

*Addis Ababa*  
*University*  
*(Since 1950)*



**SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**  
**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY**

**DIFFERENTIAL LIVELIHOOD AND ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES OF  
SPONTANEOUS AND ORGANIZED RESETTLERS IN GURAFERDA  
WOREDA OF SOUTHWESTERN ETHIOPIA (SNNPR)**

**BY**

**ABEJE MENBERU**

*Addis Ababa*  
*University*  
*(Since 1950)*



SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

**DIFFERENTIAL LIVELIHOOD AND ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES OF  
SPONTANEOUS AND ORGANIZED RESETTLERS IN GURAFERDA  
WOREDA OF SOUTHWESTERN ETHIOPIA (SNNPR)**

**BY**

**ABEJE MENBERU**

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

**ADVISOR: TADESSE BERISO (PhD)**

**October, 2011**

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Above all, I praise the father of all humanity, the Almighty God for enabling me to be this research.

I express my sincere gratitude to my thesis advisor, Dr. Tadesse Berriso (Assoc. Professor) for his invaluable and relentless scholarly guidance. Had it not been his wisdom and friendly approaches, it could not have reached to the end.

It gives me great pleasure to extend my sincere gratitude to Dr Gebre Yntiso for the advice he offered when I bore the research idea. His scholarly inputs during the beginning gave me the map how to enact the research proposal and even the strategies to be employed.

The contribution of my brother, Dr. Reta Menberu in providing all the necessary material and financial inputs that I needed to accomplish the thesis and the study as well enabled me to carry out all my duties successfully.

During my stay in the Wäräda and the research sites, the presence and assistance of Tesfaye, Samuel, Abebe Firew, and Teferra Moliso, along with their staff in their offices was very valuable. You all have given all the necessary backing that I was seeking from the beginning to the end of the research work.

It is good opportunity to appreciate my brother Taye, who shared all the hardships going with me to both sample kábäles and made possible all the necessary facilities. I would like to mention that without him it was all impossible to face the challenges in the research area.

The cooperation of the officers in Bench-Maji Zone Rural Development Bureau, none Police Criminal Investigation and Protection Office, Tourism and Communication office, and Officers in Rural Development and Food Security, Security, Administration and Civil Service of Gurafarda Wäräda. It was

My appreciation is also to Wotwa and Gelit (Qu'ttir Amäst) Kábäle managers, committees, and all the extension staffs.

My deepest thank goes to my wife Meskerem Tesfaye, who always encourages and fills my heart with energy. I appreciate my daughters: Wuhib, Tifsihit, Meklit and Ruhama for their patience during the research time.

## ***Abstract***

*This study attempted to explain the dynamic livelihood and adaptive strategies of the spontaneous and state-organized resettlers in Gurafarda Wäräda. The study area since 2001 has exhibited demographic and economic changes. The changes took place due to the population influx from Amhara region and SNNPR (South, Nation, Nationalities and Peoples region) in a spontaneous and organized manner of resettlement respectively. The study has taken in to account the intra-regional organized and the inter-regional spontaneous resettlers' as subject of study and their livelihood and adaptation strategies as variables. In the livelihood strategies: land acquisition, land holding, labour recruitment, production, live stalk rearing, socio-economic and religious institutions and their role were dealt.*

*The study, so as to collect the abovementioned data, administer the combination of observation, interview: formal and informal, survey using questionnaire, case studies from spontaneous, organized and the host Me'etit community and document analysis. The mixed data collection method was employed to suit to the dynamics of the schemes and to collect as diverse data as possible.*

*The data collected indicated that the resettlers have engaged different approaches in order to fit to the local environment. Their livelihood and adaptive strategy helped the spontaneous resettler to benefit from the richness of the local physical environment and gained immeasurable economic benefit than the organized resettlers. The organized resettlers though not as the spontaneous resettlers, have social and economic enhancement compared to their home of origin. The failure is due to the diverse ethnic composition in the new area, inability to recruit potential resettlers and inefficient management. This differential economic growth of the spontaneous and organized resettlers had never been without challenges. In this case, as of the economic and social differential attainments, they recorded difference in conflict within and*

*without the resettling community. The organized resettlers, though they have mild ethnic tensions among the same type but differing ethnicity, are better peaceful within and local community than the spontaneous resettlers. The spontaneous resettlers encountered deadly conflicts with their fellow resettlers of the same type, the local people due to land and related issues and with the local political authorities due to difference in political interests. The land tenure, acquisition and labour recruitment and social organizations differences contributed paramount role for differential socio-economic development in the resettlement schemes.*

*Both resettlement schemes particularly the spontaneous, engaged in deforestation. The land covered by crops increased from year to year. The unceasing influx of population seeking for farmland has devastating effect on the forest and the natural resource in general. The forest for the indigenous Me'enit community is everything where their livelihood is dependent on.*

*Both schemes exhibited differential success and failures in economic, social and environmental affairs. The effect of the resettlement had not been only the forest resource of the area but also on the host Me'enit community.*

**Key Words:** Resettlement, Organized resettlement, Spontaneous Resettlement, Livelihood Strategies, Adaptive strategies

## **Acronyms**

- BMZRDO** – Bench-Maji Zone Rural Development and Food Security Office
- BMZTCO** - Bench-Maji Zone Tourism and Communication
- BMZPO** – Bench-Maji Zone Police
- BMZ** – Bench-Maji Zone
- CSA** – Central Statistics Agency
- DFID** – Department for International Development
- EPRDF** - Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front
- FDRE** - Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
- GWRDFSO** - Gurafarda Wäräda Rural Development and Food Security Office
- OGWA** - Office of Gurafarda Wäräda Administration
- GWCSO** - Gurafarda Wäräda Civil Service Office
- GWSO** - Gurafarda Wäräda Security Office
- HH** - Household
- HHH** – Household Head
- IRP** - Integrated Rehabilitation Project
- IRR** - Impoverishment Risk Reconstruction

**MOA** - Ministry of Agriculture

**NERICA-** New Rice for Africa

**NGO-** Non Governmental Organization

**SLF -** Sustainable Livelihood Framework

**SNNPR-** South Nations Nationalities and Peoples Region

**UN-** United Nations

## **List of Tables**

Table1: Wotwa Kābāle (Spontaneous Resettlement) Population.....	47
Table 2: Households ethnic background at Qu'ttir Amāst (Gelit) .....	48
Table3: Age of the sample household heads of both schemes .....	49
Table 4: Resettlement and Religious Dynamics.....	50
Table 5: Sample Households' Ethnic Background.....	51
Table 6: Social and economic differences in place of origin and the new area .....	52
Table 7: If options were given to choose their destination area. ....	54
Table 8: Organized Resettlers retention and abandonment.....	55
Table 9: Differential landholding in the place of origin and in the resettlement site .....	61
Table 10: Land use land Cover of the wārāda. ....	62
Table 11: Comparative view of the total population against the land use strategies .....	63
Table 12: Land coverage, production and productivity of rice in the wārāda since 2002 ....	70
Table 13: Livestock rearing.....	73
Table14: Murder incidences in the Wārāda in first quarter of 2003 (20010/11) fiscal year.	97

## Table of Content

List of Tables.....	i
Acronyms .....	ii
Acknowledgement.....	iii
Abstract .....	iv
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
\1.1 Background of the Study.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem .....	2
1.3 Objectives of the Study .....	6
1.4 Significance of the Study .....	6
1.5 Scope and Limitation of the Study .....	7
1.6 Methodology .....	7
1.6.1 The Research Site Selection.....	9

1.6.2 Data Collection Methods.....	9
1.7 Methods of Data Analysis .....	12
1.8 Field Experience.....	13
1.9 Organization of the Research Paper .....	15
CHAPTER TWO.....	16
2. REVIEW OD RELATED LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMWORK.....	16
2.1 Literature Review .....	16
2.1.1 Global Experience: Spontaneous and Organized .....	16
2.1.2 Resettlement History in Ethiopia: Spontaneous and Organized .....	18
2.1.3 The 1980s Derg’s Resettlement: Objectives and Implementation .....	19
2.1.4 The Intra-Regional Resettlement of 2003-5: Objectives and Implementation.....	19
2.1.5 Livelihood Strategies.....	21
2.1.6 Adaptive Strategies.....	22
2.1.7 Voluntary- Involuntary Controversy .....	23
2.1.8 Land Tenure System.....	24
2.1.9 Factors Affecting the Success of Resettlement Programmes .....	25
2.1.10 Spontaneous Versus Organized Resettlement.....	28
2.1.11 The Host Community .....	31
2.2 Theoretical Framework .....	32

2.2.1	The Concept of Resettlement .....	32
2.2.2	Processual Analysis Resettlement as a Sequence.....	33
2.2.3	Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction Model .....	35
2.2.4	Inherent Complexities Model.....	36
CHAPTER THREE	.....	38
3. DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA.....		39
3.1 Bench-Maji Zone.....		39
3.1.1	Location.....	39
3.1.2	Population and Ethnic Composition.....	39
3.1.3	Agro-Ecology and Economy .....	41
3.2 Gurafarda Wārāda .....		42
3.2.1	Location.....	39
3.2.2	Historical Background and Foundation.....	42
3.2.3	Agro-Ecology and Economy of the Wārāda .....	44
3.3 Wotwa and Qu'ttir Amäst: the Study Kābāles .....		46
3.3.1	Wotwa .....	46
3.3.2	Qu'ttir Amäst (Gelit) Kābāle.....	47
CHAPTER FOUR	.....	49
4. STUDY FINDING AND ANALYSIS.....		49
4.1	Profile of State-Sponsored and Spontaneous Resettlers Since 2001.....	49

4.1.1	Composition of Sample Household Heads by Age and Sex .....	49
4.1.2	Religious Background of Sample Household Heads .....	50
4.1.3	Ethnic Composition of the Sample Resettlement Villages .....	51
4.1.4	Differential Socio-Economic Status before and after the Resettlement .....	52
4.1.5	Voluntariness and Decision-Making Process.....	53
4.2	Resettlers' Differential Livelihood Strategies .....	56
4.2.1	Land Tenure and Land Acquisition Strategies .....	56
4.2.2	Land, Marriage and Divorce .....	62
4.2.3	Landholding and Socio—Economic Status.....	63
4.2.4	Land Use Land Cover.....	64
4.2.5	Labour Recruitment and Organizations .....	66
4.2.6	Production, Consumption and Market.....	69
4.2.7	Rice and Its Role .....	70
4.2.8	Livestock Raising .....	72
4.2.9	Agricultural Production Calendar .....	74
4.3	Socio-Economic Institutions .....	74
4.4	Adaptive Strategies: Spontaneous and Organized Resettlers.....	82
4.4.1	Social Integration .....	82

4.4.2 Religious Institutions and Their Role.....	85
4.4.3 Resettlers and the Physical Environment .....	87
i. The Resettlers' Perception and Strategy to the Physical Environment.....	88
ii. The Land, Rice and Trees .....	89
iii. The Trees, Bees and the Cattle.....	90
iv. Forest, Resettlers and Agriculture Invertors .....	91
4.5 Resettlers' Differential Socio-Economic Change and Continuity .....	92
4.6 The Resettlers' Chasllenges .....	96
4.6.1 Disease and Morbidity.....	96
4.6.2 Conflict within the Resettlers and with Others .....	97
4,6,3 "Voluntary" Versus "Illegal" Resettlers.....	100
4.6.4 Aid and Its Impact .....	102
4.7 The Host Community Vis-á-vis the Resettlers.....	104
CHAPTER FIVE.....	108
5. CONCLUSIONS .....	108
Biliography.....	113
Annexes	



# CHAPTER ONE

## 1. Introduction

This study deals with differential livelihood and adaptive strategies of the 2000s spontaneous and organized resettlers undertaken in Gurafarda Wäräda. In this chapter, an attempt has been made to provide background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives, significance and scope of the study. In addition, the chapter explains how the research site was selected, methods which were employed and fieldwork experience.

### 1.1 Background of the study

Resettlement programmes are widely practiced in developing countries to solve the problems of population pressure, unemployment and poverty. This is because resettlement is politically desirable and easier to execute than any other agrarian reform. There might be continuity of resettlement programmes to correct spatial imbalances in the distribution of population, settling refugees, and exploiting frontier lands for the purposes of national security. This is why revision of resettlement policies becomes important (Oberai, 1992:109f). Hence, resettlement is an ongoing exercise mainly aimed at bringing about changes in agricultural productivity for the purpose of securing food and relieving human pressure from densely populated areas (Kassahun 1998, Pausewang, et al 1990).

Ethiopia is one of the developing countries, which has been experiencing resettlement dating back for centuries even though the practice was not labeled as resettlement. (Kassahun, 1998, Alemneh, 1990). However, it has been stated by different authors that planned resettlement was initiated by the Haile Selassie Regime and significantly intensified under the Derg and being carried out till now (Dessalegn, 2003; Pankhurst and Piguet, 2009).

Gurafarda, the target of this thesis, is one of the ten wärädas of Bench-Maji Zone. Since recently it is being known for its agricultural productivity, holding diverse population and being target for agriculture investors. After the failure of the 1980s resettlement, the wäräda was taken as unsafe for human life and productivity. The then resettlers assigned there were transferred to

Kaffa Zone and Wälläga (Pankhurst, 1992 and Almneh 1990). Having this disastrous history, the area which had been the Derg's resettlement site changed in to wildernesses. However, since 2001, it was again opened by the wäräda authorities to voluntary spontaneous resettlement. People were invited to resettle in the wäräda. The pioneering Amhara resettlers from North Shoa and Gondar resettled in "unsafe" area. They became economically successful. Having seen this economic success of the spontaneous resettlers, the regional government selected Bench-Maji zone destination for the new 'intra-regional resettlement programme'. Along with other wärädas of the zone, Gurafarda, the research area, was select to resettle about 6000 households from different zones of the region (SNNPRG, 2002).

This research is about the differential livelihood and adaptation strategies employed by the spontaneous and state-sponsored resettlers and its impact on the local social and physical environment in Gurafarda wäräda.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Resettlement has a long history in Ethiopia. People, either through the government programme or in their own accord, have been moving from drought prone, highly populous, natural resource depleted and land fragmented areas to better destinations. Resettlement projects have been carried out mainly as a response to extreme food insecurity, land degradation, recurrent drought and famine, ethnic or religious conflicts, over population and unemployment (Pankhurst 2004:12; Kassahun, 2000:124). Oberai (1992) and Pankhurst (1992) stated that the above objectives are mostly used by the government-sponsored resettlement schemes. Having these purposes, like other developing countries Ethiopia has embarked on planned resettlement since the late 1960s (Kassahun, 2000:124). On the other hand, spontaneous resettlement in Ethiopia appears to be earlier than that of state-organized scheme (Berihun, 1996:18).

Oberai noting to recent studies conducted in Ethiopia, indicates that 75% of the current rate of new rural land settlement is due to spontaneous resettlement (1992:104). The resettlement schemes, past and present, either spontaneous or state-organized are implemented

predominantly in the lowlands where population densities are low and land is thought to be unutilized (Piguet & Dechasa, 2004:134).

The direction of rural-to-rural migration for both schemes since earlier times is north-to-south. Pankhurst had identified not only the pushing but also the pulling factors to their destinations as:

*Spontaneous migration occurred in response to “Push factors” in the north and “pull factors” in the south. The former include degradation and population pressure, a system of land tenure which led to fragmentation of holdings, evictions resulting from large mechanized estates, and periodic and increasing of famine. Pull factors including availability of land and opportunity for wage labour and trade (1992:14).*

Though the resettlement programmes, spontaneous and organized, have been taking place in southern and southwestern parts of the country, the researches except few around Wälläga (Berihun1996, Taffesse 2007, Assafa, 1995 and South Omo (Turner and Turner, 1984), targeted northwest part of the country, particularly the Mätäkäl/ Pawi resettlement sites.

With regard to the research area, Pankhurst (1992) and Alemneh (1992) have had little focusing only on the failure of the 1980s resettlement programme. After the failure of the 1980s programme, spontaneous resettlers from Amhara and the intra-regional resettlers from the SNNPR have reoccupied the area. Though the area has been target and destination for spontaneous and organized resettlement, much has not been known unlike other resettlement places of the country.

The 2000s state-sponsored resettlements are within regions of the resettlers’ place of origin based on the manner called intra-regional. This was designed so that the new programme may not repeat the mistakes that the former regimes had committed (Piguet & Dechasa, 2004: 166). However, in the research area the programme did not seem to alleviate the drawbacks of the former resettlement programmes that EPRDF has been criticizing the regimes.

Since 2001 more than seven villages by spontaneous resettlers who came from Amhara region and eight villages by state-organized resettlers were established in the wäräda under question. In the 2003/5 state-sponsored resettlement programme, the government of South Nation Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPRG) has resettled about 6000 households from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds of the region (Belay, 2009:37).

Due to population growth and the employment of diverse livelihood and adaptive strategies, both resettlement types impose adverse effects on the host population by alienating them vital livelihood resources (land, forest, Pasture). The land held by the host community, for instance, was distributed to the government-sponsored and spontaneous resettlers legally by the government and illegally by the local elites respectively. As a result, the indigenous adaptive land use and livelihood systems were disturbed. However the effects of resettlement upon the livelihoods of the host population is well known, it has received little consideration and there is generally a tendency showing reluctance to investigate further into the welfare of the host communities (Gebre, 2003:50ff). Notwithstanding this fact, resettlement programmes are being implemented with superficial 'consent' of the host community.

Concerning the research area after 2001, Belay Haile (2009) has investigated the impact of resettlement on land use land cover change; taking the government-sponsored sites as subjects with a shallow look at the spontaneous resettlers. He did not investigate the socio-economic and cultural impacts of both resettlement schemes.

This research, however, changed the research direction from western and northwestern down to the southwest bottom of the country. Thematically, it deals with the differential strategies applied by the spontaneous and organized resettlers and their adaptation mechanisms to fit to the new social and physical environment.

The resettlement schemes (spontaneous and organized) in the research area differ in their food self-sufficiency and adaptation to the new area. Therefore, these disparities in socio-economic

features might have emanated from the differential social network, landholding strategy, cultural factors and even willingness of the resettlers to settle in the new site. In general, success or failure appears to be dependent on the resettlers' livelihood and adaptive strategies to the new social and physical environment.

Many scholars argue on the scheme which makes the resettlers successful in the new social and physical environment. Oberai, comparing both schemes, asserts that:

*Planned movement often entails a high degree of government involvement, including selection of the settlers, provision of services and financial aid. Such settlement appears in many countries to have major disadvantages because of the relatively high costs that limit the number of participants in the programme and the poor achievements in terms of relieving population pressure in densely populated areas (1992:104).*

On the other hand, "voluntary spontaneous migration, that is settlement resulted in haphazard manner initiated and undertaken by people on their own accord, is more effective than the planned settlement programmes" (Balan, 1981:244; and Pankhurst, 1992:11). In the research area, the Amhara inter-regional spontaneous resettlers have brought about better economic attainment than the intra-regional state-sponsored resettlers from SNNPR.

Therefore, taking the mentioned ideas as a benchmark, the research investigates differential livelihood and adaptive strategies the resettlers, spontaneous and state-organized, employed so as to successfully cope with the threats that they encountered from displacement to reconstruction process. Hence, in order to compare and contrast the strategies: socio-economic structures, land acquisition and landholdings, labour organization, production and marketing, the role of social institutions, the resettlers' relation among themselves, and their interaction with the local social and physical environment were taken as variables.

The impact of the resettlers' diverse livelihood and adaptation strategies on the host community and the physical environment is due regarded.

In the end, though not thoroughly, the compatibility of the intra-regional resettlement scheme to the context of SNNPR is inquired. The emphasis of this study is to identify strategies that have

caused differences in the lives of both resettlement schemes at Gurafarda resettlement area in Bench-Maji Zone of South Nation Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR).

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The general objective of this study is to compare and describe the major socio-economic and adjustment strategies of state-sponsored and self-initiated resettlers alongside the physical and social environment in the research area. Specific objectives are to:

- identify the challenges and opportunities that both the organized and the spontaneous resettlers have been encountering
- assess the differential livelihood strategies of the organized and the spontaneous resettlers so as to be food secured and self-sufficient
- examine the adaptation mechanisms of both types of resettlers to the new social and physical environment
- inquire the intra-regional resettlement scheme in the context of the linguistic and cultural diversity of the SNNPR

### **1.4 Significance of the Study**

Resettlement has been an ongoing recurrent episode of the country. Therefore, it requires updating studies suitable to the socio-economic dynamics of the resettlement schemes at a time. Spontaneous and organized resettlement schemes have been widely put into operation in the western and southwestern peripheries of the country since many years ago. For the reason that this research scrutinizes the differential socio-economic and adaptive strategies of spontaneous and organized resettlers, it may be significant for:

- policymakers to design programmes and regulations suitable to all actors in the resettlement wäräda in particular and the region in general
- The comparative study incorporating different methods of study and theories would produce indications in the future showing the direction of looking into resettlement

programmes which have been implemented through spontaneous and organized manner. In this regard, this research may also contribute to fill the knowledge gap in understanding resettlement as a strategy and resettlement as a practice in examining diverse strategies employed by resettlers from multicultural and multilingual backgrounds in both resettlement schemes.

### **1.5 Scope and Limitation of the Study**

This research is confined on the 2000s spontaneous and state-sponsored resettlement schemes in Gurafarda wäräda. The theme the study concerns is the livelihood and adaptive strategies of spontaneous and organized resettlers. The impact of their strategies on the natural resource particularly the forest, the host community and on the resettlers themselves was explored.

In due course of the fieldwork, the researcher encountered impediments. Among them the unavailability and discrepancy of the required data in different offices was severe. Particularly data of population distribution and their location about the local community was not found. Therefore, the researcher relied on the kábäle tax payers list to fill the gap. Besides, suspicion of the spontaneous resettlers to offer data was the prime hindrance. They considered me as a government agent who registers landholding size and seeking for resettlers who entered the sites without getting permission and residence ID from the wäräda administration. It took much of the research time and energy of the researcher to redesign and began collecting the intended data. The political sensitivity of the programme made the office bearers to watch it as deceitful because the wäräda authorities have been suspected of corruption in relation to land resettlement.

