procedurally manage the cases until it reaches the mobile ritual village of *gadaa*. It is there where the final decisions are given, unless the *gadaa* councilors intentionally postpone the cases to the *gumii*, assembly of the multitudes.

The *qaalluu* and the *gadaa* institutions have their own mobile ritual village. Each of this village periodically mobiles to ceremonial grounds located in the different forest areas of the Boranaland to celebrate various ceremonies. These ceremonies are performed to deal with the integrated affairs of Borana, such as politics, religion, economy, etc. Gemetchu and Kassam (1994) confirm that the political, jural and economic aspects of the Borana are not separated from their religious beliefs which fundamentally structure and unify their way of life. Nor is nature excluded from this worldview. Thus, Borana manage their forests through the religious practices attached to nature, politics, economic and jural. More about these institutions have been described in the following discussions, but the reflections are simply to give general information, not to deal with the detail, as the detail of each institution cannot be covered here.

4.2.1 *Gadaa* Institution

Gadaa is a system of classes that attributes almost all human aspects, such as military, political, economic and ritual (Asmarom, 1973). Borana *gadaa* has five *gogeessa* (generation classes) that succeed each other after eight-year of a *gadaa* period (Bassi, 1994). Individuals are enrolled in the class five positions below their father's class (Ibid). Thus, one *gadaa* period is eight-year, where as *gadaa* cycle takes forty-year. *Borbor Bulee*, a famous Borana oral historian, recalls the chronological name of the seventy-one *gadaa* leaders with their term of office. He further states that *Gadayoo Galgaloo* (1457-1465) was the first *gadaa* leader of Borana Oromo after the *gadaa* had been interrupted for seventy-two year. Although he did not recall their terms of office, he can tell the name of six *gadaa* leaders before the *gadaa* had been interrupted.

In one *gadaa* period, there are three branches of *gadaas*: *Gadaa Arbooraa*, *Gadaa Hawaxxuu* and *Gadaa Koonnituu*. Each of this has its own independent leader. Thus, there are three mobile ritual villages and three *gadaa* leaders in one *gadaa* period. Of these, *Gadaa Arbooraa* is the senior one and its leader is a leader of his class as well as the leader of Borana during his office term. The name of the Borana *gadaa*, particularly *Gadaa Arbooraa* is always recalled after a name of its leader. For instance, if a *gadaa* leader is *Guyyoo Gobbaa*, that *gadaa* will be recalled as *Gadaa Guyyoo Gobbaa*; whereas, *Gadaa Koonnituu* and *Gadaa Hawaxxuu* named after the name of their clans. Both *Koonnituu* and *Hawaxxuu* *gadaas* were autonomous *gadaa* branches given to *Hawaxxuu* and *Koonnituu* clans of the *goona* moiety by the Borana in the *gadaa* period of *Bulee Dhaddachaa* (1769-1777).

The *Hawaxxuu* clan had been given a *gadaa* branch because members of this clan were very powerful in military, political and economic affairs. Then they were given not only a *gadaa* branch, but also they were given the *coqorsa* ownership over the *goomolee* territory (see section 4.1.7) to let them responsibility of defending that area from neighboring groups. *Dhaddacha Yaayyaa* was a very influential person of *Hawaxxuu* clan and initiator of this view. For the *Koonnituu* clan, a *gadaa* branch was given as a means of conflict resolution. This was when the *Koonnituu* clan faced conflict with the whole Borana and opened war on the Borana by the leadership of *Waaqolee Boora*, a famous hero of this clan. Finally, *Koonnituu* was given the *gadaa* branch to resolve that conflict. The reconciliation process

was headed by *Dhaddacha Yaayyaa* of *Hawaxxuu* clan. Thereafter, *Gadaa Hawaxxuu* and *Gadaa Koonnituu* have a common name called *Kontoma*, as they have many ritual places in the *goomolee* territory of the Boranaland.

There is hierarchal power among the *gadaa* branches in effecting the Borana concerns. For instance, if the councilors of mobile ritual village of *Gadaa Koonnituu* cannot settle conflicts, they will take the cases to mobile ritual village of *Gadaa Hawaxxuu*. If not resolved there, the councilors of both *Hawaxxuu* and *Koonnituu gadaas* take the cases to mobile ritual village of *Gadaa Arbooraa*. For the Borana, *Gadaa Arbooraa* is often where the final decisions of the Borana concerns are made. Yet, there are very few cases which cannot be resolved at *Gadaa Arbooraa* and appealed either to *Gumii Gaayoo* or to consultation of a father of law (discussed later). For instance, if the three incumbent *gadaa* leaders do not agree on the implication of a law, the father of law will be consulted, and then there is no more reconsideration after decision given by him. Or, if the appealed cases are very serious and the *Gumii Gaayoo* is going to be held in near future, a *gadaa* leader of *Arboora* will deliberately defer the cases to the *Gumii Gaayoo* so as to publicize them and let others learn from measures taken on the *gumii*.

4.2.1.1 Election Procedure of *Gadaa* Councilors

Each class in power has three types of *hayyuu* (*gadaa* councilors) who are elected by the members of the Borana society. They are *hayyuu Adulaa*, *Hayyuu Meedhichaa* and *Hayyuu Garbaa*. These *hayyuus* are elected for each mobile ritual village of *gadaa*. For instance, out of six *adulaa* councilors for one *gadaa* period, four members are elected for *Gadaa Arboora* and one each for *Gadaa Hawaxxuu* and *Koonnituu*. From a total of 14 members of *hayyuu garbaa*, six are elected for *Arboora* and four each for *Hawaxxuu* and *Koonnituu*. Out of six members of *hayyuu Meedhichaa*, three each are elected for *Hawaxxuu* and *Koonnituu*. Therefore, a number of *hayyuus* in one *gadaa* period are 26.

Hayyuu Adulaa

These councilors have six members in one *gadaa* period since *Gadaa* period of *Liiban Waataa* (1777-1785). Of these, three members are always drawn from *goona* moiety and the remaining three are from *sabbo* moiety. These people must be from the members of ruling

class. They are all senior *gadaa* councilors and three of them separately head the three mobile ritual villages of *gadaa* during their *gadaa* term.

The *Lallaba* (official announcement of election) has its own time and procedures to be undergone. The election of *adulaa* councilors is conducted 21 years before coming to the actual power of the *gadaa* period. This is a time when the elected persons develop experiences on leadership position through attending various ritual ceremonies, assemblies and meetings at different levels.

The election campaign of these councilors takes more than eight-year. In the election campaign of the *hayuu adulaa*, candidates of the intra-clan or inter-clan have the right to compete with one another, even for a single position. In the election processes, interested members of the Borana society and major institutions have freedom to contribute their views as the issue concerned them, or they are mobilized by the supporters of a candidate. Then the official decision of the candidates to be elected is organized at meeting for election of *adulaa* councilors. This meeting is organized by fathers of members of the target class. The meeting date is pre-planned and early publicized to all members of the society. In this meeting, suggestions from ritual villages of *Qaalluu*, *Raaba* and *Gadaa*, women, members of target generation class, *abbootii seeraa* (fathers of law) and other influential members of the society are compared. On the process of recruiting, issues like physical fitness and performance of the candidates with reference to their age, social background of the candidates' parents are evaluated. Customarily, final decisions are often reached consensus through persuasion. This is basically done with reference to *aadaa-dhugaa* (custom and justice). The date of official announcement of the candidates are fixed and publicized. Eventually, the *adulaa* councilors of fathers of the target class officially announce the elected candidates.

S/N	Title name of <i>Adulaa</i>	Clan	moiety
1	<i>Adulaa Jiillee-gammojji</i>	<i>Maccituu, siraayyuu, Bachituu, Galaantuu, Qarcabduu, war-jiddaa, Maliyyuu, Danbituu, Noonituu</i>	<i>goona</i>
2	<i>Adulaa Digaluu</i>	<i>Digaluu</i>	<i>sabbo</i>
3	<i>Adulaa Maxxaarrii,</i>	<i>Maxxaarrii</i>	<i>sabba</i>
4	<i>Adulaa Hawaxxuu,</i>	<i>Hawaxxuu</i>	<i>goona</i>
5	<i>Adulaa Koonnituu</i>	<i>Koonnituu</i>	<i>goona</i>
6	<i>Adulaa Karrayyuu</i>	<i>Karrayyuu</i>	<i>sabba</i>

Table1. Six *Adulaas* and their clans

This table depicts that there is a power balance between both moieties; but not between clans. For instance, nine clans of *goona* moiety always share position of one person, whereas each clan of *sabbo* moiety has their *adulaa*.

Hayyuu Meedhichaa

Members of *hayyuu meedhichaa* are often six in number in one *gadaa* office and they are all members of class in power. They are only found in the *gadaa kontoma* mobile ritual villages. But they can be elected from *sabbo* and *goona* moieties. Since they are councilors of *Gadaa kontomaa*, the election of *Hayyuu Meedhichaa* of *Gadaa Hawaxxuu* and *Gadaa Koonnituu* are facilitated and officially announced by their own *gadaa* leaders. Decision of the candidates to be elected is facilitated at the meeting organized for election of *meedhicha* councilors with comparing suggestions of participants, particularly from the candidates' clans and the electors' clans. One has to be elected on the basis of the following criteria: membership of the target class; charisma of the candidate and his ability to analyze, organize and manage things among the community.

Hayyuu Garbaa

The members of these *hayyuus* are normally 14 in one *gadaa* period, and they can be drawn from different generation classes other than the one they will join. Of the six *garbaa* in *gadaa*

arbooraa, three each is divided for the *goona* and *sabbo* moieties. The election is facilitated and officially announced by the outgoing *gadaa* leaders. Members of these councilors are usually elders who are rich in the knowledge of customary systems. Since the *Hawaxxuu* and *Koonmituu gadaas* elected their *garbaa* councilors only from their own clans, the competition and proposals for this position are made within their own clans' people. Where as, the election process of members in *arboora* is relatively similar to *adulaa's*.

Economic Support for Gadaa Councilors

Since all councilors have their own clan, subclan, or clans to represent in *gadaa* office, they collect *kaattoo* (support to incumbent councilors) *makkala* (assistant of *hayyuu* during his term in office) from the members of their respective clans, subclans or submoiety (Bassi, 2005). For instance, an *adulaa* councilor can collect support from a member of his fellow clans or clan who involves in the membership of his respective generation class. Where as, the councilors of *garba* and *meedhichaa* collect support from their own subclans in any generation class. By the way, support is usually in kind, such as cattle.

4.2.1.2 Customary Laws of Borana Oromo

Like in many modern governments, the Borana *gadaa* has three fundamental elements that constitute the essence of democratic governance. These are legislative, executive and judiciary organs. It is through the existence of these organs that the Borana customary laws for natural resource management and other community affairs are made, practiced and protected by the members of community in general and customary leaders in particular.

Fascinatingly, what makes unique the Borana *gadaa* from other government systems in the many parts of the world is that for the Borana, those councilors who ruled *gadaa* for eight years term of office keep their positions throughout their lives even after they complete their term. That is, after their term, the three *gadaa* leaders will be the members of *abbootii seeraa* (fathers of law); the remaining councilors will be *lichoo jaartii* ("the past *gadaa* councilors"). Then they reside any place they like in the Borana and oversee the practices of customary laws at different units and in such a way that the peace of the Borana will be maintained. On top of this, they guide and advice the incumbent *gadaa* councilors and they also play great

roles in election and law making processes. Out of the alive past *gadaa* leaders, the one who led the *gadaa* before others is father of laws of the Borana.

For this reason, the term like 'retired' to refer to the past *gadaa* leaders that have been used in various literatures of *gadaa* and even in this thesis cannot fit these people. They never retired rather they promoted to the higher posts. These terms have been used because the *gadaa* system is different from others and lack equivalent terms in English to substitute them.

