

**SOCIO -ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF THE DIRE AFFORESTATION
PROJECT ON THE POOR PEASANTS AND THE ADVERSE
IMPLICATION ON THE FOREST RESOURCE**

**THIS IS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE MASTER OF ARTS IN SOCIAL
ANTHROPOLOGY**

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JULY 2006



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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Table of Contents

	Page
Glossary of Local Terms	i
Abbreviations and Acronyms	ii
Lists of Plates	iii
Abstract.....	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Chapter One	
1. Introduction.....	1
1.2. Problem Statement	3
1.3. Objectives of the Study.....	6
1.3.1. General Objectives	6
1.3.2. Specific Objectives.....	6
1.4. Methodology	6
1.5. Significance of the Study.....	8
1.6. Field Experience and Limitation of the Study.....	8
1.7. Review of Literature and Theoretical Framework.....	9
1.7.1. Review of Literature.....	9
1.7.2 Theoretical Framework.....	14
1.7.2.1. Environmental Management Approaches	14
1.7.2.2. The Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model (IRRM).....	18
1.8. The Structures of the Thesis.....	20

Chapter Two

2. Physical and Socio- Economic Profile of the Study Area.....21

2.1. Physical Settings of the Study Area21

2.2. Soil Types and Vegetation Cover.....22

2.3 The Socio Cultural and Economic Condition of
the Study Community23

2.3.1 Population23

2.3.2 Subsistence Strategy25

2.3.3 Land Tenure System.....27

2.3.4. Community Voluntary Associations and
Work Organizations.....29

Chapter Three

3. The Afforestation Projects and Dislocation of the Local People.....32

3.1. Dire Afforestation Project32

3.1.1 Problems of Demarcation
“the Land was Already Demarcated from the Air.....33

3.1.2. The Plantation Activities.....36

3.2.The Dislocation and Reactions.....37

3.2.1. The Displacement Process.....37

3.2.2. Promises40

3.3. Reactions of the Community41

3.4. The Management Strategies of Afforested Forest.....43

3.4.1 Was the Forest Protected in Real Sense?
What Measures should be Taken?.....44

Chapter Four

4. Impoverishment and the Trickle-Down Effects of the Afforestation.....48

 4.1. The Risks of Landlessness.....48

 4.2. Risks of Joblessness: Losses of Source of Income and
 Source of Subsistence.....51

 4.3 Risks of Homelessness.....53

 4.4. Risks of Food Insecurity55

 4.5. Risks of Marginalization.....55

 4.6 Social Disarticulation and Other Changes.....56

 4.7. Risks of Cattle Loss.....58

 4.8. Risks of Security and Related Problems.....59

 4.9. Environmental Risks.....60

 4.10. Do the Local People Get Benefits from the Forest?.....62

Chapter Five

5. Sustained Conflicts and Implications.....64

 5.1. Conflicts and Contradictions.....64

 5.1.1. Conflict and Contradiction between the
 Projects and the Community65

 5.1.2 Conflicts between the Guards and
 the Local Community.....67

 5.1.3. Conflict between the Returnees and the Remained:68

 5.1.4 Contradiction between the Resettlers and Non Resettlers72

 5.2 Implications on Status of the Forest72

Chapter six

6. Summary and Conclusion.....79

 6.1. Summary79

 6.2. Conclusion82

Reference.....83

Annex

Glossary of Local Terms

<i>Abaliji</i>	<i>god child</i>
<i>Arfasa.</i>	Short rainy season
<i>Adde</i>	Miss
<i>Alaga</i>	non-relative
<i>Areke</i>	<i>home distilled alcoholic brew</i>
<i>Ayyaana</i>	<i>sprit</i>
<i>Baddaa</i>	<i>highland</i>
<i>Badadare</i>	<i>mid land</i>
<i>Birr</i>	<i>Ethiopian currency</i>
<i>Bole</i>	<i>type of soil/ clay soil</i>
<i>dabo or jig</i>	a form of voluntary association through which rural communities cooperate with each other to meet certain social and economic ends.
<i>Fira</i>	<i>relatives</i>
<i>Farso</i>	local brew
<i>Gamojjii</i>	low land
<i>Gann</i>	<i>long rainy season</i>
<i>Gasha</i>	<i>unit of land measurement equivalent to 40ha</i>
<i>Ibiqqii</i>	strew/ fodder for cattle
<i>Injera</i>	a local bread
<i>Iqub</i>	credit association
<i>Idir</i>	self help association
<i>Kabo</i>	supervisor of the campaign work
<i>Kebele</i>	government administrative unit at the community level
<i>Mahber</i>	religious association
<i>Mize</i>	<i>best man up on weeding</i>
<i>Maassa</i>	farm plot
<i>Obbo</i>	mister
<i>Qabiye</i>	permanent holding
<i>Ribbii</i>	a system of livestock keeping in which a person looks after the cow, sheep or goat of a household in exchange for an equal share of the offspring
<i>Wonfel</i>	an agreement whereby two or more individuals work together
<i>Woreda</i>	district
<i>Zemech</i>	campaign

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AMC	Agricultural Marketing Corporation
BCFMP	Borana Collaborative Forest Management Project
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resources Management
CSA	Central Statistic Authority
EFPA	Ethiopia Forestry Action Program
EPA	Environmental Protection Authority
EPRDF	Ethiopian Peoples’ Revolutionary Democratic Front
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FaWCDA	Forest and Wildlife Conservation and Development Authority
FFWP	Food for Work Program
IFMP	Integrated Forest Management Project
IRRM	Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction Model
JFM	Joint Forest Management
masl	meter high above sea level
NCS	National Conservation Strategy
NRM	Natural Resource Management
PA	Peasant Association
PFM	Participatory Forest Management

Lists of plates

- Plate 1: Dire Resettlement site plan
- Plate 2: The Water pump and generator damaged by the local people in Qarsa resettlement site
- Plate 3: Houses of people encroached in the forest
- Plate 4: Farming plots in the afforested trees of the project.
- Plate 5: Confiscated firewood from the community in the project compound
- Plate 6: Charcoal and fire wood in the market of Legadadi
- Plate 7: Charcoal burning places
- Plate 8: Tree cut found in the forest
- Plate 9: Individual taking firewood for sale from Qarsa to Addis Ababa
- Plate 10: Children return back their home carrying tree
- Plate 11: Women going to collect fire wood and wind dropped leaves for market
- Plate 12: Collected wind dropped leaves in Dire resettlement site for sale
- Plate 13: Youngsters in the forest to cut tree

Abstract

This study is about the socio-economic impacts of the Dire afforestation project on poor peasants on the one hand and its adverse implications for the afforested resource on the other. The project as a peri-urban afforestation project was implemented during the 1980s to meet the fuel, pole, and construction wood demands of the ever increasing population of Addis Ababa. Implemented as a top-down intervention the project alienated the local people from their land and denied them of customary rights to manage forest resources.

The study is therefore intended to assess the general impact of the project on economic and social fabric of the community; to identify the cause of deforestation as it relates to management option, livelihood status and land tenure relation; to see possible management option that curb the problem related to the project and to assess the attitude the community have towards the forest resource as well as identifying conflict of interest between different groups. Data for this research was collected using qualitative methods in which I used multiple data collection techniques. In the analyses and presentation of findings, the study combined theoretical approaches both in development-displacement studies and natural resource management/governance line of thinking.

The result of the study shows that like most other projects in this country, the Dire afforestation project was established without consultation of the local communities. The study also found out that the project had impoverished the local community, which not only resulted from the move to the resettlement but also it puts restriction on access to the forest resource. This made the local community victims of double displacement. Moreover, the diverse interests over the use of resource which became scarce led to conflicts and contradictions between the project and the community on the one hand and within the community on the other. Understanding the impoverishment risks encountered by the people due to displacement and protectionist approach which in turn put the afforested tree under severe threat, the research calls for another viable option to bring about double sustainability both for the people and the afforested trees. The study recommends change in intervention strategy of the government and other stakeholders in favor of Joint management approach.

Acknowledgments

My greatest debt of gratitude is to Mighty Waqaa for seeing me successful all through my life. Without his abundant mercies and meticulous help, I would have not reached this stage.

My special appreciation goes to my instructor and advisor Dr. Taddesse Berisso, whose meticulous guidance, comments and encouragement has helped make this thesis a reality. The efforts that he made in providing me relevant reference materials, correcting and improving my paper is much beyond his responsibility as an advisor. Dr. Gebre Yntiso must be mentioned for his brilliant idea I obtained while this thesis was at its proposal stage.

I am also grateful to Chr. Michelsen Institute for covering all the expenses of this study. My profound gratitude also goes to the study communities for sharing their invaluable knowledge and information with me. Their openness made this thesis possible. I also want to extend my heart-felt gratitude to my friends and their families for facilitating my field work there.

I reserve my especial thanks for Obbo Geremew Hordofa for his indispensable moral and material support in all of my University education. I also owe my indebtedness to Direb Worku, Hanna Geremew, Anteneh Geremew and Aden Geremew for their caring spirit and being excellent hosts. My deepest gratitude and thanks also goes to Kassahun Kebede and Yesheawaget Geremew whose moral and material support are immense. I am very thankful to Kassahun who is always considerate for my well being and my success. I very much appreciate the moral and material encouragements of Adula Bekele in all my post graduate study. I also want to extend my heart felt- thanks to Dejene Negasa for scarifying his precious time to read and edit the paper.

My family members: my beloved mother Lomi Waqee and my father Eshetu Besha; my Brothers: Tesfaye Eshetu, Fiqadu Eshetu, Fayissa Eshetu, Dagafa Eshetu, Habtamu Eshetu My sisters; Birke Eshetu, Hawi Eshetu deserve my thanks for their moral support and never ending praying for me.

Chapter One

1. Introduction

Afforestation and forest protection projects were ubiquitous and sources of excitement during the 1980s in several developing countries. Many of these projects were top-down and anti-social, marginalizing the people they are supposed to help (Cline-Cole 1997; Castro 1997). In Ethiopia, for instance, an extensive afforestation and reforestation programs were carried out following the 1984/85 droughts. The status of those massive and crush projects, and the living condition of people displaced because of the projects remain less researched. Since 1990s, however, several scholars underscored the hard fact that the ill-conceived and unremitting resource conservation approach need to be people friendly even if the move on the part of policy makers is long over due (Alemneh, 1990, 2003, Tadesse, 1995, Yeraswork, 1985, Markos, 1997). It is compelling to state that large-scale 'reforestation' and forest protection projects are still under state stewardship. These projects are conflict ridden and had pervasive adverse impacts on local communities.

This study specifically focuses on peri-urban afforestation project initiated in the 1980s. Unlike afforestation projects carried out during the 1980s, Peri-urban afforestation project is rooted in the history and expansion of the capital city. Ever since the roving capital city of imperial Ethiopia settled on the foot hill of Mount Entoto, population displacement and reforestation has been a piecemeal process to satisfy the city's fuel and construction wood demands (Wood, 1999; Horvath, 1996). Thus, the reforestation project has to be seen as part of change and continuity; the change being the displacement of large number of people at one stroke and expansiveness of an age-old undertaking. The result, as correctly stated by Cernea is "the impoverishment of most of those displaced" or as Gebre (2003) puts it- onset of "impoverishment disasters".

At the higher level of generality, Ethiopia's afforestation passion has another implicit dimension, that is, recovering the "forty percent" forest cover the country enjoyed at a certain point in time 'a verdict without a trial' (see, McCann 1995). It was the occurrence of drought in the 1980s that occasioned an ideal situation for the government in three distinct ways. First, the drought was attributed to deforestation and often seen as a sign of environmental degradation. Second, famine relief gave the government 'grain capital' (for want of a better word) to make payments in grain to

labourer to undertake what western donors would approve. Third, the government was the sole owner of all lands and had the might to do whatever it wished with it. Therefore, converting hillside pastures into tree zone was a 'simple decision and a national priority.'

Reforestation was hailed as an achievement, apparently in the eyes of donors and conservation minded national elites (Taddesse, 1995). A total of 198,000 hectares (excluding buffer zone) of tree was planted from 1976-1988 in Ethiopia (EPA 1998), mainly eucalyptus in several parts of the country using the above approach. As food aid continue to pour in, literally speaking, farmlands and pasture areas came under tree coverage. Dessalegn (2001) one of the most perceptive social scientists had described the socialist government's so-called environmental rehabilitation as a waste or in his own powerful phrase, "littering the landscapes."

Beyond landscapes disfigured, the social impact studies that examine how such projects affect the local population were rarely conducted. It is what has happened to their livelihoods, social fabrics, the implication for the status of the afforested trees and possible ways to deal with the problem, which underlies this thesis.

The case study deals with the often called *Dire* afforestation under the auspices of Addis Ababa Fuel Wood Development Project, the project that stretches well over forty kilometers along the mountain rims. Like most other development project in this country the Dire afforestation project was established without consultation of the local people. The strategy that was used to establish and conserve the afforested tree has displaced thousands of individuals from their source of subsistence, transforming them in to afforestation refugees. The local people have not yet benefited from the project. Consequently, the local people became impoverished which actually resulted from the move to the resettlement sites and restriction to access to the afforested tree. Hence, this study explores the hardship the afforestation project imposed on the local community and the action taken by the community to overcome challenges they have faced.

The interest to study the impact of the project came out of two interrelated happenings. One is my desire to work as an applied anthropologist, where anthropological knowledge and expertise be used to improve human concerns and problems. The interest to study this specific project occurred to me while I was doing fieldwork for a graduate seminar paper. My research looked into the dynamics of rural urban migrants in Beke, a little town located forty kilometers Northeast

of Addis Ababa. Several of my respondents happened to be those who were displaced by the project and the issue of displacement recurred in conversations I made with the Migrants. They were fast to relate their case to hardships the project imposed on them. Their personal stories and a few cursory visits to the project site compelled me to undertake anthropological study. I had known North Shewa as my birthplace and, in fact, I lived in a village few kilometers removed from where the project is located. I speak the local language and do share the broader matrix of Oromo ways of life, which has its own added advantage for a time bound anthropological research such as this one.

1.2. Problem Statement

Neither the social impacts of afforestation nor the possibilities for community-centered approaches to reverse deforestation are fully explored in Ethiopia. The struggle is rather against the annual loss of 150,000 to 200,000 hectares of forest resources in entire country (EPA 1994; 1997). Of the given hectares of forest 'disappearing,' 144,000 hectares were forestland afforested during the socialist regime. Even if most of the deforestation occurred in the wake of regime change in 1991, the continuity of the problem would not be a subject for disagreement. The remaining forest cover now is estimated to be below 3% versus the conventionally held figure; forty percent of Ethiopian land was covered with forest at the turn of a century (Tadesse, 1995; NCS, 1990; EPA, 1998). If such condition continues, the story warns, the country would be a nation without forests.

In Ethiopia afforestation in general and peri urban afforestation program in particular had been a national agenda in the 1980s. Large areas of lands especially, in the vicinity of Addis Ababa were converted in to eucalyptus plantations. Yet, the status in which those massive plantations are found is hardly known. Moreover, the increasing need of land for cultivation, human consumption of fuel and other activities are usually considered as major causes of forest depletion (Alemneh, 1990, 2003, Tadesse, 1995). Other factors that contributed to resource depletion were hardly given adequate attention both from the researcher and decision makers. People might express their resentment in different ways which puts resources at risk beyond the need based action as clearly expressed by Scott in his book entitled *Weapons of the Weak* (Scott,

1968). In the case of afforestation projects the action could be characterized as open access to regain land lost to the 'ghost' of state forest.

Most of the displacement and resettlement studies made in Ethiopia were associated with development project like: Dam construction (Kassahun, 2001), Urban development project (Dejene, 2005), Peri-urban displacement (Feleke, 1999), Park related displacement (Tadesse, 2004), in addition to enormous research on drought caused population relocation. These researchers eloquently argued that most of such projects were in short of adequate social analysis. This study, like the above related studies, intends to demonstrate the social costs of afforestation related displacement program which is rarely explored by anthropologist in this country. The Dire afforestation project was established without the consent and readiness of the local people. However, as Salih, clearly stated, the success of any projects relates not only to physical planning and efficient development of modern input delivery system, but also includes the local communities and their readiness to accommodate the change (Salih, 1992:31).

The Dire afforestation project, the major components of Addis Ababa Fuel wood development, came in to reality base on the same method. The project was carried out using displacement approaches. Large numbers of people in the areas now covered by forest were dislocated and their indigenous life style was disrupted. The people were made to move from their homestead either to resettlement sites prepared for such purpose or made to leave the wanted land by being organized in villagization scheme. However, scholars has put it clear that such a displacement approach to conservation or environmental protection was usually resulted in failure (Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau, 2004; Schmidt-Soltau, 2003). The approach is therefore currently under severe criticism for its inability to fulfill the expectation placed on it by inflicting aggravated poverty on many people. The study tries to asses whether the critics against the displacement approach could apply to the specific case of the Dire afforestation project or not.

Moreover, the Dire afforestation project denied the local people benefits and legal access to the forest resource. Armed guards protect the forest alienating the community from it. In related sense Cernea in his newly emerged model argued that restriction on the use of resources imposed on people could be understood as one form of involuntary displacement (Cernea, 2005).

In Ethiopia, in several instances, tenants rejected afforestation apparently to prevent the loss of land (Campbell, 1991). Brown underlined the deep-seated nature of the problem. According to Brown, rural reforestations were organized as public work programme and “local villagers --- whenever they were not supervised...planted the seedling upside down to express their resentment of a feudal social structure in which the tree planting programs ultimate benefits would accrue to land lords (Brown 1981:181).

Again, following the 1975 land nationalization, ownership rights were transferred to state with a new vigor for reforestation (Nagarit Gazeta 26, 1975) often called “state conservationism” (Dessalegn (2001). Arguably, Ethiopia had the largest and extensive reforestation and mountain closures during the derg (Tadesse, 1995; Pankhurst, 1998, Shibru and kifle, 1996; Alemneh, 2003). The unpleasant reality seen during the power vacuum was that large amount of that forest was destroyed. At the same token, as observed in the areas of this study, the community damaged all the property of the project, pulled down their home in the resettlement sites and encroached in to the forest in the midst of power vacuum. Hence, little information exists on current status and trends regarding those “state conservatism,” which not only drained national resource but impoverished land alienated peasants.

State stewardship made the peasant to consistently stand against the forest that deprived their pasture and farmland (Tadesse, 1995, Yeraswork, 2001). Thus the subject people continue to resist reforestation through deforestation partly as a form of resistance and livelihood stress (Dessalegn, 2001, Wood, 1991, Yeraswork, 1995). Consequently a decade of afforestation was followed by deforestation (Dessalegn, 2001, Tadesse, 1995).

Paradoxically, the so-called state forest like that of the Dire is still under government supervision with paid persons guarding it. Such strategies beside their effect on the afforested forest also resulted in conflict between the community and the guards. In the study area, for instance the researcher observed serious tension between the community and the forest guards even up to the extent of killing each other. Studies elsewhere identified that such protectionist approach more appropriately *conservation against the people*, produced little result (Poschen-Eiche, 1987; Utting, 1993). Therefore, despite escalating environmental crises and continued loggerheads with the local peoples researchers argue, “The social impact studies to examine how the creation of

conservation will affect the local population are rarely conducted (Utting, 1993:112), particularly in Ethiopia.