### **1.6 Methodology**

Livelihood studies are generally multi-disciplinary in nature and are best pursued using multiple and mixed methods (Ellis, 2000; Francis, 2001 and Murray, 2002 in Chimhowu, 2006:730). Therefore, qualitative and quantitative approaches of data collection were designed and applied in conducting this study. This is because qualitative method helps to choose certain individuals and elicit detailed and comprehensive information fit to the research objective. The qualitative approach includes in depth interviews, focus group discussions and direct observation of

operations, which are important to obtain unintended and unanticipated data on the subject under study (Bouma, 2000).

The other important method in social research is the quantitative approach, which includes sample surveys. This method helps to provide numerical results, which can be reported in tables, graphs and charts stating the proportion and the trends of events and occurrences. In addition to this, quantitative method is necessary to obtain data for making predictions and generalizations (Ibid).

Both qualitative and quantitative methods are neither the same nor different but complement each other by overcoming possible shortcomings. The combination of the two methods is important in order to obtain the nearest accurate and realistic picture of necessary information (Creswell, 2008).

Therefore, the research focused the combination of the two methods in order to gather data of livelihood and adaptation strategies of the spontaneous and organized resettlers in Gurafarda Wäräda.

Employing the mentioned methods, the study was conducted in *Gurafarda wäräda focusing on* 2000s spontaneous and organized resettlement programmes. As mentioned above, the study is comparative based on the livelihood and coping strategies of spontaneous and state-organized resettlers. The comparison was carried on purposefully selected Wotwa kábäle of spontaneous and *Gelit (Qu'ttir Amäst)* kábäle of organized resettlement sites.

The fieldwork took a total of 18 weeks. It was undertaken in two rounds. The first round lasted from July 21 till September 19, 2010. During this time: paving situations to gain entry to the study area, establishing rapport and gathering baseline information through informal interviews about the research theme were done. The second round fieldwork was undertaken from January 16 to April 15. In this period, the intended data were collected employing the methods mentioned below.

### **1.6.1 The Research Site Selection**

The research site was selected for various reasons. The *Wäräda* was selected for the reason that the researcher experienced the area during the 1980s resettlement programme. After the failure of that programme, the site was closed and deserted for it was thought to be unsuitable for living and farming. However, the researcher learnt that the *Wäräda*, notwithstanding its 'hostility' for human beings, become home area for many. The abandoned resettlement sites in the *Wäräda* were reestablished by the spontaneous resettlers who pioneered to live since 2001. Following the spontaneous resettlement, the government launched intra-regional resettlement programme since 2003. The area, therefore, became residence for different ethnic groups who resettled through spontaneous and state-sponsored schemes.

The second reason that compelled the researcher to conduct the study in the selected site was the far-reaching socio-economic changes of the *wäräda*. After 2003, the *wäräda* became surplus producer of rice and sesame which are new agricultural produces not accustomed in the zone. In addition to the study *wäräda*, the zone itself became the destination for in-migrants from the north of the country.

In 2008 clashes between the spontaneous resettlers and the host community resulted in compelling out the resettlers who had been living in Me'etit Shasha *wäräda* for eight years. The clash happened in the *wäräda* where majority of the Me'etit, the same indigenous community in this study, resides.

In addition to the spontaneous resettlement, the researcher experienced multilingual resettlers inhabit in the *wäräda* in particular and the zone in general. As a result, the researcher wanted to know if there is significant difference and similarity between the spontaneous and organized resettlers and why these differences are exhibited.

## 1.6.2 Data Collection Methods

In order to realize the research objectives, this research employed the following data collection methods.

The first and widely employed method was **observation**. This method was utilized in order to obtain information on the day-to-day activities of the farmer households, labor organization, and other livelihood strategies of the actors. It was also done through the examination of the villages' structure, the social structures of spontaneous and organized resettlement, and the host community as well.

**Interviews:** in-depth interviews were held with the selected community elites, dignitaries, religious leaders and elderly people. In order to identify the issues of focus and the resourceful people, I employed informal interviews with diverse people from the zone to the kábäle level to identify key informants. In the end I preferred people from both resettlement schemes who pioneered resettlement sites, the local and KA (Kábäle Association) who involved in local governance and mediation. Semi-structured interview was also employed with wäräda office of security, experts at the *Wäräda* Rural Development and Food Security Office, Bench-Maji Zone Tourism and Communication Desk, Rural Development and Food Security Bureau and the Zone Police.

Using interview, information on livelihood strategies i.e. means of access to resources, ecological change, labor organization, criminal activities, social security and conflict in the wäräda and the target kábäles were dealt.

**Case study** was conducted with six individuals. Two of them were from organized and three from spontaneous resettlers of different socio-economic and gender backgrounds, and one from the host community. This was intended to reconstruct household story, coping strategies, decision-making process, livelihood strategies, means of access to resources, comparison between the two schemes, relationship within the homogeneous community and others outside it, food security status, livelihood diversification on household basis. The case studies were

collected through open, formal and informal discussions and frequent visit. Unless it is stated with consent, real names of informants are not used.

**Survey** was employed to supplement data gathered through qualitative method to compare both resettlement schemes using quantitative data. So as to collect the data, two Kábäles, one from each scheme, were selected using purposive sampling. These Kábäles were Wotwa and Qu'ttir Amäst (Gelit) which represent spontaneous and organized resettlement schemes respectively. The resettlement sites were selected for the reason that each was the first resettlement site for the respective scheme. Out of the five villages (määndärs) in Wotwa Kábäle three were selected using simple random sampling method. The villages namely are *Čodit*, *Giorgis* and *Qu'ttir Hulet*. The sample households from the selected kábäles were selected proportional to the household number of each village. Accordingly, 20 sample households from each of *Čodit* and *Qu'ttir Hulet*, and 25 from *Giorgis* were selected.

On the other hand, *Qu'ttir Amäst* has three villages (*Mändär/Go'tts*). From each village /*mändär*/ 15 households were selected for the research purpose. Though the number of the total population is 182 for the purpose of ensuring the validity of the data collected, I decided to increase the number of sample households. The survey, therefore, included 110 sample households of which 65 are spontaneous and 45 state-sponsored resettlers. Out of the total sample household heads, 5 from the spontaneous and 4 from organized were not found to respond. As a result, the analysis of the survey data is concentrated only on the valid 101 sample households. The sample population was selected through systematic random technique using the tax payers list of the respective Kábäle administrations. The questionnaire, which was a combination of closed and open-ended questions, inquired topics such as sex, age, family size, landholding size, production strategy, annual income, livestock rearing, labour organization, push and pull factors, off-farming activities and other related issues.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> *The Questionnaire is attached in annex II*

Three enumerators (a female and 2 male) were employed to administer the questionnaire. They were given a half-day explanation on how to administer the questionnaire. All the enumerators are residents in the Wārāda who have exposure to the resettlement. They are BA holders in Educational Management, Management and Sociology. The survey was conducted from January 10-March 20, 2011.

**Focus group discussion** (FGD) was also conducted with both types of resettlers and the host Me'enit communities. It was intended to get information for some of the data that seem to be blurred and may not be fully collected from the in-depth interviews. It served to discuss controversial issues such as land tenure, land acquisition strategies, conflict, and interaction within and outside community, social institutions and their function among the resettling community. The focus groups comprised people from different ethnicity, categories of resettlement, age, sex and occupational status of the participants. In so doing, it was attempted to make all the participants have equal opportunity in the discussion. The kábāle leaders of the identified villages were organized as one separate FGD in each sample site. Two FGDs were conducted in each resettlement schemes and one from the host Me'enit community. In each FGD, 8-10 discussants were recruited. Research assistant was engaged here as a secretary. In some FGDs recording was not permitted. Therefore, together with the assistant, I tried to note some crucial ideas. Each FGD was transcribed immediately after the discussion.

**Document Analysis:** The researcher has also made use of the existing written documents to examine the changes in demography, socio-economic and cultural practices of the research area. The researcher also analyzed documents from the Kábāle Administrations (KAs), *Wārāda* Agriculture and Food Security Office, Justice Office, and Bench-Maji Zone Trade and Investment Bureau, Zone and wārāda Police; Tourism and communication, and Rural Development Bureaus.

## **1.7 Methods of Data Analysis**

Data collected from different sources were organized and analyzed to explore differential socio-economic and adaptive strategies of both resettlement schemes. Narration of historical incidences, description of events and direct quotations from FGDs and interviews were

employed. Concerning the data gathered through survey and demographic enumerations, simple quantitative analysis techniques i.e. percentage and frequency distributions were employed.

All the data were used to make comparison between the organized and the spontaneous resettlers. This was done in order to bring about differential livelihood and adaptive strategies employed by the resettlers in both schemes. The analysis was done in triangulating the data collected through different methods.

## **1.8 Field Experience**

I arrived at the research area for the first time in July 2010. At that time, I brought official letter from the Mizan-Tepi University to the Zone Agriculture and Rural Development Office. Via the Zone Agriculture office I was given entrance letter to the research wäräda. I gave it to Gurafarda Wäräda Agriculture and Rural Development Office and demanded an entrance letter to the research sites. I encountered challenges for the reason that the resettlement issue was related to corruption among the leaders of the wäräda administration. As a result, the then officers were under investigation by the Federal Anti-Corruption and Ethics Bureau. Therefore, no one was liable to entertain the issue of my research topic. A friend of mine who is working in the wäräda advised me to change the topic. I insistently endeavored to convince them by saying that my work had no relationship with the corruption investigation.

As a result of the incidence, this issue of getting pass to the kábäles was prolonged until September. After having had my courses in AAU, on January, I returned back to my research area. Until that time, the issue was thought to be untouchable for some. However, I decided to persist on doing my research. Then, I identified key informants through gathering information through informal interactions with people at different level. Another abrupt impeding incidence happened. Teachers of the wäräda had a strike for the reason that their desert (hardship) allowance was seized by the regional authority. I, formerly put teachers in to my proposal as guide personnels in each site. As a result, I had no one to assist me in the selected kábäles. Searching for other options, I established relation with the Wäräda Civil Service Office. The office is recently established having mandate on the kábäle managers. I was given letters for

Berji, Kuja, Wotwa and Qu'ttir Amäst Kåbåle managers to facilitate the necessary conditions required for the research. Then, I began establishing new partnership with the managers and Kåbåle Associations members (KAs). Having done this task, with assistance researchers, began seeking those key informants. Establishing rapport with them, I got passport to get in to every site with my co-researcher.

Having finished the first round challenge, I passed onto the second part in Wotwa. It is the sample kåbåle where the first spontaneous resettlers reside. It is a highly populous kåbåle in the wåråda and divided in to five måndårs (sub-villages). These resettlers were thought by the political authorities of the wåråda as transferences of "illegal" resettlers. Therefore, in the beginning, I was suspected as a spy of the government to hand over information about the "illegal" resettlers. For this reason, most of the resettlers were not willing to give us information. Changing the strategy, I participated in church service (liturgy) at St. Giorgis Church on 29<sup>th</sup> of January. This was the first successful trust building strategy through which I got recognition from the whole community of the Kåbåle. Believers from all the villages gathered there at every 23<sup>rd</sup> day of every Ethiopian month. The day is the commemoration of St. Georges the martyr. It was the day I participated in the mahbår at the church yard. They trusted me for I was introduced to the entire community by the arch priest of the wåråda. This was also the moment I had first observation on the social structure between the clergymen and believers of the religion.

On March 14, I went to *Gelit (Qu'ttir Amäst)* which is the sample kåbåle where the first state-organized resettlers settled. The kåbåle is about 20 Km away from Biftu (the wåråda principal). Therefore, I along with my co researcher, have to travel by taxi up to Berji junction (about 8Km from Biftu) then walk about 12 km downward to Gelit. At this time, key informants were made ready for the interview. Then, I with the assistance of the extension workers selected focus group discussants. A day after, all the extension workers of health and agriculture were given orientation about my research topic and the methods employed. With their request, we all gathered at night and had a briefing about the survey questionnaire. They agreed to collect data in their *Yelimat Buddin (development group)*, (*Gelit is divided into three Yelimat Budin*).

Message was sent to all the Kābāle Administration committee for FGD. I was given every document I inquired.

In the end, with the help of my guide person, the health extension worker, I contacted with the Me'enit community living isolated from the settling population. I then, returned back to the Zone Police, Rural Development Office, and the Wārāda Rural Development Office, Food Security Office and Security Office. Until I returned back to Addis Ababa in April, I stayed at Mizan-Teferi refining the remnant data.

The data collection procedure was adjourned on April 15, 2011. Then except the remnant data that were leftover mistakenly during the data collection time, since April 30, the writing of the research was commenced.

## **1.9 Organization of the Research Paper**

The research is organized in five chapters. The first chapter deals with introduction which discusses background of the study, statement of the problem, the research questions, objectives of the study, significance of the study, scope and limitation of the research, the research method, field experience and organization of the research paper. Related literature and theoretical framework was dealt in the second chapter. Description of the study area was given in the third chapter. The following chapter is data analysis which is obtained from the fieldwork. In this chapter, it was attempted to comparatively investigate the livelihood and adaptive strategies of the resettlers. The host-resettlers relation was also given due regard herein. The last chapter is concerned with conclusions drawn from the research findings. Following the conclusion, it was attempted to forward recommendations to the respective parties.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **1. Review of Related Literature and Theoretical Framework**

In this section it was attempted to explore the work of scholars who had studies in the research theme. It is divided in to subsections in accordance with the crux of this study. In the end the theoretical framework is depicted.

#### **2.1 Literature Review**

In this sub chapter an attempt was made to compile relevant literature written by different scholars. It comprises the global and national experience and goes to the livelihood and adaptive strategies and the relationship of resettlement with the social and the physical environment.

##### **2.1.1 Global Experience of Resettlement: Spontaneous & Organized**

Resettlement is a worldwide rural development policy practice, particularly in developing countries, each undertaking the program under the specific motives of its own (Oberai, 1988:5). Oberai stating the global objective of resettlement said that “The common aim for the resettlement undertaking in most countries, however, is to raise income and living standard of the rural population, which each country may seek to attain the goal under its own specific approach” (Ibid).

As it is one of the developing countries, Brazil has employed resettlement. According to Helena and Henrique, “colonization in Brazil has followed many different models, varying from completely private schemes, through a combination of private interests with government support, to purely government sponsored types” (1988: 317). When initiated by private interests, profit had been the main motive. The aims of official colonization in Brazil were to: provide land to the landless, control illegal migration, strengthen national frontier, and reunion abundant natural resources including land and labour. The objective for the dislocation of people was to improve the living conditions for rural workers (Ibid: 319).

In Peru, it was hoped that colonization of Amazon forest would absorb a significant proportion of population increment in the country (Carpio, 1988: 255). Despite the 10% increase in the size of population living in the colonized areas, the highland forest failed to constitute a major alternative for human settlement because of the non-feasibility of the land for cultivation (Ibid).

Likewise, in Philippines, resettlement project was designed with dual objectives of assimilation of the cultural minorities and utilization of underutilized frontier areas (Padaranga, 1988: 130). The political objective of the program, however, had turned out into host-settler population hostility and conflict, even leading to the rise of Muslim separatist movement in the country (Ibid).

In the United Republic of Tanzania, government-sponsored resettlement program has aimed at both increasing the material wellbeing of the settler population and social revolution in the rural areas through producer's cooperatives. Relative to the set objectives, however, the country has little success stories because of defective planning, poor site selection, forceful relocation, inefficient marketing and poor transportation facilities (Maro, 1988: 237).

From these states practices, one can generalize that resettlement programmes have been used for different purposes from conserving the environment through maintaining the wellbeing of the resettled population to minimizing population pressure. However the mentioned governments endeavoured to attain the diverse objectives, not few of them end up with failure.

### **2.1.2 Resettlement History in Ethiopia: Spontaneous and Organized**

In earlier times, resettlement in Ethiopia involved short-distance migration with increased population pressure and decline in land fertility. In later years, many resettlements involved long-distance migration (Eshetu and Teshome 1988:162). Kassahun stated that population movement that assumes different forms of organization have been taking place in Ethiopia. The same author, referring to Clay and Holcomb (1986), states that the population movement in the country took place since the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century which were effected through resettlement

in south where the origin being situated in the north (Kassahun,2000:130). From the very history of resettlement in Ethiopia the direction of self initiated and then organized resettlements have been a march from the North to the South and South west.

In the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, due to the construction of roads and availability of truck and bus services, migrants could travel for seasonal labour to cash cropping areas, and were able to move easily to settle in the forest areas notably in the southwest, involving both short-distance and long-distance migration (Wood, 1982; Piguet and Pankhurst, 2009:6). Piguet & Pankhurst extend that the flow of North-South/ Southwest was facilitated through better communication and transport. For this reason, migrants could share information, knowledge, experience and opportunities so as to influence, sponsor relatives and other potential migrants in the area they came from, thereby intensifying migratory flow (Ibid:7). This has never been altered till this time. Since the Hailessillassie regime, not only spontaneous but also state-sponsored resettlers have been displaced from the north and resettled in the South and Southwest of the country.

### **2.1.3 The 1980s Derg's Resettlement: Objectives and Implementation**

Resettlement Planning and Practice during the Derg, notwithstanding the problems of resettlement practices in the pre-revolutionary Ethiopia, was continued as one of the top priority issues in rural development. The rationale behind the growing importance of planned resettlement program as a rural development option of the Derg had been encompassing multi dimensional goals. These include economic, social, ecological and political agendas (Wood 1983, Pankhurst 1990, Alemneh, 1990). From ecological point of view, relocating people from populous areas to the sparsely populated lowlands as well as to the Southwestern highland was seen as a measure to relieve the problem of population-resource imbalance in the former area (Alemneh, 1990:175).

Having such overt and connotative motives, the Dergue regime had continuously moved into the plan until the mid 1980's. The programme was classified under "large-scale", "low cost" and

integrated schemes. About 600,000 people were resettled in the country, in which, about 81 percent of the total relocatees were held in the western part of the country: Ilubabor, Wälläga and Käfa (Alemneh, 1990: 175).

According to Alemneh, the programme led to massive deforestation and enhanced further degradations both in the area of origin and the destination (1990:178). Alemneh (1990) and Pankhurst (1990) showed that the resettlement program by and large has failed to achieve its fundamental objective, i.e. the improvement of productive capacity of the peasant in the country. Politically, the practice was argued as ostracized, enforced, i.e., without informed decision-making power of the resettler and carried out by political cadres (Pankhurst, 2004: 13).

Generally, the resettlement programme of the Derg was not well planned and implemented swiftly; characterized by low productivity, denied of international political support and failed in most of its multifaceted objectives including environmental, social, economic and political aspects (Dessalegn 2003, Gebre 2004, Pankhurst 1990).

#### **2.1.4 The Intra-Regional Resettlement of 2003-5: Objectives and Implementation**

EPDRF, despite its initial critique on the previous resettlement programmes as politically motivated techniques of the regime, before coming to power, has been launching resettlement schemes in the country since 2003 (Pankhurst and Piguët, 2009). The reason for employing the new resettlement scheme was frequent food insecurity and famine, land degradation, drought, high population pressure, small farm size and landlessness (FDRE, 2003: 6). To minimize the possible persistent impacts of the problems, resettling people from disaster prone areas flee to western and southwestern parts of the country where unutilized and leftover land is abundant (Ibid: 1).

Accordingly, the main objective of the current intra-regional resettlement programme was stated as “enabling the chronically drought prone, populous areas and food insecure households attain

food self-sufficiency through improved access to land” (Ibid). In this program, about 440,000 household units comprising 2.2 million people were intended to be relocated within four regions; Tigray, Amhara, Oromiya and Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR) regions recruiting 40,000; 200,000; 100,000 and 100,000 households respectively (Ibid).

The design of the current program was put to be different from the last two regimes in that:

*(a) It rested on the voluntary option of the potential settlers (b) it is implemented at intra-regional level (c) the settlers would retain their land use right and other immovable properties at their area of origin up to three years of their initial relocation. (d) And, the settlers are optionally given the right to return to their area of origin within this period. The initiation of the current resettlement program also rested on four pillars: the availability of ‘underutilized land’, voluntary option by potential settlers, consultation of the host community and proper preparation (FDRE, 2002: 5-6).*

The Pillars of the EPRDF Programme, therefore, are voluntarism, the availability of underutilized land, consultation with the host communities and assurance of the existence of minimum infrastructure at the destination site (Kassahun, 2003:13-14).

The programme has its own distinctive implementation strategy completely different from the Derg’s scheme. It was intended to alleviate inter-ethnic clashes among the resettlers and the host population, through undertaking of the programme within the regions. However, in SNNPR with the existence of more than 56 ethnic groups (Awoke, 2007: 6), the programme was found to be inconvenient to implement at regional level. Therefore, it appeared to be missing the essence and peculiarity of intra-regionalism. In due course, it was learnt that the programme had deficit from the stage of resettlers’ recruitment, voluntarism-offering real options of the resettlement sites, and exaggerated promises of support. When the implementation of the pillars of the new resettlement is examined, it appeared to be naïve to fit to what was declared. The scholars who explored the resettlement programme asserted that it has missed part of what was meant to be. Among them Pankhurst stated that the programme as: “though not outright coercion like the Derg’s scheme, committed indirect compulsion and inducement” (2009: 146ff).

### 2.1.5 Livelihood Strategies

Livelihood is a wider word which comprises many aspects of a society. Livelihood could be defined as a means of meeting people's needs (Hajdu 2006: 24). A livelihood is often conceptualized as "incomes in cash and in kind: as well as the social institutions (kin, family, compound, village) gender relations, property rights required to support and sustain a given standard of living" (Ellis, 1998: 4). This includes the accessibility of, and benefits derived from, public services like education, health, roads, water, and related infrastructure. Livelihood approaches involve a conceptual shift from analyzing rural people as smallholder farmers to a much broader understanding (Murray, 2002 in Chimhowu & Hulme, 2006).

It also comprises the social structure which rural people employ in their day-to-day life. It is called livelihood network. A livelihood network was defined as spatially extended social contacts that a household utilizes to provide information, guidance, support, and material help in making a living or dealing with adversity (Hajdu, 2006:30). Therefore, livelihood and its network is implemented through strategies.

'Livelihood strategies' is an overarching term that refers to the range and combination of activities and choices that people make in order to achieve their livelihood goals (DFID, 1999). Put differently,

*Livelihood strategies are dynamic processes in which people combine diverse activities to meet their various needs at different times, and as coping mechanisms to respond to surprises. Some societies develop livelihood strategies in order to cope with uncertainty and vulnerability, in the process building and maintaining resilience. Often, vulnerable communities cope through risk-spreading diversification into several non-correlated sources of income. They also invest in building social capital, which provides safety nets in times of stress (Wang et. al.2010:438).*

The SLF (Sustainable Livelihood Framework) posits households make a living by using five types of assets (natural, physical, human, social, and financial) in an environment influenced by institutional and structural factors. It identifies vulnerability as a key factor that households seek to manage (Ellis, 2001:7 in Chimhowu, 2006: 729; Woldesillassie, 2004:52).