Legislative Body

The supreme legislative body of Borana Oromo is *Gumii Gaayoo*, assembly of the multitudes. *Gumii* is an Oromo term meaning 'assembly' and *gaayo* is name of a place found in *Dirree* district, near *tulaa* wells of *Gaayo*. *Gumii Gaayoo* is, therefore, where the assembly of the multitudes is held since *gadaa* period of *Daawwee Gobboo* (1697-1705). It is where most of the Borana customary laws are made and ratified by the Borana participants of the *Gumii*. These participants are drawn from various societal categories, such as youth, customary leaders, elders and other interested individuals found in different parts of Borana territory (Asmarom, 2000). It is held once every eight-year. That is, each *gadaa* leader of *Arboora* always mobile to *Gaayo* and organizes *Gumii Gaayoo* in his fourth-year of *gadaa* period (Goolloo, 1996). At the *Gumii Gaayoo*, the existing laws are promulgated; new laws are made; *hayyuus* including incumbent *gadaa* leaders and the previous ones are evaluated and unresolved conflicts at different lower level meetings are resolved. The process of reviewing the existing laws, making the new ones and promulgating them are headed by previous *gadaa* leaders with the presence of previous, incumbent and forthcoming *adulaa* councilors.

Gooloo further states that the *Gumii Gaayoo* deal with the laws of people, laws of natural resource, laws of livestock, laws of cultural affairs and laws of co-existence with Borana neighbors. For instance, he states the rules about forest conservation which was promulgated to the 37th *Gumii Gaayoo* as follows:

The Boorana aada rules against cutting big trees without leaving some branches, because they die when all their branches are cut down. Moreover, the land loses its adommen (beauty) without trees. Without trees we cannot have shelters and shade to

protect ourselves and our livestock from danger and sultry. Parts of what we use at our homes are made of wood. Trees may be cut down whenever there is genuine need for them. The bushes that suppress the growth of grass should be cleared away. The GGA has, therefore, prohibited cutting big trees at roots or without leaving branches on them.

Executive Body

The executive body is council of elders, previous and incumbent *gadaa* councilors and other community members. Customary laws formulated at *Gumii Gaayoo* are passed down to the members of the Borana society through those who took part in the assembly. Even absentees themselves should ask any returnees from the *Gumii Gaayoo* what was shared on that particular assembly. And in such a way any member of the society accept the laws and put them into practice, particularly the elders and customary leaders.

Judiciary

Members of this body are all *gadaa* councilors, particularly the previous ones and their subordinates in different areas of the Boranaland. Customarily, when injustice is committed and cannot be resolved on the specific area by elders, a previous *gadaa* councilor who found in the nearby village will be called to judge the case. In case, a guilty refuses to accept a decision, it is that councilor, not an accuser, who takes the case to the next step decision-making body till it reaches last solution. Unless the councilor fulfills his responsibility in accordance with the customary laws, he will be the leading accused. Based on the weight of the crime, he will be fined with many heads of cattle, curse, or discarding his power at *Gumii Gaayoo*.

4.2.2 Qaalluu Institution

Position of *qaalluu* is through hereditary system. *Qaalluu* is considered as a spiritual leader. There are five *qaalluus* of Borana Oromo. They are *Qaalluu Odituu*, *Qaalluu Karrayyuu*, *Qaalluu Garjeedaa*, *Qaalluu Kuukkuu* and *Qaalluu Karaaraa*. Each of this *qaalluu* named after the name of their clans or subclans. For instance, *Odituu* and *Karrayyuu* are names of Borana clan, whereas *Garjeeda*, *Kuukkuu* and *Karaara* are subclans of *Maxxaarrii* clans of

the *sabbo* moiety. Of these, the *Qaalluu Odituu* and *Qaalluu Karrayyuu* are the senior who extend their blessings to whole Borana and beyond on *muuda* ceremony (“anointing ceremony”). Borana believed that the origin of these two senior *qaalluus* has a divine source. The remaining three belong to *Maxxaarrii* clan are given this position due to the respectful of the Borana towards the members of the *Maxxaarrii* clan in various ceremonial occasions.

On *Muuda* ceremony, a group consisting of a large number of men comes with gift of young cattle for the *qaalluu*; and in response the *qaalluu* provides his blessings. The *qaalluu* also serves as intermediary between the God and the man (Bassi, 2005).

Besides, the *qaalluu* village is one of the mobile ritual villages of Borana, which periodically moves to different sacred grounds found in many places of the Borana forests to perform rituals. According to the Borana beliefs system, these rituals in the forests are conducted due to psychological well being of Borana people, their livestock and environment. For this reason, every Borana respect the rules pertain to forest management.

Qaalluu ritual village has four *councilors* whose members are drawn only from the *qaalluu* lineages. These groups have no political position into *gadaa* ritual villages. These councilors have decision making power on resource management, conflict resolution and other societal issues as other *hayyuus* do in Borana. For instance, if a conflict related on resource management and/or on other societal affairs not resolved at a micro institution level found in nearby of a *qaalluu* ritual village, councilors of the *qaalluu* ritual village will responsible to deal with the case before councilors of the *gadaa* ritual villages.

Chapter Five

Natural Resource Management

The Borana rangeland has mainly been categorized into drylands *gammoojjii* and Forestlands *baddaa*. Its categorization is based on weather condition, soil type, plant species, water availability, and so on. For instance, forestlands have evergreen plants; usually thornless tree species; cool weather even during dry seasons; soft and tall grasses; shallow wells; moist weather in June and July (after main rainy season); tall and big trees with undergrowth; black brown soil, mounted-land, etc. Due to the cool weather condition and prevalence of small flies in the forestlands especially during the rainy seasons, grazing inside these areas are favorable in the dry months.

On the other hand, the drylands possess hot weather, deep wells, dense grass, scattered big trees, thorny bushes, green covered during wet seasons and dusty soil. Grazing inside the drylands is more preferable during the wet seasons when seasonal ground water is available and moderate weather is attractive enough for livestock to flourish. Therefore, both lands are complementary to one another.

According to Bassi and Boku (2008), natural resources of dry and forest lands are conceived by the Borana community as strongly complementary. They are shared heritage of the whole community. This is communicated through the following extract from a prayer:

<i>Liibanii Dirreen nagaa;</i>	Peace for <i>Liiban</i> and <i>Dirree</i> ;
<i>Liiban Golbaa Diidii nagaa;</i>	Peace for <i>golba</i> and <i>diida</i> of <i>Liiban</i> ;
<i>Dirree tulaan sallan nagaa;</i>	Peace for the nine <i>Tulaa</i> wells of <i>Dirree</i> ;
<i>Baddaan sadeen nagaa;</i>	Peace for the three Forests;
<i>Malbee golboon nagaa;</i>	Peace for <i>Malbee</i> and <i>Golboo</i> ;
<i>Booqqee sadeen nagaa;</i>	Peace for the three <i>Booqqee</i> ;
<i>Baddaa gammoojjiin nagaa;</i>	Peace for the forest and the drylands;
<i>Areero Gooroon nagaa.</i>	Peace for the hill lands of <i>Areero</i> .

Boranaland has two broad regions: *Liiban* and *Dirree*. *Liiban* region is further categorized into *golba* (dryland area more attractive during wet season) and *diida* (forest area often used in the dry months). *Dirree* land has three forest systems: *Areeroo*, *Oobda* and *Gaamadu* where possess various ceremonial grounds and other resources. It has also nine clusters of deep wells and three creator lakes of rock-salt, which are found in dryland. *Malbee-golboo* is wet season grazing areas located along the Ethio-Kenyan border. All these have been categorized into forest and dry lands. So the above extract of pray depicts that dry and forest lands of the Borana have their own substantial resources that benefits the Borana people and their livestock in different ways at different seasons. For this reason, the Borana give due attention to both parts of land and their resources as well. For this reason, this thesis deals with resources found in both dry and forest areas of the Boranaland.

Forest has various resources that can benefit its users in various ways. Some of these resources are wildlife, water, pasture, tree, place of worship and so on. Among other things, pasture, water and tree are the most important forest resources for the life of the Borana people. Thus, for the purpose of this research, management of resources such as forest, water and pasture will be highlighted in the following discussions.

5.1 Forest Management

In Ethiopian Boranaland, there are four forest systems: *Manquubsa Forest*, *Areero Forest*, *Oobda Forest* and *Gaamadu Forest*.

Manquubsa Forest is situated in *Liiban* region of Boranaland of the Guji zone. It covers areas of *Makko*, *Ila-fincoo*, *Bokossaa*, *Xuxxuffee*, *Qilee*, *Manquubsa*, *Hidha Boora*, *Qilxaa*, *Dhibba Konsoo*, *Gaafatiro*, *Miyeessaa*, *Booyee*, *Alga* and *Ejersa Fiiltuu*.

Areero Forest is found in the *Areero* district of Borana zone. It includes areas like. *Dureettii*, *Mataa-gafarsaa*, *Bokdhaa*, *Boobella*, *Guuto*, *Ooblo*, *Hirmaayye*, *Haaruu-tuphe*, *Madar*, *Horooto*, *Sangoota* and *Badhaasa*.

Oobda Forest covers the all northern parts of the *Yaaballo* district, including *Harbooro*, *Abbunnu*, *Haassuma*, *Raso*, *Bargudda*, *Dhedheertuu*, *Rufaay*, *Oobda*, *Gololcha*, *Jijidduu*,

Hargeessa, Nyaaro, Dharrito, Areer, Galchat, Utaalloo and Harweeyu. Oobda Forest sometimes called ***Baddaa Goomolee***.

Gaamadu Forest embraces some parts of *Dirree, Dilloo, Miyoo* and *Mooyyale* districts of the Borana zone. It covers *Funnaan Gubaa, Carii Aaduu, Gololcha, Meegga, Roomso, Carii, Hiddii Lolaa, Miyoo, Gombisa, Mudhii Amboo, Tuqaa, Mooyyale, Dhokisuu, Carii Eluu, kaarra Iccinnii* and *Gaara Fugug*. Sometimes it refers to as ***Baddaa Gooroo Fugug***.

These forest systems are all natural forests, where the Borana often perform their cultural practices. According to Oromia Forest and wildlife Enterprise officer of *Areero* district, except the *Gaamadu Forest* which covers the vast territory the other forests are included under the Ethiopian National Forests.

Categorization of these forest lands are based on indigenous knowledge that considers in the same category of plant species, watershed, drainage system, topography, weather condition, type of water and so on. According to the Borana worldview, it is not only the forestedland that considered as a forest, but also the unforested areas that can be found in the same system of the above mentioned categories form the forest.

Forest resource belongs to all Borana and its resources owning system is communal among the Borana, though water resources ownership have been given to certain clans, which will be discussed later. Customarily, forest resources benefit the Borana people in various ways: forest trees benefit them for construction of houses, fencing of livestock enclosure, ceremonial purposes, source of food and firewood. Forestlands serve as sacred ground, refuge in the time of wars, diseases and droughts; home for wild game, and source of water and pasture. The roots, leaves or barks of some trees serve for the preparation of medicine. The forests also serve to maintain climatic condition as they release cool weather and receive adequate rain. For these reasons, life of Borana community highly depends on forest resources.

For the Borana, the above mentioned utilizations of forest resources are not allowed for commercialization purposes as in the market- oriented societies; they are rather implemented in the form of communal need (Gemetchu and Kassam, 1994). Thus, these kinds of exploitations do not affect the sustainable management of these resources. For instance,

firewood is usually collected from dried part of certain trees, such as dried branches, dried small sticks or from dead and fallen trees. Livestock enclosure is built out of thorny bushes or branches of thorny trees; houses are constructed out of poles of thin trees and covered with grass. In relation to this, Borana custom prohibits its fellow Borana from cutting all branches of a big tree, cutting the tree at its lower stem, or uprooting it for different utilizations. Borana have a belief system that enables people to stick to this custom. They believe that a bad fortune will happen to his descendants when somebody violates it. There is a saying among the Borana," Extinction of one's descendants will be the result when s/he cuts all the branches of a big tree."

5.1.1 Symbolic Value of the Forest

Forestlands are blessed with ceremonial grounds. For the Borana, forest grounds can fully serve as *wayyuu* (holy places). This is because God naturally blessed them with evergreen cover, cool weather, long rainy season, shallow water wells or ever-flooded spring water and multiple natural resources that can allow permanent settlement of the people. That is why almost all the ceremonial grounds of the Borana people are situated in the forest areas, particularly those for mobile ritual villages. According to Borana psychological make up, the materialization of these ceremonies attribute fertility, good health, peace and prosperity for their people, livestock, land and environment.