Therefore this study looks at both the environmental management approach followed and the social aspects of the afforestation projects. Hence the issues like how the afforestation projects of the *derg* regime affects different section of the community, Do benefits derived from the forest resource accrued to the local community, how the local people respond to the alienation from their land and the status in which the afforested resource is currently found, Is the management strategy effective and other issues will be investigated.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

This study will have the following general and specific objectives

1.3.1. General Objectives

- To explore and document the social, economic and cultural impacts of reforestation and community attitude towards state administered forest governance.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

- To document the socio-economic condition of the people pre and post afforestation program and demonstrate the general impacts of the project.
- To identify conflict of interest between the local community and state conservation activities.
- Identify the causes of deforestation as it relates to the management option, livelihood status and land tenure relations.
- To see possible management options that could easily reduce the existing environmental and social problems.

1.4. Methodology

Organization of the Field

Though site selection and preliminary study was made in the month of October, the actual data collection was made between February and April 2006. Before that, the available secondary data

on the issue related to development projects and resource management were assessed and examined to obtain the conceptual understanding on the point of discussion. Hence different books, magazine, reports and any other related materials were scrutinized.

During the first visit, which was made in the month of October, I mainly focused on identifying the study site and started to make contact with the local people so as to establish rapport, which enables me to identify the potential key informants. Individuals who had been in the administration routine during the time of afforestation and other individuals from various groups of the community were selected as informants. In doing so I was also able to identify the appropriate strategies that would enable me to obtain primary data.

Qualitative data collection method was employed to gather the primary data with direct involvement in the day-to-day life to study people. The technique used in this method was observation, interview (both structured and unstructured), and focus group discussion.

Observation

The study has utilized data obtained through my own personal observation of day-to-day activities of the study community: their livelihood option, their interaction with the forest resource as well as the project. I took a chance to participate in community affairs, which were moments to get some useful data related to conflict and the social history of the people. I established and maintained good cordial relationships with different sections of the affected community and forest guards to attend few social gatherings where different issues were raised and discussed in informal ways.

Interviews

This method remained the core source of data in this research. Structured and unstructured interview were arranged depending on circumstances. Interviews were made to generate data on how the project came in to being, the process of land acquisitions and how the project approached the communities. In addition interviews were made on post afforestation issues, which include the social and livelihood response of the local communities and the forest management body in the course of time. This method was also implemented in identifying the appropriate mechanism

in managing the resource and the local capacity in this regard. Twenty-five individuals were interviewed, out of which eight of them were key informants. I met with key informant at least five times and discussed on the issues to the minimum for an hour every time we met. Interviews were held with well-reputed and knowledgeable community elders, former PA leader, forest guards, youngsters and women. On top of this I used informal discussion as a mechanism of data collection.

Focus group Discussion

Both arranged and spontaneous focus group discussion were made with different section of the community to cross-check the views expressed by informants. The general topics treated under this technique relates to what the displacement processes looks like, experiences in the resettlement sites, the way they reacted against the project, benefit sharing or alternative livelihood options, the future status of the forest and the like. In addition to this, pictures were taken during primary data collection in order to enrich the document with primary data.

1.5. Significance of the Study

It is hoped that this research will have practical as well as scholar significance. By demonstrating the impoverishment disaster the Dire afforestation project has brought on the local community, the study might induce the project and other concerned governmental and non-governmental agencies to think over how the local community could be the beneficiaries of the afforested trees. This could be by suggesting possible mechanism by which the affected communities derive benefit from resource either through sharing benefits or through putting in place other livelihoods alternatives. It also contributes to the understanding of the drawbacks of state stewardship in resource management and persuades policy makers to explore the way and means of maximizing the role of local people in managing resource. Moreover, since there is no adequate research on the social aspects of the deforestation this study will help other researchers to carry out in depth study on state of forest resource in the country.

1.6. Field Experience and Limitation of the Study

The fieldwork for this study was not without challenges and constraints. The coincidence of the fieldwork with political turmoil in the country for which the university students were blamed had

a significant impact on my fieldwork. There was the problem of suspicion both from the woreda officials and the community. They thought that I was there to find their political problems and report it to other political parties. This initially made some members of the community reluctant to provide me informations. An attempt was made to avoid their suspicion by telling them that I was not such kind of person. There were also others who either associated me with the project or with the government. As a result they either emphasized more about the problems they encounter as if I was there to asses their problem from independent party for possible solution. The returns were very much suspicious since they thought that they are illegally encroached in to the forest. Some of them were not willing to tell me any thing for the reason that they were repeatedly asked about their socio economic problems but no one came back with response of what they asked. To solve the problem I told them who I am and the objective of the study clearly. As a result they gradually developed full trust on me and started saying 'he came to learn the problem we are in'. The other major problem I faced was time constraint which might reduce the quality of the paper.

1.7. Review of Literature and theoretical framework

1.7.1. Review of literature

Problem of resource degradation particularly in relation to forest resources is as old as human history. Ethiopia is no exception. During classical period the known Greek philosopher, Plato, observed the impact of tree removal in Attica. He stated that “ there has been a constant movement of soil away from the high ground and what remain is like skeleton of the body wasted by disease”(Plato, 1961:389c quoted in Schmidt-Soltau, 2003: 526). However, such anxiety making statement seemed not the case in Africa particularly before the period of colonization. Forest resources in Africa were presumed as abundant and needed further exploitation and domestication. Winston Chirchill(1908) made a statement that,

“ it's no use trying to lay hold of tropical Africa with naked finger. Civilization must be armed with machinery if she is going to subdue those wild regions to her authority. Iron roads, not jogging potters; tireless machines, not weary man, cheap power, not cheap labor, and steam and steal not sweat and fumbling. There lies way to tame the jangle more jungle than one” (quoted in Aritho, 2001).

Appropriation of land and natural resource by the colonial state followed suit in due course (Murombedzi, 1998:2).

Nevertheless, the assertion did not stay on paper. In not more than three decades, the colonial officers started writing in dismay in the 1930s and 1940s stating that African resource are losing resilience (Blakie, 1989). Local communities who live adjacent to such resources were seen as blindly destroying it. Especially in the 1960s and 1970s it is framed as the result of ignorant behavior of rural and uncontrolled population growth (Jeanrenaud, 2002). It echoed the Malthusian dilemma even naivety in which population factor is disentangled as an overwhelming factor for resource degradation. In Ethiopia too, many literatures on resource degradation is colored with accusing local people for similar episode (Dessalegn, 2001; Yonas, 2001; Campbell, 1997, Workneh, 1998). Nevertheless, local people are well aware of the impact the environmental degradation brings on their livelihood (Yeraswork, 1985; Markos, 1997). In relation to this Fairhead and Leach (1996) cited in Pankhurst (1998) have provided evidence of appropriate management of natural environment by farmers and reforestation than deforestation. On the other hand, although forest depletion is largely attributed to local community, the government itself plays an important role. Accordingly Dessalegn argue that, "Indeed, significant player in degradation process one which is usually ignored was the government itself" Dessalegn (1997:4).

Hardin, a biologist in his often cited article the "tragedy of the commons", grossly made the overwrought statement regarding the misuse of resources by the communities. *He wrote*, "the ruin is the destination toward which all men rush, each pursuing his own best interest in a society that believes in the freedom of commons. Freedom in common brings ruin to all (Hardin, 1977:20). Such proposition and others fueled and resulted in endless argument calling for direct involvement of state or privatization to reverse the predicament and ensure sustainable use (Blake and Brook Field, 1987; Uphoff, 1998; Chapman, 1995; Murobedizi 1998, Adkhari, 2001; Mather and Chapman, 1995; Richards, 1997). This resulted in the extensive transfer of resources from local community to the state. It is not the mere transfer of property right to the state; it also applies to the resource management issue. State property for instance, could be managed by the state agencies (Getachew and Damte, 2000).

Likewise, forest resources also come under the state, which effectively removed the jurisdiction of the local communities over natural resource and what Argwal(1997) called statization (appropriation by the state) and privatization (appropriation by individuals). The conservationist or protectionist approach as it is labeled (Utting, 1993) further appropriated forest land and land

for forest development from the local community. Moreover, benefits deriving from forest resource are usually not accruing to local communities who have customary right and custodianship right over resources (Ragassa, 2001). Local people are usually excluded in planning and management processes.

The reforestation programs lack well articulated objectives. The action usually took the form of tree planting alone. As many literatures portray, however, the reforestation and the promotion of sustainable forest management are not tree planting or regulation of tree falling; rather, they involve in the way people use land and organize for them (Utting 1993:163). In the afforestation program tree planting solely regarded as the end. In this regard Alemneh stated "afforestation in Ethiopia is mainly seen as the planting of tree and the equally important factors of ownership, management and utilization of this tree are given little consideration" (Alemneh, 1990:38). Increasing the number of trees in the area may have little beneficial effect unless the above issues are taken in to account (Alemneh, 1990, Yeraswork, 2001). The problem of environmental degradation therefore can't be solved by afforestation alone; what is required is a holistic approach.

Nonetheless, such state owned lands have for generation been places where people have lived, obtained livelihoods and allocated use rights among themselves, where in collusion or contention (Dronbos et al, 2000). Forest having livelihoods, social and symbolic significance beyond state reductionist view as a shield against ensuing environmental crises was curtailed and followed by government scrutiny (Newman, 1997, Koenig, 2001; Agrawal, 1997). Local people were seen as management problem and their institution atavistic (Uphoff 1998). Whily and Mbay, (2001:22) with particular reference to east Africa and South Africa exposed that reservation has been more concerned until recently to secure moist and mountain and closed canopy forest most of which are now indeed held as government forest reserve.

However, government stewardship of resource is found less feasible and effective than ever. The performance of the regime is being questioned as it resulted in continuous deforestation. The major reason for this might be the exclusion of local communities from afforestation program and management system.

Anthropological and sociological researchs criticized the influential argument of Hardin and the assumption derived from the thesis that it did not give due attention to social pattern of resource use. The subsequent findings refuted the view that local people destroy the environment and showed to the contrary that they sustain it (Broad, 1994, Ragessa, 2001). This is not to deny that the local people cut trees when their survival is at stake.

Lately, the premise is getting momentum in the theoretical and practical arena of resource conservation in a bid to reverse resource depletion and poor performance (Pankhurst, (1998; Broad, 1994; Guggenheim and Spear, 1985). Guggenheim and Spear, 1985 forcefully argued that forest management is an activity less familiar to rural population is a gross mistake. Some even went to the extent that the state should withdraw from resource management.

Thence, since the 1980s people oriented conservation narratives helped to legitimize a global conservation (Jeanrenaud, 2002:22). Neuman (1997) tried to work out the major thinking of people oriented approach in which conservation will not be successful unless the local communities participate in its governance and receive material benefits from protected areas. Social institutions successes in managing resources for centuries is seen as a mechanism to vehicle the intervention commonly called Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) (Pankhurst, 1998; Uphoff, 1998). The attempt is not wrong by itself but many argued that the drift towards community-based institution also needs thorough analysis (Pankhurst, 1998). In a community, there is no such thing like institutions purely assigned for resource management.

The afforestation program is never new in Ethiopia. It started at the end of 19th century with the inception of Addis Ababa as the seat of the government. As many literatures reveals, the naturally grown forests in and around Addis Ababa were deforested with the establishment of the city due to population pressure and high demand for fuel wood by the resettled community (Horvath, 1996; Jagger and Pender, 2000; Gebre Markos, 2001). To prevent such huge amount of forest depletion and to solve the acute shortage of fuel and construction wood the peri-urban afforestation program was introduced for the first time by the government of Emperor Menelik II.

The afforestation program was carried out with importation of eucalyptus tree from abroad. As the local name, *bahirzaf*, (a tree beyond the sea) indicates the tree is not native. It is an immigrant from Australia that arrived in the 1870s (Horvath, 1996; Jagger and Pender, 2000). The plantation program first occurred on the undulating areas surrounding Addis Ababa (Horvath, 1996). Gradually, however, the eucalyptus plantation expanded into rural areas and as a result, the species is currently seen widely in every homestead in and around Addis Ababa. Because of its fast growing nature, planting the eucalyptus tree is found as the remedy for severe shortage of fuel wood especially for the rising number of urban dwellers. Hence, large pre-urban plantation scheme has been promoted around urban centers in the country.

Since the end of the 19th century different governments made several efforts in forest development endeavors. The massive scheme of afforestation had, however, been made by the military regime during the 1980s. During this period, an extensive afforestation scheme was conducted as part of the political agenda. Large areas, especially hill sides in the country, were covered as check to environmental degradation, to fulfill the increasing demand of fuel wood and poles as well as construction material in urban centers. There was also a program of rehabilitation of degraded land throughout the country allocating a great deal of human and capital resource though it had only marginal impact (Alemneh, 1990).

Accordingly, to realize the serious shortage of fuel wood in Addis Ababa city the *derge* government established several peri-urban plantation projects. The Addis Ababa Fuel Wood Plantation and the *Addis Beha* Fuel Wood Plantation schemes were the two major schemes established with the total cost of 180 million birr. Most of these afforestation projects, including the Dire afforestation project derived their budget from donor groups. The major donating agencies in this program were World Bank, African Development Bank, European Economic Commission, FAO and other governmental organizations (Pohjonen and Pakulla 1990 cited in Jagger and Pender, 2000). Two theoretical approaches are used in this project: The natural resource management approaches and resettlement theory.

1.7.2 Theoretical Framework

1.7.2.1. Environmental Management approaches

To check on continued resource degradation, different management options are employed in different countries in which Ethiopia is not an exception. The most important ones are community resource management, state management, individual management, and joint management approaches (Harrison, 2001). This research tries to see the subjects of the study with in the lenses of different resource management options. In fact I gave more emphasis to state resource management through which the resource under study is being managed and Joint or community based resource management for its importance for both the sustainability of the livelihood of the local people and the resource under the study. The other management options are also briefly discussed.

State management system

State resource management has been one of the resource management options devised in response to Hardin's (1968:1244) thesis: *the tragedy of the commons*, which advocates, state control of resources as means of avoiding degradation of the commons. Hardin's thesis overtly suggested resource alienation from community or state stewardship is a panacea to reverse resource degradation. Consequently, land in general and forest resources in particular fell in the hands of the government, and successfully marginalized, displaced, and alienated local communities from their resource base, especially in developing countries (Barrow *et al.*, 2002)

Most states therefore bent on misguided conclusions and carried out extensive reforestation to conserve mythical pristine forest at the expense of local communities. The central theme of this approach is that the national government has a formal authority in resource management excluding other stakeholders from managements and benefits from the resource. Under this option, resources were managed using protectionist approach, structured in top to down fashion.

The same approach of detaching local community from the physical resources, which had began a century ago in Ethiopia, was culminated to nationalizing all lands and forests in the 1970s.

Large areas of land were selected, demarcated, and broadly delineated as protection and production forests and transferred to state ownership for better protection and management.

Forest resource came under the state ownership particularly following the proclamation No.225 and 227 of the 1965 and both natural and planted forest became the property of the state. The decree gave power to the state to designate and demarcate any land as protected forest where this was found necessary for the purpose of conservation (Melaku, 2003). In other words most of the forest policies designed were in favor of state stewardship. Thus the customary rights of local people to access and collect forest products were curtailed (Alden Wily and Mbaya, 2001; Melaku, 2003).

Despite continued forest resource management by state everywhere, the achievements were very discouraging. Hence, the role of the state in resource management today is under intense criticism. This is because state authorities were part of deforestation process while people bent on deforestation to symbolize their resistance. Moreover, the government failed to enforce control over forest, to the extent that it became open access resource (BCFMP, nd). The state management approach was also criticized for undermining traditional common property regime and disempowering local communities in terms of both resource ownership and responsible resource use. Forest protection and exclusion has also not proved sustainable; it rather resulted in considerable local resistance and resource abuses.

Early anthropological works have underlined that "control on wood cutting never makes forestry policy except answering the major development or management problem to resource (Guggenheim and Spears, 1985). The increased recognition of the incapability and incompetence of the state management system urged scholars to suggest more participatory approaches that incorporate social and environmental objectives (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999).

Individual Forest Management

Individual resource management is one of the options proposed by Hardin (1968) to prevent resource degradation. Hardin advocated private ownership or strong central authorities as necessary institutions to prevent the tragedy of resource degradation. Under such scheme forest protection and conservation would be the inherent responsibility of a single individual or state.

The logic behind this approach has been related to property right and the incentive gain. The central argument of this approach is that the incentive gain in the private property system compels the owner to protect his forest resource effectively.

Nevertheless, scholars do not welcome the approach. The approach is criticized for its exclusive nature and serves only the individual stake. It is also criticized for undermining the customary management system (BCFMP, nd, Chishomjn, 2000). The concern of private management system has more to do with revenue gain than protection (Chishomjn, 2000). Hence, the sustainability impacts of privatization are ambiguous and not necessarily positive.

Community management system

As indicated by many writers the community resource management received a great attention as a viable alternative to the state and private resource managements contrary to Hardin's arguments (Uphoof, 1998; Cernea, 1985). The community resource management option was widely recognized in the 1980s when international bilateral and multilateral organizations allocated huge amount of budget for the establishment of social forestry (Cernea, 1985). The objectives were to stimulate the active involvement of local people in forest management activities as a means to develop the livelihood of the people.

The central point of such management option is that local communities have to have a full and general autonomous responsibility for management and utilization of resource using their local institution. The local community have the inherent capacity to form institutions based on trust, communication, and anticipation of future interactions that are well enough to prevent dominant strategy of the individual (Ostrom *et al.*, 2002).

This option, however, as many writers indicated has come under criticism. The idea that neither the state nor the local user alone can manage most natural resource prevailed. Many studies show that the optimum formula for forest management is joint control and management by government and the local people. But, it is claimed that the community alone cannot implement or enforce sustainable natural resource management without the legitimate sanction of the government. The government can help provide an enabling environment for participatory forest conservation particularly through decentralization of political, fiscal and administrative power; provision of

land tenure security and user rights for involved interest holders, and education and other forms of capacity building.

Joint Forest Management

Joint Forest Management (JFM) is one of the emerging strategies that is recognized as popular and significant route toward securing and sustaining forests in Africa (Wily, 2002; 2004). It refers to the partnership of local communities with the government in the management of forest resource. JFM is usually defined as the sharing of power and responsibilities as well as benefits between the government and the local communities (Lar and Berkes, 2003; Isaac and Mohammed, 2000; BCFMP, nd; Beck, 2000; Alden Wily and Mbaya2001)

Its idea simply means that an agency with jurisdiction over an area (usually state agencies) might develop a partnership with other relevant stakeholders (primarily including local resident and resource user), which specify and guarantees their respective function, right and responsibility with regard to the area (Borrin-Feyerabend 1996:8 cited in Beck, 2000).

The term Joint Forest Management is usually equated to and used interchangeably with Community Based Forest Management, Co-management, Collaborative Management, Participatory Management and Multi Stake Holder Forest Management (Lar and Berkes, 2003; BCFMP, 1999). As many writers exposed it, JFM has evolved as a response to the realization that state and private resource management has been a dismal failure and in many cases led to the mismanagement and loss of natural resources. Moreover, the emerging paradigm that the local people sustain their environment led to the search of this new option. Incorporating local participation is seen as essential component of successful resource management option (Uphoff, 1998; Willy, 2002; Neumann, 1997). Because of the wider global moves toward the participatory approach, and the internal weaknesses of the state to police forest areas effectively and enforce its own rules, the Ethiopian government was obliged to incorporate this new system into the life long paternalistic forest management approach in the late 1990s.