Rural dwellers who do not diversify their livelihood activities are vulnerable to disaster. Dieci and Viezoli asserted that “The lack of off-farm activities is one of the problems associated with the poor performance or failure of resettlement programmes in rural areas” (1992:30).

According to SLF, diversification of subsistence system is essential to cope up with the threats that the displacees encounter when they leave their place of origin and during the reconstruction process in the resettlement environment. On the other hand, lack of employment opportunities in most resettlement schemes does not provide opportunities for non-farm employment. Though farmers in organized or spontaneous resettlement schemes having the land allotted to a family not sufficient for sharing with the settlers, did not have a say over production decisions and control over the fruits of their labour (DIFD, 1999; Ellis, 2000; Francis, 2001 and Murray, 2002 in Chimhowu, 2006:730). Children when they reach adolescence, seeking other alternatives for sustaining becomes necessary. If the younger generation is far from getting the opportunity to engage in non-farm activities, it is forced to abandon the resettlement area. As a result, this poses one of the major challenges to resettlement programmes (Oberai 1992:88-89). This deals with the opportunity of the future generation. This is called as sustainable development i.e. economic progress without depleting the resources, which the future generation may indulge, for the sake of momentary developmental endeavor.

### **2.1.6 Adaptive Strategies**

Adaptive strategies, according to Barlett, are the short term choice of individuals within wider group as adjustment to their environment (1980: 548f). Taffese, accentuating the interrelatedness of environment, resettlers and host community, states that the success or failure of resettlement programme depends on how the settlers can best adapt to their new environment, the degree of social bond with the host population and the pace at which they become self-sufficient (2007:30). When migrants relocate in markedly differing environments, considerable adaptations in life-style are required (Rogge, 1981: 208).

According to Mengistu, resettlement in Ethiopia, either non-planned or organized processes in many regions led to physical environmental adaptation and cultural assimilation (1992:412). Therefore, both resettlement schemes, regardless of their type and place of origin of the

resettlers, would have to adapt and assimilate to the local situations. Not only the resettlers, but also the host community has to either accommodate or assimilate with the incoming new socio-economic practices which they have never come across.

Concerning the adaptability of the resettlers, Tesfa, referring to Wood (1981), states that “the most important factor that determines the process of re-establishment is the extent of environmental and cultural changes encountered by the resettlers at the new home area; and is related to the distance factor. Cultural and environmental changes may increase with the distance travelled away from one’s original abode” (Tesfa 1990: 16). Therefore, he indicates that resettlement from short distances, are likely to present less adaptation problems than those move long distances. The latter, according to the same source, are likely to bring considerable cultural and environmental adaptation problems to the resettlers (Ibid).

Identifying the target of studying peasants’ production employing adaptive strategies, Barlett asserts as follows:

*The goals for the study of adaptive strategies in peasants agricultural production are: (a) careful description of current strategies and the diversity within those choice, (b) determination of the variable conditions that create and reinforce those diverse strategies and clarification of the causal priority of some variables over others; and (d) implications of those choices as they affect both current agricultural change and long-term adaptive process of agricultural change (1980:549).*

Accordingly, the resettlers from diverse backgrounds could devise different adaptation system through decisions from the choices that they have already accumulated throughout their former experience and/or from the learnt local strategies of the indigenous people. The weather, the cultural practices and the socio-economic systems in the new area is discrepant to the experience the resettlers owed to. Therefore, this entails new strategy to fit to the new social and physical environment. According to Gebre, voluntary resettlers would have readjusted or adapted better and sooner than the involuntary settlers (2002:45).

### **2.1.7 Voluntary-Involuntary Controversy**

The concept of voluntary-involuntary spatial change may take us to what Gebre (2004: 106), has conceptualized the term "population movement". He identified four major types on the

bases of the degree of decision-making freedom exercised by the migrant population and the causes for the movement. These include voluntary, induced-voluntary, involuntary or forced migration, and compulsory-voluntary migration. He continued describing **voluntary** resettlement occurs when the willingness to leave own original home area, and the power to make informed and free relocation decision by the relocatees (ibid).

In **induced–voluntary** movement, despite the fact that the migrants maintain decision-making power, the fact on which their decision is based and analyzed is provided by other agencies (Gebre, 2004:106; Piguet and Pankhurst: 2004:671). **Compulsory–voluntary** migration on the other hand occurs when people face forced change of their place of origin because of desperation or frustration. **Involuntary** migration refers to forcible uprooting of people from their original place of residence (Gebre2003: 57). In this case, there would not be an option that one can return to his original area in case there is a change of mind by the victim. Involuntary displacement is the movement of people with coercion (Gebre, 2004:106).

Though the current state-organized resettlement was thought to be based on voluntarism, scholars conducted research on the programme indicated that there was mild coercion during implementation (Pankhurst, 2009:146ff).

The state-sponsored resettlers are thought to be coerced but there might also be in spontaneous resettlement scheme in one of the two: induced or compulsory voluntariness.

### **2.1.8 Land Tenure System**

According to Oberai, land tenure system can be defined as rights and obligations with respect to acquisition and use of agricultural land, and a critical determinant of the size and distribution of agricultural incomes. Land tenure may also be defined as "the institutional (social, political and economic) arrangements through which individuals and communities gain access to the productive capabilities of land" (1992:89).

Oberai argues that even though there should be a secured land tenure system for resettlers, there must be some restrictions in order not to allow the resettlers to sell and become landless and to subdivide the land among their heirs, which makes the land holding uneconomical. Under any land tenure system, equity and security are essential factors for resettlers. The resettlers have to be clear about the new environment and the situation that awaits them there (1992).

During resettlement programmes, not only the resettlers but also the host communities land tenure and land use strategy ought to be considered. In Ethiopia according to Gebre, the lands of shifting cultivators continue to be appropriated because their customary tenure rights are not recognized (2003: 60). Land, in many resettlement sites, is a centrifugal force where every conflict emanates from. Natural resources; water, grazing land or farmland, all are anchored to land.

### **2.1.9 Factors Affecting the Success of Resettlement Programmes**

A number of prerequisites are necessary if rural resettlement schemes are to be successfully implemented. Many scholars identified factors that might have impact on the success or failure of resettlement schemes. These include realistic planning, availability of suitable land, adequate water supplies, sufficient capital, organizational and administrative skills, and a sympathetic settler population which will cooperate in the settlement venture. Deficiency in one or more of these basics will clearly prejudice the successful execution of schemes. Therefore, it is useful to examine the requisites in more details for the successful implementation of resettlement schemes, and to elaborate upon some of the social, economic or environmental factors that have periodically thwarted their outright success (Rogge, 1981: 202). The following are taken as prime factors that could affect the success of the resettlement schemes.

**Recruitment of appropriate resettlers** is a crucial prelude for the success of the programme. According to Dieci and Viezoli recruitment of resettlers is very difficult to sketch a general formula. However, it is preferable if resettlers are employed on the basis of commitment, capital and experience in agriculture and/or commerce (1992:97). In addition to cautious selection of resettlers, Oberai (1992) asserts that the resettlers have to be provided with clear information on tenure rights to land, housing, and overall environmental condition of the new site.

The **size of landholding** is another factor that attracts the resettlers. Oberai cites two principles in determining land holding size.

*The farms must be large enough to provide resettlers with a standard of living higher than what they had in their areas of origin but not very much higher and farms must not be larger than that the resettlers can. The farm size must vary with the type of crop, market conditions, social characteristics, technological changes and management capacities of the resettlers. Land allotted to resettlers must be equivalent to the labour of each family to provide them with adequate income (1992:96).*

According to Oberai, land allotment should be, in accordance with the labour power and the capacity of a household to expand and diversify produces.

In addition to landholding, **labour recruitment** is one of the factors that can have impact on the efficiency of household productivity. This could be done through social networks. Social network, according to Boissevian, is “A system of relations which persons use to achieve their ends (1973: Viii). Adding on this idea, Woldesillassie asserts that the individuals are embedded in a social network (1996:41).The society using this established network could engage in coordinated manner to tackle hardship and advance in productivity.

Tension between **Resettlers and indigenous populations**; the hostility of the host communities towards resettlers is a threat of resettlement programmes. Woldesillassie clearly stated the perception of host communities toward resettlers as follows:

*The host communities expect to be beneficiaries from provision of infrastructure and social services designed for the resettlers. If their expectations are not met, the attitudes of hosts may be more hostile towards resettlement schemes. Hence, to minimize conflicts and create a common interest in the success of resettlement programmes, planning for the provision of economic and social services must take into account the **needs** of the host and the resettled population (2004:580).*

Gebre, in his research conducted at Mätäkel resettlement sites, has made known that the host population was hit by sharp income decline and consecutive food scarcity caused by unprecedented change in the livelihood strategies of the host community. As a result this author

revealed that the host community's land tenure system was changed from communal control of land to private control, leasing land, and selling wood (2003: 59).

The degree of resettlement success is also determined by **good management and administration**. This could help the resettlement programmes because it can harness the potential resources of different government departments and other institutions. Moreover, the resettlement programme is related to land development which lends itself to an integrated type of development process. Successful implementation of the programme is the result of effective coordination between the agency in charge of resettlement and other agencies involved such as health, planning, education, public works and, agricultural and rural affairs (Cook and Mukendi 1994).

Another duty of management of the resettlement project is preparing the resettlers for the gradual transfer of responsibility from resettlement agencies to the resettlers from the outset. "Otherwise, a dangerous relationship of dependency may arise and agency resources may become tied up in a limited number of permanently supervised schemes" (Oberai, 1992:102). It is up to the implementing agency to prepare and encourage the resettlers to take over the responsibility of self administration. Neglecting the community of resettlers in implementing the resettlement has contributed to project failure in Liberia (Cook and Mukendi 1994; Chambers, 1969). Therefore, administrative structure and capacity to plan and execute the programme play an important role in the project success in enabling the resettlers self-sufficient in production and administration.

**Ecological problems** include serious environmental hazards such as land degradation, loss of wildlife and loss of forest resources. Land degradation is loss of soil and water, loss of soil nutrients and biological degradation (Dessalegn, 2003:43-44, Oberai, 1992:92).

Cook analyzing the environment and resettlement nexus states as follows:

*The problems of environment and settlement in Africa are well known. There is a rapid upward population growth, which is increasingly putting pressure on limited resources such as agricultural land. Wherever the people settle they must utilize the local resources. The problem becomes serious when utilization of these resources is coupled with poor management practices found in many African countries. Thus*

*environmental degradation, population growth and settlement cannot be divorced from each other (1994:209)*

Environmental changes lead to loss of soil cover, soil erosion, and destruction of agricultural land, which drastically affect crop yields. Cook and Falloux argue that environment and resettlement in Africa are characterized by the demographic explosion, the imbalance distribution between population and natural resources and the fragile tropical ecosystems of Africa (1994:2-3). Therefore, these broader issues should be addressed; and different strategies have to be devised to tackle the problems. Averting the risks of environmental degradation should not be the concern of environmentalists alone but also other specialists in different disciplines contribute their share since no aspect of life could benefit from the increasing environmental crises.

In general, relative to the set objectives, however, Ethiopia has little success history because of defective planning, poor site selection, forceful relocation, inefficient marketing and poor transportation facilities, absence of adequate credit and loans, inaccessibility and absence of alternative sources of employment outside of agriculture (Maro, 1988: 237 and Oberai, 1988: 16). The shortcomings are still persistent.

### **2.1.10 Spontaneous Versus Organized Resettlement**

There are two divergent types of resettlement: planned and self-organized resettlement. Planned resettlement can be defined as “the movement of people from one area to another through the intervention of governments and other institutional actors. Self-organized resettlement is the movement of people from one area to another without institutional intervention” (Oberai, 1992).

Directed settlement is a scheme, which is organized and sponsored by governments (Pankhurst and Piguet, 2004: 10). It is also called planned settlement; often entails a high degree of government involvement including in selection of sites, provision of services and financial aid.

As a result, government sponsored resettlement has major disadvantage of being costly (Oberai, 1992:104).

Resettlement could be viewed as the self-sponsored is also called spontaneous resettlement or 'self-organized' voluntary small-scale resettlements. They are not sponsored by governments and are not planned settlements (Nelson, 1973:97). The World Bank study of 1978 indicated that nearly 75 percent of rural land resettlement is due to spontaneous resettlement showing that the vast majority of resettlement takes place by household decision without the need of governments' interference (Ibid:15). "Self-organized resettlement does not mean random and unplanned but it involves systematic cooperation between early migrants and those who follow" (Kassahun, 2003: 15).

The main problem of spontaneous resettlement is lack of community services and facilities, un-supervised farming, unproved land management resulting environmental problems. However, in self-organized resettlement, there is a systematic cooperation between early migrants and those who follow and usually it takes place where development has been initiated by others (Oberai, 1992:105). Spontaneous resettlements are usually enhanced by direct resettlement, sometimes in the wake of forest exploitation, sometimes in advance of government investments in the area, and sometimes simply by clearing a small part of government-owned forest (Nelson, 1973:97).

Pertaining to comparative view in spontaneous and organized resettlements, Kassahun (2000) has shown us an indicative experience carried out in different countries in Africa. He indicated that both resettlement schemes have their strengths and shortcomings which differ from place to place. Kuhlman in Kassahun (2000:127) states that "organized settlers are doomed to failure and are highly artificial communities devoid of autonomy and subject to the control of camp authorities". Gaim and Chmbers in Kassahun reveal that dependency mentality is commonly observed in organized resettlement than among spontaneous settlers (2000:128). They also made known that the number of refugees settled on their own in Africa is greater than those in planned schemes.

In addition to the above, other scholars who conducted research affirmed that voluntary spontaneous migration, i.e. resettlement resulted in haphazard manner initiated and undertaken by people on their own accord, is more effective than the planned settlement programmes (Pankhurst 1992: 11). As a result, planners have sometimes been of the opinion that the process of opening up the frontier areas through migration should be left to the voluntary and spontaneous choice of individuals (Oberai, 1992:104).

At the seminar on Rural Refugees in Africa held at Arusha in 1976, it was concluded that "non-organized settlements have a better chance of developing self-reliance and self-management while avoiding the dependence mentality which has often been found in organized settlements" (Gaim, 1985, quoted by Wijbrandi, 1986, in Kuhlman, 2000: 128)

On the other side, those who support organized settlement (e.g. Rogge, 1981 in Kassahun, 2000:128), views unplanned settlement as unrealistic. On the other hand, the same author views organized resettlement ...ensuring land tenure. Other proponent Wijbrandi 1986 in Kassahun, in his study conducted in Sudan, asserted that "Organized settlements are fared far better than spontaneous settlements" (2000: 129).

These studies indicate that the success and failure issues vary from place to place. This might be of differential socio-economic strategies the resettlers adapt so as to fit to a particular milieu.

Comparing the objectives of the state-sponsored and the self-sponsored resettlements, Kassahun describes that "Resettlement undertaken by individuals, groups and communities on their own is mainly aimed at securing better opportunities in a new environment, where as state-sponsored moves the underlying reasons could be a mix of attempts at realizing the 'public good' and or implementing priorities laid down by political regimes" (2000: 125).

When refugees relocate in markedly differing environments, considerable adaptations in life-style are required (Rogge, 1981: 208). Resettlers in the research area are diverse in socio-economic, cultural and linguistic aspects. These characteristics of resettlers might have brought about disparity in their livelihood style and the way of physical environment adaptation to the local people and even among the resettlers themselves.

### 2.1.11 The Host Community

Gebre, focusing on the host community, has written an article stating the host community as 'unnoticed losers'. In this article, the author has shown us that resettlement programmes during the Derg regime abused the rights of the host community. He adds that the host communities often encountered the same impoverishment as displacees do. Hence, searching for a model suitable to investigate the challenges of the host community due to the resettlement programmes, he found that Cernea's IRR model relevant to analyze the situation of the host population as most of the variables identified by the model are also manifested in their experience. He reasoned that this model was employed for the scholars lack any other pertinent conceptual framework to analyze the implications of resettlement for the receiving populations (2003: 59).

From the point of view of the abovementioned scholars, the host community was the 'unseen loser' in resettlement programmes. Both the organized and the spontaneous resettlement schemes were seen not giving due regard to the socio-economic and cultural practices of the host community. This was not only identified in the resettlers but also in the planners and sponsors of the project too. To mitigate the challenge, the host population should take part in the programme from planning to implementation. In this sense, Scudder mentions the meaning that the involvement of the local people brings for the implementation as follows:

*Involving the host population has two meanings. One is utilizing the "indigenous knowledge" of the hosts during project planning and implementation. The other is physically incorporating the hosts within the settlement project if they so wish, or protecting their land rights if they wish to remain outside the project. Time and again settlements are planned and implemented without adequate information on the social, physical, and biotic environment, which is a major reason for their subsequent non-sustainability or inability to realize their development potential. Socioeconomic surveys of the hosts should provide population data, information on their system of land tenure and land use, their water rights, and, to an extent, their socioeconomic systems. It is fair neither to the hosts nor to the settlers to ignore customary tenure, since future land disputes can jeopardize the entire settlement process. A study of host systems of land and water use can yield invaluable information on the resources of the area and how best to utilize them (1991:171).*

Cernea, adding up on the mentioned above, has taken the host populations as major actors with a stake in good resettlement. Therefore, Cernea, adopting the IRR model to employ in examining threats of the host community, looked it a little differently to that of the resettlers mentioning the risks to hosts are not identical with the risks of displacees, in substance or intensity, but are related to them and may also result in impoverishment implications. Identifying the risks that could possibly happen due to resettlement projects, Cernea reveals that the inflows of displacees increase pressure on resources and scarce social services, as well as competition for employment. Cultural clashes (in non-homogeneous areas) are quite likely, and social tensions tend to endure long. Secondary adverse effects on the environment hurt both the hosts and the displacees (Cernea, 2000b: 3666). Even though it seems to be infeasible to meet with all the host community, Tadesse suggests that even the representatives of the host communities should be involved in the planning process (2009:96).

## **2.2 Theoretical Framework**

In dealing with resettlement, scholars defining the term devised models and theoretical assumptions so that similar issues could be seen in light of these frameworks. Among many prominent scholars who have their intellectual sayings on the issue, Scudder and Colson, Chris de Wet and Michael Cernea are those who see resettlement in diverse perspectives. Therefore, in this research, it is preferred to combine the models developed by them in order to examine and compare both resettlement schemes. This is an inception to holistically look in to the aspects of resettlement. The frameworks are seen in detail hereunder.

### **2.2.1 The Concept of Resettlement**

Different authors have been trying to define the concept of resettlement in different countries in a more or less similar fashion. Kassahun defines the concept of resettlement as the "movement of people from areas where there do not exist factors that are suitable for smooth maintenance of life to areas presumed to be endowed with potentials that could avail opportunities for the same end" (1998:3). Dessalegn summarizes different definitions of term as "phenomena of

population redistribution; relocating people in areas other than their own; moving people to new locations by reclaiming land for utilization” (2003:1-2).

What should never be forgotten is the existence of the two divergent types of resettlement: planned and self-organized resettlement. Planned resettlement can be defined as the movement of people from one area to another through the intervention of governments and other institutional actors. Self-organized resettlement is the movement of people from one area to another without institutional intervention. Self-organized resettlement does not mean random and unplanned but it involves systematic cooperation between early migrants and those who follow (Kassahun 1998, Oberai 1992).

### **2.2.2 Processual Analysis of Resettlement as a Sequence**

In explaining resettlement processes as well as the relative success or failure of projects which have been in existence for a number of years, Scudder and Colson developed a four-stage framework dividing the relocation process into successive stages (1982:274-275). It follows from this that people and the socio-cultural systems in which they are imbedded and interrelated respond to new land settlement in predictable ways.

**Stage one** examines planning, initial infrastructural development, and resettler recruitment. This stage covers the initial activities related to feasibility studies, planning, and design-and the subsequent ones related to settler recruitment and the construction of such infrastructure as roads and irrigation facilities. During the planning phase, consideration should also be given to the extent to which the hosts will be included in the resettlement project on social equity, economic, and political grounds.

The **second stage** is called to be "transition" which emphasizes two points. At this stage many settlers are risk-averse, which explains why few technical, organizational, and sociopolitical innovations are adopted at this time. Risk aversion is a coping response to the stress and uncertainty associated with not only a new physical and biotic environment but also new

neighbors, an increased government presence (in the case of government-sponsored settlement), and frequently a new host population.

There are two overwhelming advantages when settlers are recruited for specific communities from villages of the same locale and ethnic area instead of from different ethnic areas. It helps that neighbors and co-ethnics are much more likely than strangers to form self-help groups and the potential stress and uncertainty of adapting to new neighbors is lessened when neighbors come from a similar background. Too paternalistic approach would risk promoting a sense of dependency.

**Stage three** is concerned about the economic and social development of the resettlers. Instead of producing primarily for subsistence, settlers act on a wide range of investment strategies to achieve higher levels of productivity through diversification of the family estate. Subsequently, additional farmland is reclaimed, sharecropped, leased, or purchased; and the settlers branch out into nonfarm activities. Non-farm activities tend to start on the farm homestead in the form of small business. Increased productivity and rising net incomes also tend to increase on farm employment, since even smallholders intensively cultivating land need outside labor for certain operations.

**Stage four** is about the period handing over and incorporation. In this stage resettlement cannot be considered a success until control of project activities has been handed over to the resettlers and their local organizations; a second generation of settlers has started to take over; and the project is incorporated within the encompassing region. Handing over activities to departmental, local government, and settler organizations is a tricky business which can proceed both too rapidly and too slowly. Regardless of the reason, restructuring the resettlement agency may, in time, be as necessary as rehabilitating the physical infrastructure of a settlement project (Scudder, 1991:60-68).

### **2.2.3 Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction Model**

Michael Cernea has clearly captured the paradox: whereas population relocations are intended to raise well-being and reduce poverty, their effect on displaced populations is often impoverishment. This result occurs in eight realizations of the impoverishment risk. These are landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, increased morbidity, food insecurity, loss of access to common property and social disarticulation. Though the research focuses on almost all the impoverishment risks, it particularly emphasises on the last but firmly connected with other risks. Therefore, Cernea explained social disarticulation as “The dismantling of communities’ social organisation structures, the dispersal of informal and formal networks, associations, local societies, etc., is an expensive yet unquantified loss of social capital” (2000b:3661).