There are several ceremonial trees and ceremonial places in the Borana forest systems. Of these, some of the major ones are described as follows: first, *Obdaa* Forest has *godaamjijii* ceremonial grounds at *Diida Yaaballoo*, *Harboora* and *Dhariito*. *Dhariito* Forest which is found in a system of *Oobda* Forest has also sacred lands for *raaba* and *Qaalluu* ritual villages. Second, *Gaamadu* Forest has *gadaamjijii* ceremonial grounds at *Dhoqqolle*, *Roomso*, *Miyoo*, *Tuqaa* and *Agaal*. It has also ritual places for *Raaba*. Third, *Areeoo* Forest has *gadaamjijii* ceremonial grounds at *Dureettii* and has many ritual places for the *raabaa*, *gadaa*, *qaalluu* and the whole Borana as well. Fourth, almost all parts of *Manquubsa* Forest have a lot of ritual grounds for all Borana as it is found in *Liiban* district where Borana claim as cradle land of Borana people, and they considered senior land of the Borana.

The Borana mobile ritual villages of *gadaa*, *raaba*, *gadaammojjii* and *qaalluu* have their own ceremonies, which are seasonally performed at different sacred grounds. Each of this ceremony cannot be described in this work. Some of the major ones are *Dibaayyuu* and sacrifices of he-goat, bullock and old cow. Sacrifices of these livestock are done in the shade of a tree, near water well, near stone and so on.

A term *Dhibaayyuu* formed from two Oromo words *Dhiba* and *bay`uu*. *Dhiba* means trouble/problem/difficulty; *bay`uu* is to save or to protect from danger. Therefore, *dibaayyuu* ceremony is conducted to protect against problems. There are two types of *dhibaayyuu*: one done at water well; other one done at tree (see Leus, 2006). The *dhibaayyuu* in the shade of a tree is usually performed by members of *gadaa* ritual villages and that near water well is done by members of *gadaammojjii* and other community members outside of ritual villages. Particular water well used for the *dhibaayyuu* ceremony is known as *eela dhibaayyuu* (well of *dhibaayyuu*). Concerning this, *Kuraa Aadi*, a Borana elder and son of ex-*gadaa* leader, recites the following extract from *dhibaayyuu* pray:

<i>Dhibba sa`ayyoo horii;</i>	Be prosperous of hundreds of cows;
<i>Oo oyyoyyoo jilaa;</i>	For the glorious of ceremony;
<i>Dhibba namayyoo horii;</i>	Be prosperous of hundreds of people;
<i>Oo oyyoyyoo jilaa;</i>	For the glorious of ceremony;
<i>Huraa nagayaan galii;</i>	Be safely come home from watering point;
<i>Oo oyyoyyoo jilaa;</i>	For the glorious of ceremony;
<i>Horiin daara ba`ii;</i>	Be clothed with sale of livestock;
<i>Oo oyyoyyoo jilaa.</i>	For the glorious of ceremony.

This is an extract from *dhibaayyuu* pray celebrated in the shade of a tree by members of mobile ritual villages of *gadaa*. It is a pray for the well being of people and livestock. It also shows how the Borana life relies on livestock. During this ceremony all *gadaa* councilors including *gadaa* leader and their assistants dress culturally and carry *miyyuu* (milk-pot full of milk) and go to the holy tree.

There are also some forest trees which have been used for specific ceremony and used as the holy trees. Others are taken as a member of certain clans. First and foremost, the Borana belief systems attached to forest trees are mostly protected the forest and its resources than any other places. *Guyyoo Gobbaa*, incumbent Borana *gadaa* leader (2009- 2017) and other Borana elders, narrate the ceremonial and symbolic values of certain trees as follows;

Hindheensa/Jiruu-kuraa (Juniper procera) - is common and dominant forest tree in each of forest system of Boranaland. It is euphemized particularly during ceremonial occasion and named as *jiruu-kuraa* ("life-salt"). This is because it has long life span than other trees ever seen in the Borana forest. It is also never attacked by termite even when it is dead and buried underground for ages. Since it grows gray hair like old people, it symbolizes old people and is as respected as the old people too. Its branches and gray hair are collected for various *hulluuqqoo* ceremonies (rituals performed to pass through disasters such as war, disease, drought, fire, flood, etc.). It is also used as a pole on which the Borana wave their flag on the election day of *Adulaa* councilors.

Gaddaa (Fagara chalybea) – is found in both bushy and forested lands. It is used for the doorpost of ceremonial hall of *gadaa*. The sacrifices of bullock and he-goat also take place in its shade.

Garbii (Faidherbia albida) - is a forest tree used for a shrine where sacrifices of bullock and he-goat undertake in its shade. It is also used as *qaallicha* (sacred shrine) where sacrifices of an old cow are carried out.

Birbirsa (Podocarpus falcatus) – is only found in a forest and used for a shrine where sacrifices of bullock and he-goat are carried out.

Canaa (Haplocoelum foliolosum) – is mostly grown in forestland and used for a shrine where sacrifices of bullock and he-goat are carried out. It is also a shrine where the organized delegates of *gadaa* to take baallii (power) sacrifice bullock on their way to take it from the outgoing *gadaa* leader, and rest for while on the way coming home. The incumbent *gadaa* leader who takes over the *gadaa* power spends three days of his confinement in the shade of *canaa* tree. *Canaa* is also used as a tree shrine where the declaration of official election of Borana *gadaa* councilors is undertaken.

Dambii (Ficu thommingii) – is a tree that usually grow in the sources of water. It can be found in the bush and forest lands and used during the *odaa* ceremony. *Odaa* ceremony is organized by outgoing *gadaa* leader in his eighth year of *gadaa* office. It is organized to present cattle gifts to the *Qaalluu* and in return to take his blessing. It is considered as a graduation ceremony for the outgoing *gadaa* class. During this ceremony, an interested individual Borana who is outside of *gadaa* ritual villages can join to take blessing of the *qaalluu* (see Leus, 2006). A ceremonial hall which was built during election of *adulaa* councilors is only built out of *danbii* tree except *canaa* used as doorpost.

Waddeessa (Cordia adryssinica) – in the Boranaland, natural forest tree of *waddeessa* is only found in *Miyoo* Forest of *Gaamadu* Forest system. Its branch is used as holder of *maxxaarrii* (ritual stick used for *Odaa* Ceremony). Its branch is also used as a ritual stick cut for a father on name-giving ceremony of his first born son. Thus, *waddeessa* stick symbolizes father of a son.

Daannisa (Apodytes dimidiata) – is found in all four forest systems of Borana land. A Borana married male carries *daannisa* ritual stick on birth day of his new sons, *dhibaayyuu* and *odaa* ceremonies. When a Borana male carries a *daannisa* staff and ties turban on his head, other fellow Borana automatically can tell that so and so wife gives birth to a new son. So, *daannisa* symbolizes one's son(s).

Ejersa (Olea africana) – is the second largest dominant plant species found in the forest systems of the Baranaland. It is a forest tree used for a shrine where sacrifices of bullock and he-goat are carried out. Its branch is also used as *bokkuu* (ritual stick with a knobbed head) of *gadaa* councilors that signify of authority. *Qoraan olkaa*, a very short ritual stick used during songs sung by the *raaba* and *gadaa* ritual villages at *Olka* ceremony, is cut from the branch of this tree.

Dhaddacha (Acacia tortilis) – is grown both in bush and forest lands. It is a shrine tree where sacrifices of bullock and he-goat are carried out. Borana meetings are usually held in the shade of a big *dhaddacha* tree. Even the *Gumii Gaayoo* Assembly is held in the shade of this tree.

Interestingly, Borana associate a few trees with members of certain Borana clan. For instance, they take *dhaddacha* tree as members of *digaluu* clan of the *sabbo* moiety. They also associate *Harooressa* (*Grevia bicolor*) with members of *harooressa* submoiety of the *goona* moiety. *Fulleessa* (*Acacia drepanolobium*) is associated with the members of *fulleelle* submoiety of the *goona*. Since the members of these clans consider these trees as their own members, the Borana belief systems prohibit them from using these trees for the purpose of firewood and misusing them for any other purpose. For this reason, these trees symbolize human being and the Borana as a whole treat them as their own members.

As a result of the above belief systems, Borana take forestlands as holy grounds where most places of worship are found, and such that cutting a forest tree without good reasons and killing wild animals that dwell in the forest contradict the *seera aadaa* Borana (Borana customary law). Even when the need for cutting a branch of some forest trees are essential for ritual reasons, a cutter wears the ritual clothes; carries tobacco and go to the forest. When s/he finds that sacred tree, s/he pours out the tobacco on the ground under the tree so as to save it and cuts branches from other tree of the same species. Pouring out of tobacco symbolizes the begging for forgiveness as that tree and its territory are the sacred beings.

Furthermore, if people want to kill wildlife for certain ritual and social reasons, they will wait for it until it comes out from the forested ground. There, killing is culturally permitted. In case, if the wild animal is wounded out side of a forest and runs to the forest, one will never be pursued as it reaches its sacred home.

For the sake of its holiness, thus, if a crime is committed in a forest area, a guilty person can be fined with curse, *qakee* (a fine of thirty heads of cattle) and others according to customary laws of forest management. For instance, in the group discussion, elders narrated the following cases pertain to practice of outlaw on tree in general and forest tree in particular.

Case-1

Aseebo was a Borana famous man. He belongs to *Karrayyuu* clan of the *sabbo* moiety, and he was head of cluster that used to live in Galchat, Yabello district. He made the law known as *butaa Aseeboo* (pull of Aseebo). As to this law, when a wrongdoer was investigated, s/he was laid on their back and dragged on the gravel stones. Then one day

members of his pastoral coordination units cut down branches of trees with their seeds instead of merely collecting them up. So, from that day onward, Aseebo started punishing such people by pulling them on the gravel stone.

Since Aseebo used to fine guilty people under his coordination with his special law until the days of his retirement, his respective community members wisely used natural resources.

Case-2

Halakee Bonayyaa belongs to *Karrayyuu-Aabbole* of the Borana clan. He cut down branches of *Qaallicha Miyoo* (holy tree of *Miyoo*), which is found in *Gamaduu* Forest System. It stands around *gadaammojjii* ritual ground at *Miyoo*. Then the case was reported to customary leaders and he was fined with thirty heads of cattle.

Qaallicha is where the *gadaammojjii* ceremony usually takes place every eight-year. The naming ceremony of *dabballee* (the first *gadaa* grade), the grandsons of *gadaammojjii* grade, is carried out under this holy tree. On the ceremony, under this holy tree, those who do not have a child pray to God so as to get children.

According to Borana elders, *qaallicha* trees symbolize the prominent Borana prophets that lived in the old day, such as *Jiloo Nuuraa Dooyyoo*. *Qaallicha Nuuraa* and *Qaallicha Dooyyoo*, the prominent holy trees that are located in *Liiban* region of Boranaland, are named after these prophets. They further confirm that the *qakee* fine with thirty cattle is equivalent to the blood price for the murdered body.

Curse is usually conducted when a wrongdoer is not investigated or s/he fails to accept his/her fault. This kind of cursing is often headed by *abbaa gadaa*. In the Borana cultural beliefs, the curse of holy tree itself when one misuses it is more effective than the people's one (Bartels, 1994). According to the Borana customary laws, cursing is the worst fine. It includes social outcast such as alienation from resource sharing, cultural practices, political and any kind of social affairs.

In the Borana belief systems, areas where the holy trees exist are taken as the sacred grounds. For this reason, not only the power of its holiness invested into the sacred trees, but also the

enactment of customary laws protect the trees as well as the forest areas where these trees are found.

5.2 Water Management

Borana lands customarily possess the four main sources of water: *Adaadii* (Shallow wells), *Tulaa* (deep wells), *Haroo* (pond) and *Galaana* (river). But there are other small water sources particularly available during the rainy seasons (see Boku, 2000). *Adaadii* water wells are mostly found in the forest system areas; whereas *haroo* and *tulaa* are found in drylands. Water in the forest systems is considered as *bishaan haadha hiyyeessaa* ('water of an orphan child's mother') among the Borana. Because harvesting of this water needs less investment than *tulaa* water. *Adaadii* water naturally springs up from the swampy area under the stone, and downpours throughout the year where a single herder manages to water cattle, or its spring is often found above 2m depth in dry sandy tiver. However, *tulaa* water is found on average at 14m depth under the ground that requires much more labor to harvest. Thus, a Borana household who possesses a few labor force mostly reside in the forest system areas.