JFM is more encompassing strategy, which usually regarded as middle range between state and communities (Uphoff, 1998; Willy, 2002). Due to this fact, currently JFM is receiving great attention as viable alternative to resources management by the state, individuals or the

community (Uphoff, 1998). JFM is considered as advantageous strategy because of the following reasons. JFM is believed to provide the framework for local incentive for sustainable resource use. It encourages benefit sharing and accommodates the need of community stakeholder. It integrates NRM with community welfare and recognizes the role of stakeholder people living in and around the forest. It transcends strictly defined property right and combines them in imaginative way to build production on mutually beneficial relationship.

Most JFM initiative works through local user groups as organizations that represent the institutional arrangement for management of particular resource. Therefore, local institution that takes responsibilities is important in this approach. Fisher (1991) states that the existence of effective local organization is important to the success of collaborative resource management.

1.7.2.2. The Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model (IRRM)

Resource management models could only be used to evaluate the management options used in the country and suggest the alternative to be used. In reforestation projects, newly created forest ecology, the stakeholders and the procedures appear different. Reforestations were undertaken at the expense of the local people who are still worse off economically. It was based on displacement approach. Therefore this research explores the impoverishment risks developed by Michael Cernea in development-induced setting, which in fact includes forest development.

The Cernea's IRR model is the widely used model in displacement and involuntary resettlement studies. The model rests on Cernea's long experience both in the field and desk research. The model is being used extensively as guideline for researches dealing with displacement and resettlement in Africa in which Ethiopia is included. The model has also been tested and applied in environmental protection sector (Schmidt-Soltan, 2003). It is also the founding rock for policy development in many countries and giant lending agencies in development and environmental issues like the World Bank (Mc Dowell, 2002).

According to Cernea, eight impoverishment risks encounter those who are displaced by environmental conservation projects as any other development projects. The major risks identified by Cernea are: Landlessness, Joblessness, Homelessness, Marginalization, Food Insecurity, Increased Mortality and Morbidity, Loss of access to common property resource and

Community Disarticulation (Cernea, 2000, 2005). These risks are inherent in forced resettlement. However, in specific cases people may experience some or all of the above basic risks (Cernea, 1997). The extent of the risk variables might not be also the same. The difference is the byproducts of site circumstance, distance, setting and season. Hence, unless remedial measures are taken, "the people may physically persist but the community that is no more" (Downing, 1996).

Each of these spirals of risks is also interconnected or interdependent. Koenig (2001) tried to categorize these risks in to economic, social and welfare issues. Landlessness, joblessness and lose of common property resources are seen as economic. In relation to social sphere, change of sites and prohibition of access to resource dismantle the vital social networks and life sustaining informal networks. Social voluntary associations and self-help organizations are also disrupted. This is social disarticulation (Cernea, 1997). On the other hand, homelessness and lack of shelter, food insecurity and increased morbidity due to displacement causes social stress. Social stress is the product of socio- economic stress and environmental change (Cernea, 1997 and 2000).

Cernea also discusses about risk differentiation. He said one or another risks may not be experienced by a particular subgroup as a whole. Accordingly, women and children suffer more, as they are the most vulnerable group. The other vulnerable groups such as elders are not given emphasis by Cernea

Currently, new conceptual framework that defines restricting access to protected areas as one form of displacement has come into existence. According to this model, the restricting of access to indigenous people or others in parks and other protected areas is taken as involuntary displacement even when physical displacement and relocation are not required. Since, such restriction imposes impoverishment risk on the local community; it makes the victim group stand against the protected area (Cernea, 2005). This model could also be applicable to see the protectionist approach that the government uses to manage forest resource like that of the Dire afforestation project which also denied access and means of livelihood.

The above points call for combined theoretical approaches that guide this study and help to understand the condition of both the displaced people and the status of the forest. Hence, the theoretical framework underlying this study will be based on the Resource Management

Approaches and Cernea's Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction (IRR) models. In relation to this, the research tries to identify the level of impoverishment resulted by the establishment of the forest and its management system. Additionally, the research highlights how the Joint Forest Management or Community Based Forest Management fits in such situation.

1.8. The Structures of the Thesis

This thesis has six chapters. The first chapter introduces the theoretical and practical foundation of the thesis, problem statement, research objectives and methods used for data collection. Chapter two forwards the general background of the study area. It highlights the socio-economic and cultural background of the communities under study. Chapter three briefly describes the historical background of the afforestation projects, the displacement process, the reaction of the community, and the management policies of the project. Chapter four presents the impoverishment risks resulted from the afforestation projects. Chapter five discusses the different conflicts and contradictions resulted from the scarcity of resource, which is mainly attributed to the afforestation project. The chapter also clearly demonstrates the theoretical and empirical implication of the projects. Chapter six presents the main conclusions in relation to the objectives of the study.

Chapter Two

2. Physical and Socio- Economic Profile of the Study Area

This chapter tries to assess the physical setting and general socio economic background of the study area. The area's location, topography, climate, soil types, flora and fauna will be seen briefly. The population, subsistence strategies and other socially important issues are also discussed under this chapter.

2.1. Physical Settings of the study area

Location

This study is concerned with the afforestation project found in Bereh Aleletu *woreda*. Bereh Aleletu *woreda* is situated in north Shewa zone of the regional state of Oromia at forty kilometers northeast of Addis Ababa along Dessie road. According to the reports of the Regional Bureau of Planning and Economic Development (2000), the *woreda* shares borderline with Kimbibet *woreda* in north, Wuchale Jida and Mulo Sululta in West. East Shewa Zone, Amhara regional state and Addis Ababa are found in its South East, North East and South respectively. The *woreda* has an area of 1389 Square Kilometer that makes it the third largest *woreda* in North Shewa zone of the Oromia Regional State next to Sululta Mulo and Dera *worodas*. Sendafa is the administrative center of the *woreda*. The study sites are located at the western and southwestern area of the *woreda*, approximately midway between Sendafa and Addis Ababa.

Topography and Climate

Based on the data obtained from the Regional Bureau of Planning and Economic Development, the altitude of the *woreda* ranges from about 1200meter to 3228 meter high above sea level (masl). Ruffi (3228masl) is the highest mountain followed by Kumb (3184masl) and Yerer (3000masl) mountains.

The landscape of the *woreda* is largely flat plain in its southeastern part. Hilly features characterize its remaining parts. Eucalyptus plantations, belonging to the Finfine Forestry Development and Marketing Enterprises, covered most of the hilly parts of the *woreda*. The

woreda has different rivers and streams whose sources are the mountain areas. The three longest rivers in the *woreda* are *Aleltu* (36km), *Mikewa*(29km) and *kessem*(23km). There are also rivers that have their source in the specific area of the study: *Lega Tafo* and *Lega Dadhi*. *Lega Dadhi River* is the river on which *lega dadhi* dam, one of the major water reservoirs that provide drinking water for Addis Ababa population, was constructed. In the study area there is also a small reservoir built to complement the water supply of Addis Ababa. It is the Dire emergency Dam which was constructed in the vicinity of Dire resettlement village.

In terms of its agro climatic zone, the major parts of the *woreda* fall with in the mid altitude (*bada dare*). Out of the total area of the *woreda* *Badda dare* (mid-altitude), *baddaa* (highland), and *Gamojjii*(lowland) covers 72 percent, 22 percent and 6 percent respectively. The study area falls more with in *baddaa* and to some extent in *bada dare* climatic zone. Barley is the major crop grown in *baddaa* zone.

The area s characterized with bi modal rain: *Ganna*(long rainy season) and *Arfasa*(short rainy season). The main rainy season as it is the case in major parts of the country is during *ganna* season, falling between June and September. Relatively smaller rain, *afrasa*, is expected during the month of February through April. The rain in both *ganna* and *arfasa* is utilized for crop production. The major cultivation season in fact is during the main rainy season. The short rainy season however is important for growing barley among the study community.

2.2. Soil Types and Vegetation Cover

The Regional Bureau of Planning and Economic Development has identified three-dominant types of soil in the *woreda*. These are vertisols (black soil), *bole* (local Name) and nitosols (red soil) covering 68%, 20% and 12% of the total land coverage of the *woreda* respectively. The nature of the soils favor grows of different crop verities and vegetation.

The major crops grown in the *woreda* are cereals, which account for the largest share in terms of area coverage and production. The crops grown includes barley, wheat, teff, *sinar*, from cereals, horse beans, field peas, lentil from plus and linseed and niger seed from crops. The areas now covered by eucalyptus tree, were known best for growing barley, wheat and pulses. Teff is rarely

grown in the area now covered by forest due to its climatic condition. The people used to grow such crops both in main rainy season and *arfasa*. Currently, however such patterns of cultivation became a history. Firstly the land that best suits the growing of those crops is taken away by eucalyptus plantation. Secondly the *arfasa* rain became uncertain especially since the last two decades.

At present, the *woreda* has got large areas of manmade forest of eucalyptus trees. Eucalyptus tree is the dominant plantation, which gave charisma to the mountain of the area. While traveling along the western side of Asmara- Dessie road, starting from *kara* to northern part of Addis Ababa, one can see eucalyptus tree dominating. Most of these trees are planted during the afforestation programs of the 1980s. This does not mean that there were no other tree types. Prior to the afforestation scheme the hillside used to be covered by indigenous trees like *Gaattiraa* (*Juniperus procera*), *Garbi*(*acacia albide*)and *Golole*. But now those indigenous trees are disappearing.

2.3 The Socio Cultural and Economic Condition of the Study Community

2.3.1 Population

Socio culturally almost all inhabitants of the study area are homogeneous Oromo groups. They belong to the decedents of the Tulama Oromo branche whose ancestors originally expanded from Mada Walabu, (the southeastern part of Ethiopia) to Oda Nebe around Dukem area. According to Haberland, (1963), the Tulama Oromo family is the dominant group in Shewa especially in its Eastern and Northern parts. *Torban Obo* (the seven Obo) is the dominant sub branch of the Tulama Oromo in the study area, out of which Eka is the major one. The Eka groups predominantly inhabited the area stretching from eastern and northern part of Addis Ababa, northwards up to Jida and Abichu area. The *Abichu* and the *Jida* branches of the Tulama Oromo are also found in the study area. Beside these, there are insignificant number of non- Oromo immigrants, particularly the Amhara are found concentrating around churches.

Afan Oromo (Oromo language) is the language of communication and administration as currently the case in every part of Oromia (the land of Oromo). In terms of religion, the majority of the

populations are followers of Traditional Oromo religion (*Waaqeffannaa*) though they seemed practicing the Orthodox Christianity and Islam religion side by side.

According to Central Statistics Authority's (CSA) reports of the 1997, the districts has got 116385 and 10,533 rural and urban population respectively. Along sex ratio, 49.9% of the total populations were female and the remaining 50.1% were male. In terms of age, 49.8% were found in the age ranges between 15 and 64. These means large groups of population are found in economic age. The average population density of the *woreda* was 91% person per square kilometer.

Like other Oromo population, the Oromo groups of the study area generally reckoned their decent patrilineally i.e. through father line. Right and duties are claimed through the father. Inheritance is through father's line. When we turn to kinship, at length the Oromo in general use the term *fira* for kin and the opposite is *alaga* for non-relatives. Kinship relation is defined in three ways: relatives through blood (*fira dhigaa*), affine relation (*fira Sodduma*) and fictive relations which includes *abalijii*(god child), and *mize* (best man).

The Oromo groups of the study areas are monogamous and exogamous. Marriage with in kin groups up to seven generation is strictly forbidden. If it happens it is considered as *haramu*(incest taboo). Those who found in such affairs are totally excluded from their kin. The residence pattern is patrilocal. Different issues are taken into account, when marriage relation is proposed between two families. The socio economic background of the girl and boy's family is seriously looked at. Marriage with ostracized groups such as *buda* (people with evil eye), *qomaxa*(leprosy) is not favored.

Different marriage types are practiced among the groups in the study area. These include: *Fudha kadhaa*(marriage based on family request), *Buttii*(abduction), *Irradhaba*(sudden request of the girl for marriage) , *Sigabaa* (illegitimate marriage) and *Fedhii*(marriage based on the agreement between the boy and the girl).

2.3.2 Subsistence Strategy

The main subsistence strategy of the community in *Berhe Aleltu woreda* is farming. Agriculture as in the entire country remains the mainstay of most households. Farming system in the area is characterized by rain fed, mixed farming, based on cultivation of animal traction of grain and pluses.

The main crops grown are barley, teff, wheat, beans, peas, lentils, and other vegetables like potato, tomato, onion, cabbage and others that are grown around the home garden. Barley used to be the main crop grown in the area now covered by eucalyptus plantation. *Teff* is hardly grown on the mountain area due to its agro climatic condition. Previously, due to the availability of sufficient plots of land every individual used to fallow parts of his/her farming plot to maintain or increase the productivity of his/her farming plot. No enough land is currently available to practice fallowing. The then farming plots of the community were taken away by afforestation project.

Hence, at present the community was forced to use artificial fertilizers, which was never known in the area before the afforestation program. Through fallowing their land the local people used to produce sufficient production. Currently, however, they failed to become self-sufficient even by using chemical fertilizer. The cost of chemical fertilizer has become a new cost brought about by afforestation program mainly due to the reduction of land. Since the average number of their farming plot is not more than two, they have been forced to use the same type of crops on the same land for unlimited time, which in turn affects productivity.

The annual agricultural calendar could be broadly divided in to ploughing, weeding, harvesting and threshing. Each of these consecutive seasonal agricultural tasks in turn contains a setoff interrelated tasks. Slack season is usually between January and May when different social occasions took part, especially marriage ceremony.

Livestock play an important role in the community's agricultural system, providing draft power, manure, diet, cash, and means of transportation and stock of wealth. They also constitute a major security and coping strategy during harvest failure. Dung of animals beside its use as manure, also serves the community as fuel. Whenever they encountered financial shortage they took it to

the market and hence it serves the community as source of income too. Milk and milk products were of important source of cash for women particularly before the displacement.

The main livestock raised in the study area include: cattle, sheep, goats, donkey, horse and chicken. The landscape and the agro climatic condition of the area presently covered by trees used to be favorable for livestock raising. In resettlement sites, however, due to the shortage of grazing land and inhospitality of the environment many individual became cattleless. Pack animals especially donkey is the most important means of transportation. In every household it is common to find at least one donkey. Since most community members depend on firewood and charcoal trade, they use donkey for transportation purpose. This made the price of donkey very high.

Off farm activities are also the major means of subsistence among the community of the study area. Due to the shortage of farming plots, every body in the area was forced to depend on different off farming activities to sustain their lives. The most common off farming activities in the area includes: selling of charcoal, fire wood, and wind dropped leaves; working as daily labour; apiculture and petty trading.

Charcoal, firewood and dropped leaves selling is the dominant means of subsistence for almost all the resettlers in general and the landless and the youngsters in particular. The wind dropped leaves, on which no restriction was imposed is a vital source of cash earning especially for women and children. It is common to observe women and children collecting the dropped leaves in the forest at any time. This is a new copying strategy, which they did not know before the afforestation program. Charcoal and firewood trading to near by towns including Addis Ababa city play great role in supplementing or even complementing the livelihood of the resettlers. Unlike to the dropped leaves, the community could not maintained free access to cut the tree for the production of firewood and charcoal. However, they managed to do so either in the absence of guards and usually under the cover of darkness.

They purchase food, cloth, pay *iqub* and *idir* and other expense using the income they generate from selling firewood, charcoal and wind dropped leaves. The adverse effect of such activities on the forest resource is vividly evident (see chapter five).

Beside this, particularly youngsters and landless are engaged in daily labor activities migrating from their areas of origin. Most of them are migrating to Addis Ababa and nearby town especially to Bake town, where lentil processing is done manually, which necessitate huge labour. Others who acquire a small tract of farming land also supplement their income by engaging in indifferent off arm activities especially during their slack time. The elderly members, on whom the impact of afforestation is severe, depend on share cropping their land out and renting their land out in cash. The remittance that channeled towards them from their migrated children also supplements their income. Girls also migrate to the urban center to engage in daily labour. Currently due to the construction project-taking place in the Lag Tafo near the Yekasedeen kebele, most community members both male and female have got the opportunity to engage in daily work. In Dire Sokoru too, the flower plantation established in the area created job opportunity for a few.

Women besides engaging in charcoal and fire wood trading are also engaged in petty trade to supplement their income. They brew local drinks: *Areke* and *Farso*. *Areke* is one of the local drinks in the area. Women are also engaged in different activities using the money they obtain from government and non-governmental credit organizations with small amount of interest rate. Using the money they are engaged in the activities like rearing sheep and fattening cattle. Organizing themselves in-group, they also involved themselves in planting vegetables and other activities.

2.3.3 Land Tenure System

Historically various land tenure systems had evolved among the Oromo community in general, of which the study communities are not exceptional. As literatures reveal, the earliest land holding system of the Oromo was probably *qabiyyee* (permanent holding) system (Tessema, 1980; 1986; Hultin, 1987; Tekalegn, 1985; Mirgisa, 1994). The Oromo had developed the *qabiyyee* institution

to regulate the tempo of their great expansion to minimize rival claims on newly occupied territory and to avoid clash among different clans (Tessama, 1980). It was by using this institution that they have practiced the recognition of ownership right of first occupier of the vacant land. The *qabiyyee* institution is therefore, refers to established right of precedence in occupation of newly conquered land. The clan that arrived earlier and sized the land held it as its *qabiyyee* to the exclusion of other who came later. In other words the *qabiyyee* system used to regulate land occupation right with in the different clans. Those who came later had either bypass beyond the claimed territory or became dependent on the one who already secure his possession (*qabiyyee*).

Jan Hultin explains the situation by saying "the first immigrant claimed the large area of land and became the founder of the territorial agnatic decent group we found today" (Hultin, 1987:24). According to him the first person who took the land was called *Abba lafa* (*Father of land*) on whom the fatherhood of the whole lineage estate vested. He devolves portions of this land to his sons and the arrangement continued by his sons and their siblings as parental representation of a lineage. Though this is the case the whole territory is named by the first person who took the land. In related sense the *Eka* is a lineage territory first held by an individual called *Eka* one of the sons of torban obo (the seven obo) of *Tulama* branch. Land among the Oromo was thus the exclusive property of a group agnatically related who have share of a lineage territory. An individual has only use right.

After the conquest of the area by the northerners such institution has ceased to exist or to be practiced. The advent of Menelik's force imposed forms of tenure system represented, by and large, by dominant-subordinate relationship between political authorities and the indigenous people. This tenure system is called *gult* system. Under this system, the ruling emperor granted holding to individual often the nobility or individual who provide services, for the emperor. Those endowed with *gult* right had the authority to collect taxes, tributes and undertake administrative role. According to informant, most of the land they inhabited and the one, which is covered by forest, belonged to the landlords. The peasants were reduced to tenants.