Cernea elaborates that the model is essentially synchronic, in that it captures processes that are simultaneous, but it also reflects the movement in time from the destitution of displacement to recovery in resettlement. At the core of the model are three fundamental concepts: risk, impoverishment, and reconstruction. These variables are interlinked and influence each other: some play a primary role and others a derivative role in either impoverishment or reconstruction (largely as a function of given circumstances). Introducing these interlinked concepts, it considerably broadens (Cernea, 2000b:3661). The model does not only diagnostic but it also indicates the futurity of the programmes. The same author said it as:” Resettlement risks must be reversed to livelihood reconstruction and development” (Cernea, 2000a:36).

Besides the eight impoverishment risks, Cernea adds a threat which deals with the host population stating as “Host populations are major actors with a stake in good resettlement, particularly within mass displacements by either development programmes or conflicts. Recognizing the specific risks to hosts is integral to using the risks and reconstruction model and approach (Cernea 2000b: 3666).

Therefore, according to this approach, proper policy, political will and provision of fund are considered as the means to overcome the problems of the inadequacies of the inputs and convert the risks into opportunities (Cernea 2000a).

The functions of the model, according to the same author, are distinct and interrelated. They are: diagnostic, predictive, a problem resolution and research functioning for setting hypothesis (Cernea 1997:1571). However, Chris de Wet refuting the impoverishment risk and reconstruction model, criticised it as the risks are inherent for people who are uprooted from their long established social structures and networks which helped them to withstand various challenges they had faced in their place of origin. Therefore, only fulfilling the inadequacies would never bring sustainable changes in the lives of the resettlers. Rather, De Wet insists, these risks are inevitable for the nature of displacement and have their own psychological impact on the lives of the resettlers and the host as well (2009: 39).

#### **2.2.4 Inherent Complexities Model**

De Wet argued two approaches. These approaches are "the inadequate inputs" and the "inherent complexities" (2009: 36). According to the inadequate inputs approach, a resettlement project goes wrong, principally for the reason of the lack of proper inputs including national legal frameworks and policies, political will, funding, pre-resettlement surveys, planning and consultation, careful implementation, and monitoring. The same author termed these problems as the eight "impoverishment risks" as "threats" (Ibid, 2009:37).

Defying the function of the "impoverishment risk and reconstruction" model, De Wet argues with Cernea that the inadequate inputs approach is broadly economic and technical in character, because most of the impoverishment risks are related to economic resources (2009: 36). On the other hand, De Wet offering option to the inadequate inputs approach, presented an alternative approach called "inherent complexities approach" (Ibid: 38). This approach rests on the nature of involuntary resettlement and argues that, there is a complexity in resettlement which arises from the interrelatedness of issues which ranges in different aspects: cultural, social, environmental, economic, institutional and political orders; all of which are taking place in the context of imposed spatial change (Ibid, 2004:62). According to him, because of the nature of involuntary resettlement, it is characterized by a complexity which gives rise to a variety of problems that are more difficult to deal with and involve more than providing the inputs

mentioned under the “inadequate inputs” approach (Ibid). Elaborating this, the same author asserts as follows:

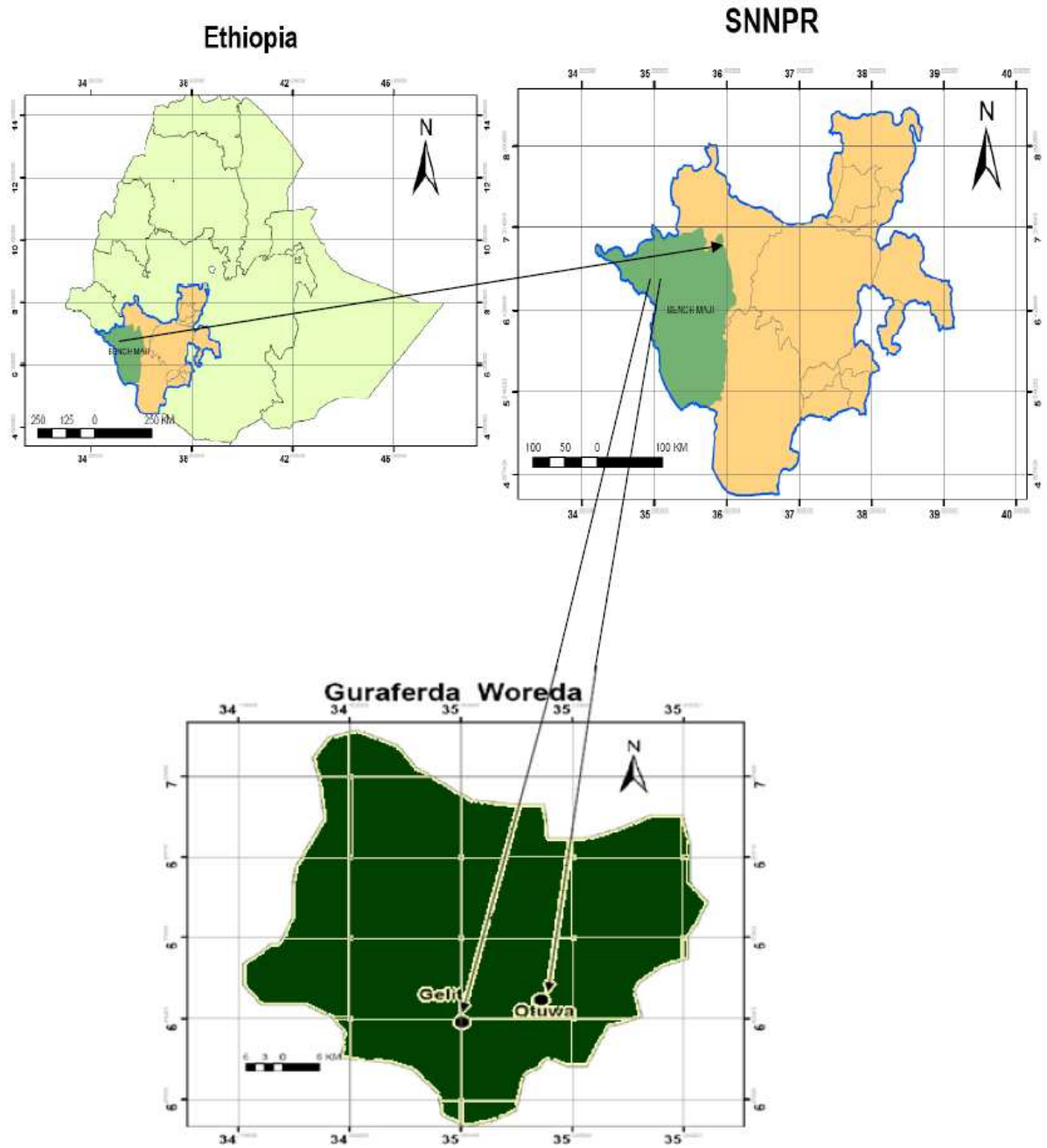
*The spatial change also involves a change in the patterns of access to resources like a change in land use and land tenure. The spatial change may enhance heterogeneity than the settlers’ previous settlement areas, involves people into wider structures and accelerated socio-economic change....The combination of factors in resettlement tends to lessen people’s material well being, limit their choice and control over their circumstances and increase the presence of social tension and conflict within the new settlements (Ibid: 57).*

Though the models were meant to treat involuntary resettlement projects, many scholars employed all or at least one of these models to deal with spontaneous resettlements. Therefore, in order to compare and contrast both spontaneous and state-sponsored resettlement schemes the researcher preferred to use of the amalgamation of these models. This was done for the reason that a part of the ideas in one model in combination with the other was expected to shade light in the process of the investigation since the quest for differential livelihood and adaptive strategies entails varieties of models.

Accordingly, the IIR model focuses only on the economic inputs, political will and commitment. On the other hand, the ‘Processual Analysis’ model follows the stages of resettlement from recruitment to the incorporation stage without focusing on the socio-cultural and psychological trauma the displacees encounter. The ‘Inherent Complexities’ model considers that the threats are ‘natural’ and the spatial displacement induces the threats, regardless of the inputs and the process of resettlement.

In order to satisfy the demand of the methods employed, the amalgamation of these models thought to fill the drawbacks that each model has been criticized of.

# CHAPTER THREE



Source: GIS-1998

### **3. Description of the Study Area**

In this section description of Bench-Maji Zone, Gurafarda wäräda and the two research kábäles is given. The chapter is divided in to three main parts which stretches from the zone down to the two sample kábäles providing essential data pertinent to the research objectives.

#### **3.1 Bench-Maji Zone**

##### **3.1.1 Location**

Bench-Maji zone is found in the Southwestern border of Ethiopia in the South Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region. It is one of the thirteen zones of the SNNP Regional State. The zone is located in  $34^{04}-45^1$  to  $36^0-10^1$  East  $5^0-40^1$  to  $7^0-40^1$  North (Bench-Maji Zone Tourism and Communication Bureau Report, 2010; Belay, 2009). The zonal capital Mizan-Teferi is found 561 Km southwest of Addis Ababa and 850 Km from the regional city, Hawassa. The zone is bordered in north by Shäka Zone and Gambella Regional State, the South Sudan in the west and the south border, in the northeast by Kaffa Zone, and in the southeast and east by the South Omo Zone (Awoke, 2007:99). The zone has one municipality and ten wärädas which are divided in to 240 kábäles. The zone is situated in 193, 266 square Kilometer area of land. Muye/ 'South Omo' park is found in this zone (Bench-Maji Zone Tourism and Communication Bureau Report, 2010).

##### **3.1.2 Population and Ethnic Composition**

According to the 2007 census, the population of Bench-Maji Zone is 659,046 (CSA, 2008). However, in the reality on the ground, the population is rising from time to time due to high in-migration. The same source shows that, of the total population of the zone 582,198 and 76,848 people dwell in rural and urban areas respectively. CSA, in its projection of 2010, estimated the population of the zone would be 700,812 (Ibid). According to the 1984 population and houses census, the population of the zone was 127,718 (1990:78). In twenty-three years the population grew in more than four folds.

According to the zone Truism and Communication Bureau, and Awoke (2007), there are seven ethnic groups reside in the zone. These are Bench, Shäko, Dizi, Me'enit, Surma, Majangir and Zilmamo.

Among these ethnic groups Surma and Zilmamo are pastoralist communities lying along the South Sudan Border following the Akobo riverbed. Dizi and Bench are agriculturalists. Shako and Majangir are agro-foresters and hunter gatherers who feed on tubers and herbs. Honey is their economic produce. Me'enit is agro-pastoralist whose subsistence system has been rapidly changing due to the introduction of Protestant Christianity, the expansion of market with the surrounding people and resettlement. This has made cultural diffusion which substantially has been changing the livelihood and cultural contracts of the community of Me'enit (Awoke, 2007).

The residential distribution of the ethnic groups in the zone is dealt here so as to provide the map of people's settlement in the zone. Accordingly, Bench ethnic group live in Sheh-Bench, South and North Bench wärädas while Shäko in Shäko wäräda. These two ethnic groups circumscribe the zone town. Me'enit resides in Me'enit Shasha and Me'enit Goldiya which lies along the Omo River; Dizi's in Dizi and Bero wärädas; and Surma and Zilmamo in Surma wäräda. However, different from the above ethnic distribution in the zone, Gurafarda wäräda comprises three ethnic groups namely Me'enit, Shako and Majangir. The two Shako and Me'enit ethnic groups enormously reside in Me'enit Shasha and Goldiya wärädas in the zone, and Majangir in Gambella Region.

With reference to language families, the Dizi, Sheko and Bench are of the 'Omotic' language family. Me'enit, Surma, Zilmamo and Majangir are Nilo-Saharan language families (Awoke, 2000).

Since recently, the abovementioned ethnic pattern is getting altered in some wärädas of the zone due to the self-initiated in-migrants and the state-sponsored resettlement programmes. This

demographic change has been undertaken in Me'enit Shasha and Me'enit Goldiya, Shehbench, Gurafarda and Bero wärädas.

### **3.1.3 Agro-ecology and Economy**

The data from the Zone Rural Development Office (RDO) shows that the Zone has a total area of 1,932,659 hectares. Of which 35,761 covered with crops of perineum fruit and coffee, and 138,917 ha by annual plantation , 79,248 ha for grazing, 135,000 ha not suitable for farming, 335,030 is bushes and shrubs , 478,269 appropriate for farming. Other than the land covered with bushes and shrubs, 550,308 ha of land is covered with natural forest packed with giant trees. Of all the land 179,239 ha is taken by investors.

Bench-Maji Zone has three ecological zones; 52% lowland (Qolla), 45% medium altitude (Wäynadäga) and 5% highland (däga). Annual rainfall of the zone ranges from 400-2000mm. The temperature varies as of the agro-ecological zones from 15-27c° (BMZRDB Report, 2010). Agricultural seasons of the zone are two-*Mähär* and *Bälg*. *Mähär* is a rainy season which ranges from June – September and *bälg* from February – April. The bulk of the farming is done during *Mähär*.

The average rural landholding of the zone is 1.70 hectares per household, which is much greater when compared to the region's i.e. 1 hectare and the national average of 0.98 hectare per household (CSA, 2008).

The economy of the zone is based on hoe and plough-based cultivation, labour extensive agriculture and agro-pastoral livelihoods. This assertion is substantiated by the earnings of the zone. 93% of the income of the zone is from crops and only 7% from livestock products. Bench-Maji Zone depends on mixed farming of cash crops and cereal. Of these, cash crop production generates the lion's share (BMZRDB, 2010). The agro-ecology of the area, the forest, the climate and the amount of rainfall urges this to prevail. With the assistance of the agriculture extension agents, the farmers' subsistence system is being transformed to producing mixed farming of cash crops with some cereals. This shift did not happen instantly. The

intrusion of other people in to their territory with different subsistence systems facilitated the emergence of the mixed production.

The Zone is the place where *Bebeqa* coffee plantation found. The farm is one of the three state coffee plantations in the country. In addition to this state farm, more than 35 private investors have engaged in different agriculture sectors across the zone. Of the entire zone, investment has been taking place extensively in Me'enit Shasha, Me'enit Goldiya, Dizi, Gurafarda and Bero wärädas. The Zone, according to the Tourism, Culture and Communication Office, has all weather roads that connect the zone municipality with all the wärädas. In all the ten wärädas mobile, cable and wireless telephones has been set though not equally functioning in all.

## **3.2 Gurafarda Wäräda**

Gurafarda is one of the ten Wärädas in Bench-Maji Zone. In this section an attempt was made to highlight the wäräda's history, location, agro-ecology, Population and related issues. The description hereunder was to give a glimpse of the area where many newcomers are interested to reside in.

### **3.2.1 Historical Background and Foundation**

Gurafarda *Wäräda* has passed tides of changes as the politics alters. It has gone through ups and downs being as standing alone wäräda and as answerable to another.

Ato *Tikesh*, my informant, who is 48 (age might not be exact since Me'enits do not count age through years but of harvest). Being representative of the *Wäräda*, he was one of the contenders of the Derg's parliament. According to him, Gurafarda had been wavering from one administrative form to another corresponding to the interest of the governing bodies of the region and the country in general. According to the same informant, the wäräda was once answerable to *Mettu* where the throne of the Majesty Hailessillassie was seated till the liberation of the entire country from the Italian invaders.

The same source asserts that during the Derg regime, it was a seat for Wäräda administration in its own, at *Bibita*. However, during the end of the regime, it became answerable to Shäko

Wäräda. This administrative structure continued till 2001 when people from the local began to reclaim that the Wäräda administration had to return to its former seat. In 2001, after getting approval from the upper respective hierarchies, the wäräda making Biftu the seat for the authority established it as a standalone wäräda. Having got the political power, the then authorities announced invitation advertising that the Wäräda had fertile land for investment and resettlement. This, according to my informants in the Wäräda administration, was done in line with the principle of 'decentralization', which provides authority to the local people to determine their own affairs.

### **3.1.1 Location, Population and Ethnic Composition**

Gurafarda is located in the southwest part of Bench-Maji Administrative Zone and the country as well. The wäräda is located 602 Km southwest of Addis Ababa and 42 Km from Mizan-Teferi (the principal town of the zone) in South Nation Nationalities and Peoples Regional (SNNPR). Geographically, it is positioned between 6<sup>0</sup>49'33"-6<sup>0</sup>58'06"N latitude and 35<sup>0</sup>07'03"-35<sup>0</sup>25' 02" E longitude (Belay 2009:33). It is bordered by Sheko *Wäräda* in the north, Me'enit Shasha Woreda in the south, South Bench *Wäräda* in the west, Surma *Wäräda* in the southwest and the Gambella region in the northwest. For this reason, the woreda has had fluctuating population figures. According to the 2007 census of the country it was 35,678 (CSA, 2008). However, as of the survey conducted by the Wäräda Health Bureau, it reached 47,000. This is because of the steady influx of internal migrant population to the Wäräda.

Since 2001, people from around North Shoa, Gondar and Wollo flooded in to the area seeking for farmland. As a result, it became home for a multitude and diverse population.

In addition to the spontaneous resettlers who replaced the 1980s state-organized scheme, the government identified the Wäräda as one of the places to resettle 1758 household in five years time since 2003 (The Wäräda Rural Development and Food Security Office:2010).

Before the 1980s resettlement of the Derg, the Wäräda comprises only three ethnic groups namely Majangir, Shäko and Me'enit. Each ethnic group settled in the direction through which they could get connected into their people who live numerously in the neighboring Wärädas.

Accordingly, the Me'enits resides around the northeastern part of the Wārāda ranging from *Biftu* (the capital) to *Kuja (Megen'teya)*. On the northwestern portion alongside the Shäko Wārāda, Shäkos inhabit. At the side of the south on the boundaries of Gambella the Majangir inhabitants occupy. This pattern, can be assumed, has enabled them to peacefully coexist in accessing the natural resources in their own territory. However, now, the resettlement has already altered the pattern of the local population settlement design and their livelihood strategies.

Now, the wārāda became the place of multiple ethnic and linguistic groups. Therefore, the Wārāda is home for Amhara, Sidama, Wolayta, Kambata, Guragie, Hadiya, Bench, Gedeo, few Oromo and others. Nonetheless, the Wārāda and also the zonal respective offices do not have the demographic data which could have indicated the where about of the local people before and after the resettlement.

### **3.1.1 Agro-ecology and Economy of the Wārāda**

Agro-climatic zones of Gurafarda are low land (Moist Qolla) and medium (Wäynadäga), which constitute 78.25% and 21.75% respectively. The altitude ranges from 700 to 1995m. The annual rainfall varies from 1601- 2000mm. The mean is about 1332mm. The mean annual minimum and maximum temperature of the area ranges between 20<sup>0</sup>C and 29<sup>0</sup>C, respectively (Belay, 2009:35). The main rainy season, *Mähär*, is considered as important for rain-fed cropping. Although the precipitation of the *Bälg* is smaller than that of *Mähär*, it is adequate to grow crops.

Like the economy of the Zone, Gurafarda is predominantly plough-based agriculture dominantly of cash crops, like coffee sesame and rice. The first three major products of the wārāda are coffee, rice and sorghum. The type of sorghum named as *Gobi* which is being used for baking Injera (the traditional Ethiopian bread) is widely produced next to rice. Among the annual crops rice covers the bulk of production. Perennial cash crops such as coffee and fruits being intensified in both resettlement schemes and *enset* (a banana like plant whose stem and root is used as source of food in SNNPR) is planted in the state-organized resettlement sites. Gurafarda become one of the surplus crop producers in the region. Besides crop production, the farmers of the wārāda raise livestock for their farm and for their milk consumption.

Since the resettlement, as a coping strategy to the new culture and subsistence system, some Me'enits are used to harness oxen to plough their plot. Formerly they were slash and burn shifting cultivators using stick locally called "*Shonqla*" as a plowing tool. In Me'emit culture, harnessing animal labour for farming was considered to be an abomination against animal.

Usually peasants of the *wäräda* use the household labour to cultivate their plots. Sometimes the resettlers and the local Me'emit people use *däbo* (festive work group) and *wänfäl* (reciprocal work group) for sowing, weeding and harvesting. Many of the resettlers in the *wäräda* hire temporary labour during the peak seasons and have full time workers known by their nickname called *Tigegna* (literally means dependant).

There are two weekly markets on Sunday and Saturday in *Biftu* and *Kuja*, respectively. *Kuja* (*Megen'teya*), is recently established town following the 2001/2 spontaneous resettlement. Being center for the farmers from different directions, it becomes the biggest market place in the *wäräda*. For this reason, the town is piled with services like hotels, cafés, shops and bars. It become service center to the resettlers and people in the investment sites around the town.

The *wäräda* has unfit all-weather road which has never been repaired for years. The road was constructed by UNHCR to access the South Sudan refugees resettled in *Dima* refugee camp which is about 90 Km from Mizan-Teferi. The road connects the *wäräda* capital, Biftu, with the zone capital-Mizan Teferi. In addition to this main road, there are dry-weather roads to the resettlement sites. Of these the one which runs from Biftu to *Bibita* from *Berji* junction to *Bibita* (the former capital of the *wäräda*) passing through *Qu'ttir And*, *Qu'ttir Sost*, *Qu'ttir Amäst* and reaches. The second track runs from *Kuja* to the west through *Komäta*, *Kuki* and *Samartha* leads to *Bibita* again. These two roads hardly serve for tracks like ISUZU only during the dry season with the assistance of people.

Regardless of the devastated infrastructure, the *wäräda* become known for its booming economy not only because of the smallholders' farm but also being site for 22 investors planting different

perennial and annual crops. It is also a path way to gold mining places in neighbouring wärädas and South Sudan. These all opportunities have made the wäräda a place of market.

### **3.2 Wotwa and Qu'ttir Amäst: the Study Kábäles**

Wotwa and Qu'ttir Amäst Kábäles are selected for the research. These two kábäles are where both resettlement schemes began. The following description about each kábäle is meant to give introduction to the sample research area.