Borana water tenure system varies on the basis of categorizations of water sources. When compare to other natural resources tenure system, the water resources are relatively semi-private with the exception of river water. The river water is being used as open access resource. The remaining water sources have some sort of rules and regulations to be followed for anyone to get access to them. In each of this water source there is *abbaa konfii* (*konfii* owner) and *abbaa herregaa* (water care-taker). As to Borana custom, ponds and *adaadii* wells owning over certain areas of Borana territory is restricted to *coqorsa* system, which will be discussed at length latter on.

Tulaa

In areas where there are *tulaa* wells a capable and an interested Borana clan is allowed to possess even more than one water wells over a specified area. Although initial scratching of the ground is started by *abbaa konfii*, material and human resources used in the course of excavation and management of *tulaa* wells is mobilized by members of a clan. As a result of this, most of the *tulaa* names possess the name of their respective clan, and the water sharing system is among the fellow clan members. This does not restrict other Borana who have

social bonds with members of this clan from getting access to it. For instance, a *sunsum* person, who usually belongs to another clan, culturally waters his cattle at *laagaa* (next to *abbaa konfii's* cattle) on watering day of *abbaa konfii*. Moreover, other social bonds like friendship, in-law and village affiliation can permit one to use water outside of his clan. This is often happened when there is scarcity of water resource, or scarcity of manpower to lift up water from the wells among his fellow clan.

According to Boku (2000), *Tulaa* wells have three watering days headed by three different people: first day is termed as *Guyyaa Konfii* (watering day of *konfii* owner), second day is said to be *Guyyaa Olaa* (watering day of well alliance clan) and the last day is known as *Guyyaa Qara Goree* (watering day of other members of clan owning a *tulaa* well). In each watering day, the head person of watering day is responsible to manage the all watering rules on his respective day under supervision of water care-taker.

Care-taker of *tulaa* well is a free servant and an honest, formally appointed individual from clan members outside of *konfii*. He must be a willing person who comes on each watering day for supervision, and has to have indigenous knowledge of water sharing systems among the Borana in general and his own clan in particular. Apart from this, there are elderly people of the same clan who usually oversee whether the management of care-taker is progressing in a logical manner or not.

Adaadii

Adaadii wells are often found along the watershed of the forested mountainous and plateau areas. Those in forest systems have high yield of water in year round that can accommodate a huge number of users, whereas those in plateau areas have less amount of water and so that they can benefit few harvesters. During the dry months they regularly serve for domestic consumption.

According to most of my informants, *adaadii* water is used before *tulaa* ones. This is because Borana first used to live in forestlands where the *adaadii* water naturally generates. It is in the course of life process the Borana people expanded over the *gammojjii* lands which can have the under ground water that needs a lot of resources to establish and manage.

Ownership of *adaadii* wells is traced through *konfii* or *coqorsa* systems. The *konfii* system of *adaadii* wells was established long time ago when a person belongs to certain Borana clan first discovered a source of water which has never been investigated by anyone else. Ownership is approved only when the discoverer lit fire at the source with the presence of witnesses. Then, the *konfii* ownership is given to the founder and passed down to his descendants, and the wells owners are his clan members, of course. The *coqorsa* one is when ownership of a particular geographical unit of land is officially given to the specified Borana clan. Once *coqorsa* title is recognized, ponds and *adaadii* water sources found in that catchment areas, even those investigated or invented by members of another clan belong to *coqorsa* owning clan. The recognition of *coqorsa* ownership is conducted by the assembly of the Borana headed by the *gadaa* leader.

Coqorsa is literally a type of grass, evergreen, grown over swampy area and has deep-seated roots that cannot be easily removed. According to Borana, *coqorsa* is senior to all grasses. It is mostly found at source of *adaadii* wells. Therefore, in this context *coqorsa* symbolizes seniority and perpetual ownership of water. It is also carried with ritual stick during various ceremonies. The following narration is extracted from the Borana usual pray during certain ceremonies.

<i>Ee Waaqa,</i>	Oh, God,
<i>Boorana Booroo,</i>	Make us people of <i>Booro</i> ,
<i>Boorana somaa hiddaa,</i>	Who possess strong shaft of spear,
<i>Ka hiddoo coqorsaa,</i>	Who have roots of <i>coqorsa</i> grass,
<i>Ka dhaabbatee hinjinnee, nu tolchi.</i>	Those who never fail.

Coqorsa ownership can be approved in many ways. One, *coqorsa* is approved to a given clan to defend a part of the Boranaland from their neighbors when a large number of this clan accidentally occupied areas at the boundary of the Boranaland. *Gomolee* land which is *coqorsa* of *hawaxxuu* clan of the *goona* moiety can be the best example (see section 4.1.7 in chapter four for explanation of *Gomolee*).

Second, when a person discovers a source of water at a site of a forest before anybody, the remaining sources in that system belong to the *coqorsa* of his respective clan. *Adaadii* wells

in *Areero* Forest which are Digaluu-Tiittii clan's *coqorsa* belong to this category. According to informants, *Moluu Sora* and *Moluu Guyyoo*, elders of Digaluu-Tiittii, *Adaadii Tiittisaa* the first wells among other wells in *Areero* Forest which was investigated by their own clan called *Tiittile*. And then the *coqorsa* ownership of many clusters of wells in different areas of this forest has been given to their clan.

Third, it can also be approved when two different Borana clans dispute with one another on the ownership position of a water source. In this case, when the ownership of a contested source is given to one clan, then the other clan may be given another area as *coqorsa* as a mechanism of conflict resolution. The *coqorsa* of *Hara Hawaxxuu* was given to *Hawaxxuu* clan as a result of conflict resolution made between *Hawaxxuu* and *Digaluu-Nuurtuu* clans over the ownership of *Hara Digaluu*.

There are three Borana clans that have been given the *coqorsa* owners. They are *Hawaxxuu*, *Karrayyuu-Walaabuu* and *Digaluu-Tiittii*. The *coqorsa* owner of *Digaluu-Tiittii* is over the all areas of *Areero* Forest; the ownership of land of *Goomolee*, runs from northeast of *Areero* district down to Sagan River, belongs to *Hawaxxuu* and the land between east of *Areero* Forest and *Diida Haraa* PA belongs to *Karrayyuu-Wallabuu*.

Like *tulaa* wells, utilization systems of *adaadii* are facilitated by the chosen water care-taker. Here, water care-taker usually comes from a clan of a source owner. But some times if the elders from the owner clan are not found in that locality, an elder from any Borana clan can be assigned as care-taker. A care-taker should be one who knows more about customary water management systems and is good at coordination. If he is different from well owner clan, he should be delegated by elders of well owner's clan. Although *adaadii* wells over a certain area are owned by a single or few Borana clans, other fellow Borana have right to use water from that sources.

Dhibaayyuu Eelaa

Adaadii and *tulaa* water wells have not only supplied water for livestock and domestic consumptions, but they also serve as sacred grounds where various ceremonies are performed for the well-being of people, livestock and environment. Among others, *Kuraa Adii* recites the following songs during the *dhibaayyuu* ceremony near wells:

Fororee

<i>Oo fororee;</i>	Oh, there is abundance;
<i>Fororsaan roobe;</i>	It has rained in abundance;
<i>Robee laga yaase;</i>	The rain has flooded along the dry river;
<i>Ilmee laguu baase;</i>	Creatures have saved from the risk time;
<i>Madda gabbise;</i>	There is plenty of water in water source;
<i>Diqqaa guddise;</i>	The immature beings have grown up;
<i>Guddaa gaamarse.</i>	The matured beings have lived well.

Roobaan Sii gale

<i>Oo rooban sii galee;</i>	Oh, I come back home with rain;
<i>Waareen gannaa misaa;</i>	Pre-milking/dawn grazing of main rainy season is with plenty of fresh grass;
<i>Ta bonaa furmataa;</i>	That of dry season is with reviving showers;
<i>Furmaatii roobinnaa;</i>	Be the reviving showers rain;
<i>Roobee lolaassinna.</i>	Be the showering makes flood.

Furmataa is 1-3 days showers in the dry season before the main rain comes that reduce the shortages in the dry time, and *waaree* is pre-milking grazing at dawn during the rainy season when there is abundance of fresh grass.

This is a type of *dhibaayyuu* performed near water wells by members of community and *gadaammojjii* ritual villages. *Fororee* is *dhibaayyuu* pray recited by members while walking to *dhibaayyuu* well; whereas, *roobaan sii gale* is recited while coming back home. It is conducted during dry seasons when the rainy time is coming late, or after rainy season to officially open the water wells for public use. When it is before the rain comes, it is a pray for rain, and when it is after rainy season, it is a thanks giving for abundant water in the well and let it will be blessed. Thus, the above extract depicts about seeking of abundant rain and how the rain is significant for the living beings. It also shows how the Borana belief system attached to the wells.

Pond

Like the *Tulaa* wells ponds are dug in different parts of the *gammoojjii* lands of Borana. In the vicinity of many Borana rural villages, there is at least one pond. It is originally initiated by a man either to obstruct the ongoing flooded-water while raining or to build dam along a dry river during the normal time so as to catch the rainy season water. Once a pond is initiated, Borana have well established customary systems for the expansion of the pond. That is, forcing any user of that pond to dig the pond for expanding its capacity while s/he is using it for domestic or livestock purpose. Likewise, the users are not only pushed to expand the pond, but they are also obliged to remove sediments that enter the pond as a result of runoff. Disobeying this rule is failure to getting access to water from any source throughout the Boranaland.

A pond marker and then his extended families are taken as *konfii* owners, and the ownership of the pond belong to the pioneer's clan. Most of the ponds are named after the initiators of them, whereas some others are named after the name of certain clans. This usually happened when several ponds are established at the specified site by the individuals of the same clan.

A care-taker of a pond can be from any Borana clan who respects his own assignments and fairly commits his duties and responsibilities in accordance to customary laws. Ineffective management of a pond may result in changing the care-taker at community meeting. In other words, care-taker are selected and dismissed at community meeting by the members of that community. During his management time, no one has right to get access to a water source without the knowledge of the care-taker.

Although any Borana has rights to get access to water from a given pond of his fellow Borana, there are some special modalities to be taken into account. Since ponds do not have natural spring that feed them all the time, the Borana have special rules for the management of water of the ponds. For instance, when rain water comes into the ponds, there is plenty of ground water from the other means. Thus, ponds are fenced and officially closed until to the next dry season. Closing and opening of it are conducted through the consensus reached at the community meetings.

Before the opening of the ponds, pastoral coordination meeting is summoned to identify a number of beneficiaries of the ponds that are found in their coordination. There, if the ponds are many, the one that will be reserved for dry herd (herd unit consists of bulls, oxen, young cows and dried cows usually kept at satellite camps), lactating herd (herd unit consists of milking cows and one or two bulls kept at main camps) or domestic consumption is located; or number of beneficiary allocated to each pond is identified. If there is one pond in area where there are main camps, the dry herd is usually allowed one or two watering days. Then they have to move to another place where they can have another water source. In other words, that pond will be reserved for lactating cows and domestic consumption.

In the meantime, when the amount of water in the pond tremendously goes down, and still the rainy time is not coming close, another pastoral coordination meeting is organized to further discuss on the issue. Then the remaining water is reserved for a small stocks and domestic consumption. According to *seera-aadaa haraa* (customary laws of pond), when the pond is about to dry, the final left over is reserved to domestic use.

In general, an individual Borana has right to get access to any water source of Borana in the name of being Borana. But there are rules that enable some people to claim priority use right. For instance, if the amount of water in a source getting down and let others move to another sources, the livestock of *gadaa* councilors (the incumbent and the retired ones), spiritual leaders, customary healers, blacksmiths and other respectful persons among the society have been given the priority use right. This is mainly because these people often provide free services to the community.