This system of land tenure system came to an end in 1975. The land reform of 1975 gave the use right only and ownership of land was denied to every individual. The land reform declared the state the owner of all lands. The consequent state ownership of all lands, made it plain to dispossess lands given to the peasant whenever needed in the name of conservation and other state initiated programs like villagization, resettlement and state farm schemes. It was this moto that made the community of the study area to be dispossessed their landholding for tree planting programs. Since there was no land redistribution, the community under the study acquired their current holding during the derg regime through land allotment. The community generally, holds small size of land, which in turn has an implication on the forest resource

2.3.4. Community Voluntary Associations and Work Organizations

As it is the case in different part of the country, among the study community there are different voluntary associations and work organizations formed for self-help and mutual assistance. These include *iddir*, *iqub*, *mahber* and *dabo*.

Iddir

Iddir is a mutual association of a community basically meant to organize a burial of a dead member and to assist the bereaved family (Tadesse, 2000). *Iddir* has its own rules and regulations. It has its own administrator usually called *idir Dagna*. When death occurs, it will be announced immediately to all members of *Iddir*. Until the dead is buried, every member is expected to perform different duties; announcing the death, buying necessary materials, contributing foods, digging grave and the like. It also involves periodical financial contribution by members that would be used towards solving problem of bereavement. If death happened to some ones' relatives, the member has an obligation to accompany the bereaved members according to their agreement. Those who fail to perform it duties and responsibilities are seriously punished according to the rules and regulation of the *Iddir*. They corporate during accident for instance when a house of a member burnt, during the death of Oxen and etc. They constructs the house for member whose houses destroyed by fire. For instance, they contribute money for a man whose oxen died –etc. In the study area both male and female have their own *idder*(male *Iddir* and female *iddir* respectively).

Iqub

Among the study community *iqub* is one of the vital and common mechanisms of saving money. It is a voluntary money pooling association rotating the sum among the members on monthly basis. It is a very frequent practice in the area especially in both Dire and Qarsa resettlement sites. The *iqub* I observed in Dire resettlement site was the one held in the home of *Addee* Magartu every Sunday. This *iqub* for instance, consist thirty members including secretary and chairperson. Every member gathers to pay the weekly contribution. It has important role among the study community through which they sustain their life. As Taddesse(2000) clearly puts it the motive behind organizing *iqub* is the desire to save money for specific purpose. Since the money comes in collective form it is useful to dress themselves and their children, to purchase crops once and to fulfill any other necessities. To pay the money every body in the study area used the forest as main source of cash earning. Every body male and female engaged in burning charcoal, collecting the dropped leaves to get the money for *iqub*. A person can be member of more than one *iqub* association if he could manage to pay the money. Membership is free. In *qarsa* resettlement site *iqub* money usually collected on the weekend where as in Dire resettlement site usually they organized on Tuesday and Sunday. An individual who is not the member of at least one *Iqub* is hardly found in the study area except elders who have no means of gaining money to be the member. The amount of money contributed by each member varies from *iqub* to *iqub*. It varies from 5birr to 25 birr in Dire.

Mahber

There is also religious association called *Mahber*. According informants *Mahber* is inherited from the Amhara priests there who ordered them to join *mahber*. Even if it is organized in relation to religion on the days of saints the community used it as a time to come together and share what they have. It is people who have proximity and good relationship like peers and friends who became a member of the same *mehber*. This is simply used to strengthen social ties among the individuals and households who have intimate relationship.

Dabo

Since members of household are not self sufficient to perform different tasks, they enter in to cooperative agreement with other households. The most widely used system of mutual assistance is called *dabo* or *jigi*. *Dobo* or *jigi* is a system of mutual help whereby the household, who faced a shortage of labour, obtain extra working hands. A household which calls others for *dabo* has to invite them with food and drinks for lunch and dinner in return for the assistance received. The lunch is served at the work place while dinner is served in the evening at the hosts family's house where participant enjoy themselves, eating ,drinking , singing. The number of people who participate in a given *dabo* varies depending on the socio-economic status of the individual who calls for *Dabo*. A person who calls *dabo* may get individuals whom he know through his kinsmen or friends in other areas. This is usually called *Jigi dabarsaa*.. Currently, though it is not comparable to that of the pervious time it is performed accordingly.

There are also another mutual help relation between age mates and neighbors, which is usually called *wonfel*. This is for minor work like weeding, collecting harvest and the like. Peers or youngster used such relationship even to cut the tree in-group. For instance, if they cut the tree, for some one today, tomorrow will be for other. The tree plantation on their farming land affects all these work organizations.

Chapter Three

3. The Afforestation Projects and Dislocation of the Local People

3.1. Dire Afforestation Project

Dire afforestation project is one of the components of the previous Addis Ababa Fuel Wood Development Project. Following the collapse of the *Derge* government in 1991, the project was officially transferred to the Regional State of Oromia. This transfer can be viewed as part of the wider decentralization process of the EPRDF government. Backed with this decentralization measures about 93 and 75 percents of the previous holding of the Addis Ababa fuel wood development project and the *Addis Beha* fuel wood plantation scheme respectively were transferred to the Regional State of Oromia and began to be called *Finfine* Forestry Development and Marketing Enterprise since 1994.

The *Finfine* Forestry Development and Marketing Enterprise consists of all the forest resources around Addis Ababa up to 50-kilo meters radius. The forest is mainly found in three Zones of Oromia Regional state. It is found in *Berh Aleltu* and *Sululta Mulo woreda* of North Shewa zone, *Wolmera* and *Alem Gena woreda* of West shewa zone, and in *Ada'a Liban*, *Akaki* and *Gimbichu woreda* of East Shewa Zone. The forest covers a total area of 27,765ha.

The Dire Afforestation project is therefore state forest plantation being protected and utilized by *Finfine* Forestry Development and Marketing Enterprise presently. Funded by African Development Bank the Forestry and Wild Life Conservation and Development Authority (FaWCDA) conducted this massive tree planting activities in the area. The tree plantation activities were accomplished between 1984/5 and 1989/90.

The paramount objective of the project has obviously been to establish eucalyptus plantation to provide as much fuel wood, pole and building materials as possible to Addis Ababa city. The Dire forestation project covers the total area of 12,849 ha of land, out of which the man made plantation, the natural forest and open farm covers the area of 10,145.70ha, 148ha and 1802ha respectively. It stretched over 16 newly restructured kebeles, which merged two or three previous

PAs. The tree was planted using the displacement approach, expelling large number of people from their homestead and resettling them in new locations.

The afforestation project was conducted using the principle that the people and forest cannot go together. Hence, large numbers of people of the plantation areas were forced to be resettled to safe distance from the forest. The major tree type used in afforestation program was *Eucalyptus Globulus*.

3.1.1 Problems of Demarcation: “the land was already demarcated from the air”

The demarcation of the area designated for eucalyptus plantation was not participatory. The local people were neither consulted nor involved in the process from the very beginning. On top of these, no preliminary investigation was made to see the socio economic background of the community as well as the fertility of land. The people complain about the inclusion of fertile croplands for tree plantation. They inquired: “how the government does like trees and hates its own people?” Before the land designated to afforestation project was demarcated, the communities were told that they would take part in the process of delineation.

Nevertheless, during the demarcation process, let alone the major portion of the community, those who were in the administrative routine were not involved. My informants who were then in the administration line recall that official from the *woreda* came and informally told them, pointing to the mountain, that the government needs this land for *limat*(development) purpose. Later on they were called to attend the seminar arranged in Addis Ababa. The objective of the meeting was simply to brief them what was intended to be accomplished in the area. In the meeting somebody briefed them supported by audio visual, about the afforestation program and its benefits. They were also told about the need of the government to cover hillside areas where land became infertile and degraded. This was done in the month of October only five months before the implementation of the program. The seminar seemed to be arranged for propaganda

purpose. Obbo Merga^{*} from Dire Sekoru, who had got the chance to attend the seminar, narrates about the seminar as follows.

Case 1

Obbo Merga is 70. He returned from Dire resettlement site to his previous homestead area ten years ago. He was the chairperson of the then six PAs. He attended the seminar organized by Addis Ababa Fuel Wood Development in October 1984 in Shola. The seminar was conducted from 4:00pm to 12:00 pm. Two individuals from every PA in which the plantation scheme was intended to take place were invited to attend the seminar. He said after little explanation was given to us we passed most of the time watching a video film. The content of the film was about deforestation, drought, and environmental degradation. They also showed the film to convince us how important it was to convert the degraded land into forest in terms of checking environmental degradation, attracting rain, and creating job opportunities for the local people. The film showed how the community became employed in the project and improved their living standard. Obbo Merga said the video show also emphasized the importance of afforestation program in generating income for the people involved

It was in this way that the news of afforestation reached their ears. They did not expect the issues were that much relevant to them since there was no much infertile land in their PA. Besides this, they were waiting for the demarcation processes. The idea came to most of the community by the time the project began to undertake the activities. When their land was flooded with large crowd of people holding the material with which they dig the land, it created a panic situation to all of the inhabitants including the PA leaders. Consequently, being traumatized and annoyed by the situation, all the inhabitants marched toward the people who came to dig their land, armed with sticks, knives, spears and with what ever they had in their homes. The issue created confrontations in some areas.

Soon the woreda leader named, *Galana Debela*, accompanied by a large number of police forces, arrived while they were in dialogue with the labourers and the *kabo* (the supervisor). His arrival calmed down the situation. The community strongly expressed their protest to the official. They explained their dissatisfaction with the planned project and its process of implementation at the time when they were expecting government's assistance to solve their problems. One important issue the community raised to the official was about the demarcation. The response given to

* All the names of the informant in this thesis are Pseudo names. This was made for the security of my informants

them was “*the land was already demarcated from the air*”. At the same time, local people were informed that they would leave the land for resettlement site. This aggravated their protest.

Both persuasion and intimidation were used to make the community accept the project. The police caught and took those individuals who refused to accept the proposal. The official also frightened the community by the alleged reason that they will be taken to Gambella. The people said that they were not even sure of their stay in the area since the time coincided with the resettlement of people from the northern part of Ethiopia. They still recall the story an official told them, which clearly indicates that they could not make a slight change to the issues already decided. *Ileettin baka laft hinjiren ga’a jettee lafa irraa kate kate otto lafa hinfixin dute* (literally, means rabbit run to reach where there is no land, died before finishing the land). This sends the message that they could not stop the program.

To sum up, it was with this condition, without the participation of the local community in demarcation process that the afforestation project took over a significant portion of land from the community indiscriminately. In doing so, many exceptionally fertile croplands were converted into eucalyptus plantation. This does not mean that there was no infertile land, but large areas of land put under the project were fertile. My informants describe the fertility and the suitability of their pervious lands especially in growing barley, by saying “*Garbuun issaa ilkaan farada fakata* (literally, the barley used to be grown in their pervious lands look like the teeth of the horse). The following case study clearly indicates the inclusion of most fertile land in to project area.

Case 2

Obbo Lami is 77. He described to me the fertility of two of his farming plots taken over by the project and showed me where it was situated from a distance. These farming plots are called *Babarga’aa* and *Aradda*. Their fertility is known in the area. In those good days, he said, he used to produce 60 and 80 *hinjib*[†] from *Babarga’a* and *Aradda* respectively. He added, even the tree planted on it is different from other tree emphasizing the productivity of the land. As to him, there are many such types of lands taken away by the projects and converted into eucalyptus plantation. Unhappily, he said “*maali gonaa waqaa fi mangiistii dhan hin mormanii*” (literally, what can we do, you don’t confront with God and government)

[†] *Hinjib* is the traditional measuring instrument locally manufactured. One *hinjib* is equivalent to 50-kilo gram.

The community was especially against the takeover of their fertile land by the projects even when the afforestation was deemed necessary. Had chances were given to the community to demarcate, such loss of fertile lands would have not happened.

3.1.2. The plantation Activities

Like the afforestation and other conservation schemes carried out throughout the country during the 1980s, the *Dire* afforestation projects had been conducted through food-for-work program. The project employed hundreds of individuals from the displaced as well as from surrounding community to execute the plantation activities. Digging, pitting, planting, thinning and protecting were the major duties performed by the employee. Some people were also employed in nursery to take care of the seedlings. Some were and still are employed as guards in the project.

The local people initially rejected taking part in the duty, as part of boycotting the process. It was embarrassing for them to dig the land they used to cultivate and harvest varieties of crops out of it. On top of these, by the time when digging was started, the farmers have already prepared all the farming plots for planting on it. Hence the community found it unethical to plant eucalyptus tree on such lands. They expressed their feelings at the time saying, "*harka maltu qibqbii nu qofora jeneet didinee*" (literally, what hands of us can dig the land already prepared to plant crops on). Therefore, it was the people from different areas especially the *Gurage* who took the initiative to plant trees first. Later on, however, having no other alternative the local peoples were forced to involve in the activities. Realizing their ill feelings, the project made the local people work in other areas. This was done to minimize the risk of improper plantation.

Initially the pay was in cash. When it started, 10 cents was calculated per hole in which tree was planted. Due to the reluctance of the people to work under such pay condition, the project raised the money to 15 cents, 40 cents, and 75 cents per hole through time. Later on, however, wheat and oil were introduced. The maximum amount of wheat calculated for the participants was 3 kilogram and some amount of edible oil per day. According to Stahl, the daily ratio of wheat and oil calculated for every participant was 2.3kilo gram and 120 gram respectively (Stahl, 1990). Payment was made on monthly basis. Yeraswork stated that it was due to serious food shortage during the 1980s that food deliveries under food for work program have been a welcome

supplement to locally produced food (Yeraswork, 1985). This holds true for the community that was dispossessed by eucalyptus plantation.

3.2. The Displacement and Reactions

3.2.1. The Displacement Process

The mountain area now covered by eucalyptus plantation had been inhabited by large number of people. Informants described the land as suitable for growing different crops, especially barley. The massive afforestation program under taken by Mangistu's regime claimed a significant portion of such lands indiscriminately from the peasant farmers and converted it to eucalyptus plantation.

Consequently the people who had been living in the area were forced to move and settle in one part of the village. In the study area the people were dislocated either in accordance with the national villagization program or through resettlement scheme. Due to the coincidence of the afforestation program with the national villagization program, most members of PAs in which the afforestation program was carried out were made to leave the land through the villagization program. These were PAs whose lands partially fell in the designated plantation areas.

There are also a number of farmers who have lost all of their lands in those PAs, and who were moved to the resettlement sites while the majority joined the villagization program. Under Dire afforestation project only three resettlement sites were established. These were *Dire*, *Qarsa*, and *Jida* of which the former two are the focus of this study.

In *Dire* and *Qarsa* resettlement sites about 315 and 330 households respectively were resettled from more than one PAs. Such big numbers of households were made to resettle in an area not more than 5-6 gasha[‡] of land. The people who came to the resettlement site were from different PAs. In *Dire* and *Qarsa* resettlement sites, for instance, households came from six and four PAs respectively. The *Dire* resettlement site consists of households that arrived from Tulu Korphecha, Sokoru, Burra Qihee, Bura Debdebe, Xanqolee and Warabii. The *Qarsa* resettlement site constitute households from Eka Qarsa, Eka Sire, Eka Dode, and Xanqole PAs. Households from Xanqole, a

[‡] One gasha – approximately equivalent to 395, 032 square meters or 40ha.

PA on the borderline between the two settlements, were resettled in either of the resettlement sites according to their preference.

The people were resettled without their will. The implementations of both the afforestation and the displacement programs depended on the dictatorial policies of the then government. It did not take into account the basic needs and feelings of the people. The local people were not participated in site selection of the resettlement sites.

The community relates the cause of their dispossession and resettlement to the government's strategy of transforming the socio-economics of the rural community, especially the Agricultural Marketing Corporation (AMC). This agency had the responsibility to determine the price of grain and to make the peasants pay the grain quota. Accordingly, every farmer was to deliver grain quota to the agency throughout the nation in which the study communities were not exceptional (Stehl, 1990).

The main reason for the mass displacement and resettlement in the study area is still attributed to the failure of local people to deliver the grain quota to the government. Informants revealed that they were unable to pay the quota because of two basic reasons: the bad harvest and the specificity of the crop types to be paid. In 1984 and 1985 due to crop failure in the area, which was also the case in many parts of the country, the community appealed to the government signing petitions twice. In the petitions, the people argued that their land was not fertile as others with whom they were made to pay equally. Moreover, the crop type they produced was *sinar* and barley, which were not accepted as quota crops. Therefore, they requested the government to take the issue into consideration and excude them from quota payment. In relation to this there was a song at the time, which explicitly expresses the obligation every individual has to pay as grain quota:

“saabil gabaa doniyaan bukkeen uratee,

Kan qabu kanfalee kun badii kutatee”

This literally means, “the bag of the grain quota is damaged on its sides, those who can afford paid it, and other decided to leave the country”. This shows the onerous nature of quota of the time. A case study from the community further indicates the system as follows:

Case 3

In 1984, as usual we were asked to deliver the grain quota to the government. Unfortunately it was bad time when there was a poor harvest due to drought. As a result, we petitioned to the government for exemption. Alternatively we also made our request to the government to pay other crop types such as *sinar* and barley that we produced, noting the infertility of our lands. In the petition we tried to bring our plight to the government's attention and signed it. We had never expected such thing would have come. Finally a cadre came to us using our request as a pretext to turn our lands in to the project lands for afforestation purpose. One elderly informant, *obbo Girma* concluded this unfortunate situation by saying, "*arabnii rakkoo bahee rakkoo nama gata*" literally coming out of a corner, the tongue leaves one in a terrible. In other words the problem made them to sign a petition and put them in other more severe problems.

Generally, this was the major reason why the communities were evicted from their land. The plan for eviction was probably made in advance even though the quota issue seemed the immediate reason. The resettlement was not intended to relieve the local people from the food insecurity they suffered from since they were resettled in areas not appropriate for farming. The local people were rather taken to areas not conducive for agriculture that contributed to their impoverishment and social hardship. No compensation was paid for the households for all the losses as a result of the relocation. In the resettlement sites houses have been provided in terms of roofed pole structure. The cost of walls and interior details had been covered and made by individual resettlers. Beside this, small tracts of lands were provided to the resettlers as replacement.

Informants stressed that nobody among them was enthusiastic about the plantation and resettlement programs. As a result there were resistances even though they were pacified either by coercion or by false promises. Individuals resisted by refusing to destroy their houses. Most of the houses were demolished by campaign (*zemecha*) unexpectedly. Houses were destroyed in the absence of the household members and even while sick or women that give birth were in the house, according to the informants. Addee *Ababu*, 50 years old and a female household head recalls the way her home was demolished:

Case 4

It was Monday; my husband was not at home. He went to visit his relatives. We were initially asked to destroy our house voluntarily but we refused to do so. Finally, in the absence of my husband a group of individuals came and destroyed our house. At that time I was baking *injera*, (a local bread). They did not even ask me to collect my property. I cried, but they resumed destroying. When my husband came back, he was shocked but he could not do any thing; he was even taken to prison for expressing resentment for what has happened to our house.

In fact, there were people who fled to urban areas and other places refusing to go to the resettlement sites. According to informants, there were also cases of individuals who committed suicide frustrated by the situation. Others were also forced to accept the idea with out their interest.

3.2.2. Promises

To win the heart of the community the projects also employed deceptive measures side by side with punitive measures. As various studies indicated, the unrealistic promises given to the people before the move seemed a common mechanism of persuasion. Resettlers were ideally promised that their adjustment in the resettlement area would be quite smooth (Woldeselasse 2004; Gebre, 2004). This has also happened in the study community. Similar with what Scudder (1985) stated, the afforestation projects exaggerated the benefits the community would acquire from the plantation.