#### **3.2.1 Wotwa Kábäle**

*Wotwa* is one of the twenty-two *kábäles* of *Gurafarda Wäräda*. The *kábäle* stretches alongside the main road from the *Biftu* (the *Wäräda town*) towards *Dimma* (the former Sudanese refugee camp). It was the site where the spontaneous resettlement began. According to my informants in the *wäräda* Administration, the Kábäle served as a path way for the resettlers to access other sites searching for farmland. Wotwa has five villages or sub-kebeles /locally named as *mändärs*/ namely: *Giorgis*, *Qu'ttir Hulet*, *Sega*, *Čodit* and *Kayr Amba*. Of this *Čodit*, *Giorgis* and *Sega* are habituated by the resettlers from South Shoa who are called by the outsiders as *Mänzie*. *Mänzie* denotes the place of origin of the resettlers. Those from *Gondar* resettled in *Qu'ttir Hulet*. The Muslim resettlers who came from *Wollo* reside to the east of the kábäle far apart from other resettlers, at the place named by resettlers as *Kayr Amba*. The name *Kayr Amba* literally means 'high land of peace'.

Table1: Wotwa Kábäle (Spontaneous Resettlement) Population

Mändär/Village	No of People			HHH	Remarks
	M	F	Total		
Kayr Amba	488	379	867	125	
Sega	692	585	1277	100	
Giorgis	476	432	908	100	
Čodit	412	335	747	225	
Qutir-2	581	507	1088	199	
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>2649</b>	<b>2238</b>	<b>4887</b>	<b>779</b>	

Source: Adopted from the Kábäle Tax payers' List and Health office Census of 2010.

### 3.2.2 Qu'ttir Amäst (Gelit) Kábäle

*Qu'ttir Amäst (Gelit) Kábäle* is the second sample Kábäle where the first organized resettlement began. In this kábäle resettlers from SNNPR resettled in the year 2003. The resettlement programmes undergone here is of two type, 'conventional' and 'integrated'. It is one of the sites in the wäräda where multiethnic groups were made to resettle in the same sub-village /*Go'tt*/. Sidama, Guragie, Kambata, Amhara, Wolayta and Bench are made to resettle together regardless of their ethnic and cultural diversity. The Kábäle has three sub-Kábäles /*mändär*/. The villages /*mändärs*/ are further divided in to *Go'tts*. The *Go'tts* are again sub-divided in to cells. Since 2009/10 the kábäles were restructured by the government. As a result, the three villages are named as *Kä'ttanas*. Each *Kä'ttana* is divided in to six working groups called *Yälemat Budin*. This is intended to organize people for development duties and to easily surge political teachings into the community. There are other such organizations like *särawit* /literally mean military personnels/ and "*Amäst-Le-And*" laterally means five-in-one. This was the strategy that the politicians of the governing party exercised during the 2009/10 election and found it successful. Since then such structures are being employed to make people engaged in the government duties and productivity at a household level.

The *Käbäle* is about 7 km far from the junction at *Berji* and almost 20 km from the *wäräda* town. There is no transport or pack animals service to access the *Käbäle*. It does not have market in it or around the neighbouring *Käbäles*. For this reason, the farmers are made to walk to *Kuja*, which is 2 hours walk, to have access for market to sale their produce. Those well to dos could rent labour, others carry the produce themselves. There are social service institutions such as school, tap water, dry weather road which only function for few months in a year, and health extension (limited only on protection strategies) and agriculture extension agents.

Table 2: Households ethnic background at Qu'ttir Amäst (Gelit)

Ke'ttena	Household Ethnic Groups					Total	Remarks
	Sidama	Wolayta	Kambata	Amhara	Guragie		
<b>One</b>	20	3	12	23	-	58	
<b>Two</b>	34	8	-	26		68	
<b>Three</b>	28	9	7	10	1	58	2(Me'enit HH)
<b>Total</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>1</b>	184	

Source: Adapted from the *Käbäle* administration register of 2010/11

According to the above table, majority of the community in the resettlement site are the Sidama and the next are the Amhara spontaneous resettlers who are thought to lease the lands of the state-organized resettlers who abandoned the resettlement area. According to the *Wäräda* Food Security report of the year 2009/10, the total number of household heads brought to the resettlement area was 427. Among these only 184 households retained while 243 (56.9%) abandoned the resettlement area.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4. STUDY FINDING AND ANALYSIS

In this chapter, data gathered through the mentioned methodologies were analyzed. The analysis was preceded by thematization. Through thematization the collected data was differentiated and categorized in to the research themes. The analysis, beginning with the profile of the resettlers, goes to different themes of the research.

#### 4.1 Profile of State-Sponsored and Spontaneous Resettlers since 2001

This profile was about the 2000s resettlers in the sample kábäles. Although there are few Me'enit households in Wotwa kábäle, it was impossible for the researcher to get the exact or even approximate number of the native population. Nonetheless, the data gathered about other population is substantial to make analysis. With this sense, it is portrayed hereunder.

##### 4.1.1 Composition of Sample Household Heads by Age and Sex

Here, the data about the age ranges of the resettlers from both schemes is presented. The age range was observed from adolescence to old age in both resettlement schemes.

Table3: Age of the sample household heads of both schemes

Average Age	Kábäle				Remarks
	Wotwa/Spontaneous		Qu'ttir Amästs Organized		
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	
20-40	46	76.66	31	75.6	
41-60	14	23.34	10	24.4	
Total	60	100	45	100	

From the table above, we can assert that the age group distribution was settled equally in both schemes. However the age group in both schemes is almost the same, the productivity due to other variables appeared to be varied.

#### 4.1.2 Religious Background of Sample Household Heads

Religion in this research was taken as a coping mechanism that both resettlers employed in the new area. They reorganized themselves so as to ease the pressure that emanates from spatial displacement. The diversity of religion in a resettlement area, I assume bring complication in the livelihood and adaptation of the resettlers.

Table 4: Resettlement and Religious Dynamics

Käbäle	Protestant		Orthodox		Muslim		Total
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	
Wotwa	-----		48	80	12	20	60
Qu'ttir Amäst	23	56.09	13	31.7	5	12.21	41

As was mentioned in chapter three, the population at the sample areas, particularly at Wotwa Käbäle, seems to be mapped in religion differentiation. For instance, people in Kayr Amba are Muslims selected their residential site where no other resettler groups are around. In Čodit, Giorgis and Qu'ttir Hulet are Orthodox Christians. No protestant are residing in Wotwa, we can conclude. On the other hand, in Qu'ttir Amäst (Gelit) as indicated in the table above, majority (57.14%) of the sample household heads are Protestant Christians. The remaining 32.14% and 7.14% are Orthodox and Muslim respectively.

From this data, we can say that the spontaneous but not the organized resettlers have grouped around their religious affiliation. On the other hand, the organized resettlements are diverse in their religious background.

### 4.1.3 Ethnic Composition of the Sample Resettlement

#### Villages

According to the project of the South Regional State criteria, the resettlers recruitment shall be in line with: “the people’s historical relationship, similarity in agricultural, trade and culture, proximity between the resettlers’ and the resettlement area – considering its suitability for transportation and visitation of their relatives left at their place of origin” (SNNPR, 2003:5-6). Nonetheless, the practice differs from what was dictated on the paper. In the year 2003 and 2004 resettlers from Sidama, and Gedeo Zones were sent to Bench-Maji Zone. In addition to this, in 2005, 2006, and 2007; people from Hadiya, Guragie and Sidama were made to resettle in seven kábäles regardless of their ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity.

Though the project declares the cultural backgrounds of the resettlers would be considered during the planning and implementation, the resettlement found to be a composition of Sidama, Wolayta, Kambata, Hadiya, Guragie, Bench and even Amhara (some resettled from Guragie Zone). Hence, the government-organized resettlers in Qu’ttir Amäst were comprised of more than eight ethnic groups. The Amhara spontaneous resettlers are common in all resettlement sites. This heterogeneity is one of the challenges of the resettlers in adapting to the new social and physical environment. The resettlers are not only to be accustomed to the new area but also to the diversified composite of the resettlers themselves.

Table 5: Sample Households’ Ethnic Background

Ethnicity	Type of Resettlement			
	Wotwa		Qu’ttir Amäst	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Amhara	60	100	6	14.63
Wolayta			7	17.07
Sidama			21	51.22
Kambata			6	14.63

On the other hand, spontaneous resettlers have no such heterogeneity. This was for the reason that the decision to opt for their destination was made by themselves.

All the organized resettlers in the wärāda were from Sidama, Gedeo, Hadiya and Guragie zones. No resettler from Wolayta and Kambata zones were sent to the Wärāda. Resettlers from Kambata and Wolayta ethnic groups are those who had been residing in Sidama. The Amharas in organized resettlement schemes were sent from Guragie Zone. Those remained in the resettlement sites are few Sidamas and other ethnic groups who came from Sidama zone and the Amharas from Guragie zone.<sup>2</sup>

According to the result, spontaneous resettlers have advantages to easily get together since they are from one ethnic group and religious background. This might have helped them to withstand the influence from the social and physical environment of the new area.

#### **4.1.4 Differential Socio-economic Status before and after the Resettlement**

The resettlers both spontaneous and organized were in disaster when they were in their place of home. They are expected to rehabilitate from the threats they encountered and regain their social and economic status in the new area.

Table 6: Social and economic differences in place of origin and the new area

Resettlement Type	Status Type	Better at place of origin		Better at the resettlement		No change	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Spontaneous	Economic			60	100	0	0
	Social	11	26.83	35	58.33	14	23.33
Organized	Economic			41	100		
	Social	9	21.95	18	43.90	14	34.15

<sup>2</sup> Refer to chapter three about the ethnic composition of Qu'ttir Amäst Kābāle

From the table above, except few pertaining to the social affairs, almost all the sample resettlers from both resettlement schemes agreed that the economic situation in the resettlement area is better than their place of origin. They declared that some of the resettlers in their home of origin by chance were made to resettle in the zone of displacement or the nearby zones. Interviewees substantiated the result of the survey. Some were observed being surprised when asked to compare the economic status in their place of origin and the resettlement sites. It was also seen that stores in Wotwa were packed with quintals of rice. In Qu'ttir Amäst, although not individuals' barrens, the store of the Peasants' Association (PA) in the grinding mill house was sealed in quintals for market.<sup>3</sup> This indicates that both resettlement schemes, even though they have significant differences, are surplus producers. Those who were called as food insecure now become food self-sufficient and more productive than expected.

#### **4.1.5 Voluntariness and Decision-Making Process**

Voluntary resettlement occurs when the migrants have the power to make informed and free relocation, decisions and the willingness to leave their original place. Involuntary resettlement, also known as compulsory resettlement or forced displacement (Cernea 2000a), refers to the forcible uprooting of people from their original place of residence because of natural and/or human induced disasters and/or forces. Specifying Cernea's assertion Gebre dictates as follows:

*Induced-voluntary movement takes place when people leave their home place to resettle elsewhere due to deliberate acts of inducements coming from outside agencies. Although the migrants may maintain decision-making power, the facts on the basis of which their decisions are made are provided and analyzed by other agencies. Compulsory-voluntary resettlement occurs when people embrace forced removal out of desperation, and when voluntarily resettled people are denied the right to leave the resettlement area (Gebre, 2004:106f)*

Oberai (1992) referring to the result of such displacement-resettlement situation asserted that, "Resettlers should not be with misconceptions of their destination, which results in failure of resettlement". Gebre asserts the effect as, "compulsory-voluntary migrants embrace forced

---

<sup>3</sup> Refer to annex IV: photo which shows the stores side by side annex IV

resettlement initiatives, while involuntary migrants tend to resist it. Resistance to force resettlement tends to affect the pace and degree of reestablishment in the new environment” (2004: 107).

The case of population resettlement scheme under discussion in this paper is a comparison of the organized and spontaneous resettlement. The organized scheme, which is described as state-planned, lacks genuine and full match between the policy, the plan and the implementation. What was being implemented seemed to be contrasting to what was said in the plan and the working document of the resettlement project. The working document prepared by the federal and the regional governments declared that the resettlement is based on voluntariness of the displacees. However, the implementation was found to be different from the idea of voluntarism. The response of the resettler in the table below would be evidence.

Table 7: If options were given to choose their destination area

Question	Yes		No		Remarks
	No	%	No	%	
Were Options of resettlement sites given to you?			41	100	

The above phenomenon was also clearly stated in the government resettlement plan document (FDRE 2002:1) Rather, desperate move of the people was exploited to enhance the long incepted alternative rural development strategy of the country, i.e., "Enhancing the development of growth centers in 'underutilized' areas" (Ibid:148). The demographic aspect deals with relieving of population pressure, particularly from highland areas through possible migration and resettlement into the western and southwestern lowlands of the country (Ibid). The evaluation document of the region has shown that there were irregularities during the recruitment of the resettlers. The promises made by the sending authorities were exaggerated differently from the project document assertion. Almost all interviewed sample household heads from the state-sponsored resettlement declared that what was promised before departure was almost none on the sites. They were promised to have already constructed house with furnished

household utensils. They were also told that clinic, potable water, road and other services would be provided therein the resettlement site. The realization of this data could be the abandonment of the resettlement sites. The Wäräda Food Security Office reported that majority of the resettlers left their sites. The following table reveals the data of retention and abandonment of the organized resettlers in all kábäles of the wäräda.

Some, I interviewed, noted that if options had been given to them initially, they could have preferred to resettle nearer to their place of origin within their wäräda or zone than far destination like Gurafarda. This indicates that people came to the sites not because of they opted it but for there was no other option offered. Therefore, based on the data on the table, it is possible to conclude that the resettlers who did not opted Gurafarda could be categorized as compulsory or induced-volunteers.

Table 8: Organized Resettlers Retention and Abandonment

Year of resettlement	Kebele	HHH arrived		Retained		Left the site	
		M	F	M	F	M	F
2003	Alänga	282	-	83		199	
2003 & 2005	Gelit No 5	427		171		256	
2003	Sämärta No 6	187	1	38	1	149	
2003 2005 2006 2007	Gabiqa	1861	6	348	6	1513	
2003 2005 2007	Käne'an	994	1	184	1	810	
2006 2007	Kuki	1512	34	500	19	1012	15
2007	Commätta	1226	36	679	31	547	5
<b>Total</b>		<b>6489</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>4486</b>	<b>20</b>

Source: *Adapted from the 2010/11 report of Food Security Office of the wäräda about the organized resettlers.*

This table shows that 69.44% (4506 out of 6489) of household heads from the wäräda left the resettlement sites. According to the study site extension workers and the survey result, most of the resettlers who left the site were the Sidama. The abandoning resettlers, renting their farm land to the Amhara spontaneous resettlers, either have returned back to their place of origin or like other young resettlers of other ethnic groups, might have gone to the gold mining sites at *Gabissa*. For this reason, the abandoning resettlers were blamed by retained groups of the organized resettlement scheme resettlers' for abandoning the resettlement sites through leasing or contracting farmland, and selling donated oxen, oil and other materials provided by the government.

## **4.2 Resettlers' Differential Livelihood Strategies**

In this portion of the thesis, the subsistence system difference between the spontaneous and organized resettlers was put. The strategies the resettlers employed so as to ensure food self-sufficiency and economic development were described based on the data collected.

### **4.2.1 Land Tenure and Land Acquisition Strategies**

Gavian and Gemechu state that, "Land is primary agricultural input" (1994:153). Land tenure, therefore, is crucial for the farmers in rural areas of developing countries like Ethiopia wherein 3/4<sup>th</sup> of the country's population reside. Land tenure is a system defines rights and obligations with respect to acquisition and use of land in agricultural settlements, and is a critical determinant of the size and distribution of agricultural income (Oberai, 1992:89).

Difference in land tenure system brings about variation in livelihood strategies of peasants. Diverse land acquisition strategies were employed in the research area corresponding to the resettlement type. Spontaneous resettlers have traditional local agreement based land tenure system which does not determine the landholding size per household. The organized resettlers, on the other hand, acquired land in line with the region's working document of resettlement. In accordance with the resettlement package of the government, land distribution was equitable to

all resettlers in the government programme i.e. 2.1 hectare to each household regardless of the household size. Of this plot of land, 1ha is homestead and the remaining 2ha is given as the main farmland in separated places.

In the constitution of the country, land is vested to ownership of the government. Article 40 of the 1995 constitution and land proclamation of 1997 state that, “the right to ownership of rural and urban land as well as all natural resources, is exclusively vested in the state and in the peoples of Ethiopia”. Land is a common property of the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia and shall not be subject to sale or other means of exchange” (Sub Art. 3). The Constitution also has provisions regarding other land rights. Sub Art. 4 provides “Ethiopian peasants have right to obtain land without payment and the protection against eviction from their possession.”

Despite the above constitutional enshrinement and recent policy measures, land tenure and land right breach (such as tenure insecurity, restrictions on access/transfer, lack of adequate land administration system) prevails in the research area. Land tenure in the research area appeared to be violating the rule of law. In the wäräda under question, land tenure is observed to be the mixture of the customary local and the formal tenure system that governs the land tenure respectively of the resettlement type.

In the wäräda under study, land acquisition system is largely based on corruption and bribery. Despite the fact that the constitution declares that land shall be provided for landless without any disbursement, it is learnt that even those pioneers of the resettlement who were thought to be legals were ordered by the local government authorities to pay fifty ETB for a hectare of land they requested. Moreover, those resettled after 2005, who were called as “illegals” were asked from 3000 – 10,000 ETB. This was done not by the ‘owners’ of the land but by the political elites of the Kābāle and even the (Office of the wäräda Security and the interview). This was evidenced by the fact that some of the then office bearers at the local government from kābāle to the wäräda level are being investigated by the Ethics and Anti-corruption Commission for they were suspected of being bribed to offer large tracts of farmland for the spontaneous resettlers.

Land was distributed to the first spontaneous resettlers who were invited by the local authorities of the wäräda in 2001. After two years, the official legal distribution of land was executed to the state-sponsored resettlers who came from different ethnic groups of SNNPR. Land distribution has been different as of the difference in the resettlement type.

The major sources of accessing land in the spontaneous resettlement area were the customary local contract and bribery. It was learnt that there happened to be two sources of land contract. This might be either from the local Me'enit community or those state-sponsored resettlers who leave the resettlement site.

According to Ato Solomon, the head of Security office, land was illegally sold from 3000-10,000 ETB. Continuing the elaboration, he stated that the 'illegal' act was escalated since the year 2007. There were about 22,000 illegal resettlers, who might have bought land from the indigenous people or from state-sponsored resettlers. The same source declared that illegal contractual agreement between the local people and the resettlers have been performed without the knowledge of the authorized third party who, according to the constitution of the country, was given mandate to administer the land issues.

Another way of land acquisition is through similarity in the place of origin– nepotism. According to Ato Solomon, if a *Menz* (a group originating from North Shoa), is chairman of a *käbäle*, that *käbäle* would be filled up with the *Menz*. Once a *Menz* was a chairman of *Wotwa* *käbäle*, in a year time “ብሉዎ በመገዝ ••• •••••” [*qäbälew bämänz ta'chiqo agegnänäw*], (we got the *käbäle* packed with *Menzei*.)

In this regard, one of the means of land access is social network. According to the officers, land could be sold not only being at the wäräda but also sometimes being at North Shoa or Gondar. It was done through the social network which was established when they were at their place of origin. The network is constructed using cognate or fictive kinships like: *Yeniseha abat/lij* (Shepherding priest), *Abelij* (God father/mother), *Abroadeg* (river boy) and so on.

According to the result of the survey, social status is conditioned as the least important factor to access farmland but capital is expressed to be important to get more farmland. To enter to the resettlement area, social network played paramount role than any other mechanism. Majority of the spontaneous resettlers who arrived at the area since 2006 were brought through ties with the pioneers of the resettlements. This is also assured by the survey result. 86% of the respondents from the spontaneous resettlement declared that they were brought by their relatives or one whom they know well.

One of the strategies implemented by the resettlers to get access into the wäräda was purchasing ID cards of the kábäles of Gurafarda wäräda being in North Shoa or elsewhere at the migrant's place of origin. Though the resettlers conceal it, Ato Solomon, head of the Wäräda Security Office, revealed that not few resettlers entered to the area having forged residential ID. The same source evidenced that the wäräda police caught migrants from North Shoa who had ID card of Gelit/Qu'ttir Amäst Kábäle. When asked to describe the location of the place, they were unable even to indicate the direction. Based on this evidence, the office expressed that they captured large number of migrants attempting to intrude with ID cards of kábäles of Gurafarda sold at North Shoa stamped here in the kábäles by the corrupted kábäle administrators.

Therefore, the spontaneous resettlers could have been attempting any legal or illegal ways to get into the wäräda. This, according to the FGD in Wotwa, is strategy to escape from the disastrous area where the migrant resettlers do not have hope for their futurity due to lack of farmland in their place of birth. One of the Church clergymen at Wotwa Giorgis revealed about the land sale illegality as, “ከመጥስት መሰንበት ይሻላል፤ አይኖችን እያየ አንጥትም ብለን እንጅ መሬት እንደማይሸጥ እንደማይለወጥ እንኳን አዋቂ በማሕጸን ያለም ሳያውቅ አይቀር”, [*kämämot mäsanbät yishalal; ayinachin iyayä anmotim belen inji märet indmayishä'tt indmayiläwä'tt inkuan awaqi bämahetsän yaläm sayawuq ayeqär*], It literally mean that “ It is better to live than die, we cannot die watching at death; leave alone we the matured , a fetus I suppose might have known that land shall never be sold or exchanged.” However they know that the way most of them accessed land through violating the law of the land, they continued doing so devising newest mechanisms changing from time to time.

According to my informant who had been the then Wārāda administration officer, some of the wārāda authorities were seriously in need of the incoming migrant resettlers for the purpose of reestablishing the Wārāda administration to Biftu. Therefore, the land provision in the beginning was lawless and was done for the sake of political consumption. As a result, according to the Wārāda Security Office head, Ato Solomon, land distribution made at that time has created chaos providing unresolved assignment to the wārāda.

Before accessing land, spontaneous resettlers who arrive in the wārāda since 2007 pursue the following steps. They first begin as employee for other farmers. Then they begin to sharecrop in with spontaneous resettlers of the same origin of place. The next stage appeared to be rent in land either from the indigenous Me'enit or the government-organized resettlers. These stages are the same for all spontaneous resettlers. Some were found working day and night to be free from tenancy. In due course, conflict arises among the spontaneous resettlers. The conflict is between the one who is in need of freedom from tenancy and the other who is in need of the cheap labour from the 'illegally' entered migrants 'tenant'<sup>4</sup>.