5.3 Pasture Management

Borana clans are not territorial based. They are rather distributed throughout the Boranaland. Thus, pasture in any part of Boranaland is a communal property among the Borana. That is why even mobility among the Borana of the Kenya and that of Ethiopia is easily managed in harmonious manner to share this scarce resource. I witnessed during the early time of this field research when a large number of the Kenyan Borana and others on the Ethiopian side took their livestock inside the *Areero* Forest and its adjacent areas for grazing. The Kenyan Borana told me that other of their members have been allowed to graze in Mooyyale-

Ethiopia, Dilloo, Dhaas, Yaaballo, Dirree, Miyoo and Taltallee districts of Borana Zone as pre-arranged by the Ethiopian Borana.

However, harvesting of this resource has its own common rules to be followed. Any Borana who wants to join other fellow Borana who are residing in another territory of Boranaland due to various factors has to communicate with existing residents before hand. For instance, he sends *abuuruu* (an “investigator”) to assess availability of pasture and water, physical and health condition of livestock and a number of users over a new area. Then if the condition of the new area is better than his residence, the man informs pastoral coordinating elders of the area and explains the condition of his area and the need to come there. Borana customary use of pasture allows a new-comer to share pasture resource in any territory of Boranaland. But what matter is that the prior settlers are responsible to decide where the new-comers should be settled. This is because in any residential unit, there are areas reserved for small stock; wet and dry seasons grazing; satellite and main camps (see Boku, 2000).

Like the water management, when amount of pasture resource is declining due to long dry season or overharvesting by the high concentration of livestock on certain grazing unit, Borana usually organize the community meeting in order to let the dry herds, together with other herds move to other direction.

Chapter Six

Impacts of Development Interventions on Customary Resource

Management

This chapter deals with various development interventions and their impacts on customary resource management systems of the Borana Oromo during the different Ethiopian regimes. The Borana Oromo were conquered and incorporated into the Ethiopian State by the Menelik-II army in 1890s (Borbor Bulee, February 4, 2010, personal communication). Before the incorporation, the Borana *gadaa* system was an independent system that governs the people and their territory.

Following the conquest, each of the successive Ethiopian government has established its own structures and super-imposed them on the Borana customary institutions of resource management. Among other things, urbanization, state structure, and pastoral development programs and policies are points to be covered. Since these interferences did not consider the local context for managing people and their resources, they caused tremendous changes on socio- cultural aspects and environment of the Borana.

6.1 Urbanization

Many of the old towns in Borana, such as *Mataa-Gafarsaa*, *Nageelle*, *Yaaballo*, *Meegga* and *Hiddii Lolaa* are found inside the Borana forest systems. The establishments of these towns were used as garrisons for the conquering army of Menelik. This conquest was followed by settlements of immigrants from the Ethiopian highland in or around the garrison towns. These settlements resulted in deforestation. Similarly, Taddesse Berisso (1995) states the objectives of the existence of towns in the conquered area of the south Ethiopia as follows:

Menilek's policy upon conquering an area in the south was to establish garrison towns at intervals throughout the region. These towns housed soldiers needed to maintain control of the region, along with officials such as tax collectors, judges, and local governors. His effort to promote urbanization was motivated by military and political factors and, therefore, the development of towns was not a genuine drive to build an urban system. Consequently, his effort did not aim to create

cities that were economically viable; rather it left a legacy whereby a new type of economically oriented urban system was superimposed on the traditional structure. These towns were thus highly dependent on the exploitation of the peasant produces for their survival and on the surrounding forests for firewood and wood for construction. Since there were no policies to regulate forest use, towns had been, and still are, a threat to the surrounding forests.

As so far discussed, Borana value their forestlands as the sacred grounds and so that they have norms and systems to control these lands. But the highland immigrants, as well as the conquering army of Menelik did not have that value to control the forested areas. Therefore, they produced the new exploitation systems inside the forests. These systems caused the following problems: deforestation, lack of access to the ceremonial grounds and other forest resources for local community. For instance, *Mataa-Gafarsaa* town (literally ‘town of head of buffalo’) was established where still there are two sacred shrines (*garbii* and *ejersa* trees) stand at its center (see plate 1 & 2).

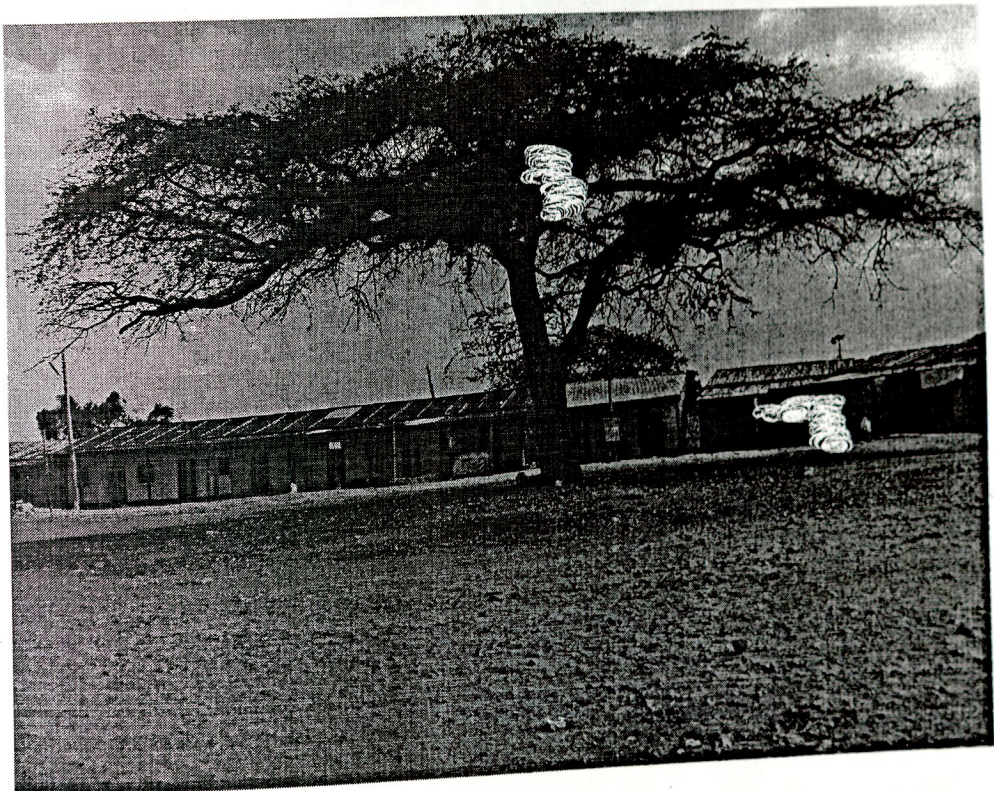


Plate 1: *Garbii Areeroo*, holy tree at center of *Mataa-Gafarsaa* town

According to the oral history, even the town received its name *Mataa-Gafarsaa* from one of those shrine trees. *Sorooroo Raroo* narrates the story as follows:

In the past, on the first day when a Borana group led by *Abbayii Baabboo* arrived at *Googee Rawwee*, today *Mataa-Gafarsaa*, a buffalo rushed out to the group from the forest. Then a group member by the name *Waaji* pointed spear towards it and said, “*Dambaar! Dambaar!* – Be patient! Be patient!” Immediately, the buffalo fell down and died. Then the group put its head between branches of a big *ejersa* tree for belief system. Currently the dried stub of that tree stands at center of the town.

Since then, the name of this area is officially known as *Mataa-Gafarsaa/ Mataa-Gafarsaa Waaji* and that *ejersa* tree used to be sacred shrine for the Borana *gadaa* ritual villages. But now, due to construction of houses round this shrine, the tree is getting dry and the indigenous community has no access to it to perform their periodical ceremonies under it (see plate 2).

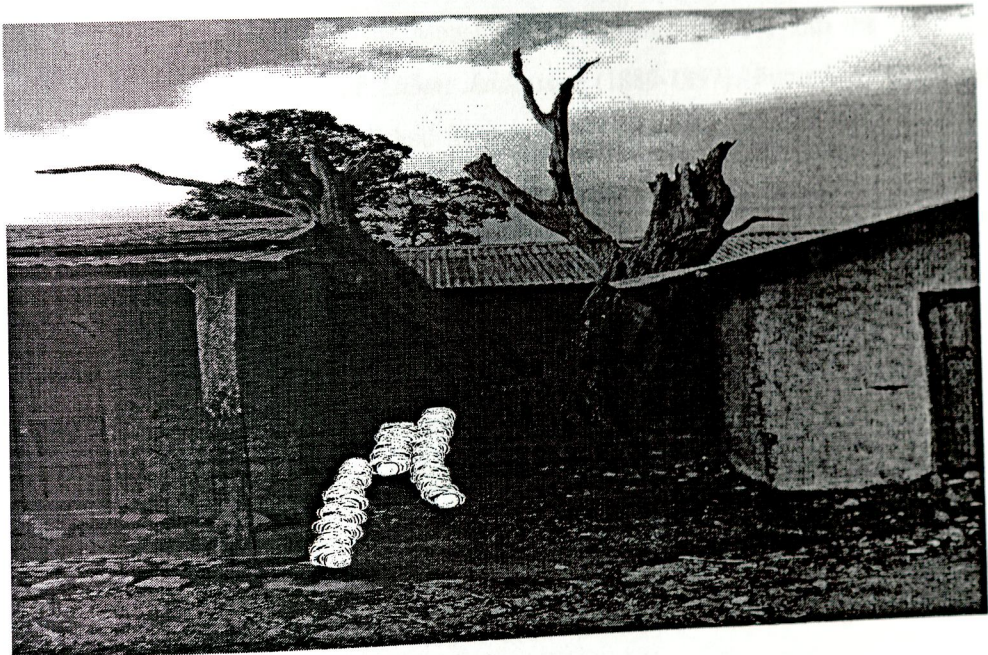


Plate 2: Stub of the holy tree of *Mataa-Gafarsaa*

Moreover, expansion of construction of houses in many towns denied Borana to get access to their own *adaadii* water sources which they used for various ritual purposes and other

consumptions. In or around *Mataa-Gafarsaa*, *Meegga*, *Yaaballo* and *Nageelle* towns there are cluster of water sources that the Borana were obstructed from using.

In addition to firewood collection, the urban residents also introduced logging of forest trees, particularly the juniper for house construction in towns in Borana zone. As urban centers are expanded in many places of Borana, logging of forest trees and commercializing of them increased. Besides, the urban dwellers and the poor peri-urban immigrants who had agricultural background commenced farmlands inside the forests. This unsustainable exploitation of forest has brought about degradation and deforestation of forest lands in the vicinity of these settlements. This will also be discussed at length in section 6.3.1.2 of this chapter.

6.2 State Structure

6.2.1 The Imperial Period (1890s-1974)

Borana were subjugated by the Menelik army and incorporated into the Ethiopian state during the *Gadaa* period of *Liiban Jaldeessaa* (1889-1897). Immediately following the incorporation, the state established its own structure which was quite different from the Borana. Power was shared equally along the two major moieties' *Qaalluu*. That is, the *Qaalluu* of *Odituu* (*goona*) and the *Qaalluu* of *Karrayyuu* (*sabbo*) were given the Ethiopian title called *balbahat*. Accordingly, *Annaa Boruu* of *Odituu* and *Geedoo Jiloo* of *Karrayyuu* and their descendants represented the Borana.

Borana informants assert that the state provided the representation of the Borana to the *Warra Qaalluu* ("people of the *qaalluu* lineage") because the power of *qaalluu* is hereditary that resembles the Imperial system of the Ethiopian state. Indeed, the power of *balabat* was hereditary. In the contrary, a *gadaa* leading is elective, and a person's term of office changes every eight-year. This was considered inconvenient by the Imperial rule.

The state structures working in the community were the *balabat*, the *inderasee* which is corrupted by Borana as *andarasee*, the *qoroo* and the *harka*. The *balabat* is a higher post given to very few people who represent the central government at the community level. *Andarasee* is a post given to those who represent the *balabat* in a certain geographical unit.