The people were promised better living standard and secured job in the project for able-bodied individuals. Elders and incapable individuals were also promised social security. They were promised to be given 3 kilo of wheat/day equally, with those who engaged in the activities. Social services like clinic, potable water, school and electricity were also promised to be built for the community in the resettlement site. However the promise turned out to be totally untrue after the move.

In the implementation of the afforestation program, every willing individual was allowed to engage in the activity through food for work. Though they were reluctant to work at the first phase, every able- bodied individual took part and became employed in the projects for the lack of other alternatives. They benefited from these activities for five years. They did not feel the

risks of food insecurity and joblessness that much during the time they were working in the project.

Out of the social services promised only clinic center was constructed in Dire afforestation project. Potable water was made available for the communities of both resettlement sites though it hardly benefited the community. It was destroyed during the power vacuum. In 1991 in *Qarsa* resettlement site generator for electric power was installed but gave no service and finally damaged during the turmoil period. The project did not establish schools for the people who already moved out of the plantation area up to now. At present, no social services are found in the resettlement sites except the clinic in Dire. That itself is not supported by the project. The community often raised issue of maintenance, especially of water pumps on every meeting. Yet, no response was given to date.

3.3. Reaction of the Community

The program faced strong opposition from groups excluded from participating in the project. The community opposed the program in different forms at every stage of its implementation. Firstly, they confidently expressed their resentment to the *woreda* official about the intention of the government to takeover their land. People argued that the unilateral decision made behind doors to expropriate their land was not fair and should be reserved. As indicated above, however, they were forced to accept the decision. Secondly, they refused to involve in the activities to express their annoyance, even though, they joined it lately for the absence of any other alternatives. In some places, they chased away the labourers who came to dig their land. Thirdly, they refused to pull down their houses and move to the resettlement sites. As a result houses of the community were demolished by *zemecha* (campaign). The community also expressed their discontent by tilling the demarcated land under the cover of the darkness, destroying the planted seedlings using different mechanisms, for instance by adding *atela* (residues of local drink *Farso*) on the newly planted seedlings.

In *Tulukorphecha* PA the resistance against the afforestation project was even backed by action or force. The local people resisted the plantation scheme by staging demonstration armed with local weapons. By doing so, they managed to retain the land for their own use. The defended area now looks like an island, in the midst of forests and no afforestation has taken place on it. Only

few individuals who were situated in the peripheral area were made to resettle in Dire resettlement sites.

The aggregated bitterness of the local community had been witnessed during the power vacuum, when they took destructive measures against the project. At the time, all those who were dissatisfied and disappointed by the project took different measures. Immediately, following the news of the collapse of the *derge* regime, the first measure taken by resettled and the surrounding community was to target the project. The community destroyed every property of the project. They burnt down documents, damaged offices, destroyed grain and oil stores and looted the property in it. They even robbed the roofs of the project houses. One of the participants in the issue narrates the event as a drama. He reported that there were individuals whose economy changed for better after the looting. Surprisingly the community even took the motor bicycle of the projects and threw it deep into the river. Their opposition to the program was thus expressed through destructions of infrastructures put in place by the project.

It was during this period that the generator at *Qarsa* resettlement site was damaged. In both resettlement sites, the water pump equipment put in place to provide potable water for the resettled community was destroyed as observed during the time of this study.

The community also expressed their resentments by pulling down their houses at the resettlement sites and by moving back to their former residential places. Out of 315 households that were in Dire resettlement site only 190 households remained in the resettlement site. In *Qarsa* resettlement site too, out of the 330 households the remained households are not more than 200. Those who remained in the resettlement sites are either those who came from other PA s where all of their pervious land is covered by forest resource or elders who do not have strength to move back to their previous place.

All these resistances were results of the action taken by the project that ignored the involvement of the local communities and that failed to address the basic needs of the afforestation induced displaced communities. Unless urgent solutions are sought to the problems, the sustainability of both the livelihood of the community and the forest resource will be at stake.

3.4. The Management Strategies of the Afforested Forest

As its name 'state forest,' clearly shows, the management system of the Dire afforestation project was designed and implemented in conventional top-down ways from the day of its establishment. Since 1994 the responsible governmental agency to utilize and look after the forest resource has been the Finfine Forestry Development and Marketing Enterprise. The enterprise performed its duties of the field sites through the branch office situated in Dire resettlement area. Under Dire branch, the forest resource is being protected and supervised using four stations. These are Aleltu, Dire, Jida and Anqorcha forest stations under which the monitoring duties are performed. On top of this, there are different checkpoints established by the project to prevent the illegal trade of the forest products. Armed guards perform all such activities.

At present the Dire afforestation project has a total of about 217 guards employed for the surveillance of the forest resource. Of the given number, only 20 individuals currently became permanent employees of the project. Moreover, the office has individuals who are there to supervise the whole management activities of the forest. In fact, the burden of the protection activities rested on the shoulder of the guards. They have responsibility to watch the trees from illegal cutting both during the day and night times.

The approach on the other hand has succeeded in eliminating the guardianship of the local community. It prevented the local communities from access to and use of the forest resource. The project still perceives the local community as forest degrader. The community on their side charged the project for preventing them from forest use for basic needs: for house building, repairing fence, etc. The tree is not sold to the community according to their demand and the capacity to buy. Because of this, the local community was forced to use the forest resource illegally. Unless they are in good terms with the guards, the guards are authorized to stop the people from entering in to the forest. A young man from Dire resettlement site explained that their presence in the forest is taken as an attempt to exploit the forest. Generally they were restricted from both the access and use of the forest resources.

The management system thus employs protectionist approach in which patrolling and policing practice is accompanied by punitive measures than allowing people to participate in forest management and use. Apparently, the process made the situation worse both for the resources as

well as for the users. In relation to this Cernea (2005) in his emerging model stated that restricting indigenous people from parks and other protected areas is taken as involuntary displacement. Hence the case of the study community can be regard as double displacement: firstly by afforestation program, and secondly by restricting access to the resource.

Because of this very reason, it seemed that the World Bank came up with new operational policy that emphasized the sustainability of both livelihoods of the community and the conservation of resource. This new operational policy stated “the involuntary taking of land and the involuntary restriction of access to legally designated parks and protected area resulted in adverse impact on the livelihood of the local communities” (World Bank, 2002:2).

3.4.1. Was the Forest Resource Protected? What Measures should be Taken?

On the basis of my personal observations and informants’ views, it could be argued that the management system in place has protected the forest from total distraction on the one hand and it could also be argued that it is not up to expectation on the other. Therefore, the response to the above question ‘was the forest resource protected?’ can be both “yes” and “no”. I said yes because I learnt from my informants that the local people still have a strong resentment against the forest. This is because the forest resource was established by unilateral decision of the government, which brought pervasive adverse impacts on local communities. The people were marginalized from their farming and grazing land, which resulted in their socio economic downward mobility. As observed, most of the people living in the resettlement site are leading a hand-to- mouth subsistence. They have nothing to fall back on except the forest resource. The benefit from the tree is not accruing to the community on whose land the tree was made to develop.

Besides, as indicated by Alemneh (1990) the tree does not have ornamental value to the peasants. Hence the community might have destructively exploited the forest resource to express their grievances. In relation to this Taddesse clearly stated by saying that the people had to fight against the forest that deprived them pasture and farming land and threatened them with wild animals (1995:140). Moreover, to maximize their benefits the local people might clear the forest

to regain back their lost farming land. They might also use the tree for charcoal and firewood to earn cash income as much as possible.

To sum up, had it not been for forest guards, as long as no responsibility is given to the local community, the forest resource would remain an open access. The good indicator for this was the actions taken by the local people during the power vacuum. At this time since there was no responsible body for the protection of the forest, large number of households encroached to the forest. The same fate will happen to it if there is no guard to protect the forest as to the informants. On the other hand, as indicated by many scholars, the government control could not be sustainable and the efforts made to halt forest destruction are still not satisfactory. This is also the case for the Dire afforestation project. In the study area, the local people living near the forest resources are still using the afforested tree for their subsistence. Informants expressed their view without hesitation that due to the absence of any alternative means their livelihood is dependent on the forest resource. In relation to this, elderly informants I talked to expressed their bitterness, for not using the forest due to the lack of physical strength as others do for subsistence.

When I was walking in the forest I was able to find tree cut and thrown everywhere and individuals with axes and saw to cut the tree. Everybody in the study area including women are engaged in charcoal and firewood trade. They use the planted trees for making charcoal and firewood. Given the level of illegal exploitation, my informants argued that no tree would have been existed by now had it not been for its capacity to re-generate. By its very nature, the eucalyptus tree can regenerate and multiply when it is cut. In other words the existence of guards could not prevent the forest resource from illegal exploitation.

The management groups of the project including the guards admitted the problem with regard to the ineffectiveness of the managing approach. The guards of the forest argued that where there are no other options for the community to fall back on, enforcing strict protecting rule is unthinkable and lead to severe problems. They said "it is difficult to protect individuals from a single tree forcefully let alone from huge amount of trees like that of the project". The people cut the tree under the banner of darkness and even during the day in the absence of the guards.

According to Obbo Tulu, one of the guards employed to protect the forest, the challenge they encounter in the protection of the forest are immense. He noted the different strategies individuals

use to cut the tree. As to him, especially youngsters move in-group of two to cut the tree. While the one is cutting, the others play the inspection role informing the one who is cutting in gesture whenever he detects a guard. Hiding the axes in the forest, after they cut, they took the wood without any fear. When the guards come and ask them about the tree they carry, they could defend themselves by saying where is the axe in our hands? We found it cut.

By the time I was interviewing one of my informants from the guard two individual came carrying the tree cut. He kept silent. Then I asked him why he kept silent. His response was it is not from my block. His response seemed to indicate why I should buy enemy for the issue that does not concern me. He said I am only responsible for the trees in my block. In fact if the guards become strict rule bounded they might face threat from the community. In deed, there is serious conflict between the surrounding communities on the one hand and the guard on the other as clearly discussed in Chapter five.

The guards themselves were accused for the depletion of forest. Some of my informants complain that the guards are using the forest for themselves. The communities also charge the guards for allowing some individuals to cut trees by taking bribe while excluding others who do not bribe them.

The returnees are also the major threat to the forest resource. They use the forest for different purposes, even up to the extent of converting the forested land in to farming plot. Because of their being in the forest or near the forest they obtain many benefits compared to the people remained in the resettlement site. The project also accused the returnees for hosting individuals who came from other area to cut the tree illegally.

Generally, the management system of the project is proved to be incapable of managing the forest resources up to its expectation even if it minimizes the total destruction of the forest resource. Hence, to arrest the ongoing unpleasant relationship between the forest resource and the surrounding communities the need of reinstating another viable management option is vivid. To bring "double sustainability" for both the peoples' livelihoods and the afforested forests, joint management approach should replace the state stewardship (Cerneia and Schmidt-Soltau, 2005). Joint Resource Management approach is currently recommended in bringing an integrated solution for resource management, poverty reduction and improving livelihoods.

The study communities also recommend the same opinion to hold back the problem facing both the community and ineffective management practice of the existing forest. Most of the informants agreed that, if the affected community was made to be included in the management system as well benefit sharing, every body feels responsible for the resources. This can help them developing a sense of ownership over forest resources. When I was asking them about viable option, informants recommend their participation both in management and benefit sharing. One of my informants stated the effectiveness of the suggested option by saying “*Siinbiroonu irra hinqubatuu*” (literally, *even* bird would not rest on it). This is because, he added, every member of the households even the dog looks after the forest as long as they are part of the benefit.

Beside this, the informants convincingly expressed their view that, if other means of livelihoods that affect their lives are put in place, no one will have a hobby to carry wood on his shoulder or back. They elaborate these by saying even donkeys are not willing to carry wood on their back unless we obliged them. They said “*jalaneeti miti kan muka bane; Rakootuu muka nu bachisaa*” (literally, we do not like carrying wood but the problem makes us to do so).

Actually, while engaging in such activities, the people encounter many problems, besides its being tiresome duty. For instance, a lady called Lelo whom I talked to, while returning from market in the morning, describes the challenge she faced with her friends while going to market during nighttime. She said, one day while we were moving to trade firewood during the night, the load of one donkey slipped. While they were striving to straiten the load, a hyena came and bit another donkey of them. Since they rented the donkey from their neighbor they were forced to pay 800 Birr for the owner of the donkey. She added, if there is any other alternative, I will definitely stop cutting tree and dealing with it. In relation to this, the forest guards revealed that, the creation of job opportunities in nearby area relieved the forest resource and themselves to some extent. Showing me members of the community going to work in the morning, they stated that previously all these individuals depend on the forest.

To put it in nutshell, the finding of this research indicates the urgent needs of incorporating the local people in the management of the forest so that both the forest resource and the livelihood of the community would maintain. Otherwise the consequence for both planted trees as well as for the impoverished community will be grave.

Chapter Four

4. Impoverishment and the Trickle-down Effects of Afforestation.

This chapter analyzes the impoverishment risks the displaced people have to confront. In the research some of the risks foreseen in Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) Model of Cernea (1997, 2000, and 2005) were observed. Moreover, the findings suggest that some of the impoverishment risks have to be fine-tuned to meet local context and local realities particularly among part farmer and part cattle keeping communities. In addition to this, the way the afforested trees serve the local people as alternative option is examined.

4.1. The Risks of Landlessness

Needless to mention, land is the most important source of livelihood and has significant social values (Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau, 2005:14). Though, this is the case, due to insecurity of land tenure system, among the subject of the study, probably the case in other parts as well, land alienation has been an ongoing process because of related development projects. The Community under the study has been a victim of wrong government politics whose land was taken for different purposes. This study, however, focused on the effects of massive afforestation program undertaken by the government in the 1980s that claimed large size of land from the poor peasants.

The project made a token of land for land compensation. Contrary to the World Bank policy, which recommends full replacements for involuntary taking of land (World Bank, 2002), the Dire afforestation project denied the people of their livelihood rights. In two of the resettlement sites Dire and Qarsa the local populations are resentful of land dispossession twenty years after. An interesting point here is the comparison they make with the nearest peasant association not directly affected by the project. According to the 1974 proclamation issued to establish Peasant Associations (PAs), a PA is supposed to have close to twenty-two *gasha* and in most cases far greater. In the resettlement sites, however, with more or less the same population size of a PA, they had to subsist on an area less than 1/3 *gasha* of land.

The project took a total of eighteen and fifteen *gasha* of land from Dire and Eka Qarsa PAs respectively. All the displaced families with additional households from other PAs were made to resettle on the remaining land of the Dire and Eka Qarsa PAs. Hence, Dire and Eka Qarsa PAs lost their land both to afforestation and resettlement schemes.

In *Dire* resettlement site about 315 households were resettled on five-*gasha* area of land. The households who were resettled in the resettlement site came from six other partially affected PAs. In *Qarsa* resettlement site about 330 households from four PAs were resettled on seven *gasha* of land. This is a marked reduction of land holdings.

Diminishing land size at household level makes sense. At the beginning of the project each household was given two plots of land, which is close to a hectare. For individuals who used to cultivate six to eight and even more farming plots prior to the project the impacts are clear.

I also learned from my informants that the redistribution by itself was not fairly done. Equal size of farming plots were given to every household without taking family size into consideration. The farming plots given to them as replacement can not grow crops without the application of chemical fertilizers, which they did not use while they were in their previous settlement. Moreover, the lands are not suitable for the type of crops they used to grow previously. Hence the types of crops they used to grow have changed; lentil and barley now have disappeared due to unsuitability of land. According to informants, the land now covered by tree could grow everything except *teff*. Due to the general features of the soil, the hillside area was suitable for barley and lentil. Lentil was one of the most important cash earning crops for the people. Generally the communities were self sufficient in their previous settlement.

Beside this, the community faced new shortage of land due to the auspicious investment policy the county is following presently. Several development projects are undergoing in both areas of the study. In *Dire Sokoru*, there are two additional projects that made land shortage severe in the area. The already constructed *Dire* emergency water dam project and *Flower farm* which is currently undertaken in the area made the problem of landlessness more deep. As a result of these two additional projects, huge amount of farming land was taken away from the

communities. In Eka Seden PA too, many development projects, which created additional impoverishment risks are still ongoing. This made the land demand very high and denied the community to use sharecropping method to supplement their small farming plot. On top of these, the increasing numbers of landless youngsters in the area made land shortage problem vivid and hence became one of the most important factors for intergenerational conflicts (see Chapter Five)

The resettled communities were given common grazing land adjoining the resettlement site. The land was extremely small to accommodate the livestock of all the households that came to the resettlement sites. This has eventually led to the losses of large number of livestock. Generally, everybody who was made to resettle lost more than 75 % of his/her land holding either to the afforestation project or to the peoples who displaced them from their lands. *Alemetu*, 41 years old and a widow woman who is engaged in selling locally made alcoholic drink such as *Farso*, *Arake* and soft drinks told me that her previous land was partitioned and distributed to seven households. Another head of a household who lost all of his previous land to the afforestation project describes his pre and post afforestation land size as follows.

Case1

Obbo Mengistu and his father were transferred from Eka Dode PA to Qarsa resettlement site in 1986. When he was in his previous settlement, he had eight plots of land and extra grazing land. He lost all of his landholdings to afforestation projects. In his previous area, he used to practice fallow to increase productivity. He used to produce up to twenty quintals without using artificial fertilizer. When he was moved to resettlement village he was made to have only two plots that can not grow crops without using artificial fertilizer. Since his holding is not enough he started sharecropping by taking *magazo* from individuals who have extra land on the basis of equal share of the produce, to supplement the harvest of his farming plots. After he came to the resettlement sites he ceased to grow barley because of the unsuitability of the land to grow barley. Previously they used to grow lentil (*misira Gara*) for cash earning. All such things became a history as to him. The soaring cost of fertilizer made him very disappointed. He showed me what he has produced this year. It could not feed his family for half of the year sufficiently. The land is now getting scarce due to development projects expanding in the area. The owner took the land he used to till on *magazo* basis. He had cattle while he was in the previous place. In the resettlement site he became cattleless. He noted that he sold some of the cattle to feed the family and pay the price of fertilizer. He says that "*Rakinaa nu'ii kessa jiru himamee hindhumu* (literally we can't exhaust narrating the problem we are in).

Landlessness and land shortage in the area coupled with its economic consequence puts the existing social system under stress. As to informants and my personal observation it is one of

the most important source of conflicts and contradiction among the study communities (see Chapter Five). In connection with the above points, peoples of the study area were forced to depend on the forest resource that has an adverse implication on the status of the forest. The shortage of land made the community to encroach into the forest in search of farming and grazing land.

4.2. Risks of Joblessness: Losses of Source of Income and Source of Subsistence

Joblessness is another risk resulted from loss of source of livelihoods. Needless to mention, land is one of the vital sources of livelihood in Ethiopia in general and among the study communities in particular. Hence the people became jobless due to the dispossession of their productive lands on which their day-to-day activities depended. *Feleke* defined joblessness from peasants' point of view as "the losing of regular farming activities or not being active with the farm work" (*Feleke*, 1999: 66). This is exactly the case with the study communities. They lost the major part of their farming and grazing land to the afforestation project. The termination of the tree plantation activities in 1989/90, which initially served the community to make up for the job, aggravated the problem of joblessness. In other words a severe problem of joblessness was happened to the locale when the food for work program of the tree plantation activities came to an end.