Another channel is getting farmland from the state-sponsored resettlement sites. Accessing farmland in the state-sponsored resettlement sites was through contracts of the abandoning resettlers or leasing half of the farmlands from the residing resettlers. The Amhara resettlers figured out at state-sponsored resettlement sites are either those came from Guragie Zone through organized resettlement programme or spontaneous resettlers who accessed farmland from the abandoning resettlers.

In Wotwa, the land possession ranges from 3 -30 ha. Those who came formerly were provided land abundantly for the reason that settlers might be attracted.

The resettlement programme which was launched by the government indicted that the "the living areas shall be in one village with 1000m<sup>2</sup> for garden at homestead. Then additional 2 ha

---

<sup>4</sup> [illegality and Tenancy are later discussed this chapter

farm land would be provided for each household head (2003:14-15). Resettlers were assigned using the lottery method regardless of their ethnic backgrounds and place of origin. This fragmented land acquisition on the organized resettlement was not liked by the resettlers. Therefore, the resettlers put several arguments against fragmented farm holding. First, fragmented farm holding was argued that it takes time since it is far from the residence. Second, it is out of the sight of the farmers in order to manage the farm. Third, fragmented farm holding is highly risky for the reason that the wild animals could invade the farm if a guardian is absent for a while. Therefore, in Gelit (Qu'ttir Amäst) resettlers preferred to reestablish by making their own villages suitable for their socio-economic betterment through abolishing the former villages which were designed without the consent of the subject. As shown herein, the resettlers have had differential land acquisition strategy. As a result, they have varying landholding size.

Table 9: Differential landholding in the place of origin and in the resettlement site

Average Landholding size of	At Place of origin	At new site	Differential	Sample taken
Spontaneous	1.27ha /3.8 timad <sup>5</sup> /	3.75ha	2.48ha (195.28%)	*North Shoa
Organized	0.32ha <sup>6</sup>	2.1ha	1.78ha (556.25%)	*Sidama

The average national arable landholding size per household is estimated to be 0.97 ha (MOA, 1989) in Gizachew Abegaz (1994:23). All the resettlers either spontaneous or organized have landholding greater than their place of origin and even the average national holding.

---

<sup>3</sup> Timad is 1/3 of a hectare

<sup>5</sup> Teferi 1994:97 *Land Scarcity and Landlessness in North Shoa: A Case Study from Wayu and Anget Mewgiya* P95-117

<sup>6</sup> Girachew Abegaz (1994:23) *Rural Land use issues and policy*.

#### 4.2.2 Land, Marriage and Divorce

Household is socially created and sustained through the institute of marriage. In Ethiopia, particularly among the Amhara ethnic group, land is held in household, the head of the household administrates the land on behalf of the household than for himself. The household members have usufruct right with that of the household head (Pankhurst, 1989:51). Every family member when matured and wanted to establish his own life independently of the parents, it is mandatory for the parents to let him begin his own life in Amharic “ጎጆ ይውጣ” [*gojo yiwutta*]. This is a means for the parents to let children to begin their own life through the provision of farmland. What was unique in the resettlement site, particularly among the spontaneous Amhara resettlers, was that land is basic resource for marriage so that one can make his living. However, the same function i.e. means of accessing farmland, is accomplished through divorce which is antithesis to marriage. Unlike the cultural practices of the society under study, the same function is attained through the divergent social arrangements- marriage and divorce.

According to the wäräda Justice office, the frequent allegation on the spontaneous resettlers was homicide and divorce. From the interviewees at Wotwa, two of them declare that they have committed divorce but living with their spouses. When asked about their land holding, they asked me similar question “የብቻዬን ወይስ ከባለቤቴ ጋር” [*yebichyen weyis kbalbete gar*] literally mean “Mine only or with my wife”. Both of them told me that they divorced their wives for they were not tolerant of their spouses’ behavior. Controversially, the respondents were living together though they divorced them. The divorce was accomplished through the customary go between by the elders “ሸምግልና” [*shimgilinna*] process and then legitimated by the wäräda court.

Being surprised, I wondered to know how and why this is used to happen. One of my informants whose name and address for the sake of security unmentioned, stated that there was a roamer that the land redistribution would be enacted in SNNPR. Therefore, the landholding would be no bigger than five hectare per household. As a result of this, people whose holding was bigger than five hectare began to worry and wanted to sustain their holding through ‘divorce’. The “divorced” woman, in accordance with the culture and law of the land, has right to have her own farmland to subsist herself and her children. Divorce, for this reason, has highly

increased after 2008. This indicates that marriage and divorce, the former stands for unity and productivity, and the latter for the split up and disintegration of a family become 'synonyms' when both execute for the attainment of the goal; acquisition and sustainability of landholding.

### **4.2.3 Landholding and Socio-Economic Status**

Land is a resource where peasants irreplaceably rely on for their subsistence. As mentioned above in this sub chapter the resettlers in the sample area has migrated for the sake of land than any other resource. In the sites of both resettlement schemes, almost all of the spontaneous resettlers have made advancement in their economic status. The production system is being changed from consumption to market focused. In doing so, their economic status has been changing. Most of the spontaneous resettlers and some of the organized are at the stage of social re-articulation. Formerly, they were seen as evicted for they did not have anything to eat. My informant, a clergyman at Wotwa, remembering what happened when they began to resettle in the new area, asserted: "At that time, we did not have house to live in, some of us did not have blanket to wear at night. But now, my friends have car, truck- *Obama* (the new ISUZU model truck bigger than the usual), others have grinding mill; some have houses at Mizan, Bahir-Dar and Debre Birhan. This indicates that the spontaneous resettlers have managed to reach the stage of social re-articulation. They have established a big church of St. *Giorgis* in Wotwa at a special place called Čodit which recently takes after the name of the church and is called as "*Giorgis*".

On the other hand, though they are being under the support of the Food Security Office of the wäräda, some of the organized resettlers have managed to reach to economic and social development. They began to produce surplus and diversify their income sources, though majorities flee from the resettlement sites.

The spontaneous resettlers have firmly established their prestige to be called as 'hardworking' and prosperous. Some of them were awarded by the regional state as model farmers. However few they are, organized resettlers who have determined to live in the new site, shown economic

advancement and changed their status from the needy to self-food sufficient and even surplus producers.

#### 4.2.4 Land Use Land Cover

Many were attracted by this land distribution. As a result, the resettlers intensively began to cultivate crops which have never been seen in the area. The land which had been covered with gigantic trees has begun to grow different crops. Consequently, the land use land cover is changed.

The total area of the wäräda according to the wäräda Administration office, is estimated to be about 228,281.255 ha. The land which had been forestland becoming the resettlement and investment site. The following table shows the land use patterns of the wäräda.

Table 10: Land use land Cover of the wäräda

Land use type	Measure in hectare	Percent	Remark
Natural forest	128,024.91	56.07	
Man made forest	148.89	0.07	
Bush and Shrubs	29,456.535	12.90	
Grazing	497.00	0.22	
Annual crops	22,500.00	9.86	
Perennial crops	20,000.00	8.76	
Wet and bare land	27,100.65	11.90	
Unproductive	148.85	0.06	
Others	404.42	0.17	

Source: Gurafarda wäräda Office of the Administration (GWOA) (2010).

Belay identified four distinct types of land use patterns which include rain fed crops (which can be divided into annual and perennial crops) homestead or garden and grazing land uses. The effect of grazing land use is negligible (2009:81). Therefore, most of the land is covered with increasing investment and the relentless flowing spontaneous resettlers.

The Kābāles where the spontaneous resettlers reside were observed to have inappropriate land use land cover strategy. The inflowing population in the spontaneous resettlement sites together with their intensive agricultural system is thought to be disastrous to the welfare of the land and the natural resources' sustainability. For instance, we can comparatively examine the total population in *Wotwa* and *Qu'ttir Amäst*.

Table 11: Comparative view of the total population against land use strategies

Kābāle	HH	Population	Average Land holding /HH	Remarks
<i>Wotwa</i>	779	5778	3.79 <sup>7</sup>	The average landholding was taken
<i>Gelit/Qu'ttir Amäst</i>	184	829	2.1	

The table above indicated that the population size in *Wotwa* is by far greater than that of *Qu'ttir Amäst*. As was mentioned in chapter three, *Wotwa* was the place where the spontaneous resettlers pioneered the resettlement programme. The average landholding size, resulted from the survey, showed significant different. Not only the population that exceeded in *Wotwa* but also the landholding size.

As shown on the table 11 and the statistical evidences from the Wārāda Administration, *Wotwa* is the most populous kābāle of the wārāda. From this point, we can deduce that the land use land cover in the spontaneous resettlement sites is greater than that of the organized. The livelihood of the spontaneous resettlers is based of intensive agriculture; they used large tracts of farmland to enhance their economic profit through augmenting their plot of land by diverse means.

The host community in the kābāle might have been pushed away when such number of population influx intrude into the area. According to Qess Bālā'ttä., my informant at *Wotwa*, stated that the pioneering spontaneous resettlers in fear of the jangle forest and the Surma

---

<sup>7</sup> from the survey result

raiders, and the proximity of the area to access services found only in *Biftu*, they occupied alongside the main road.

The area they occupied might have helped them to access market, access to health centers. As a result in minimum loss of money and energy they managed to produce and sale their products.

#### **4.2.5 Labour Recruitment and Organization**

Labour in a peasant society is organized in the way efficient production could be possible. Household according to Pankhurst is predominantly an economic unit of production, consumption and reproduction with specific labour requirement and roles (1989:50). Therefore, the basic labour of the resettlers' is the household. On the other hand, not only the size of the household leads to success but also the skill of the household head at recruiting members, expanding access to land, and capital in the form of oxen (Ibid).

"Labour-rich" households, on the other hand, can access draft power in *wänfäl* or *däbo* arrangements. These oxenless households who use these arrangements were found to be disadvantaged. As the *wänfäl* partner owns no oxen, his contribution will solely be his labour, which is a third requirement for cultivation. The result of the survey study showed that 2 respondents (3.57 %) from the organized resettlement and 25 (41.66%) at spontaneous resettlement sites exchanged labour out for oxen. The labour provider has to work one day (a third) on his land and two days (2/3) on the oxen owner's land.

Another method to use draft animals is *mäqänaajo*. The term denotes that a peasant with only ox can have one through borrowing from other peasant who on another time could borrow an ox from the one whom he lent before. This is wise use of resource where there is deficiency. It rather goes beyond borrow and lend process- mutualism. It has its contribution in strengthening the social relations among the resettlers.

In the sample state-sponsored resettlement site, it was learnt from the interview and the survey that the exchange of labour or oxen was based on either religious or ethnic orientation. Those

who have relatives in the resettlement site use adequate labour power through rotation based on the agreed up on schedule. Such families saw in gaps so that they could not be dispersed during the harvest time. They do not give land in sharecropping if they have child/children who is/are old enough to cultivate the land. They may exchange land for oxen if they have no opportunity to get draft power through their social networks.

Considering labor as one important factor, Barlett predicted that intensity of labor would be determined by the ratio between consumer and workers (Barlett, 1980). The higher the dependency ratio, the lower supply of household labor become; and the lower the supply of labor, the weaker the household's enterprise (Donham, 1994). Accordingly, Labor in Wotwa plays crucial role to facilitate household access to draft power and land. It also enhances income of a household through off-farming activities. When enterprising household heads management skill is high the income increased due to the ability of the household head's to recruit labour constantly and efficiently.

In both resettlement schemes, it was exhibited that every member of a household in both schemes, except the very young and the elderly, has to participate in different intensive farm tasks. The tasks, mild and strong, can be allocated based on gender and age difference. In the study area there are some tasks allocated to men or women. Younger children are often engaged in helping their parents or elders in the household. Male children look after the cattle, while female children take over activities appropriate to their age either with their mother or elder sisters.

Labour division, in spontaneous and organized resettlement sites, was based on gender difference. This was manifested in that while males plow, harvest, and thresh, females take care of children, prepare food and manage the household in addition to what they contribute to the productive works in the farm fields. The male household head is mainly engaged in cultivation of the cropland. He is also the manager of the household who makes decisions on human resource and economic matters. Thus, he allocates tasks to each member of the household.

At the spontaneous resettlement sites, where almost all the resettlers were from Amhara, female children make the so called *Sefate* (literally mean a dish or plate used to store *injera* or *bread*). It is embroidered by designing different eye catching patterns using a grass called locally as *sindädo*. Female at the age of 11-16 were told to thread the *Sefate* for the reason that they are expected by the community to have their own home in the near future. Therefore, they have to portray that they are matured and ready to take over their own home.

### Case I

Serkalem Ashebir 12 years old, residing at Qu'ttir Amäst kábäle with her family. She is from spontaneous Amhara resettlers. We (the researcher and the guide person) found her knitting '*mesob*'; which is a plate used for storing injera.

*I am grade five student. I had been attending at Kuja secondary cycle school for there was no second cycle elementary school at our or the neighbouring kábäles. Going to Kuja for me in such age would be very challenging for the school is 2 hrs walk away. In addition to the distance I had no female friend so that I could walk with. All the students from our surrounding are boys. As a result I was forced to quit my schooling. My parents always tell me that I am already matured to marry. I cannot escape it for the decision on my future is on the hands of my parents. Therefore as a matured girl I am embroidering 'mesob' for two reasons. The first is to show that I am able to prepare my own utensils. And in doing so I could portray myself that I am wise to handle household works. The second is to sell it to have some money necessary ornaments which culturally a matured girl beautifies herself. For I am expected to have my own utensils “የሴት ሰብ” (literally means “things belong to female” before I leave to my parent-in-laws home. You may think that I am too young to take over these responsibilities. In our culture a girl aged 9 is expected to think about marriage and make herself ready through such products.*

Women's contribution at a household level brings about degree of difference between the women at state-sponsored and spontaneous resettlement sites. Women at the state-sponsored resettlement site-Qu'ttir Amäst are engaged in off-farm activities though not intensive as women in the spontaneous resettlement site, Wotwa. The former prepare *Kineto*- a sort of juice made from fried barley which is not fermented but flavoured with sugar. Likewise the spontaneous resettlers, *tej*, *tella* were being delivered for the local consumption. Fruits like

banana were seen sold by the households residing on the sides of the main road. It was seen that most of the shops in the spontaneous resettlement sites were kept by women or children than men. The task of both younger boys and girls, particularly in the spontaneous resettlement sites, is often restricted to looking after small ruminants usually with their elders.

Harvesting in the area is labour intensive work. My informant, Zänäbe, who is 43, at Wotwa, told me that rice is a crop whose seed easily disperses when it dry. Therefore, if ripped, it has to be harvested quickly. Otherwise, the seed disperses from its coat. At this time, in the sample *käbäles*, all the community is engaged in harvesting the crop. No one could help the other. Hence, it is must for those who have children make them all be engaged at harvesting. Most of the spontaneous resettlers, according to the result of the survey, employ labour at this period of the agricultural calendar. This is a peak time where all the farmers in the *wäräda* collect their harvest.

Weeding in other crops like maize and sorghum demands intensive labour. However in rice, it could not be easily weeded. Therefore, according to the data from the survey, majority of the farmers apply herbicide. The social labour organizations are well employed during the plow time than the harvest and weeding of rice. Nonetheless, during the plow, weeding and harvest of other crops, these social labour organizations provide full function for the reason that the nature of the crops provides time to collect in a relaxed manner. Most of the households in the spontaneous resettlement area do not often hire labor. Few households who have large tract of farmland and earn much money from their extensive farm and off-farm activities are found to hire labor.

#### **4.2.6 Production, Consumption and Market**

The resettlers, both the spontaneous and the organized, have brought their subsistence system in to the research area. For instance in *Gelit /Qu'ttir Amäst* resettlement site, people planted *enset*- from which they extract fibrous flour for food. On the other hand, in the spontaneous resettlers homestead one could see vegetables like cabbage, pepper, and fruits than *enset*- "*false banana*". The economic crop produced in the research is similar for both resettlers because of the

fortuitous emergence of rice. Rice, maize, sorghum and sesame were main annual crops produced. Whereas, maize according to my informants in both resettlement sites, is used for children when it is fresh, and the straw for cattle. But it has been the main and staple food for the indigenous Me'etit.

However now a days, the resettlers were striving to grow perennial crops such as coffee and fruits like mango, banana, avocado. No *teff* is produced in the resettlement sites. This was not for the change in subsistence system but it was substituted by rice. Most of the crops being produced in the research sites are for market. Among them, rice and sesame are widely produced. Therefore, in the near future, according to the wäräda Rural Development Office (RDO), referring to the government's agricultural extension packages, prospected that the crops which demand less energy and provide vast economic benefits to the farmers would be sustainably produced. Hereafter, agricultural produces shall be market driven. The extension workers encourage the peasants to shift from food security strategy to market oriented production. Accordingly, it could be concluded that the resettlers are in line with the intention of the government's rural development strategy. What the researcher has observed was witnessed by Belay (2009:50).

#### **4.2.7 Rice and Its Role**

I learnt when I was in grade seven that rice was the staple food for the Far and Middle East people. We Ethiopian have never even seen what rice is like. However, since very recently it has become the main crop in many parts of the country. This, in turn has brought the change in the subsistence type and feeding habit of the people. Therefore, peasants who had been cultivating and eat *teff* as main food have shifted to rice.

According to the agricultural experts in the Bench-Maji zone Rural Development Office, there are two main types of rice seed which grows in different agro-ecological areas. Rice grown in Africa is called NERICA (New Rice for Africa) types 1-4. The one which is grown in our country is NERICA-4. This type of rice needs high temperature and high moisture. The zone is, therefore, suitable for this type of rice. The humidity, the rainfall and the soil fertility is found to

be proper to the type of rice being cultivated in the research area. However, According to Ato Demeke, the Information Business process Owner of BMZRD Office, such type of rice is weak to resist drought. So as to alleviate the shortcoming of the crop, a NGO (Non-Governmental Organization) whose objective is to boost the productivity of the peasants designed a project to enact in the zone targeting to enhance productivity and quality of rice.

Rice was given pivotal position in this study for the fact that the socio-economic changes of the resettlers and the people around based on it. The economy of the resettlers is changed due the suitability of the area to the crop. As mentioned in this research, the productivity of rice per hectare is 40 quintal. Not only the productivity that motivated the resettlers to insist on cultivating the crop but also the immense demand for the crop made the opportunistic crop be dominant in the research area. As a result, the livelihood of both spontaneous and organized resettlers become dependent on rice than any crop they had been cultivating for generation in their place of home. The following table indicates how rice becomes overriding crop in the research area.

Table 12: Land coverage, production and productivity of rice in the wäräda since 2002

Year	Coverage in Hectare	Total Production	Quintal /hectare	Remarks
2002/3	146	1314	9	
2003/4	925	37,000	40	
2004/5	2,234.3	89,360	39.99	
2005/6	6258	252,080	40.23	
2006/7	9262	342,694	37	
2007/8	13,400	361,400	27 <sup>8</sup>	
2008/9	23,516	893,421	37.99	
2009/10	24,516	971,764	40.29	

Source: *Gurafarda wäräda Rural Development Office (GWRDO)*

---

<sup>8</sup> *The productivity reduction happened due to the outbreak of a pest called 'armyworm'*

The data in the table indicates that the production of rice in the wäräda has significantly changed the agro-economy of the area. The introduction and increase in amount of produce shifting from the subsistence economy to market oriented production. The average productivity of rice is 38-39 quintals per hectare. The productivity of the crop was not the result of technology application but due to the fertility of the soil and the suitability of the weather. The production of rice in the wäräda has also changed the feeding habit of the resettlers and people living in towns of the zone. People in towns around the area rather than using only teff for baking *injera* shifted to mix it with rice. It helped the community to withstand the escalating price of teff.

#### **4.2.8 Livestock Raising**

Peasant households entirely depend on cultivation of crops and rearing of animals for their livelihood. "Livestock is the most important asset, without which peasants fell below the subsistence level faster than usual" (Mesfin, 1991). It can also be used to access other important factors of production, particularly draft labour. Livestock is a crucial labour force of production that supplements the ability of household to cultivate their land properly on time.

Most of the households in the both sample areas do not possess oxen. Ownership of a pair of oxen is taken as an indicator of independent and self-reliant household in the spontaneous resettlement. However in the state-sponsored resettlement, it was seen as a sign of richness. The success of households also depend on the ownership of livestock particularly oxen.

In the spontaneous resettlement area, whenever a household head owns a pair of oxen he (not often she) can sharecrop in more land. In the state-sponsored resettlement site, if one is able to buy small ruminants like sheep and goats, he could be said that he has enough. Though one owns small ruminants, s/he lacks labor that could increase his/her efficiency in production. A household head that owns a pair or more oxen is thought to be more advantageous. He can have human labour in exchange of the draft labour. In addition to direct benefit one could have extra time to engage in off-farm activities. Thus, one can sustain his household needs, if he/she has draft power and some small ruminants.

The role of livestock is not solely limited to the provision of draft power, it also provides supply of milk and butter, power for transportation, production of saleable offspring and it is a means of capital accumulation. In the state-sponsored resettlement site, out of the total sample households forty-one (73.21%) of them are oxen less. The following table shows differential ownership of livestock and other animals between the spontaneous and state-sponsored resettlers.

Table 13: Livestock rearing

No of oxen	Resettlement scheme				Remarks
	Spontaneous		Organized		
	Frequency	percent	Frequency	Percent	
None	8	13.33	12	29.27	
Single	20	33.33	19 <sup>9</sup>	46.34	
A pairs	28	46.66	10 <sup>10</sup>	24.39	
Above a pair	6	10	---	---	
Total	60	100	41	100	

The figures in the table indicate that almost half of the spontaneous resettlers have a pair of oxen where as majority (42.85%) of the state-organized resettlers have only one ox. Of them most of the oxen were provisions of the government loan. However, among them 25% owned a pair of oxen. This indicates that the spontaneous resettlers exceeded in having more oxen than the state-sponsored resettlers. The more the number of oxen, the better the efficiency of the peasants' productivity would be. Number of oxen does not only indicate the amount of wealth possessed by the households but also is a prospectus for the enhancement of the future prosperity. Therefore, the gap between the spontaneous and organized resettlers would be widened.

---

<sup>9</sup> One of the pairs or even the single one is of the donation provided through credit.

<sup>10</sup> One of the pairs or even the single one is of the donation provided through credit.