Qoroo is a lower post than *balabat* which is appointed by the government to govern one or two *maddas*. *Harka* is lower post that represents the *qoroo* in his absence

During those days, the major roles of the state representatives at community level were to assign and collect tax, deal with conflicts and handle the election of customary leaders, including the *gadaa* councilors. However, as we have already seen, election of *gadaa* councilors and governing various institutions at lower levels are mainly the authority of the *gadaa* institution rather than the *qaalluu* institution.

Even though they were assigned by the state structure, many of the community leaders of those times were elderly people who had good knowledge of values and norms of customary systems. Thus, customary resource management systems in various geographical units, such as *ollaa*, *reera*, *madda* and *dheeda*, of the Boranaland were to some extent running as customary systems. But this does not mean that there was no intervention of state structure into customary system of resource management. For instance, *Moluu Soraa* and *Moluu Guyyoo* narrate the following case.

Case-3

The *Areero* district governor of the Imperial time was a Borana, belongs to *Digaluu-Eemmajii* subclan of *Digaluu* clan of *sabbo* moiety. He had a car and many herding units of cattle. He controlled the management of all water wells found in *Areero* Forest, which belong to *coqorsa* owner of *Digaluu-Tiittii*, another subclan of *Digaluu* clan.

He assigned water care-takers only from his own subclan; monopolized some wells to be used only by his cattle and others to wash his car. One day, he denied the retired *gadaa* leader, *Taadhotee Adii*, who belongs to clan that owns *Areero* wells and *Qaamphee Diidoo*, *Warr-jiddaa* clan which has *sunsuma* relation with owning clan, to get access to *Areero* wells. Then both moved to other water sources of Borana, outside of the district.

Thereafter, since this rule breaks the Borana belief that allows a man free use of water from his fellow *sunsuma*'s source and a *gadaa* leader too from any source of Borana, all wells of *Areero* forest uniformly dried up for sometimes. Finally, the governor himself confessed his fault and went to *Qaamphee*'s residence carrying around cultural objects

according to Borana custom so as to request for forgiveness. *Qaamphee* accepted the request and the wells became full of water again.

In the first place, this is violation of the Borana customary water management systems, which provide priority right to a *gadaa* leader to get access to water source of the Borana in general and his own clan in particular. It also breaks the Borana belief system that allows a man free use of water from his fellow *sunsuma*'s source. Thus, the result reveals that the Borana resource management systems have already attached to their belief systems and it is believed that violation of the systems may harm a wrongdoer or nature itself.

6.2.2 The Derg Period (1975-1991)

This time was commenced with the Proclamation of Land Reform and 'Development through Co-operation Campaign' of 1975/76 to transform the old order and the oppressive administrative arrangements of the Imperial era in Ethiopia (Helland, 2000). It was the end of *balabat* that came up with the establishment of a new territorial based government political structure known as *kebele* which is equivalent to Pastoralist Associations (PA). The Ethiopian state has established PA since 1978 with specific aim of facilitating active resource management to avoid environmental damage and providing services to pastoralists as cheaply and as efficiently as possible (Helland, 1997). In Borana, the PA replaced the customary units of land, a *madda* (Hogg, 1993).

Still, this system did not incorporate the customary leaders of resource management at different units. It had executive, controlling and social court committees and other various subordinates at different administrative levels in the community. Particularly, a secretary of the executive committee was from those who could read and write and the remaining were elderly people of a community members. In most cases, those leaders were selected by the members of their respective PAs with reference to their ability to play the role of leadership position and knowledge of customary systems. Since the formation of the PA, the NGOs and the government development programs should reach the community only through the consultation of PA leaders, without considering the potential of indigenous knowledge.

During the Derg, some changes were made on the election of customary leaders and customary resource management systems. Among others, the leading role of election of

customary leaders, particularly the *gadaa* councilors, which was snatched by *balabats* from the *gadaa* leaders, was restored to the hands of *gadaa* leaders at *Gumii Gaayoo* in 1980. Thereafter, the issues pertain to election of *gadaa* councilors fully administered by the customary leaders of *gadaa* institution. Although the PA leaders were different people from customary leaders, in the early period of this regime resource management at different units was relatively according to customary system. But, during the end of this period, division into PAs brought about resource based inter-PA conflicts along the imaginary border lines of various PAs of Boranaland. Even inter-PA mobility for harvesting water and pasture was not allowed without showing supportive letter from one's respective PA. Thus, these conflicts hindered mobility of the Borana pastoralists to certain territories of their land.

6.2.3 Post 1991

The framework of external divisions of the territories into PAs has been unchanged under the current administrative structure. But the internal structures and ways of assigning leaders have changed. For instance, the PA leaders in different geographical units are selected on the basis of their participation in the members of the ruling party. This is quite different from selecting customary leaders at various territorial units, which is based on one's ability to manage things. The PA leaders are also young age people who are immature to take the leadership position at the community level as to Borana custom.

Besides, the role of many customary institutions (*ollaa, reera, madda ...*) and their leaders; the role of elderly people and *ex-gadaa* councilors have been ignored by the misrepresentation of the new government structure. For instance, the following customary structures were overlapped with parallel government structures:

Customary Structure

Government Structure

Shanacha

Gooxii

Ollaa

Garee

Reera

Zoonii

Madda

Ganda

Ganda is an Oromo term used instead of PA, and *zoonii* in this case refers to cluster of villages. *Garee* comprises about 25-29 households and *gooxii* is another administrative unit within *Garee*. These government structures institutionally and functionally replaced the customary ones. This is confirmed by extract from *Yaaballo Statement* made on *An Action-Research Workshop of the Borana Conserved Landscape*, July 22, 2007, Yaaballo, which says,

“... in Ethiopia there is no a clear distinction between the roles and mandate of government and the roles of customary institutions, and that in our territory the government structure is replacing the customary structure at all levels down to the village, and in many sectors, including the management of natural resources,” (Bassi and Sora Adii, 2007).

The customary structure of *ollaa* and its leader is still there, but the government has established *garee* instead of *ollaa*. The *garee* has its own leader different from head of village. A *garee* leader is too young and he is member of the ruling political party and selected by his fellow party members at PA meeting. He represents his village at different affairs. One of my informants was a retired *gadaa* councilor and head of his village in customary way. According to his view; he is fully consulted on the issues of his respective clan, but rarely on common resource management and resolving conflicts. He emphasizes that the leaders of government structures at the PA level do no respect customary leaders as other fellow Borana do.

In comparison with other successive Ethiopian governments, the current government seems to have positive attitude towards the *gadaa* institution, but the way the government is treating *gadaa* is by far eroding our customary system. For instance, from different types of councilors of the three mobile ritual villages in a *gadaa* office, the state structure is giving due attention only to a *gadaa leader* who is leading a class in power. It also ignored the roles of various lower level customary institutions at different units. So, this is quite different from the *gadaa* structure. Customarily, it is not a single person or a single institution; rather the harmonization of different institutions that constituted the *gadaa* system as a whole.

In addition to, many of the PA leaders consider natural resources in their respective administrative areas as their own private property rather than communal one. For instance, some of them illegally provide farmland to private owners; intervene in the role of water care-takers; inhabit in the buffer areas between two adjacent PAs which are not allowed for a settlement; and construct private *kaloo*. Among other things, one of the cases narrated by informants to support these views is as follows:

Case-4

Midanuu is a buffer zone found at the border of *Halloona* PA of *Arero* district and at the middle of *Diida Haraa* and *Weeb* PAs of *Yaaballo* and *Arero* districts respectively. A rich man and PA leader from *Halloona* settled in that area before 10 years and established there a big private *kaloo*. Then on the several community meetings, the participants decided to dissolve his settlement. But after accepting the decisions he did not put them into practice by providing groundless reasons. Finally, the issue procedurally reported to *gadaa*, district and zonal offices. His settlement has not yet removed from there.

On January 14, 2010, during my field work I attended a pastoral coordination meeting held at *Gadaa* Ritual Village of *Arboora*. Unfortunately, that meeting was not successful due to drop out of expected participants and then it was postponed to another time. From the presentees, some elders told me that the objectives of the intended meeting were to discourage illegal settlements and private *kaloos* in *Areero* district. Of the many cases, they told me the above one is included.

However, this does not mean that *gadaa* structure is totally passive to manage natural resources in its environment and to settle conflicts on those resources. For instance, on March 14, 2010, I also attended a meeting on inter-PA resource based conflict which was held at *Gadaa Arbooraa* and summary of the case narrated as follows:

Case- 5

Maddoo Abbameegaa is located between *Qaawaa* PA of *Arreero* district and *Danbalaa Baddanaa* and *Hiigo* PAs of *Dirree* district. It is an open grazing, reserved for the settlements of these PAs. But before four years, a village from *Qaawaa* PA camped over

this area. Then elders, past *gadaa* councilors and PA leaders from the three PAs organized the meetings and discussed on illegal settlement of the village. But they disagreed on the situation as members of PA of the village supported its settlement and others took the other side. Then, the case was reported to *Gadaa Arbooraa* and the *gadaa* organized meeting on March 14, 2010.

On the meeting, the *gadaa* councilors took ideas from both sides. After holding a long discussion and they persuaded supporters of the settlement of the village in the way that the village is not in the right place and it has to be removed from that area. They all agreed that the village must leave the area within two months. Finally, the incumbent *gadaa* councilors gave mandate for the next process to the past *gadaa* councilors from the both disputants.

This shows that the prevalence of inter-PA conflict and how people take side of their own PA without referring to customary resource management system. It also indicates that how *gadaa* structure still playing its role regardless of superimposing of the state structure.

6.3 Pastoral Development Program

Pastoralist population of the world is estimated to be 30-40 million, of which Africa shares about 15-20 million (Sandford, 1983 cited in Tamene, 1996). Tamene also suggests that about 60% of African continent is estimated arid and semi-arid areas where peoples depend on pastoral way of life. Regardless of these contributions to the continental affairs, many developers used to undermine pastoral production system. That is, the past pastoral development policies set for many African societies were inappropriate, as they did not consider the customary resource management systems. For instance, researchers, policy-makers and developers' views pastoralism as traditional strategies for livestock production and land use are inappropriate to promote commercialization and change (Sandford, 1983 cited in Coppock, 1994). Sandford further states their views that pastoral livestock are thought to cause a great threat in degrading rangeland environments because of the apparent reluctance of pastoralists to market animals and destock.

Pastoralists constitute 12% of the total Ethiopian population occupying the arid and semi-arid regions located at the peripheral areas of the country. They comprise 29 different ethnic

groups of the country. Pastoralism provides direct employment and livelihood to over 7.7 million people and home for 42% of the national livestock population (Coppock, 1994 cited in Sora Adi, 2007).

Despite all these contributions to the socio-economic value of the country, very little consideration was given to the Ethiopian pastoral areas until mid-1960s (Solomon, 1996). From 1960s onward, lots of development activities have been undertaken to improve infrastructure of the pastoral community. However, the past development interventions among the pastoral areas of Ethiopia did not take to account the customary system of resource management.

The past rangeland development interventions of Ethiopia were based on the theory of “tragedy of the commons” which advocates that grazing lands are used communally while livestock are owned individually (Ayana & Adugna, 2006:110 and Tadesse, 2000:90). As it has already mentioned in the chapter two of this thesis, this theory implies that every user of the common-pool resources has access to a resource but nobody takes care of it. It was also believed that pastoralists would like to maximize their herds at the expense of communally owned grazing lands which resulted in land degradation. Ayana and Adugna further state that since the policy-makers preconceived concepts of settlement and ranching, they did not consider livestock management, which was based on splitting and movement of herds between wet and dry seasons grazing lands.

In addition to this, Tadesse (2006) states that theories of Unilineal Evolutionary and the “Cattle Complex” are another theories that influenced the pastoral development interventions in Ethiopia in particular, and Africa in general. The unilineal Evolutionary theory assumes that the economic development advanced from hunting- and- gathering to horticulture and pastoralism and then to agriculture and finally to industrialization (ibid). In other words, human society develops from simple to complex technologies in unilineal manner. So in Ethiopian case, pastoral economy has to develop to agricultural production. According to the “Cattle Complex” theorists, pastoralists possess vast herds for cultural and social values instead of economic/ ecological rational (ibid). Regarding this, the Borana rangeland was one of the focused areas in the past for the pastoral development program of the country.