After the plantation activities were undertaken on their land, farmers were forced to be confined to a very small tract of land. The time they used for farming activities is now insignificant. In this case, the risks of joblessness are widely seen. Many people became idle and as a result exposed to undesirable social behavior particularly to alcoholism. In the area of the study alcoholic drinks especially *areke* is highly consumed probably resulted from frustration. In Dire market which is held every Tuesday, *areke* is one of the trading items that has lots of demands and supply. Most of the community members irrespective of gender and age seemed to be addict to alcoholism.

Prior to the afforestation, the peasants used to cultivate varieties of crops and raise animals for their own consumption and to earn money. Women used the income they got from milk

products to cover their home expenses. All such sources dried with diminishing of land size as a result of afforestation scheme. As a result, many individuals were forced to change their lifestyle. While I call them farmers they warned me not to call them so or consider them as farmers. They said, "We can't be labeled or categorized as farmers since we don't have land. We are rather labourers". Currently most of the community members depend on off farm activities as a coping strategy to sustain their lives. They are engaged in firewood and charcoal selling, work as daily labourers, migrate to urban centers (especially the young), and particularly women sell locally brewed alcohol: *farso*, *arake*.

The displaced farming people were forced to engage in the activities they were not accustomed to before. I observed and also learned from my informants that most of the community members spent much of their time in the forest with no slack, contrary to the seasonal agricultural works. All physically able individuals can not be found at home regularly. They either go to the forest to gather firewood or market to sale the forest products. This is in fact an additional workload for most members of the community, especially for women. The absence of any alternative means of livelihoods increased the burden of work more on women. Women exclusively engaged in domestic activities. Besides this, they are not exempted from productive activities except ploughing.

Those who possessed small tracts of land engaged in various off farm activities to supplement their subsistence. Many individuals who were youngsters during the afforestation project and were not considered in land allotment, depend on off-farming activities with their family members to earn their daily bread. The researcher came across elderly women, men, and small children gathering tree leaves, cutting trees, burning charcoal and transporting them to the market either using their shoulders (males), their back (females) or using donkeys. In other words firewood and charcoal selling is the dominant source of income for the impoverished communities.

This does not mean that the adjacent communities have the right to access the forest. As observed and repeatedly mentioned by the informants, tree cutting is strictly forbidden. However, due to the lack of any alternative means, people cut trees for firewood and charcoal

making either in the absence of the guards or hidden in the darkness. Human interference mainly for subsistence and economic reasons therefore became the most important reason for the fast depletion and serious degradation of afforested area. It also made the relation between the project and local people tense.

The project provides the community no alternative income generating mechanisms. On the other hand, the project has been earning large amount of capital from the forest. As a cash crop the trees have been harvested three times from the day of its plantation. Though the project officials said that the people gained such and such benefits out of the forest the affected community hardly accepts the claim.

4.3 Risks of Homelessness

Though the project constructed iron roofed houses for those who moved to the resettlement site, the people did not escape the risks of homelessness particularly at the initial phase of the move. When their homes were dismantled, there were no readily available houses constructed in the resettlement sites. Only the roofs of the houses were erected without walls. Individuals using the material from their old houses constructed the walls and other interior details. At this juncture, many households who had no extra shelter became homeless and forced to stay either in the houses of their relatives or neighbors who had extra homes.

All my informants agreed that when they first came to their new houses of the resettlement site, the houses were not properly completed. In relation to this one of my key informants described what the houses looked like by saying "*mana odo hin ta'iin mora horii fakata ture*(it did not look like human's shelter, but cattle's enclosure). The constructed houses were with roofing of corrugated iron sheet, which was new for most of the resettlers. This does not mean that there was no one who owned corrugated iron sheet house prior to the resettlement period. I learned that there were individuals who built such kind of houses by themselves and sold it when they were made to move to the resettlement site. Due to the high value attached to corrugated iron roofed house, compared to their previously thatched roofed houses, the poor households do not have much complaint about it.

The construction of the houses was made in new styles with the mere decision of the project leaders. As the plan of the resettlement shows, the construction followed urban style. There were many infrastructures included in the plan though they were not realized. Houses of the same design and equal sizes were constructed for all resettlers. Houses made of forty iron-roof houses with eight iron-roof kitchens were made available for every household, regardless of their previous socio-economic background and the standard of the dismantled houses. In this regard the project equalized people who ranked as rich and the poor prior to the resettlement program.

Only 1000 square meters area of land was allocated to every household. The absence of enough space to accommodate additional houses was also indicated as a major problem especially by *warra Ayyaana* (individuals who possess *Ayyaana*). A 40 years old man whom I interviewed told me that his father who was possessed by different *Ayyaana* became sick and finally died unable to exercise the *ayyaana* ritual as before. The resentment of the local people was not limited to the above issues.

There were no spaces between the households except small tract of land left for passage of individuals and cattle. Due to this very reason the community encountered many problems. Latrines were not provided to the community either in-group or on individual basis. The people are very much critical of the absence of any latrine in the resettlement site. The project only dug the hole with out accomplishing the remaining parts. The dug holes were filled with water during rainy season and became the cause for the death of many sheep, oxen and other animals. In Dire resettlement site there is the case of the death of one individual who entered into the opening prepared for latrine. The absence of pit latrines created non-hygienic condition in the village.

Moreover, their cattle did not have enough space to pass through. This resulted in confrontation between neighbors. Generally speaking, the experiences they had in the resettlement sites are really terrible. On top of this, the community is complaining very much about the water logged nature of the land where the resettlement sites were situated. It was sited as one of the reasons that compelled them to return back to their previous settlements. This is one of the good indicators about the poor planning and preparation of the resettlement scheme.

However, even with careful planning, as Schmidt-Soltau 2003 stated, it is not easy for the displaced people to accept their resettlement residences as house. In relation to this Colson stated that, people resent being uprooted, find it traumatic and in the long run look back in grief and with an anger that lasts longer than the wars or the dams that forced them out (Colson, 1999:28 cited in Schmidt-Soltau, 2003: 559)

4.4. Risks of Food Insecurity

A risk of food insecurity is another important risk the community felt especial after the termination of the Food for Work Program (FFWP) through which the plantation activities were performed. They all admitted that they faced severe food insecurity just when the food for work program came to an end. While the afforestation program was active, they felt nothing about food insecurity because they were able to get wheat and edible oil in return for their labour on a monthly basis. They even agree that the FFWP made them to undermine cultivating the small tracts of land given to them as replacement. Every physically able individual who can carry out the activity were free to participate in plantation scheme irrespective of gender and age.

However, when the activities were terminated due to political problem, they started to face a real challenge of food insecurity since the produce of the land was insufficient. The problem still continued among the community. Elderly people are the primary victims of food insecurity. Though they were promised to be assisted by the project prior to the implementations, they had no one who looks after them at the end. Informants reported cases of death in relation to food insecurity. They have no sufficient agricultural land, which would reduce the risk of food insecurity. No alternative income generating mechanism was sought by the project.

4.5. Risks of Marginalization

Risks of marginalization are most closely related to the geographical location of the resettlement area. When communities resettle with people of similar socio economic and cultural background, the risk of marginalization is relatively low (Cernea, 2000:16). Marginalization and alienation happens especially when the resettlers find themselves stranger in the midst of homogeneous population of different cultural, social and economic background (Schmidt-Soltau, 2003:539).

What makes this study interesting is that the actually displaced and those whose lands were taken or resettlement are the same except few households who came from neighboring PAs. Hence such risk of alienation is not directly relevant for displaced people of afforested area.

Nevertheless, the Dire afforestation project is not without effect. The downward socio-economic mobility of the displaced community especially due to landlessness and loss of sources of income entails marginalization risks. The drop in economic status which also caused downward social mobility is the major source of marginalization. This situation made them hopeless and helpless. One of my elderly women informants stated the perceptions of the host community about the resettlers as follows: "*Ama nama nuni hinjedhan , ama sareetuu iti hingeegyuu, kan nu'ii durii dabarsinee maltu bekaa*" literally, they do not see us as a human being; they do not respect us even as much as they respect their dog; in fact they didn't know our previous life. I learnt from this informant that she had a very good socio economic background in pre afforestation period. I found her while she was traveling to collect firewood at the age of 60. Seen from her current living condition, no one can imagine past life. The same women, tears running down her face told me about her past living condition: "*Yoo ,isa durii yadadhee amuma off ajesi ajesi nama godha*" literally a memory of my past life and its comparison with my present condition tempts me to commit suicide right now. Marginalization is a traumatic experience for all the elders I talked with.

4.6 Social Disarticulation and Other changes

Social disarticulation that occurs during displacement is defined as the breakdown of social structure, social networking and belief system (Lasilly Jacob, 1994 cited in Feleke, 1999). This in fact varies especially in relation to the geographical location of the resettlement site. Accordingly, the extent of the disintegration of major social institution and organization that bind the community together is minimal, because they were not made to move far from their original area. There are no total detachments from their institutional heritage unlike the other resettlement scheme of the 1980s where the resettler seriously felt the disintegration of social institution (see Wolde-Selassie, 2004)

Nevertheless, this does not mean that the afforestation-induced displacement of Dire is with no such effects. Some elements of social disarticulation manifested themselves particularly among the households who remained in the resettlement sites. Those who encountered more social disintegration were individuals who came from other PAs. They experienced social disintegration twice. Firstly while they were moved to the resettlement site, some of their relatives, brothers, were made to join villagization center. Secondly at the collapse of the *derge* regime, many individuals encroached into the forest leaving their elderly relatives and neighbors behind. In these two phases, the traditional social organization and institution like *ider*, neighborhood, and work groups were threatened to some extent. They even do not hear about each others good and bad news. *Obbo Tulu* told me about what he had experienced as follows:

Case 2

Obbo Tulu is 51 years old. He has been working as a guard for the last 15 years. He has nine family members. He was the first person to return back from Qarsa resettlement site to Eka Dode area. He said, one day, after six months I made a visit to Qarsa for my personal cases. After I have finished my tasks I wanted to greet my previous neighbors and friends of the resettlement site. Accordingly I went to greet one of my previous friends. When I started calling my friend's name to check whether he is at home or not, another individual went out from his home and looked at me with surprise. I asked him why? He said to me haven't you heard, he died four months ago.

The loss of source of subsistence also breaks the existing social links within the groups. Many individuals migrated to the nearby urban center in search of alternative means of livelihood. Especially youngsters and other landless individuals were not in the village. There were cases of people who sold their houses in the resettlement site and fled to unknown places.

The afforestation program also creates some changes in intergenerational relationships especially between parents and children. Since the establishment of the afforestation program, according to my elderly informants, children ceased to look after their parents. This change has resulted from diminishing economic status of the parents. In the past parents used to fulfill all the necessity of their children until they get married. The father has responsibility to give *guluma land* (farming plot sons acquire from their fathers) and cattle for his son to establish asset for him till his marriage. The girls did not care about having asset even about their clothes in the past. Every of their necessities were being fulfilled by their parents. In return the children used to assist their parents. But now parents let alone supporting their children, they could not manage their life properly. This made the children to act independently. Even girls now fulfill their basic needs by themselves. The youngsters were forced to migrate in search of daily work.

Other source of their income is the forest. Up to the day of the market, both boys and girls make ready charcoal and firewood. On the market day they went out early in the morning and came back during the night. One informant was surprised by the situation of his children especially, by the girl said "duri hareefi dubartiin halkan hin demanii turte, kan ama hareenis ,dubartins halkan demu jalqbde"(literally, in the past both donkeys and women were not going night time, but now the condition is the reverse. In relation to this marriage styles are changing and prevalence of premarital pregnancy is also common. The community attributed all these to the establishment of afforestation scheme in the area.

4.7. Risks of Cattle Loss

Risk of cattle loss is another crucial risk among resettler community. A similar risk was observed among other communities displaced in Gilgel Gibe Dam development project (Kassahun, 2001). Every individual I talked to reported cases of cattle loss in the resettlement site. As to informants, the dislocation has brought their cattle from highland area where they acquired different types of grasses and where the landscape was suitable especially during the rainy season to different environment in the valley. During the rainy season, the resettlement sites were extremely muddy and less hospitable, making the adaptation of the cattle to the new area more difficult. They stated that our cattle hated the site from the very beginning. "Saattiin Jabbii dhiisteet Gaarattii ol mara'acha turte"(literally the cows were trying to go back to where they came from ignoring their calves)

The resettlers were allowed to own limited number of cattle. Pack animals were prohibited initially though tolerated later on. As a result, they sold many of their domestic animals at a very low price. The remained livestock also barely survived in the resettlement sites. The unfavorable condition together with the scarcity of grazing land resulted in excessive death of cattle, sheep and goats in the resettlement sites.

During wet season, the resettlement site is swampy in nature. Informants tell the problem they faced to bury their dead because the muddiness of the area. They said "reeffaa akka it mana basnee awaluu dhabnee beeknaa" (literally, there was a time when we were unable to bury our

dead. From this one can understand how much the site is unsuitable for human habitation let alone for cattle. Currently except the returnee, the people who remained in the resettlement site by now have few or no animals. One informant from Qarsa resettlement site expressed his current situation by saying "*Handaqoo dhufuu hinqabuu*(I have nothing, not even a hen). The loss of cattle was one of the major reasons for the returnee for their encroachment into the forest. The following case may substantiate the above problem

Case3

Obbo Gudda is 70. He came from Xanqolee PA to Dire resettlement site. He was one of the economically better off individual. By the time he was made to resettle he had 30 heads of cattle, 40 sheep, 2 horses, and 3 donkeys. Due to large number of his livestock, he was delayed for two months after everybody entered into the resettlement site. Since only limited numbers of livestock were allowed into the resettlement site, he was forced to sell some of his livestock with low price and temporarily entrusted some of them to his relatives. Due to the swampy nature of the land, the cattle were unable to adapt and died. Beside this, there was no pasture. All the cattle died one by one due to the shortage of pasture, unable to adapt to the mud of the site especially during rainy season. He sold the remaining to purchase food grain. Currently he has only 3 head of cattle

The entrance of cattle in to the forest was also strictly forbidden. There are only few individuals who were not penalized in relation to this. Transgression of a head of cattle is penalized by 30 birr. A man called Obbo Garbi from Dire, for instance, said that the project fined him 900 birr for the reason that his cattle entered in to the forest.

4.8. Risks of Security and Related Problems

In the study area there is another risk at play: risk, which affected the security of the area due to the establishment of dense forest. The forest had caused the appearance of forest robbers and wild animals that threaten the day-to-day activities of the community. My informants reasonably explained to me that many people have been confiscated their property and even lost their lives by anonymous individuals. In relation to this, they warned me not to go unaccompanied in the forest. Last year, for instance, the car transporting individuals to *Jida* was robbed. Individuals are also usually robbed. It also happened to my informant Obbo Hordofa, three years ago, when unknown individuals in the forest took 860 birr away from him. There were cases of murder in the forest as well. In *Dire Sokoru* for instance, five individuals were found dead in the forest. Women do not go to the forest alone even to collect firewood.

The forest also contributed to the expansion of sexual abuses and abduction in the area. Children particularly of the returnee were forced to quit their schools afraid of going in the forest alone. In Dode area, about 200 children were forced to quite their education, according to obbo Tulu.

There are also other problems expanded in the area. Sheep, horses and cattle are usually stolen in the area. While I was in the field, the disappearance of seven animals was reported to the Kebele. The following case also reveals the extent of animal theft in the area:

Case4

Obbo, Merga is 70. He returned to his previous homestead during the collapse of the derge regime from dire resettlement site. Five years ago, i.e. the day his father passed away, his horse was stolen from his compound. He said, since all of us were on mourning, we didn't watch the cattle. In the evening we lost the horse. After three days all of us with our relatives went for a search of it in different directions. My son who went to the market place in *jida* caught the thief while negotiating to sell the horse. The same thief attempted to steal the same horse after he was released from prison but escaped. Fearing the case I sold the horse soon.

Beside these, the community complained about the increasing number and types of wild animals in the forest, which threatened their cattle and their crops. They stressed that the forest became a good shelter for hyena, fox and other wild animals. Due to this very reason, they said that *warabesaan akkaa ribbittii waliin nyaana* (we share the cattle equally with the hyena). Different animals and birds that have an effect on the crops live in the forest. In Dire-Sekoru for instance, hyena bitted a man called Sime Daressu in his compound two years ago.

4.9. Environmental Risks

When considering tree species to be used for afforestation or for integration into farming systems (i.e., agroforestry), its environmental impacts should be the major issues to be taken into consideration. However, forest policies that promote tree plantation in Ethiopia disregard this issue. The most common tree species used for afforestation program including in the area under study was eucalyptus, which was criticized much.

Eucalyptus tree, though, offers considerable benefits in terms of providing biomass and slowing erosion, it is purported to have significant environmental costs associated with it. Moreover the tree has an adverse impact on the agricultural potential of the soil. It was by taking this fact into

consideration that the regional government of Tigray in 1997 issued a ban on planting eucalyptus trees on farmlands (Jagger and Pender, 2000).

The often cited environmental risk associated with the Eucalyptus plantation includes depletion soil nutrient, competing water away from agricultural land, uncertainty of not providing organic matter to soil, attracting pest, pathogens to the area and non palatability of it leaves to livestock and allelopathic effects (Ibid).

Some of the above problems were clearly witnessed by the people of the community under study. Informants convincingly noticed the depletion of water table in the area. They remember the existence of considerable water ponds on the hill area now covered by the forest. But now all such ponds dried up being absorbed by eucalyptus plantation. In the process of the study, for instance, I came across individuals digging ponds in search of water in Eka Seden kebele for their cattle. There was also a competition among the community for drinking water. In relation to this Saxena (1991 cited in Jagger and Pender, 2000) provides further support for intensive water use by eucalyptus in northwest India where farmers plant trees on farm bunds. Malik and Sharma (1990) on the other hand confirmed the impact of eucalyptus on water uptake by agricultural crops in Haryana, India (Jagger and Pender, 2000)

There are also evidences that indicate its depletion of soil nutrients, which played a great role in the reduction of yield on the plot adjacent to it. As the data from this study revealed, the eucalyptus plantations have an implication for the soil fertility and productivity of the land. In contrast to other commonly used afforestation and agroforestry species such as leucaena and acacia, eucalyptus are non-leguminous—they do not fix nitrogen, an essential element for soil health and sustainability (Jagger and Pender, 2000). This has a great consequence on the crops adjacent to it. As to informants, in the area now covered by the forest they had never used fertilizer but, now the returnee confirmed that having good harvest without chemical fertilizers is unthinkable. Hence the tree has negative impact on crops growth and detrimental to food security and livelihoods.

In addition to diminishing land size in the area, it also affected the productivity of the land. The shortage of farm plot made the farmer to plow the same land every year without fallowing. As to informants, there was no use of fertilizer other than using organic manure some times. Now, they are forced to use the inorganic one. Their limited lands hardly grow crops without it. Figuratively, my elderly informant Obbo Dagaga posed that *laftii gubboo barte* (literally the land need bribe). Even with the use of it they could not produce sufficient harvest as to that of the pre-afforestation period. This in turn made them to depend heavily on the forest resources. In order to generate cash for imported chemical fertilizer, cutting and making trees available to the market is the only affordable option.