#### **4.2.9 Agricultural Production Calendar**

Resettlers in both schemes articulated that production in the resettlement area become different from their place of origin. The change is not only in type of produce but also in production calendar. In the new area, production takes place twice a year. This change in production demands new procedure and way of plowing from that they were accustomed to in their place of origin. There are two harvest seasons-the Bälğ and Mähär in the new area. Accordingly, the procedure goes on from January to February with the clearance of land. Then they saw Maize in March. From March to June is period to saw rice. The gap of time, they reasoned, is to buy time during harvest and the grace period to wait for rain. In June and July sorghum (*Gobi*-a type which is used for household consumption) November and December is a harvest time.

#### **4.3 Socio-Economic Institutions**

Social organizations are institutions which are voluntarily organized gatherings of people so as to make decisions on incidences which demands collective action, fitting to the cultural practices of the people under question.

As agriculture is labour intensive activity, it demands multiple human and animal labour. In order to subsist oneself and the household sufficiently, one needs to have collaboration with others in one or other social ties. Among the linking networks, social and economic institutions are widely employed in peasants' livelihood. Customary organizations make the work done effective and further strengthen the social ties. Among these organizations employed in the sample resettlement sites, *Däbo*, *Wänfäl*, *Mäqänajo*, *Idir*, *Mahber*, *Sänbäte* and *Iqub* are widely used.

The resettlers, either the spontaneous or the organized, employed strategies through organizing the relatives and other neighboring labour to assist each other on the basis of voluntarism. These labour organizations are called *däbo*, *wänfäl* and *mäqänajo*.

***Däbo*** is a working institution where feast is prepared for the labour delivered. It is not for all but those with vast tract of land and well-to-dos invite labour for the exchange of feast that he provides. *Däbo* in Ethiopia is common in all parts. In the resettlement area under question, most of the resettlers employ *Däbo* when the time for plowing demands quick response. *Däbo* could be with anyone who could change labour for the feast provided.

***Wänfäl*** is a strategy where labour, draft animals and or means of production exchange among households at peak agricultural seasons. The exchange is periodically scheduled and used in rotation. The sizes of the working parties vary from two to ten. The arrangement is based on neighborhood and the strength of the person, i.e., stronger with the stronger, and weaker with the weaker. *Wänfäl* is common at the time of plowing, weeding and harvesting. As it can be discerned in the table 13, most of the households do not own livestock particularly, oxen. The availability or lack of a pair of oxen determines the level of income of households, and the degree and mechanisms of dependence of peasants on others. The deficiency level of a peasant household plays a decisive role in conditioning the way in which a household enters into a social and economic relations. It is worth discussing different mechanisms that households who do not own livestock, particularly draft power, utilize these mechanisms as a means to access land and labor. The availability of such mechanisms enables households to support their relatives despite the scarcity of draft power. Those who have single oxen can have another through *wänfäl*. A household may offer its ox/oxen in *wänfäl* arrangement not only for mere exchange of labour and draft power but also the inability of a farmer to farm ones cropland because of physical feebleness, lack of labor at household level. Those households that own one extra ox over a pair give it to others in arrangements in order to reduce the need for fodder and to increase the availability of grain in their household.

***Mäqānajo***: *Mäqānajo* is a livestock arrangement made between two household heads that own an ox each. As the households contribute an equal amount of input, they plough their land in an equal turn. They will exchange their ox in a day or two based on the period of intensity of work. The partners in a *mäqānajo* arrangement share none of the output they obtain from their field. The *mäqānaajo* arrangement can have some constraints on agricultural tasks in times of

intensive work. Households can hardly prepare their land at the right time. This constraint has an urges the farmers to have synchronization of the scarce resource with people of the same level. Most of the aforementioned mechanisms are used to access draft power. The reason is related to the crucial role that oxen play in the viability of households.

The above mentioned labour organizations and arrangements were observed in both resettlement schemes.

Non labour social institutions were also seen functioning in both resettlement sites. Among them idir, mahbär, sänbäte and iqub are described herewith.

*Idir* is a social organization established by people living in the same area where they cooperate burying the dead body of a person and consoling the family of the deceased. It is not only for the purpose of burial ceremony but also has psychological therapeutic function particularly where people are at the time of social disarticulation. In addition to the benefits to the mourning household, it also is a forum where people discuss about the history, livelihood and politics. In general, *idir* now a days, according to my informant in Wotwa, along with other social institutions become one of the significant social organizations which functions the displacees in a better meaning than it had been used at their place of origin. For the people in the resettlement areas of both types, this social institute functions as a means of expressing solidarity among the communities. However the institution has been functional in both schemes, it was exhibited that the form and the magnitude of the function and reliance of the community on it differs in both resettlement schemes. Accordingly, the spontaneous resettlers were organized in *idir* around their residence *go'tt* (village based organization) in the new resettlement area. However on the other hand, in the state-sponsored resettlers, the main membership criterion at the resettlement site for idir was appeared to be ethnicity. There are Wolayta, Sidama, and Kambata idirs at *Qu'ttir Amäst* resettlement site.

On the other hand, at Wotwa, there found seven *idirs* which are organized at the parish of St. Giorgis church. They (*idirs*) are controlled by the arch priest of the parish. This, according to my informant, the arch priest at St. Giorgis, was made by their forefathers to reinforce

regulations so that every member shall be voluntarily obeyed by the institution. *Idir* among the spontaneous resettlers was as a voluntary task force which had been carrying patients from their site to Biftu, seat of the wäräda administration, where the health center is found. *Idirs* were effective in mobilizing the community during the time of site establishment. In the beginning there was the pandemic malaria outbreak. At that trauma *idir* played paramount role to the adaptation and stability of the pioneering community. Had it not been the function of *idir*, it would have been difficult and even impossible for individual household to withstand the epidemic, the arch bishop emphatically stated.

On April 17, 2011, when I was at Qu'ttir Amäst/Gelit, I heard that there was mourning. Along with Beyene Sharab we reached there. They thought that we were government agents. Explaining what we were searching for, we requested them to let us learn about the *idir*. One of the adults told us the following: *The case in Amharic* is called as 'märdo'- mourn caused by the news heard about the death of a relative from far places. Relatives who live far away and unable to reach at the burial time have their mourn in their residence.

## Case II

Ato Tsegaye heard the news about the death of his relative (His nephew) in his place of origin. He told us the following.

*I had been living at Kuja. I had idir with my river boys there at Kuja. In seeking vast tract of farmland I came to Qu'ttir Amäst. I had two idirs, one at Kuja-which is at least 2 hours walk and the second here in Qu'ttir Amäst. People came from Kuja to console us. The idir in Qu'ttir Amäst prepares feast that could entertain the guests who come to console us. We do not have to worry about what to deliver to our guests. The idir takes care of the people coming from far away. People nearby bring us food and coffee. But those who visit us from far away give money so that I could see off my guests. I attend the visiting guests in order to identify who worries about me. I can identify my enemy and friend “ወዳጅና ጠላቴንም እለይባለሁ” [wädajina 'telaten lläyibätallehu]. In the midst of the sorrow it is mandatory for me to attend the visiting guests. This is our culture. Those even who are not members of the idir are visiting us. This might be my river boys, the resettlers who have compassion for me or those who would like to build relationship with me are attending the consolation. Therefore according to*

*our culture I have to attend the visitors. On the other hand I am expected to show that I am grateful for them.*

The household at the mourning as we learnt were from Gondar. Majority of the people who came from Kuja were from the same place of origin.

This indicates that idir is not the social organization that is used to serve only one function to the members. Membership in such social organizations requires certain criteria in accordance with the organizers composition and intention. The main purpose of *idir* is to carryout funeral ceremonies, to console the relatives of the deceased and to easily entertain the guests who visit them during the time of mourn which normally would take 7-12 days. Members of the *idir* have their turn to serve the lamenters and their guests day and night. In addition to the service provided during the lamentation period, members of the *idir* shall lend hand for those lost household labour due to death of a family member who had been performing the household's subsistence activities. Each *idir* has an elected committee, comprising a chairman, deputy, secretary and a treasurer. The committee is elected annually. The chairperson is elected from the elder members of the community who are expected to treat members equally and supposed to work hard for the development of the *idir*.

The following description is about the religious social institutions employed exclusively by the orthodox Christians.

***Mahibär*** is a voluntary religious association where members share feasts prepared by the commemoration of a saint, a Martyr or an Angle. It is one of the social organizations in Wotwa but not at Qu'ttir Amäst. *Mahibärs* in this paper are religious association based on the commemoration dedicated to a saint recognized by the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church. It is a memorial of a saint, a religious martyr or on their date of birth or death, or an Angle believers participate in a mahbär of a saint whom he/she is accustomed to the practice at their place of origin. At Wotwa, many of the followers of the Orthodox Tewahido Church have a mahbär at St. Giorgis's commemoration day at the 30<sup>th</sup> (the 23<sup>rd</sup> Ethiopian) of every month at which St. George was believed to be martyred. At this day, I observed that five *mahibärs* of St. George had been having feast which was meant to be venerated/ blessed from the holly

covenant believed by the followers of the orthodox Christians in the area and around the world. The number of members in each *mahibär* varies from 12 to 24. The most common is twelve. According to the arch priest, and the canon of the church, the number of a mahbär shall be 12. The reason behind is the symbolization of the 12 sons of Jacob and the twelve apostle of Jesus Christ. Citing from the Acts Chapter one, the same source told me that the apostles used to have meal together. Therefore, the informant continues, the feast is the symbol of unity and oneness in belief. Extending his description about the regulation, if a member encounters difficulty, every member has spiritual obligation to share the burden of his brother or sister of the 'feast' in Amharic “.....”[*Yätsiwa wändim wäyim ihit*]. Membership is mainly based on friendship believing in the benediction of a saint or a martyr.

On the other Sunday, I witnessed that, members of the Orthodox Christians having gender differentiated *Sänbäte* at Wotwa. A mahibär which is commemorated on Sundays is called Sänbetie. Sänbät mean seven and the seventh day of the week. According to the believers, the day on which God rested after creating for six days. It according to the same source is an order for the believers to get blessed from the day that was selected by God. In the New Testament, and in the Dogma of the Church, the day is believed to be the birth of Jesus Christ, the descendent of the Holy Spirit to the apostles. The most given accord to the day is the dooms day is believed to be at Sänbät. Hence referring to the above mentioned source the believers are devoted in participating in the feast with a sense of solidarity and oneness.

Most women have Mariam (St. Mary) *mahibär* on the 21<sup>st</sup> of every Ethiopian month to commemoration of St. Mary's death. The basic principle of women's *mahibär* is the same as the males'. The only difference in females' *mahibär* is that do not involve in economic cooperation especially in regard to agricultural activity. It does not mean they have no involvement. Though not in muscular works, they prepare food and drink for the men who are engaged at work in the farm land. They also engage in social solidarity activities visiting each other, helping in works during mourn and wedding in the sense of '*Mahibärtegna*' literally member of the same association. Generally, *mahibär* has not functioning only religious purpose; rather its socio-

economic importance is far reaching. It also strengthens social ties and results solidarity among the members and promotes socio-economic collaboration when the members face crises.

In addition to the feast of solidarity and welfare, the members also help each other when problems occur to the members. In addition, if there is a shortage of labour and oxen in the household of the deceased person, the members of the *mahibär* are responsible to plough, weed, and harvest the plots of the deceased member at least for a year, depending on the need of the deceased household. Thus, it has an economic function too.

The key person in a Mahibär is *Mussie*. *Mussie* is a person who organizes the order of the members who consecutively prepare the feast; judges the feasts quality and makes the members/*mahibertegna*/ to vindicate the one who offered the feast. He remembers the fourth person to make essential preparation for his/her turn. He is also responsible to report if there exist inconveniences among the members. The *Mussie* is assisted by *Derge-mussie* (literally mean deputy) who takes care of the members in the absence the *Mussie* and consults the *Mussie* as well. At Wotwa mahber plays significant role in the community with the divine authority of the priests.

On the other hand, instead of mahbär, the state-organized resettlers particularly the Protestants have church fellowship and collaboration among the members of the same church. This was being led by the church elders who are recognized by the congregation.

A social institution which runs the financial accumulation and redistribution of the society is called as *iqub*. *Iqub* is a voluntary monetary saving association in which all the members collect equal money through lottery system. Members get the amount of money equivalent to their net contribution. The payment is collected weekly. It is lead by a chairperson and a secretary. According to my informant at Wotwa, the resettlers were not motivated by the local government as they had been providing credit to the “የመንግሥት ሰፋሪ”, [*yämängist säfari*], meaning the government resettlers. Therefore, they had no one in that bad day-(በዚያ ከፋ ቀን ማንም ከጎናችን አልነበረም)[*bäziya yäkifu qän manim kägonnachin alnäbäräm*]. So they established *iqub* where

they could develop their accumulation for 'bad days' and to enhance their productivity. One of the differing points between the two resettlement schemes is that the magnitude and the usability of the local institutions. In the spontaneous resettlement sites, these institutions are established and become culture and long endured.

In the state-sponsored resettlement sites, it was learnt that the resettlers get loan from the Omo Micro Credit and Saving Institute (OMCSI). They no longer need to have Iqub. They have peasants association (PA) through which they get agriculture inputs in credit and sell their products. The organized resettlers though not all got their oxen on credit from the OMCSI through the Food Security office of the Wäräda. Still they get credits from the institute through the extension agents of the Kåbåle.

According to the records of the kåbåle, the overwhelming number of the state-sponsored resettlers at Qu'ttir Amåst is protestant believers. Ato Takålå, who is 56, reside at Qu'ttir Amåst (the only Guragie in the resettlement site and the protestant church elder) asserts that, Protestant Christians have their own mechanism help each other. My informant stated that Christians need collaboration. They have their own *idir* and they help each other even though they do not have mahibår alike the Orthodox Church. The church elders have responsibility of taking care of the believers. They ask each other about the welfare of our members.

To put in a net shell, the above mentioned social organizations are strongly functional among spontaneous resettlers' site than that of the state-sponsored areas. The state-sponsored resettlers appeared to be more reliant on the government institutions such as *cell*, *go'tt* and Peasants Cooperative Association (PA). On the other hand, as opposed to the organized resettlers, spontaneous resettlers found to rely on the social institutions than the government structures.

This indicates that spontaneous resettlers might have built self-reliance, confidence and to consolidate themselves within than state-organized resettlers. These social and economic institutions have helped the resettlers to cope with the severe challenges that they faced since the beginning of the resettlement.

## **4.4 Adaptive Strategies: Spontaneous and Organized Resettlers**

In this research, the term adaptive strategy is meant to the mechanism that the resettlers employ in order to fit to the new social and the physical environment. The area where the resettlers' occupied is by far different from their place of origin. Hence, it entails systematic way of familiarizing themselves to the host community and even to the diversified resettling community. Furthermore, they need to have means to deal with the forest, weather and the agriculture season differentiations.

### **4.4.1 Social Integration**

The resettlement sites are places where heterogeneity is found to be meticulous. The linguistic, cultural and religious differences among the resettlers are portrayed in the diverse aspects of the community. These diversities might have challenged the social adaptation and integration process. Resettlement, according to Mengistu, is a process individuals or group of people leave their original settlement sites to resettle in new areas, where they can begin new trends of life by adopting themselves to the physical, social and administrative systems of the new environment (1992: 396).

Ethnic federalism in the reality of SNNPR and the resettlement programme was found to be incompatible. Federalism in Ethiopia is based on ethnicity. The country is divided in to seven regional states and two city municipalities. Of the regional states, SNNPR is the one where more than 56 ethnic groups reside. Among the ethnic groups in the region the four language families spoken in the country's different regions are found in the region. Of the Semitic language family Guragie is spoken in Guragie zone. People who speak Cushitic language families live in Hadiya, Sidama, and Gedeo. Those people who speak Omotic language families found in around the Omo River, Kaffa and Bench Maji zones. Others who speak the Nilo-Saharan language families live on the southwest margin of the country and the region as well (Awoke, 2007).

The spontaneous resettlers who came from the Amhara Region are from the Semitic language family. This has great impact particularly among the local political elites of the zone and the wäräda.

Another social integration mechanism is inter-ethnic marriage between the resettlers and the indigenous community. It hardly portrayed in the research sites. However, there is as single inter-ethnic marriage between the Amhara spontaneous resettler and the local Me'etit.

The marriage has been seen as an icon for those who seek the integration of the people residing in the area.

### **Case III**

Inter-ethnic marriage between the Me'etit man and an Amhara woman was a symbol in the area. These are Demissie Bulay, 45 and Senait Alemu 26.

*My wife is called Senayit Alemu. She is from the Amhara resettlers. I found her in Wotwa. I approached her when I was the kábäle chairman. I asked her for marriage. But She refused to marry a Me'etit whose culture and ethnicity is different. But relentlessly I tried to convince her. . I insisently told her that marriage in Me'etit is up to death. The wealth that we had would be passed to her through her elder son. Listening to my news in the area, she lately agreed to marry me. I told her that I had first wife and how the wives are administered. Finally, our union became real. Then, we two decided to make it hidden till the mediation is settled. Knowing that some resettlers do not have good attitude towards Me'etit, we made things secret till the go betweens settle the marriage deal. Some resettlers, of course, have good attitude towards me. I had paved things suitable to the resettlers and made them get enough farmland when the first resettlers arrived. During that time I was the chairman of the Kábäle. All the land distribution was done under my command. They take me as administrator though I left the position. Both the Me'etit and the resettlers still consider me as a boss.*

*Our marriage, due to my position in the Me'etit community and the Amhara resettlers, succeeded in resolving the conflict which rose between the Me'etit and the Amhara resettlers in the year2008. We have two children. We become among the rich. We have investment farmland unlike my Me'etit brothers. We are taken as the symbol of the Amhara and Me'etit community unity. In Me'etit culture marriage is between clans. Therefore, we (Me'etits) claim that Amhara is son/ daughter in-law for us.*

*My name is Senayit I am 26 years old and wife of Demissie. Our marriage was unplanned. In the beginning it was very difficult for me to fit with the culture and language of the Me'enit community. However, after sometimes, I learnt everything and even I become good 'poru' (porridge) maker.*

*I liked my marriage for the fact that it became means to resolve the triggered clashes between the Amhara resettlers and the Me'enit at Berji Kåbåle. This is due to My husband's position in both the contending community. I am really happy in my marriage for it saved my people from being compelled out.*

Another means of the Amhara-Me'enit integration is technological transfer. According to *Tikåsh*, some of the Me'enits like Demissie, Tsafi, and others, have been transformed from having little to build iron-roofed houses and own vast agriculture investment. They declare that it is due to the lessons, assistance and encouragement provided from some of the Amhara resettlers.

*Tsafi revealed that we (Me'enit) were made to be members of the idir and iqub. This has made the social integration easy for both of us. The same source said that except some mischievous resettlers cheat the local people in the name of land rent and contract which the Me'enit had never been practiced, the Amhara resettlers have shown us the means of development without discrimination. Our clan men looking at our livelihood attainments became eager to take part in the practice of development. We (Me'enit) do not have culture of saving but now many of our men have their saving in iqub, which can guarantee them build big iron-roofed houses and extend their income.*

The very challenge for the integration of the resettlers and the local community is the issue of the forest. Tsafi suggests that if the new community preserves some of the selected trees used for hanging beehives, the local community in its turn would benefit the resettlers by teaching them how to produce honey and make money from it.

From the above social integration process, it could be said that the resettler have been striving to fit to the social environment. However, since the year 2008, the local political elites and the

local community become suspicious of the spontaneous resettlers. This happened due to the breach of local land agreement and the frequent homicide committed.

#### **4.4.2 Religious Institutions and Their Role**

Every peasant has belief in which s/he is dedicated to gain spiritual benedictions. It was observed that most of the resettlers in both resettlement types involve in religious practices. In the state-sponsored resettlement sites as indicated from the survey of the sample k**ä**b**ä**le, majority of the resettlers are protestant Christians. However in the spontaneous resettlement Orthodox believers appeared to be overwhelming in number, not few Muslims also reside in.

Therefore, as has been seen in the lives of the resettlers at Wotwa, Muslim resettlers at Kayr Amba are led by not only the KA (K**ä**b**ä**le Administration) leaders but also they have declared dedicated regulation which binds people who reside in that particular area. The total households residing in Kayr Amba are only 125. In the village, the local Sunni Muslim leader who fled from Wollo due to conflict with other Muslim religious cult established a committee of the *Jama*, (*literally mean the congregation*). The committee reinforced canonical regulations which could help them live in peace and help each other so that they could attain their social and economic attainment. It is must to all to abide by the regulation. The special regulation was enacted by the local Sunni Muslim leader whom the people followed to the resettlement area. In the regulation: Intoxication, listening to music and dancing being gathered in one place are completely banned. There are also obligations to help each other, to assist the widows till she marries again. These and other social and religious cannons were set so as to make the community gain what they lost during the time of displacement. According to my informant in the village, the people in order not to disappoint the religious leader, they do not want to contravene the reinforced law. The people living in Kayr Amba are known for their allegiance to the local and w**ä**r**ä**da government unlike other spontaneous resettlers.

In Čodit, Giorgis and Qu'ttir Hulet, the parish of St. Giorgis governs all the conflict resolution, land based disputes and marriage. The priests have authority over the believers. Believers are

seen to be obedient to the words of the priest. Hence, the church and the Mosques are employing 'canonical' regulations where people in the religions abide by.

In the state-sponsored resettlement sites, there are religious institutions which have authority on their members though the government structure is more dominant. Religious associations and leaders reemerge and elders started to play important role again. Burial and saving associations reemerge again in a new form. Reciprocal work groups and mutual help schemes may be reestablished, and trade and markets might become important adaptive strategies (Pankhurst and Piguet 2004:72). According to my informants in Qu'ttir Amäst, the resettlers had initially been almost all in all dependent on the government structure till the institutions are established; the people were in adjustment problem and confusion of what to do and what not to. But now, the function of the social institutions indicates that the resettlers are in the stage of social reconstruction.