6.3.1 Pastoral Development Programs in Borana

Several pastoral development projects were implemented in Boranaland to improve the pastoral production system since 1960s. First, in 1965, a pilot project was initiated by the Ethiopian Government in collaboration with USAID in the *Diida Haraa* PA of *Yaaballo* district. Second, Second Livestock Development Project (SLDP) which was funded by the World Bank initiated in 1973. Third, the Southern Rangelands Development Unit (SORDU) under the Third Livestock Development Project (TLDP) was operated between 1975-1984 with donation of World Bank and African Development Bank (Ayana and Adugna, 2006; Taddese, 2006; Boku, 2000; Hogg, 1996; Coppock, 1994 and Solomon, 1996). The SORDU under the TLDP was operational till recently with funding from the Ethiopian Government

The objectives of these development programs were overall to improve animal health status and market outlets that ahead to dramatic increases in cattle off-take for domestic consumption and export. The policy implication was supposed to lead to higher incomes and an improve standard of living for the Borana and to enhance their contribution to the national economy. The major activities of these programs were construction of ponds, improvement of infrastructure (roads and livestock markets), improvement of veterinary services and oppressing customary rangeland buring system to control bush invasion. Although the preplanned ideas for live animal off-take for domestic consumption and export were not practically in place, the remaining planned activites were implemented.

Ironically, although spending millions of dollars on these programs, the net impacts of these interventions were larger population of cattle that degraded the land and high concentration of human population around water points. All these, finally, resulted in invasion and domination of rangeland by woody species and increasing human dependent on relief and rehabilitation (Coppock, 1994; Hogg, 1996; Taddese, 2006 & Ayana and Adugna, 2006; Gufu, 1998). These projects failed to achieve its objectives because the planning and implementation approaches used had little participation of the local people, and considered less the customary natural resource management systems. Consequently, the following research findings show the impacts of the above development interventions.

In Borana, 82.2% of the rangelands are threatened by a combination of bush encroachment, unpalatable forbs and shrubs. Only 17.2% of the rangelands were free from either bush encroachment or invasion by unpalatable forbs. Bush encroachment is in climax stages in 24.1% of the rangelands. In 25.9% of the rangelands, changes in the herbaceous layer were caused by unpalatable forbs (Gufu, 1998 cited in Ayana and Adugna, 2006:15).

In addition to natural growth, there are factors that contribute to growth of human and animal population among the Borana. Of these, improvement of human health services since the Ethiopian revolution of 1974 and that of livestock since the introduction of the above projects are the major ones (Helland, 1991).

Gurroo Diidaa, a Borana elder, confirms that the above development interventions have brought radical changes on the Borana rangeland ecology and their pastoralism way of life as well. He narrates the following case from his experiences on the impacts of development interventions in *Diida Haraa* PA of *Yaaballo* district of Borana zone.

Case-6

Diida Haraa PA is situated at 30km east of *Yaaballo* district. It covers large areas along *Areero-Yaaballo* road. It was one of the prominent wet seasons grazing areas of the Borana rangeland before the above interventions. *Gurroo* remembers that *Diida Haraa* used to be a home for many wild animals such as ostrich, oryx, hartebeest, gazelle, zebra, lion, and so on. In the course of the development program, SORDU built eight ponds in *Diida Haraa*. Then many Borana pastoralists who resided around the *tulaa* wells came and settled around the ponds. *He* also remembers that SORDU provided the annual vaccination campaign for livestock and constructed many roads.

As a result of this, improvement of veterinary campaigns eliminated the outbreak of cattle diseases such as rinder-pest, lung disease and others. In the contrary, construction of crowded ponds increased a number of livestock, concentration of human population around ponds and created sedentarization. *He* further recalls that many of the settlements currently found in *Diida Haraa* were there for about 30 years. Consequently, wild animals like lion, oryx and harterbeast were extinct; overpopulation

caused rangeland degradation that resulted in bush invasion. He bitterly remembers that in the past, inhabitants of *Diida Haraa* faced difficulty to find thorny bush for fencing livestock enclosure and to collect firewood. But, now, the disadvantageous bush surprisingly invaded the all areas and displaced the grass.

He finally concludes that the livestock of inhabitants of *Diida Haraa* by now depend on other grazing areas of Boranaland, particularly in *Goomolee* area (part of *Oobada* Forest) and *Areero* Forest. This is creating pressure on forest and competition over forest resources between Borana and their neighbors and/or intra-Borana.

6.3.1.1 Water Development

A lot of water development programs have been implemented by Borana themselves, government agency and NGOs in the Boranaland. Of these, the main focus of this topic is to those which highly affected the customary resource management systems. Accordingly, the machine built ponds and motorized bore-hole established by government and NGOs are the major ones. Development of the ponds was aimed to reduce concentration of population around dry season grazing area by establishing water ponds in the wet season grazing area. Thus, this policy overlooked seasonal basis mobility of pastoralists due to aridity nature of their environment that helps the effective management of rangeland degradation. As Tadesse (2006:91) suggests, the implication of this policy was not to build on traditional pastoral mode of production rather to transfer it to agriculture mode of production in order to sedentarize the pastoralists. Furthermore, the rangelands used by the newly established permanent ponds were overstocked, leading to severe ecological degradation (Gufu, 1998).

According to Borana Zone Water Resource Development officer, the establishment of motorized water points is to attain the national conscious of the water development that encourages availability of potable water within 1.5 km distance in the rural areas of the country. This is also opposed to Borana customary water development system that considered the various territorial units of settlements. Customarily, Borana can have at least 30-40km distance between two permanent water sources, particularly *tulaa* wells, to incorporate the effective management of the pasture land into the water management system.

Management of these water points is quite different from the Bomana customary systems of water use. In the Borana custom, ownership right of water points has been given to identifiable clan under which the management is supervised. The access to the customary water ponds has no need to pay for any user. But access to the motorized water points needs one to pay in expense of his/her use. This payment is collected for the purchase of gas-oil and replacement of spare-parts. Besides, after the water points had been established, developers usually handed over them to a respective PA leader, as they do not belong to any clan. Then the PA leader formed committee or care takers who closely supervised the systems.

Moreover, there is huge ongoing water development project running by Oromia Water Enterprise Agency in pastoral area of Borana. It has been planned to establish motorized bore-holes of water in different points. Then these systems will be joined together through pipe lines and cover about 2000km areas. Some of my informants have little knowledge about this project; whereas, others are reluctant to share their view on it. Is it really the project aimed to improve pastoralism or to encourage sedentarism? Not clear. If the objectives and implementation of this project do not consider the reasons for use failure of past water development program in pastoral areas of Borana, I fear that the impacts of this project will be the end of pastoralism in Boranaland.

6.3.1.2 Farmland Expansion

Borana are the pastoral society that predominantly depends on livestock economy. However, crop cultivation has been expanding in many places of Boranaland since the Menelik conquest. The introduction of agriculture was commenced by Menelik's soldier-settlers and highland immigrants who settled around the garrison towns (Helland, 2000). Helland further states that many of the agricultural land around these towns belong to the descendants of these settlers. Besides, farming is also practiced by neighboring groups such as the Konso and the Burji who settled in Boranaland (Ibid). The Borana informants confirm that many farmlands at the foot of *Areero* Mountain belong to town dwellers that originally came from other areas of the country.

The informants have also told that the Ethiopian government has been implementing crop production policy in the Borana pastoral area for rural development program since downfall

of the Imperial régime. Today, those Borana who are residing around the forest areas and along the bottomlands have picked up agriculture practices to diversify their livelihood.

Besides, establishment and consolidation of villagization and resettlement schemes were some of the Ethiopian government strategies taken to strength the socio-economic structure of the rural people since socialist revolution of 1974 (Tadesse Berisso, 1995). As one of these programs, the government had resettled about 300 households at *Bokdha*, inside the *Areero* Forest, following the severe drought of the year 1984-85. These resettlers were drawn from different areas of the Boranaland that were highly affected by the drought. As of informants from this resettlement, they were resettled there because this forest area is wet enough to crop production and then they have been keeping cultivation inside the forest. But this has negative effects on the forest lands. According to a forestry worker at *Areero* district, the density condition of the forest areas adjacent to this settlement is by far getting thinner and thinner due to illegal logging to commercialize timbers.

However, according to the Borana custom, the bottomlands are often reserved for grazing of small stock and forestlands are reserved for dry seasons grazing. Moreover, cutting of big trees and cultivating along the forests are contradicting the Borana customary law for forest resource management and doing that used to enforce law. For instance, Gufu (1996) states that many Borana violated custom and started cultivating in the forest, then *Daawwee Gobboo*, a *gadaa* leader (1697-1705), organized group of people to punish those who cultivated in the forest by burning their crops, and customary leaders like *hayyuus* were strangled.

After all, agriculture in the Boranaland is unsustainable due to physical aridity of the pastoral land. According to the Borana elders, those Borana who practice agriculture may benefit from its production once in six years due to rain failure. For this reason, farmlands are rather brought about rangeland encroachment, competition over resources and deforestation. Regarding farm expansion, Coppock (1994) suggests that about 2-3.4% areas of the Boranaland are under cultivation.

Case-7

Badhaasa is, a part of *Areero* Forest, found in *Haroo Diimtuu* PA of *Areero* district .It was where the mobile ritual village of *Gadaa Arbooraa (Yaa`a Guyyoo Gobbaa)* sited during my field work in *Areero*. On January 14, 2010, I attended a meeting at *Areero* District Administrator Office on which the members of ritual village of *Arboora* was accused of by some people from *Haroo Diimtuu* PA. They were accused because their cattle got into the accusers' farmlands. Finally, the district administrator settled the case according to the Borana custom.

This portrays that how expansion of farmlands inside the forest hinders the settlements of the mobile ritual villages who usually reside in the forests for the customary belief systems. It also reveals how communal land tenure system changed into private owning, which creates conflicts among the community.

6.3.1.3 Participatory Forest Management (PFM)

Before the incorporation of the Borana into the modern Ethiopian state, the Borana managed the forests through their customary leaders based in various territorial units. After the incorporation, the Boranaland together with its resources such as forest was nationalized. Then the management of forest was grabbed from the community and given to the forest guards who were assigned by a government agency. Under this condition, over-exploitation of forest resources was accelerated due to urbanization, selling of timber and firewood's and expansion of farmlands. It was under this pressure the SOS Sahel, an NGO, came up with idea of Participatory Forest Management.

Participatory Forest Management was initiated by SOS Sahel in three National Forests of Boranaland, namely *Negeelle*, *Areero* and *Yaaballo* Forests. The PFM project was implemented from 2003-2007.

According to SOS Sahel *Areero* Field worker, the PFM project has formed many forest management groups at different administrative units: Community, *Madda* Level Elders, block Level Elders, District Level Elders (members are District NRM, Justice, police and Administration offices; PA level DA, elders and *Gadaa* representatives) and General

Assembly. This management groups were built after stakeholders' analysis had been researched and built up on customary resource management systems.

The PFM groups have received legal certificate as agreement made between community and their respective District Pastoral Development Office on behalf of Oromia Agriculture and Rural Development Bureau. At early phase-out of the project the SOS Sahel handed over the PFM groups to the relevant government office. Then after government had done structural adjustment for forest management, the agreement was also made between local community and District Forest and Wildlife Enterprise Office.

The *Areero* District Forest and Wildlife Enterprise expert informed me that the approaches used to organize technical trainings for the PFM group members had got problems. For instance, during the life span of the project, when trainings and quarterly forest management meetings were organized, the participants were paid per diem by the SOS Sahel. That incentive enabled the groups to establish fair management systems and hence, the forest condition was improved during the life of project. After the phase-out of the project, the government faced shortage of budget to organize those monitoring meetings. Then the groups were reluctant to come for meeting without payment.

Besides, if a member of a PFM group observes illegal exploitation inside the forest, s/he reports to the PFM group in his/her respective area. If the case cannot be resolved there, it will be taken to court. But the court system does not work effectively in the issue of forest management. There is also interference of PA leaders in the role of PFM groups. Thus, the ineffective judgments in the courts and interference of PA administration fade up some members of the PFM groups to expose the illegal extractors of timbers and other misuse of the forest. Thus, sustainability of this PFM is under question unless other options are formulated. Finally, the current condition of the forest is far below to the situation when the PFM Project was operational.