The leaves of the trees do not serve as a fodder for animals. In relation to this Pohjonen and Pakkula (1990) stated that the leaves of *Eucalyptus globulus*, the most commonly observed species of eucalyptus in Ethiopia, are unpalatable to cattle, sheep and goats.

4.10. Do the Local People Get Benefits from the Forest?

Even if the local people are largely pessimistic about the afforested tree, they did not deny the benefit they are obtaining from it. The forests are used for many of their expenditures like paying taxes, *Idir*, *Iqub*, purchasing crops, school fee, and other expenses. It is indeed one of the most important sources of cash income.

The livelihood of the poor population displaced by afforestation project is dependant directly on the forest. The tree is used both for domestic use and for income generation. The forests benefited the community for fuel, construction of fences and houses. They also use the tree for making different houses furniture like chair, table, box and other equipment. It also created job opportunity to some members of the community. Fifteen and twenty two individuals from Eka Seden and Dire Sokoru PAs respectively employed as guards and earn 200 birr per month at present.

The tree, as a cash crop, serves the community as means of income generation and source of subsistence. As I understood from the day-to-day activities of the people, charcoal burning,

collecting wind dropped leaves from the ground and cutting tree is the common activity. In the forest it is unusual to find individuals, even children without axe.

One morning I was able to count up to 60 donkeys retuning form Legadadi. Fearing the confiscation by the guards, the people transport charcoal and firewood to the market after making agreements with their customers, during the nighttime. This is good indicator of the forest being used by the community illegally. Informants convincingly explained to me that the people of the area depend on the forest. They stressed the fact that had it not been for the forest, the very survival of would be under question. Beside the tree contributed to the beauty of landscape and the community used it as the shade for their cattle. The community, especially the returnees also used the forest as source of pasture.

Chapter Five

5. Sustained Conflicts and Implications

As already mentioned, the afforestation program has threatened the livelihoods of several individuals. This chapter deals with conflicts and contradictions surrounding the use and management of the forest. Beyond the bleak future of the forest given the animosity between the people and forest resources, the presence of the project split the people into contending groups.

5.1. Conflicts and Contradictions

In resource use and management one important issue is stakeholders' analysis. In a project lacking social analysis from the beginning, conflict cases are expected. Sometimes conflicts might not be publicly recognized and need long-term studies. This does not mean that there is no conflict. Submerged conflicts may be ready to erupt at any time (Castro and Nielsen, 2003). Therefore, regardless of the intensity, there are a number of instances where conflicts surfaced itself in the community.

Conflict is prevalent in the study area between the communities on whose land the plantation scheme were undertaken and the project that dispossessed the people's lands. From the start, the Dire afforestation project ignored the involvement of the local population in the establishment of the tree plantation. The local population made to accept the plan decided behind them forcefully. Beside this, the peasants were compelled to move from the area now covered by forest to the valley, which is not suitable for settlement and where they have passed severe bad experiences. This was the place where the ill feelings of the community toward the afforestation project were initiated. The management strategy put in place and its adverse socio-economic effects also aggravated the conflicts in the area.

This chapter highlights the sustained conflicts and contradictions witnessed in the study area over the use of resources including the afforested forest resource. The negative feelings the displaced communities have toward the forest resource and project, the relation between the forest guards and the community, the relation between the returnees and those who remained in

the resettlement sites as well as the relation between the severely affected and partially affected people are briefly discussed in this chapter.

5.1.1. Conflict and Contradiction between the Projects and the Community

The seeds of hostility were sown in the 1980s when the government planned the plantation scheme through out the country including the area of the study. Among the study community the tree plantation scheme was announced unpredictably by the time they were in quest of the government aid for the bad harvest they encountered. Since then, the community and the projects were not in good terms. The people complain the current government for being ignorant for the problems they are in.

The responses of the informants to my investigation on the factors that resulted in unfriendly relations between the project and the local community can be categorized into two. The way the forest was established and its management strategies. The first major reason is related to the commencement of the afforestation project. The disputes initially arose when the government proposed the massive afforestation program through the confiscation of the hillside farming and grazing land with the aim of converting with eucalyptus plantation. The decision was made by the project unilaterally. In 1984/85, when the state began demarcating the land designated to afforestation, the local people had not yet well informed about the program. The program was not conducted with the consent of the local people. This made the local community to perceive the afforestation project as an imposition, which made them to abandon their suitable farming and grazing land which in turn resulted in their socio economic hardships.

Moreover, the plantation scheme was not intended to the benefits of the local communities. In spite of the fact that the tree was planted on the land of the community, the ownership right was vested on the project. The project, with great access to power controlled or influenced the forest resource decisions in its favor. Consequently the local people were deprived of their traditional land rights by the project without any replacement. The people lost their trees and other assets that have socio economic and cultural value without any compensation. Even though it seemed too late, the question of compensation payment became common among the study community.

This is mainly due to the fact that the other lately emerged projects in the area made compensation payment for the people whose land was taken away. Beside this, the people continuously ask the project to return back the tree it expropriated during the establishment of the project.

The different values attributed to the forest resource are also factors that often involved in conflict. Perceptions, access, and use of the afforested resources vary between the project and the local community. For example, the poor local people in the resettlement sites see the forest resources as their impoverishing agent. They give no or little credit for the planted tree in contrast to the high value attached to their land. The project on the other hand sees the forests as an important source of cash for the project and hence it should be restricted from local community uses.

Beside this, the afforestation project was carried out based on the displacement approach, evicting large number of people from their homestead. The local people were forced to resettle and were completely denied any alternative options. The impoverishment risks they experienced in the resettlement sites have aggravated their hatred towards the forest resource and the project. The economic benefits accruing from the forest neither directed towards the local people nor initiated any integrated development in the area. The community perceived the appropriation of lands as unjust and deceptive. They are also resentful about the unfulfilled promises.

The second major reason is related to the management strategy of the afforested tree in place. The project manages the forest using the protectionist approach employing armed guards. The protection is in fact against the local community. The local community was /are not included in the management sphere and denied the benefits accrued. Guards are even sometimes employed from different community. Informants complained about their restriction from using forest product. Imprisonments, confiscation of axes and saw as well as financial punishments resulted from the use of the project's tree are the common experience of the people.

The governing regulation of the project also affected the interests and the rights of the local people. The people complained that the project usually confiscates the firewood and charcoal

they produce from even from the tree they planted. This made the local people to develop negative feelings toward the forest resource and the project. The resentment of the community perceived as a reaction to the action of the project, led to the wide destruction of project property and encroachment in the forest during the collapse of the *derge* regime. The community cut the tree as one form of routine resistance.

5.1.2. Conflicts between the Guards and the Local Community

In the study area, there are considerable animosity between the local population, whose livelihood depends on the forest resource and the forest guards. Protests towards the forest guards and the project management system were strong among all individuals I interviewed. The community conceptualized both the guards and the management as bad. The guards, as employ of the project take a charge of forest protection. The local community blamed the guards for restricting them from the use of forest resource and their corrupt behavior. The forest guards on the other hand considered the local people as culprit.

As mentioned earlier, armed guards protect all the afforested plantations against theft, illegal grazing and encroachment. But all such acts were and still are unavoidable and brought the two groups into clashes. For both, the issue is the question of survival. The guards as an employee of the project have a responsibility to safeguard the afforested tree. The communities on the other want to use the forest resources unrestrictive due to the lack of any other alternatives.

The people usually whine the guards by saying that, the guards use the forest resources for themselves as they want. Beside this, they have got salary on the monthly basis. But restrict the communities who have nothing to fallback on. As to informants, the conflict between the two goes up to incurring cost of lives from both sides. In Qarsa, for instance, a boss of guards named Eshetu was shot and killed in the forest last year. There are also other killing cases inflicted on the forest guards. There are lots of wounding and beating cases. The guards I talked to admitted the serious problem between them and the community. They revealed that they do not have good relation even with their relatives. The community marginalized the guards.

The community imposed social sanctions to make them excluded from their social affairs. The guards happened to be excluded from *idir*, *mahber*. For instance, *Obbo Tulu*, the forest guard complained about his being excluded from the *idir* in which he was a member. He was also denied the money he had already contributed while he was active member. Most of the guards agreed that if they found in unsafe place and time, no one hesitates to harm them. I also talked to an individual who resigned from being a guard fearing all such threats and social sanction. The immediate reason for him was his quarreling with his own father on the use of the forest. In the area there is also a guard whose house was burnt down three times.

The guards also emphasized that they are not trusted by the project. They said that some time the project blamed them for allowing the people to cut the tree. There were individuals who lost their job in relation to this. One informant describes the situation they are in by saying "*nu'ii akkaa nama gidu rafee qula bulee san tanee*" (literally, we are like an individual who sleeps in the center but undressed). The local people also charged the guards for killing innocent people. In Qarsa for instance, informants reported the killing of five individuals in the forest probably by the guards. They are very much critical about the guards employed from other places. In the course of this study I was able to learn several accusations directed against the forest guards. The local people accuse them for beating, confiscating their property and even accepting bribes and permitting some individuals to collect firewood and cut trees.

5.1.3. Conflict between the Returnees and the Remained

The disagreement between those who remained in the resettlement sites and the returnees started when some of displaced pulled down and returned back to either their original home area, or in any vacant place found in the forest. About 190 and 200 households from Dire and Qarsa respectively left the resettlement sites during the transitional period. Only those who could not afford still remained in the resettlement sites.

The returnees cited repeatedly the inhospitality of the resettlement sites as a major pushing factor for their decision. They describe the situation they experienced in the resettlement site by saying: our cattle died, unable to adapt to the land, during rainy season the land is muddy, we lost all what we had, and disputes with neighbors are high and the like. Consequently, using the

opportunity during the power vacuum they pulled down the house constructed for them and took the roof sheet with them or sold them and moved back to their previous land. Those who remained in the resettlement sites are households who came from other PAs where all of their previous land covered by the forest and who couldn't afford the move at a time especially the elders who don't have assistant behind them.

At present, the returnees are found in relatively better economic status, while the remained are in many ways under economic pressure and hold pessimistic position. The discrepancy came to happen after the returnees left the resettlement sites and 'encroached' in to the forest. According to the informants, the returnees can be categorized as rich on the basis of the wealth they acquired. Their land size increased, they own enough cattle, and they have better access to the forest resource and to benefit from it. As observed and confirmed by the returnees themselves, they have large number of sheep, goats, oxen and pack animals. They graze their cattle with in the old forest tree where the cattle cannot cause any damage to the young trees or upcoming seedlings. Those who lost all of their cattle in the resettlement sites now regained some of what they lost. In Dire Sokoru, for instance, a man named *Obbo* Teshome explained that his life is now in better condition. He rear animals initially receiving *Ribbii* (take caring of some one's cattle to share the offspring on equal basis) and now able to have large number of sheep.

In addition to their land in the resettlement site, they expanded their farming plot in the forest. The amount of their harvest increased from time to time. *Obbo Girma*, said in reference to issue, the *ibiqqii* (strew) you observe here is a good indicator, which in fact did not exist in the resettlement sites. Their house is also well furnished compared to the people in the resettlement sites. The issue can be presented using the following case

Case 1

Tulu is 51 years old. He has been working as guard for the last 15 years. He has nine family members. He was the first person to return back from Qarsa resettlement site to Eka Dode area. Now there are 39 households residing in the valley surrounded by the forest, and several of them followed his footstep. He used to subsist on two plot of land given to him as replacement in the resettlement sites. He used to produce not more than two quintals of cereal per year out of the land given to him. He had no grazing land. In the resettlement site out of seven cattle, he lost five and sold two to purchase food crop. He said when I return back I have nothing at hand. Using the salary earned (then 105 birr, but now 200 birr.) he bought three sheep and one cow. Currently he has two pair of oxen, cows and totally fourteen cattle and twenty sheep. He also has a horse and two donkeys. After he returned, his land holding also increased dramatically. At present he has eight farming plots. This year for instance, he produces 40 quintals of harvest. He is using the land in the resettlement site too. He has two corrugate iron sheet houses. His houses are also well furnished as to my observation.

To conclude there is one fact. All the returnees are in very good condition compared to the people who are still in the resettlement sites. They have good harvest, large number of cattle, sheep and goats, horses, donkey and all types of animals. Beside this, they use the forest as they like. Moreover, most of the guards employed especially from the returnee because of their proximity for the security of the forest. These resulted in wealth differentiation with the people who like them became victims.

On the other hand the economic status of the resettled community is getting worse and worse due to land shortage and the increasing number of coming ages. Their live is from hand to mouth. They do not have enough land to have good harvest. They all depend on the forest products. For them the forest is the source of their life. Because of sever problems some individuals sold their land and house and left for exile. Generally there are wealth and income disparities between the resettlers and the returnee

- **Causes of disagreement**

The main issue that sparks disagreement between the resettlers and the returnee was the land in the resettlement site. The problem started when the remained peoples of the resettlement site wanted to obtain the land the returnees left in the resettlement sites. The rationale of their demand was grave scarcity of land and lack of any other alternatives. For them, those who returned back to their original land have many advantages. Based on the appeal of the community, the PA leader of the transitional period redistributed the returnee's land among the remained community.

The action angered the returnees since it was done without their consent. The issue muted for seven years. Later, on however, when new chairperson was appointed with new *frdishango* (local judiciary body) from the returnee, the issue reactivated. After lots of discourses the land was decided for the returnee. This made the hostility between the returnee and the resettlers stern, mostly in Qarsa. The issue is still hot in the area. The resettlers appealed many times to the *woreda* and the project office to solve the problem urgently. They emphasized that either the returnee has to return back to the resettlement sites or leave them the land in the resettlement site. Other wise they warned the project that they will be forced to encroach in to the forest as the returnees did. The resettlers also accuse the returnee for excluding them from the use of forest products and grazing ground. They saw the acts of the returnee as an attempt to avoid them from the use of the forest resource.

The returnees on the other hand argued that since they are not legally recognized on the land they occupied now, they are not willing to leave the land in the resettlement site. They do not have any legal basis for the land they dwell on. According to them, they still have a fear that the government might evict them from the demarcated area. They complained that the *kebele* refusal to measure the size of their land unlike that of other farmers. Cernea (2000) also confirmed the inevitability of conflicts over resources due to increasing demands.

Contestation over access to and use of the land has also characterized relations between the youth and the elders of the remained communities. This intergenerational conflict over the land is particularly evident in qarsa resettlement site, where the youngsters started using the communal grazing land that was given to the resettlers during the move. This resulted in conflict between the two groups. In Qarsa resettlement site there were instances where individuals severely beat each other over the issue while I am conducting the study. The issue is still not solved though cooled down by the intervention of the officials from the *woreda*.

In dire resettlement sites such problem is not common. Because of the existence of the project office in Dire resettlement sites, the returnees were not encroached into forest area except few individuals. Most of the returnees were from Dire PA and returned to their remaining farming land.

5.1.4 Contradiction between the Resettlers and Non -Resettlers

A friction also emerged between the people of Dale, who partially affected by the afforestation program and the Qarsa resettlement site. The central cause of the contradiction is obviously a competition over the scarce land in the area. They have unequal size of land. The Dale community in comparison to that of the Qarsa community have adequate land holding. They lost only 7 *gasha* of land to the afforestation project. The problem arose after the 1995 new administrative restructuring, which merged previous independent PAs together. As they fused under one, *kebele*, Qarsa community demanded for the redistribution of land. For they were made under same administration (*kebele*), they requested to get equal share of land. The people of Dale on the other hand learned the intent of the villager and refused to share their land. As a result tensions increased between the two communities. They are accusing each other over the land. One informant from the Qarsa resettlement site, for instance, stated that if our cattle enter their grazing land they imprisoned our cattle all the day and made us pay fines. The economic conflicts have also adverse impact on the forest resource.

5.2 Implications on the Status of Forest

The displacement and the resource management approach used in this study are useful in understanding the condition in which both the displaced people and the planted trees are found. The means used to convert the hillside in to Eucalyptus plantation and the management strategies employed to maintain the planted trees have involved involuntary displacement. The impoverishment risks inflicted on the community uprooted from their livelihood, the ill planned manner of their resettlement as well as the restrictions of access imposed have negative effects on the status of the forest resources. In relation to this, Cernea clearly stated that if risks are not mitigated they became disaster both on the people and the intended objectives (Cernea, 2000; Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau, 2005). The lack of any alternatives in the resettlement sites of the study area leads to the intense harvesting and extraction of forest resource. Cernea further explained that the creation of protected area without an equitable and sustainable livelihood alternative for the expelled local population results in a lose-lose situation (Cernea 1985, 1997)

As attested by many studies in different countries, the finding of this research too confirmed the failure of state resource management. In Dire afforestation scheme, for instance, the protectionist

approach did not fulfill the expectations placed on it; it rather compromised the very cause of forest depletion by fueling conflicts within and among the community as well as with the project. Besides, it alienated the community from responsibility in managing the forest resource. Summing up, the approaches used in this study have important analytical power to understand the status of the Dire afforestation project.

As briefly discussed in chapter four, there are different impoverishment disasters inflicted on the study community by the Dire afforestation induced displacement and resettlement. Landlessness was the major impoverishment risk the community encountered. The project made a unilateral decision to convert a total area of more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of the farmers' land into eucalyptus plantation by evicting thousands of individuals and by resettling them in very small tracts of land. About 315 and 330 households were made to resettle on a total area of not more than six *gasha*. As a result all the evicted farmers were left with 1000 square meter of land on which their houses were built, common grazing land and two farming plots were maintained. The farming plots given to them as replacement cannot grow crops without using chemical fertilizers, which in turn exposed them to its soaring costs. As a result most of them do not want to be called farmers, rather they prefer to be called labourers. Additionally, different development projects working in the area made land shortage very serious. Consequently the amount of the crops they grew reduced to wheat and *teff*. They used to grow varieties of crops except *teff* in their previous settlement. The community also revealed the absence of growing lentil and barely due to the unsuitability of soil in the resettlement sites. The shortage of land in the area made the community to encroach into the forest.

The expropriation of land for plantation had instigated joblessness on the residents who rely on activities related to land resource for their subsistence and for generating income. They lost their farming and grazing land where they produce crops and raise animals for consumption and earning cash. The local people were and still are not the formal beneficiary of the forest resource. The income they used to acquire from agricultural activities was lost without compensation. The termination of the tree plantation scheme, which the community took as alternative income generating activities, aggravated the problem of joblessness and exposed the people to alcoholic behavior.

The loss or breakdown of livelihood activities and resource is obviously resulted in food insecurity. My finding suggests that the problem of food insecurity is still prevailing especially among the community who remained in the resettlement sites and the elders. All physically able individuals depend on forest resource and other daily work to win their daily bread. But if the project implements its restrictive management system fully their survival will fall under great danger. For elders who are not physically able to cut the tree and use the forest product the problem of risk of food insecurity is not only a risk but a fact.

Elements of marginalization are also evident among the study community who had passed good time but now found in abject poverty. Most of the community member who became fire wood collectors used to have a better life in their previous settlements. They lost much of their economic and spiritual independence after the move. In relation to this, the elders develop a sense of helplessness and hopelessness. The image they have for themselves is totally deteriorated, especially the elders.