When I asked the paradox behind the name of the new forest agency, Oromia Forest and Wildlife Enterprise, which was established on devastated forests in the country, he replied that what matter is how to utilize forest; not the existence of the organization. He added that the objectives of this agency are to manage and conserve the existing forests; to enhance

development of government and community forests; to maximize income/to utilize forest in a sustainable way, and to expand activities for social and economic development.

Nuuraa Diidaa, a Borana elder, narrates how the results of the state interventions affected the forest resources in the Boranaland as follows:

Case-8

Immediately following the incorporation of the Borana into the modern Ethiopian state, some Somali pastoralist groups and others from the highlands of Ethiopia who are culturally different from Borana came to reside in the Boranaland. As urbanization increased, these immigrant people started overexploitation of forest for the selling of timber and firewood to town dwellers. On top of this, the government administration ignored the customary resource management systems, and nationalized the land ownership and its resources, particularly forest. Since the customary institutions have been denied their power of protecting the forest, overharvesting of forest resources gradually increased. For instance, some people were licensed to use the forest ground for crop cultivation. *Nuuraa* bitterly remembers the deforestation processes as follows: "Forest resources I used to know in the Borana forests during my early childhood had gone away: *Lattuu Liiban* ('chat' of Liiban) which was a natural forest only found in *Manquubsa* Forest system, and used on *gadaa* ceremonial occasions; rhino, buffalo, elephants, giraffe and so on are now extinct from our land."

Only very recently the government started a discourse about participatory forest management system after a significant of the forest had gone. The local people explain this with proverb, "*Waraabessa dabree Sareen dutti*" ("A dog barks after a hyena left.") Therefore, the main causes of deforestation are commercialization of timber and firewood, weakening of customary institutions and cultivation inside the forestlands.

In general, the above interventions have caused several impacts in the pastoral production system of Borana: the roles of customary institutions on resource management were superimposed by the State structure; Borana rangeland was degraded due to over population and inappropriate rural development strategies; Borana rangeland shrank because of farmland expansion, bush invasion and expansion of neighboring pastoralists. This is now creating high pressure on the forestlands, even during the wet months of a year when in principle livestock used to graze in a dry land.

Chapter Seven

Summary and Conclusion

7.1 Summary

Gadaa institution had been the indigenous governance system of the Borana Oromo before the Boranaland was conquered and incorporated into the Ethiopian State by the military of Menelik II in 1890s. Under the governance of *gadaa* institution there were/are several structured institutions at different units of Borana territories. It was through the manifestation of these governance structures that all the affairs of Borana including social, political, economic and ritual issues used to be regulated.

However, Ibrahim (2005) states that after the conquest, the *gadaa* lost its government status at the national level and subsequently used as the Borana Oromo “traditional” institution in the eyes of historians, politicians, anthropologists, sociologists, etc. But, the Borana Oromo are still electing their customary leaders through *gadaa* system every eight years and they are most known as “traditional” mainly because they preserved the *gadaa* system (ibid). Besides, Asmarom (2000) suggests that the roles of *gadaa* institution are now eroding through time due to colonization pressures, though its functions are particularly active among the Borana Oromo.

Several pastoral development projects and policies were carried out in the Boranaland since mid-1960s. The aim of these programs was to increase pastoral productivity. For this purpose, investments like water development, veterinary services and agricultural extension were carried out, but they failed to attain the intended outcomes. These were because the interventions were characterized by less participation of local people and poor understanding of pastoral systems. They were rather top-down. Boku and Irwin (2003) state that the past development interventions implemented in the Boranaland ignored the customary systems of resource management.

Thus, this study is planned to investigate the long-standing of academic discourse on the impacts of development interventions on customary institutions of forest resource management. The study has raised some questions to deal with this hypothetical problem:

which institutions are responsible to manage forest resource in Borana custom? How did Borana customary-laws conserve forest lands before the interventions by other development actors? What do the Borana benefit from forest resources? Do Borana symbolically associate forest lands with any of their cultural practices? How often development agents incorporate the customary institutions into development activities? What are the major impacts of development interventions on resource management and socio-cultural affairs? For the data gathering and analysis, the qualitative methods that embraced the primary and secondary sources and ‘theory of common-pool resources’ were used, respectively. Consequently, the study has depicted the following findings.

7.1.1 Change and Continuity on Customary Forest Management

According to the Borana, Forest is an area of land naturally blessed with evergreen plant species, cool weather, huge and tall trees, multiple water springs and relatively long rainy time. Thus, Borana consider the forestland as a sacred ground where the Borana mobile ritual villages reside and can have many holy shrines under which ritual ceremonies are seasonally performed. It is, again, where ceremonial sticks and firewood are collected; it is a source of wild food and adaadii wells.

Forestland is communal property of Borana that needs collective management. Culturally, forest land is a sacred ground and so that killing of wild game, cutting all branches of a tree or cutting it at its lower stem, over-exploitation of trees for preparing settlement and any kind of misbehaving inside the forest is prohibited. Since community associate rules for forest management with their belief systems, every community member respects these rules.

However, Since the Borana incorporation into the Ethiopian State, new people from different cultural background, urbanization and government policies for resource management and rural development brought changes on customary forest management systems. Among others, urbanization requires many timbers for house construction that triggered commercialization of timber. Urbanization also obstructs the indigenous people to get access of holy shrines and water sources. Government nationalized land ownership with its resources and then introduced forest agency and guards, resettlement and crop cultivation inside the forest. Huge water development projects were undertaken in wet season grazing areas that resulted in

over-population, restriction of pastoralist mobility and bush invasion. The Borana rangeland has been shrunk due to invasion of bush, expansion of farmland and neighboring pastoralists. These results caused pressure on forestland and deforestation.

Now, Borana are predominantly performing those belief systems pertain to forest resource as a means of forest management. Different social organizations managing resources at their respective unit more or less play their roles. This is to say that the customary structures are still there. But because of overlaying national forest management policy on the Borana customary resource management systems, these systems are not in the position of undertaking their roles effectively.

7.1.2 Change and Continuity on Customary Water Management

Management of water sources that has been dealt with in this study is those sources established through the customary system, such as pond, *adaadii* and *tulaa* wells. The *adaadii* source usually found at a swampy area in the foot of forested mountain, whereas pond and *tulaa* sources are excavated in the drylands. Management of these sources is performed through facilitation of assigned care-taker(s).

Excavation of *tulaa* requires high labor force, long time and much economy, and thus, it is carried out through clan cooperation. Its use right often limits to the respective clan members. Some times social relationship issue like village affiliate, friendship, in-law and inter-clan relationship are considered to use *tulaa* water

The ownership of water sources can be traced through *konfii* or *coqorsa* title based on clan association. Even though the ownership title traced through clan association, a *Borana* custom allows a member of Borana to use water from any source of *adaadii* and pond that belongs to a fellow Borana clan. Excavation of pond for expanding its capacity is public affairs after an *abbaa konfii* starts digging on the first day.

Since the ownership of these resources is semi-private and less intervention was made from outsiders in the customary water management system, the management of these resources is relatively used according to the Borana rules of water management. But there are some

irregularities observed on pond management: removing sediments while using pond water, fencing and regular cleaning in the pond compound.

7.1.3 Change and Continuity on Customary Pasture Management

As to the Borana custom, every Borana has a right to move and use pasture from any territory of Boranaland. But there are rules to be followed for pasture management. These rules can be general or specific to certain territorial organizations.

Borana have systems of territorial organization which is not based on clan association and free of family affiliation. These territorial organizations are *warra*, *shanacha*, *ollaa*, *reera*, *madda*, *dheeda*, *liiban* and *dirree*. Each of this origination has its own customary leader(s) who has a role to play in the management of resource in his respective territory. In many Borana territorial organizations or between the adjacent territories, there are parts of pastureland reserved for small stock and seasonal grazing. Every Borana who wants to use pasture outside of his own territory, first has to contact the customary leaders of that locality, and then respect their rules while staying with them.

However, interventions of government structures in the customary pasture resource management systems and development interventions in the Borana pastoral land have weakened customary pasture management system. Accordingly, roles of many customary structures are replaced by the government structure; Development program in the Borana pastoral area resulted in population pressure over rangeland; and rangeland has encroached by crop cultivation, expansion of neighboring pastoralists and invasion of bush.

Consequently, many changes have been appeared: these are most of the PA leaders are young age people who have less knowledge of customary pasture management systems; there are disputes over resources among fellow Borana who lived in adjacent PAs; shortage of land for seasonal grazing systems and privatizing of the communal land in few area. But still, there are practices of pastoral mobility among Borana, though in some areas there is restriction for the mobility. The structure of customary territorial organizations is being practiced. In some areas, elderly people are playing their roles to manage pasture resource with reference to Borana custom.

7.2 Conclusion

Forest resources are collective property of the whole Borana and thus, each member of the society is responsible to manage them. Forestlands were and continuing to be the sacred grounds for the Borana people. The Borana holy shrines and ritual places for the mobile ritual villages are found inside the forests. For the sake of belief, any kind of mistreating the forest resources is culturally prohibited. Thus, the Borana belief systems attached to forest lands are more than anything else is effective means of forest management systems.

However, development interventions such as urbanization, state structure and pastoral development programs and policies ignored the customary institutions of resource management and used the top-down development approach. The impacts of these interventions are erosion of customary institutions, change of range ecology and shrinkage of the Boranaland that led to competition over forest resources and deforestation.

Therefore, the thesis has emphasized the need for another alternative to recognize customary institutions of forest management and in such a way that the forest resources will be conserved wisely. By doing so, there are points to be considered before hand. The usually opposing structures of the customary systems and the state at the local level should integrate in the resource management systems. Or, the one that is presumed better in resource management should be given the independent authority to manage resources. After all, participatory development approach should be employed from the problem identification, planning, implementation, monitory and evaluation phases.

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Appendix 1

Name of Clusters of Water Wells in *Areero* Forest

S/N	Name of Cluster	No. of wells	Clan of Coqorsa	Remark
1	<i>Dureettii</i>	92	Digaluu-Tiittii	Flow year round
2	<i>Mataa-Gafarsaa</i>	12	"	
3	<i>Arcumman</i>	18	"	
4	<i>Dakara</i>	6	"	
5	<i>Hidha Diimaa</i>	5	"	
	<i>Raamata</i>	5	"	
6	<i>Warqaatte</i>	10	"	
7	<i>Hirbiibaa</i>	6	"	
8	<i>Badhaasa</i>	5	"	
9	<i>Sangoota</i>	3	"	
10	<i>Birreessa</i>	8	Digaluu-Udumtuu	
11	<i>Aja`aa</i>	4	Digaluu-tiittii	
12	<i>Boobella</i>	26	"	
13	<i>Guuto</i>	30	"	
14	<i>Adaadii Tiittisaa</i>	4	"	
15	<i>Maddoo Canaa</i>	6	"	
16	<i>Dasee</i>	5	"	
17	<i>Hargeessa Barricha</i>	6	"	
18	<i>Hargeessa Karaa</i>	4	"	
19	<i>Hargeessa Guddaa</i>	3	"	
20	<i>Eela Odaa</i>	4	"	Flow year round
21	<i>Oobloo Caffaa</i>	20	"	
22	<i>Oobloo Dhibaaayyuu</i>	12	"	
23	<i>Mudhii Goolaa</i>	7	"	
24	<i>Hirmaayye</i>	8	"	
25	<i>Madar</i>	30	"	Flow year round
26	<i>Madaallee</i>	6	"	
27	<i>Eela Odaa Algee Roboy</i>	30	"	
28	<i>Aaruu-Tumphe</i>	—	"	

Appendix 2

Ritual Place of Gadaammojjii

S/N	Name of Place	Location
1	Ardot	Liiban District
2	Dureettii	Areero District
3	Gosee	Dhaas District
4	Miyoo	Miyoo District
5	Diida Yaaballoo	Yaaballo District
6	Harboora	”
7	Dhoqqalle	Dirree District
8	Roomso	”
9	Odaa Torbaan	”
10	Galma Tuqaa	Mooyyale
11	Agaal	”

Declaration

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

Name Malake Dicala

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Date July 19, 2010

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