Expelling the local people from their original homestead had also resulted in homelessness, at least during the initial period. The project erected only the roofs with out walls. It was the community who completed the houses by destroying their former houses. Later on, however, the problem of homelessness was resolved though other related problem existed in the resettlement sites. Social disarticulation was also another important challenge the displaced community faced as shown by Cernea (1997; 2000). Some elements of social disarticulation were observed among the afforestation induce displaced communities. In most households, for instance, youngsters were forced to migrate to urban area for daily work. Issues like lossing virginity, disobedience of the children to their parents and other elements of social disarticulation are common. Children ceased to look after their old parents

Michel Cernea's risks of the loss and access to common property as well as the risks of death are no that much relevant among the study group. Most of the displaced lost their individual lands and forest. Hence the loss of common property is not a big problem. The finding of this study shows the existence of death cases especially related to the strict management strategy, which

resulted to acute enmity between the forest guards and the local people. Both the members of the communities and the guards became victims as indicated above. There are also other sets of risks at play in addition to what were already identified by Cernea in his IRRM. These are the environmental risk, security risks and loss of cattle in area of the study.

The above discussed impoverishment risks, in turn, have an implication on the status of planted forest resource. The displacements carried out in relation to the afforestation project forced the local community to depend on the forest resource itself. The data from this study show increased reliance of the local community on the forest products to sustain their livelihoods. Most physically able individuals regardless of gender use the forest to fulfill their needs. They use the forest product to buy clothes, purchase food crops, to pay *iqub*, *idir* and to cover their expenditure. Charcoal and fire wood trade is the common activities performed by the local community to earn money.

In sum, in addition to its being done without the accord of the local communities, the worsening socio economic impact the afforested tree brought on the local communities further legitimated the destruction of forest. Moreover, informants argued that benefits deriving from the afforested trees are not occurring to the local people. These and other related problems make the people to have ill feeling towards the tree and to stand against the forest. Hence in the study area there were many incidents of the forest resource being vandalized often accompanied by lack alternatives, increased poverty, stern land shortage and the like. In the battle for survival they exploit the forest. This implies that the consequences of the displacement and resettlement process itself have in turn a set of degrading effects on afforested forest resource.

The forest management approaches used to analysis the data of this research is also found useful to understand the status of the Dire afforested trees. As clearly portrayed in chapter three the project on which the ownerships rights vested, employed protectionist approach to maintain the status of forest. About 217 guards were employed either on contract or permanent basis for surveillance of the forest. The local communities are still perceived by the project as destroying forest with out surveillance. As a result the forest use right and managements were curtailed from

the local community. This in turn resulted in animosity between the local people on the one hand and the management system as well as the forest resource on the other.

Even though the patrolling practice minimizes the mass destruction of the afforested plantation, it hardly stopped illegal cutting and encroachment by the local people. Practically, it has been observed when the local communities use the forest resource either in the absence of the forest guard and under the cover of darkness. Many agreed that the planted tree existed in the area not because of to the effectiveness of the management system; rather due to regenerative capacity of the eucalyptus plantation. Locals were also encroached in to the forest and the buffer zone disobeying the guideline of the project.

The adverse effects of the management are not limited to the afforested trees. It also affected the indigenous trees that existed in the area for the last many years. Using the rationale that such trees do not belong to the project, the communities openly use the tree. *Gaattiraa* (*Juniperus procera*) that believed to exist widely before the plantation were made to disappear. The area known as *Lega bosoonaa* (*Forest River*) is one of the most important area repeatedly cited by my informants for the irresponsible destruction of such trees particularly after the plantation scheme in the area.

Generally, as studies confirmed in many countries, the centralized management approach has not been effective in managing resource under its system. It rather led to a system of open access and unsustainable resource use. The prevalence of conflicts among different groups, the ineffectiveness of the management agency to enforce the rule and the increasing land scarcity in the area are still potential threats to the afforested land.

To sum up, such forced relocations, curtailment of resource access, abuse of power by the project and increased surveillance would neither bring the intended objective nor improve the livelihood of the community. The challenge is therefore to find a system of management that will minimize further destruction of forest resource by balancing protection objectives with production interest of the project and the interest of the local communities.

The criticism is not only limited to the protectionist approach. It also includes the displacement approach of environmental conservation. Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau, after decades of their experience in population displacement approach, revealed the inefficiency of the strategy. According to them, the strategy has exhausted its potential and its credibility, produced much damage, did not fulfill the expectations placed on it, and compromised the very cause of biodiversity and park/forest conservation by inflicting aggravated poverty on countless people. Thus they recommend the reconsideration of the strategy. They argued that “the displacement approach to conservation must be ‘de-mainstreamed’ in favor of joint management approach” (Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau, 2005:2).

For the subject of the study, I also recommend the importance of incorporating Joint Management Approach to arrest the ongoing forest depletion and to check impoverishment risks imposed on the local community. In other words, Joint Management Approach is one of the most viable approaches to bring “double sustainability” both for the local people and the forest resource.

Joint Forest Management is a system where local communities are involved in decision making and managerial responsibilities as well as beneficiaries of a share of revenue being generated by mainly externally operated commercial users of the forest (Alden Wily and Mbaya, 2001, Neuman, 1997). In the strategy the involvement of local people are of paramount importance. As studies from different countries indicate when local communities are empowered with responsibilities and made to develop a sense of ownership over forest resource the rate of deforestation substantially reduced.

An experience of Joint Forest Management in many countries, for instance, in Uganda (Beck, 2000); in India (Ghate, 2000; Ghate and Mehra, 2002), and in Philippines (Dizon, 2004) shows that involving local communities in forest management has led to more effective forest protection. It was also learnt that sustainable conservation depends on the cooperative attitudes of local people and forestry officials, and significantly on the legal and institutional backing of the state.

Because of the fact that the past effort in Ethiopia to effectively manage natural resource through top - down approach has been a failure, Joint Forest Management came into practice in 1990s. Several projects have started working in different forested areas to bring about active community involvement since the mid 1990s. Such participatory attempts include: Adaba-Dodola Integrated Forest Management project (IFMP), Borana Collaborative Forest Management Project (BCFMP), Chilimo and Bonga Joint Forest Management Project, and Menagesha-Suba Participatory Forest Management. Although it is too early to evaluate the overall outcomes of the projects, the situation of the resource might be in a better condition than in the former exclusive approach.

Hence the approach appears applicable to this project to ensure sustainable management of the Dire afforested forests while improving the livelihoods of local communities, primarily by generating alternative sources of income. If the approach put in place it will also help to ease the conflicting situation among and between the communities under the study.

Chapter Six

6. Summary and Conclusion

6.1. Summary

Many afforestation and forest protection projects in many developing countries resulted in failure. Ethiopia, where large afforestation and reforestation program undertaken in the 1980s, for instance, entered the post socialist era with huge deforestation which continued unabated. The major cause is that they are mostly donor driven during the tragic famine of 1984/85 and, hence their social accounting aspects were rarely taken into consideration. Besides, most of such projects were established by using displacement approach, which expelled large number of people from their bases of subsistence. On top of that, the premises of management are conservation against the local people than conservation for and with the people. The Dire afforestation project was an example of afforestation scheme established in such a way.

Afforestation program has been a national agenda, since the imperial time, probably dating back to the adoption of eucalyptus tree. To apprehend the famine, which was attributed to denudation and to fulfill the increasing need of fuel wood for swelling urban population, converting hillsides into eucalyptus plantation was found as panacea especially in the 1980s. Therefore, converting hillside pasture and farming land in to trees zone were a one time national excitement, which evicted thousands of households (Wood.1990; Pankhrust, 1998). The Dire afforestation project emerged following similar trend with the objectives of fulfilling the provision of fuel wood, pools and construction material for Addis Ababa city.

The Dire afforestation project was conducted between 1984/85 and 1989/90 based on the displacement principle, expelling large number of people from their homesteads. The tree which covers the total area of 12,849 hectare of land protected used the non participatory approach of the state management system until now. Nevertheless, the management system is neither maintains the status of the afforested tree nor the livelihood of the local population. It rather aggravated the problem of forest depletion. The study intended to analysis the socio- economic effects of the afforestation project and the social dynamics of deforestation. In order to study the stated problems, qualitative techniques of data collection were employed. Beside this, to

corroborate a theoretical argument with the finding of the study extensive assessment of secondary materials were made.

The most important issues include are: how was the afforestation project came in to existence? What was the reaction of the local community? What effects the project had on the local community? Do benefits derived from the forest resource accrue to the local community? Why do people cut the tree? What kind of relations do the project and the local community have? What kinds of feelings do the local communities have toward the forest resource? Is the management strategy effective? What should be done to maintain both the afforested tree and the livelihood of the local community? etc.

The discussion pointed out that the afforestation program in the study area was carried out without the consultation of the local people. The local people were excluded in the demarcation of the area designated for the plantation scheme. As a result a significant amount of fertile lands were taken over by the projects and converted in to eucalyptus plantation. The plantation activities had been performed through Food for Work program, mobilizing large number of people.

On top of this, the afforestation project has caused displacement of the local community. Large number of households was made to relocate either through villagization or relocation to the resettlement sites. In the study area about 315 and 330 households were made to resettle in Dire and Qarsa resettlement sites respectively in 1985. The households were made to be relocated from more than one PA. The displaced communities were not provided with alternatives or they lost their land and other properties without compensation. Only the roofs of the houses were erected without walls. Individuals using the material from their old houses made the walls and other interior details. On average two plots of farm lands were provided to them as replacement.

Though, the project use different deceptive measure like promises, the response on the side of the community was not welcoming from the start. The community resisted both the afforestation and the resettlement program in different forms. Their resentment ranges from open protest to taking different action against the project. They expressed their disagreement by being reluctant to

destroy their resident, refusing to involve in the activities, chasing away the labourer who came to dig their land, damaging the planted tree, destroying the project's property and the property made available for their use, encroaching in to the forest, and by cutting the tree and the like. The local community has ill feelings towards the forest resource. The management approach the project is using aggravated their negative feelings.

Since its commencement, the responsibility of protection and conservation of the afforested tree rested on the shoulder of the project. The afforested forest resource is still protected by armed guards. Currently the project has got about 217 armed guards for the surveillance of the forest resource. In other words the management strategy alienated the local people from responsibly of managing the forest. Though it has some protective values, it does not rescue the afforested tree from illegal exploitation. In the absence of any other alternative the local community were forced to depend on the forest resource. Unless urgent measure of paradigm shift of management that incorporate the local community in the management and benefit sharing is in place, both the forest resource and the local community will fall under severe problems.

The establishment of the tree plantation together with the management strategy employed had manifold impacts on the socio economic life of the communities. The fate of the local communities has obviously been impoverishment disaster. As already discussed, the project had claimed large areas of farming and grazing lands dislocating the local community. The expropriation of such large tracts of land negatively affected the local agriculture, animal husbandry practice and other land based livelihood. The project inflicted almost all set of risks identified by Cernea (2000). As briefly discussed in chapter four the major impoverishment disaster encountered the local community includes landlessness, homelessness, joblessness and lose of source of income, social disarticulation, and marginalization, risk of death, environmental effect, and security problems. The impoverishment disaster resulted from both the dislocation process and the management approach was employed by the project.

This in turn resulted in conflicts and contradictions. Conflicts and contradictions witnessed in the subjects of this study over the use and management of the afforested resource. The feeling the afforestation induced on the displaced community; the relation between the forest guards and the

community, the relation between the returnees and those who remained in the resettlement site and the relation between the severely affected and partially affected people are briefly discussed under chapter five.

6.2. Conclusion

In general the establishment of any development program like afforestation program of Dire afforestation which uses displacement approach without equitable livelihood alternative for the expelled population would result in the failure of the intended objectives. The community turns their face against the project that denied their livelihood in the absence of any alternative means of subsistence. The study also signifies the negative impact of the afforestation induced displacement on the local community. In fact, the community depends on the forest though they are unable to escape the impoverishment disaster. Hence the paper has emphasized the risks of the afforested trees and the risks and realities of impoverishment involved in the involuntary displacement and resettlement of inhabitants from the area designated to the plantation.

Moreover, this study clearly shows that the protectionist approach of forest management has the adverse effects both on the afforested resource and the restricted community. Therefore, the paper has stressed the need to look for the new intervention strategy to curb the depletion of the forest resource and to mitigate the impoverishment risks imposed on the local communities. In fact, there is ample evidence that indicates the success of participatory forest management strategy. Thus, the paper recommends the incorporation of local community in to the management and benefit sharing occurred from the forest resource. The devolution of power in resource management should be a guiding principle. This could be realized through the Joint Forest Management strategy. Hence, the incorporation of Joint Management Forest should be taken into consideration to maintain the afforested tree as well as the livelihood of the local community.

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Plate 1: Dire Resettlement site plan

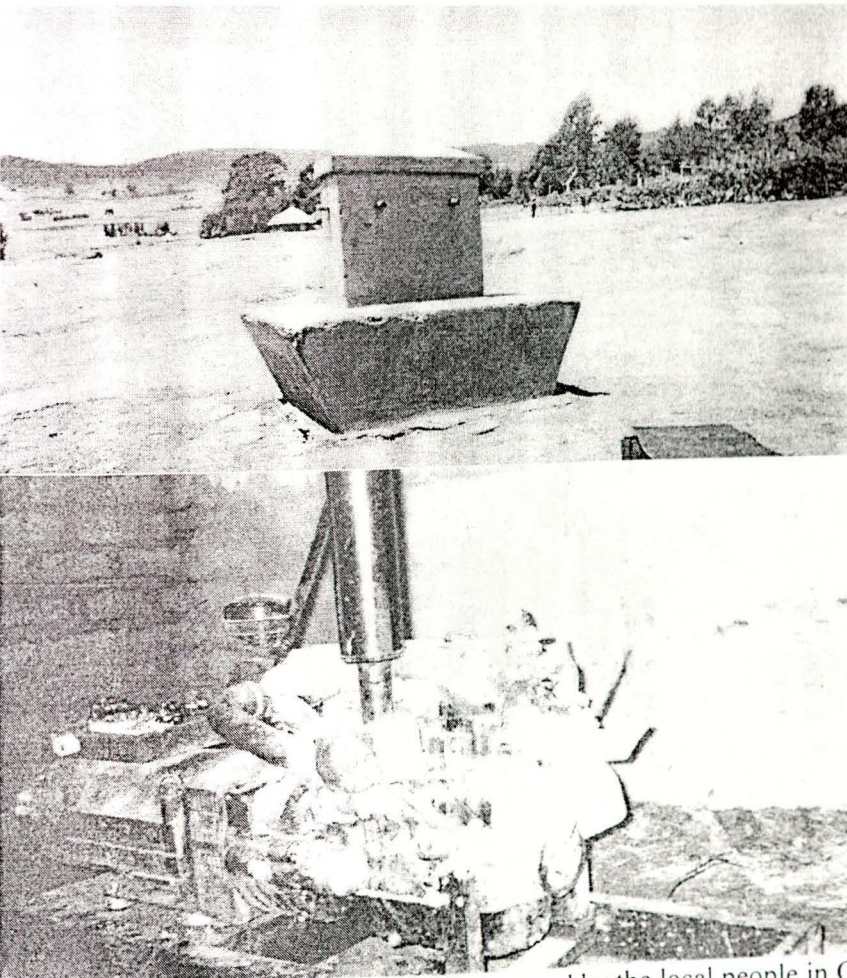


Plate 2: The Water pump and generator damaged by the local people in Qarsa resettlement site



Plate 3: Houses of people encroached in the forest

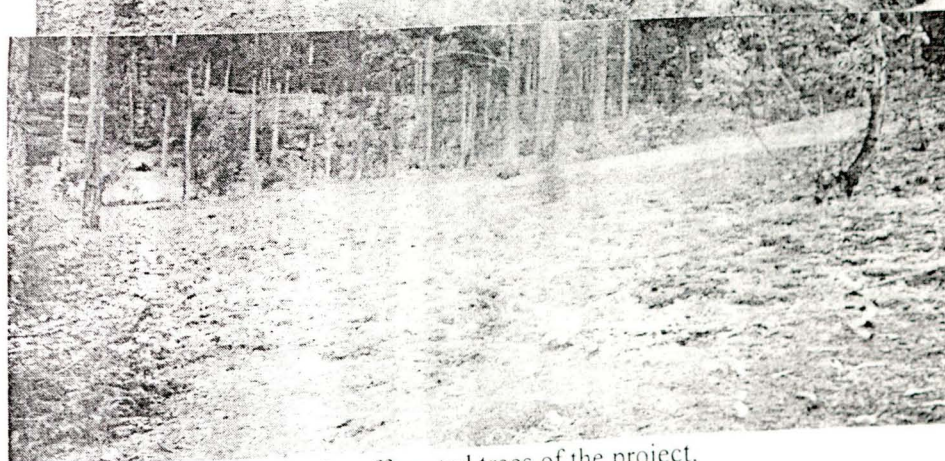


Plate 4: Farming plots in the afforested trees of the project.



Plate 5: Confiscated firewood from the community in the project compound

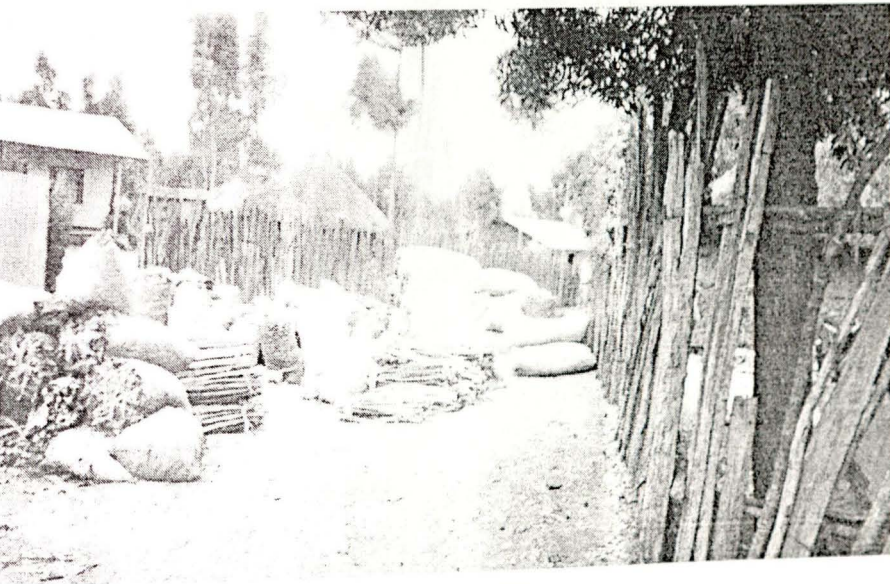


Plate 6: Charcoal and firewood in the market of Legadadi



Plate 7: Charcoal burning places



Plate 8: Tree cut found in the forest



Plate 9: Individual taking firewood for seal from Qarsa to Addis Ababa



Plate 10: Children return back their home carrying tree



Plate 11: Women going to collect fire wood and wind dropped leaves for market



Plate 12: Collected wind dropped leaves in Dire resettlement site for sale



Plate 13: Youngsters in the forest to cut tree

Declaration

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

Name Hirpa Eshetu

Signature Hirpa

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Date: July 26, 2006