#### Case IV

*My name is Teka. I am 56. I live in Qu'ttir Amäst "säfära" (resettlement site). I am Guragie in ethnicity; but the only Guragie in the site. In the beginning we were 38. However, two weeks after our arrival my men left the resettlement site by selling the agriculture tools given. They used the money for transportation. Knowing that the first challenges never persist, I decided to persevere. Though I decided not to leave the site, in the first time it was gave for me to live with people to whom I do not know. However, with the help of god I withstand the challenge. If I do not persevere, what will I be? I know I cannot return back to my home of origin nothing to do for my seven children whom I left them. I came here to let my children live good life than they had been. I insisted in living. The very thing that made me live here is that the religious brothers. We pray together, we visit each other. One strengthens the other.*

*Now I am happy with my decisions for I have got religious brothers who replaced the lost men of my ethnic group. I happy, that I send money to my children yearly. They are leaning well. We are health. Nothing worries me. The only thing that I do be troubled is the baboons and the pigs. The church service made me forget everything that troubles me. Days go and days come but I am happy to being here.*

According to this case, many of the resettlers were made to retain in the resettlement sites due the function of the religion so as to integrate and adapt to the resettling community though

diverse they are and the physical environment however harsh it is in comparison to their place of origin.

#### **4.4.3 Resettlers and the Physical Environment**

Environment is widely defined to encompass our surrounding, including nature, natural resource and the socio-economic and physical infrastructure created by human beings (Rogge 1981:2). Ecological problems include serious environmental hazards such as land degradation, loss of wildlife and loss of forest resources. Land degradation is loss of soil and water, loss of soil nutrients and biological degradation (Dessalegn 2003:43f, Oberai 1992:92).

Land becomes seriously degraded due to over-concentration of people in a new area when a number of resettlers are added to the previously existing host community. This potentially causes environmental degradation, which in the long run leads to a systematic desertification process. The challenge of African countries is identifying policy issues which are able to put our resettlement patterns in harmony with our environment (Cook 1994:210).

The problems of environment and settlement in Africa are well known. There is a rapid upward population growth, which is increasingly putting pressure on limited resources such as agricultural land. Wherever the people settle they must utilize the local resources. The problem becomes serious when utilization of these resources is coupled with poor management practices found in many African countries. Thus environmental degradation, population growth and settlement cannot be divorced from each other (Ibid: 209).

In accordance with above idea, the resettlement and environmental degradation nexus is inevitably congruence. Unless managed to suit to the ecology of the local environment and the influx community, it would create depletion and then another displacement may occur. Before it brings the vicious disaster, it has to be managed in its infant stage. Hereunder, it is attempted to describe the conception and practice of both resettlement schemes against the natural resource in the context of Gurafarda wārāda.

## **i. The Resettlers' Perception and Strategy to the Physical Environment**

Both the spontaneous and the organized resettlers have relatively similar perceptions to the physical environment. According to the informal interviews with the resettlers, it is learnt that when they entered for the first time, it seemed to them that it was unfriendly habitat for it was full of wild animals. According to the informant from the spontaneous settlers, 'the forest is waste land that was left unplowed for generations. The indigenous people are perceived as lazy for they have never exploited the land. They blamed the local people for leaving it habitat to wild animals which are hostile for humans. Similarly, the state-sponsored resettlers reveal that the forest is unfriendly for human security and crop production. However, the expressions are euphemistic. The resettlers' perception of the physical environment is hostile. If one calls the forest as the den of beasts, the perception is unquestionably unconstructive. That is why they are engaged in clearing the trees from their plot of land and the surrounding. The very thing that made them negative to the forest was their experience and the mind set constructed in their place of origin. Both the spontaneous and state-organized resettlers were from plain fields of Shoa and the Rift Valley zones. Therefore, it could not be strange for one if they feel like to abhor something they have never experienced in their life. It is the question of adaptability. This feeling will prevail until a compatible programme is adapted.

Most of the pioneering self-initiated resettlers established at Wotwa, Berji and Kuja kábäles. All lie across the main road towards *Dima*. As mentioned above, a discussant in Wotwa Kábäle declared “*ጫካዉ ምግብ ኣይሆን ይልቅስ ምግብ ተመንጥሮና ታርሶ ኣንጂ*”, [*chakkaw migib ayihon yiliqis migib tāmān'tironna tarso inji*], literally means the forest can never be food rather food can be plowed when it is chopped. Since the spontaneous resettlers are intensive agriculturalists, they need to have large tract of land that could make them grow crops to fulfill their subsistence. According to the discussants at Wotwa, they fled from their place of origin not only they lack farm land but also they need to produce surplus and maximize their benefit to assure sustainable self-sufficiency. In order to attain their goal, the resettlers work day and night relentlessly in avoiding the “obstacles”- the forest that invites the hostile wild animals. The only strategy to cultivate crops and make surplus from it is through clearing the forest, as one of my anonymous

informants in Wotwa. The same informant asserts that they have never been in jungles before but bare lands. Therefore, it is difficult for them to make their cultivation compatible to the dense forest. Another informant in the same site said that, “እኛ የመጣነው መሬት ፍለጋ እንጅ ዱር ልንንከባከብ አይደለም፤ ስለዚህ መሬቱን ትተን ለደኑ መጨነቅ እንችልም፤ የምንፈልገው መሬት ከዛፉ ስር ነው የለው ስለዚህ መመንጠሩ የግድ ነው።”, [igna yämä'tanäw märet filäga näw inji dur lininkebakeb ayidälläm; siläzih miretun titän lädännu mä'chänäq anichilim; yäminifäligäw märet kəzafu sir näw yaläw; selezih mämän'täru yägid näw]. Literally means “We came not to nourish the forest but to seek farmland. Therefore, since the land is beneath the forest, the forest shall be cut off. We cannot be sympathetic for the forest than the land.”

The change in agricultural lands overtime and space could result in deforestation, land degradation, and biodiversity loss. Resettlers in the wäräda have made these consequences to happen through clearing forest and shrubs so as to expand their agricultural land (Belay 2009:51).

The organized resettlers, though not comparable with the spontaneous resettlers, affected the environment in cutting trees for building houses other than the first house had been built around the homestead far from their farmland. When building new houses, they cleared the surrounding to make the place safe from unfriendly animals and insects.

The host communities are very keen and sensitive about the adverse effects of the scheme on their local natural resources, particularly the forest upon which their livelihood is embedded.

## **ii. The Land, Rice and Trees**

Land, rice and trees become the issue of conflict. Land is a resource where rice is grown. It is also a place where trees exhibit their gigantic body shading the ground under them. The two rival natures found to be hostile to each other in the resettlement area. According to the agricultural extension officers' observation and the resettlers, the incompatibility of the trees and the rice resulted bad feeling between the resettlers and the host community. Beyene Sharab the extension worker at Qu'ttir Amäst kábäle explains that rice by its nature abhors the presence

of trees around it for two serious reasons. The first is that rice does not like tree shade. The second cause is that the trees sometimes host pests that damage rice. Due to these reasons, the resettlers avoid trees from and around their farmland. The trees were made dry on standing without being cut down. This has been done through peeling the barks of the trees in their farmland or setting fire underneath the trees. This unseen damage made the trees dry being erected. Subsequently, the resettlers (particularly the spontaneous) were seen as hostile to the forest and hated by the local community as dangerous to live with. Therefore, from this point of view, it could be said that the resettlers' subsistence system (intensive agriculture) is not compatible with the forest.

Resettlers evidenced that trees are hosts of pests by mentioning the incidence happened in 2008. In this year pests severely damaged the rice crops all over the wäräda. Resettlers and even experts in the zone assert that the pests at that time sheltered on trees. Since then, the resettlers' perception for trees has been hostile.

### **iii. The Trees, Bees and the Cattle**

Me'enits are the local community who are agro-foresters. They, as mentioned in this chapter, are shifting cultivators, based on slash burning methods. They saw not harnessing the plow animals but hoe. The crops cultivated in the area are for subsistence of the household. For their economic purpose, they rely on honey produced traditionally from giant trees. On the contrary, the resettlers (both types) have no practice of apiculture. These two incompatible traditions were merged to live together. The resettlers, who cultivate crops and rear animals for their subsistence and economic purpose, are encountering challenge and clashes between the local Me'enit and Majangir. The reason for this appeared to be the differential subsistence system all the actors employ. According to my informant Tsafi Shallo (local person) evidenced, the deadly clash took place at Berji Kābāle between the native Me'enit and the Amhara resettler. The resettler requested the Me'enit to take away his beehive from the trees at his farmland. The cause for the request, according to the same source, was the bees that had stung the cattle which sheltered at the shade of a tree. According to Ato Daniel Mitiku, the then Agriculture and Rural

Development office Head, the wārāda is known for the presence of the hostile fly which causes trypanosomosis.

This insect stings the cattle when the sun is hot. At this time the cattle, to get rid of the insects, would like to shelter under trees. Cattle not only get sheltered but also stroke their body against the tree so that they could avoid the pain made by the sting. When the movement shakes the tree, the bees which are extra ordinarily alert during a strong sun begin to counteract against the cause of the shake. Therefore, the cattle under tree or any living being moving around which were thought to disturb the normal atmosphere of the bees would bombard.

From the above four sections we learnt that the resettlers, particularly the spontaneous resettlers livelihood which had been employed on the North Shoa plains could not go with the low land forest area. In one or other way, their perception and action indicate that they had never been in the area covered with dense forest. Their adaptation strategy to the new area appeared to be incompatible to the local ecosystem and the subsistence strategy of the indigenous Me'elit community. The conflict we learnt has not been of the individual behaviour but due to the livelihood and adaptive strategy difference between the resettlers and the host Me'elit community.

#### **iv. Forest, Resettlers and Agriculture Investors**

Resettlers and investors are two new arrivals in the area where jungle forests are exhibited. Both need farmland to cut off trees and grow crops for subsistence and economic purposes. The new comers are very strangers to forest. As a result, unlike the indigenous people they look at it differently.

The investors in one side downsize the number of trees. On the other side the resettlers cut them off from their farmland. According to the forest experts in the zone at Rural Development Office, during the beginning of the agriculture investment, it is expected that there would be clearance of farmland. However, the land provided to the investors was not depleted from the forest cover as it was predicted. This was for the reason that some of the investors cultivate

coffee and fruits which do not need to avoid the forest. However, some investors were found to completely clear the forest and planted rice, others cut off with saw and axe. The most horrible I heard was that one investor near Kayr Amba burnt at least 250 gigantic trees spilling gasoline on them.

Having seen these damaging activities of investors on the forest resource, the spontaneous resettlers cut the trees off their farmland. When they were told to refrain from doing so, they were pointing towards the investors. To support this idea lets quote the saying from Kayr Amba dwellers. Ahmed whose name is changed, told me that “The authorities always tell us to refrain from cutting trees but they do not utter the same language to the investor. They questioned, “ኢንቨስተሩ ለደኑ ልጅ ፣ ሰፋሪው እንጂራ ልጅ መሆኑ ነው?”,[*invästäru lädänu lij, säfariw yäinjära lij mähonu näw*], meaning that ‘Is the investor son of the forest while the resettlers are step-sons?’ The resettlers taking some investors’ worst practices as an example, they attempt to counteract the accusation. In doing so, they found to belittling their impact on deforestation.

In the action and word contention of both new comers (resettlers and investors), the forest has been damaged since one condemning the other for their wrong doing. Since the issue of the forest becomes the interest of environmentalists, a NGO recently launched forest rehabilitation project in some kábäles of the wäräda under question.

#### **4.5 Resettlers’ Differential Socio-economic Change and Continuity**

In both resettlement schemes, the resettlers have developed differential livelihood and adaptive strategies. These strategies have brought socio-economic difference from one scheme to the other.

*Resettlement involves accelerated socio-economic change. Certain physical changes, such as the new land-use plan and the actual relocation, have to take place within the agency’s project cycle. DIDR also speeds up the process of local communities increasing involvement with, and often dependence upon, their wider political and economic setting. The changed balance between subsistence and cash sources of income tends to lead to changes in patterns of consumption, and to a more urban-oriented focus (De wet, 2009:40).*

Changes in the resettlement areas are not only the socio-economic but also administrative. The reasons behind the improvement in production and income are: accessibility of farmland, fertility of the soil, the conduciveness of the climate, the provision of agriculture inputs on time and the technical follow up undertaken by concerned bodies. The pull-push factors which are different at the resettlement sites would also bring change in some aspects of the resettlers' life.

The change that is being observed in the resettlement area appeared to be caused by the abundant resources in the new area which had been scarce at their place of origin. They are equally distributed to all state-sponsored resettlers and the spontaneous resettlers in the resettlement sites. In spontaneous resettlement site resources are not as scarce and degraded as it was in their place of origin.

Another change experienced in the new site is availability of off-farm employment opportunities. According to the result of the survey, majority of the state-sponsored resettlers were employed at the nearby investment farms leasing or selling their farm land. The youth who left the resettlement area, went to the gold mining at *Gabissa* in *Jäba Wäräda*. Majority of the youth resettlers from the state-sponsored scheme were motivated to move to the gold mining, since it was heard that some group of the Hadiya miners found four kilogram of gold. This incidence is the highest amount of the mineral ever found in the mining areas in the zone. The news disseminated elsewhere in the resettlement sites and outside the wäräda. The incidence attracted most of the youth resettlers. In addition to the resettlers, this news made other people outside the zone to inflow to the area passing by the wäräda.

Women, widely at the Spontaneous resettlement and few in the organized sites, were found experiencing off-farm activities. Women were seen selling banana hanging at trees in front of their house by the sides of the road. At Kayr Amba sub-village, I found five small shops kept by women. At Wotwa Giorgis (*Abiye Safar*) and Čodit sub-villages, it was learnt that there existed kiosk, rice and flour grinding mill, grocers and stores. The stores are rented for the farmers who reside far away from the main road, market and the rice grinding mills.

Similarly though not equally, people at state-sponsored resettlement areas have been employing diversified income generating strategies. In this area, most of the off-farm activities exercised were partly or fully related to farm products. I noticed *Areqei* (locally distilled homemade liquor), *Tej* and *Tella* houses. These also were observed at spontaneous resettlement sites. The *Čimaqi* (Kineto in Wolayta)- which usually was being prepared from the juice (squeeze) of fried barely; but now it was being made from rice through the same process.

In addition to preparing homemade liquors, women particularly at spontaneous village, were noticed in making embroideries using dry grass of a particular type called *sindedo* and a colourfull plastic thread. A girl who is expected to have marriage was preparing her own household utensils in such away. (See a photograph at annex VI).

It is known that the impact of the programme is not only on the resettlers but also on the host communities. Changes in service delivery for the host community were portrayed in the state-sponsored resettlement site. The host communities expect to benefit from the services provided to the resettlers. However, information elicited from the host population brought to light appeared to be the opposite.

Tin-roofed houses were symbol of status among resettlers in organized resettlers' village. Among the organized resettlers this was not a business that they strive for but food security. The researcher saw very few, to mention two or three, iron- roofed houses in Qu'ttir Amäst village. Among the spontaneous resettlers, there is high economic competition. If one is not able to construct a tin-roofed house, the society would disrespect him. Therefore, by now most of the peasant resettlers have tin-roofed houses; it is no longer a symbol of status.

In addition to housing, material possession difference is also significant. According to the result of the survey, the labeling of the rich, medium and poor categories, the two schemes have offered different levels. Accordingly, the state-sponsored sample resettler labeled that the rich in their area is one who has iron-roofed house, having saving and who visits his relatives in their

place of origin at most once a year. On the other hand, the sample spontaneous resettlers labeled that rich in their site is one who has ISUZU track and build houses in towns. This differential labeling indicates that material possessions of the resettlers differ as of the type of scheme. (The first car bought in Wotwa is shown in annex VI). The economic status of the spontaneous resettlers' appeared to be greater than that of the state sponsored resettlers. Many organized resettlers reported that the spontaneous resettlers were seen as relentless workers who do not know tiredness.

**Administrative concerns:** Gurafarda resettlement sites were marked by loose administration and services. The state-sponsored and the spontaneous resettlers reside mainly in different kábäles. The disparity in residential location and the scheme devised the administrative differences. Most of the local administration focuses on the state-sponsored kábäles than the overwhelming spontaneous resettlers. Some of the officials would not want to talk about the spontaneous resettlers. It was not taken as a form of resettlement but as insurgent attacking the local natural resource. As a result of this thought, the wäräda offices, except few, have had the population size of the kábäles where the majority of the spontaneous resettlers reside.

Before the resettlement, the road from each kábäle to the seat of the woreda administration was not constructed. This deprived the host communities of the area from accessing the services provided by the woreda administration and other sector offices. As a result, the area was hardly getting services available in the urban centers of the woreda. However, since the arrival of the resettlers, the atmosphere pertaining to administrative and other services are changed. Even though the problem of road and communication between the wäräda capital and the resettlement sites is not yet effectively solved, the wäräda administration and its different sector offices pay frequent visits to the sites to follow up the condition of the resettlers. This opportunity has strengthened administrative services in the locality. It could be concluded that the resettlement scheme has had a positive impact on facilitating administrative services accessible to the local people.

Some of the administrative heads and officers in the wärāda, as was learnt during the fieldwork, do not take care of the sites of spontaneous resettlers as they do for the state-sponsored sites. The offices and services provided in the spontaneous and state-sponsored is not the same. It can never be compared. It is learnt that during the 2007 census the number of the spontaneous resettlers was purposefully made to be diminished. The reason for this was not to portray the overwhelming number of spontaneous resettlers.

## 4.6 The Resettlers' Challenges

This sub-section deals with the major challenges that both the resettlers and the host community has been facing. Besides, available opportunities which may inform policy makers and field level practitioners at least to minimize the possible risks in the resettlement sites are explored.

### 4.6.1 Disease and Morbidity

My informants from the sample Kābāles declare that, in the beginning of the resettlement, due to lack of health service, they suffered a lot. The spontaneous resettlers in the sample site, during the time of commencement, some died and others suffered for the reason that there was no health centre around the kābāle. Since the area is malaria epidemic, many people were infected by the pathogen. In addition to the vector borne disease, there was diarrhea, Shigellosis which broke out as an epidemic. According to the FGD participants in Wotwa, no one gave them recognition when they encountered the endemic. From the same source, it was learnt that the resettlers were forced to carry the patients to Biftu, the wärāda principal where the health center is situated. Had it not been the presence the social institutions like *idir* and *mahbär* which *played* irreplaceable role, many lives would not have been saved. According to the priest, Qes Mulat who is about 65 residing in *Qu'ttir Hulet* sub-village, many were buried here in the church yard pointing to the nearby St. Giorgis Church. Continuing his description, remembered that they buried four men within a day without returning back to home from the churchyard. He added the severity of the incidence in that the priests, who had been chanting prayer for the deceased, were exhausted of the service. If the time for such disaster had not been short, no one could have resided in the area. Many express the incidence by expressing their sorrow with compassionate phrase as: “ይወጣልኛል ብለው ወጥተው ቀሩ”, [yiwä'ttalignal beläw wä'ttitäw

*qärru]*, literally means, the deceased intended to get out of poverty, but themselves out for good (Passed away).

On the other hand, organized resettlers in the sample Kábäle-Qu'ttir Amäst, who came from SNNPR, have also suffered though incomparable with that of the self-initiated resettlers'. According to Ato Teka Fanta, Vice chairperson of Qu'ttir Amäst Kábäle, they experienced a lot trauma due to lack of health centers. Still now they were being left for the health extension workers who can never treat a patient of headache. For a head each or any simple health problem, they are forced to go to Kuja where they could see nurses in the health centre.

#### 4.6.2 Conflicts within the Resettlers and with Others

Since the commencement of the resettlement programme, the Wäräda security problem was said to be worsened. It was stated that it had two directions. The deadly conflicts were among the resettlers themselves, and between the resettlers and the host community. Of these, the former seizes the heart of all the officials in the wäräda. The following table indicates the seriousness of the homicide among the resettlers.

Table14: Murder incidences in the Wäräda in first quarter of 2003 (20010/11) fiscal year

Resettlement Kábäle	Type of Murder	Month of the incidence/2010/	Number of the Deceased
Biftu	With Bullet	June	One person
Kuja	With Bullet	July	“
Biftu	With Bullet	July	“
Shupi	With Bullet	July	“
Shupi	With Bullet	August	Two Me'enits & one Amhara
Kuja	With Matchet	August	
Rubber tree plantation site	Beaten with a stick	August	

Source: Bench-Maji Zone Police

The table above indicates that within a quarter of the year 2011 in the single wäräda seven murder acts were committed by the spontaneous resettlers. The very difficult thing, according to Doktor, Deputy Commander of the zone police, is to pursue the criminal. The criminals in the resettlement area unusually hide within their society. The society being similar does not have the initiation to bring the offenders before law.

The very crime committed ever in the zone was made in the resettlement sites by the spontaneous resettlers, continues the vice commander. Of the resettlers, a dead man's body was found his head cut and taken off from the rest of the body. It took long to the police seek for the killers. The local community asserts that, the society who takes off the head of his deceased man would never leave anybody. How could they live with others? The Vice commander stated that the exacerbation of such criminal acts was since the beginning of the year 2000 (2008/9). Before that time, the resettlers were known for their peaceful coexistence and hardworking habit.

Ato Tikesh, my informant from the Me'enit community, articulated that these resettlers' behavior is like the wild animals. They took the head off apart from the deceased body. What are they going to do with it? This is new story I have ever heard.

According to the Security Office Head of the wäräda, the reason behind these crimes was land and land related issues. The same source stated that there are lots of "illegal" resettlers who live without the knowledge of the lower structure, Kābāle. We suspect that there might have been retaliation on the former resettlers who might have had bad blood in their place of origin.

In addition to the homicide among the resettlers, the act spread in to killing the host community. At Berji Kābāle, the conflict which resulted from a breach on the local land contract agreement, one Amhara resettler and three Me'enits were killed. Consequently, the Me'enit ethnic groups began to send messages to their ethnic groups living enormously in other wärādas to consolidate their power so that they could take revenge against their offenders. My informant, Ato Tsafi

Shallo, who is about 41-44 (age is rather estimated for they do not count years), mentioned the severity of the incidence. However, the source thanked the inter-ethnic marriage between the Amhara and the local Me'enit which saved the community from noxious conflict. It was a union of the Amhara woman with the Me'enit man. The Marriage, my informant mentioned, has been used as mediation tool. The couple, whose photograph was attached at annex III, had not only solved a single incident but have been seen as an icon for the betterment and peaceful coexistence of the two contending communities. Generally, rather than being sites of hope for development, resettlement schemes became the hot beds of hostilities between the host and the settler population (Pankhurst, 1990, 2004, Eshetu and Teshome, 1988).

Other aspect of conflict between the spontaneous resettlers and the local government is political. The local representatives of the governing party become suspicious of the spontaneous resettlers that they may be in need of their self-ruled wäräda. They declare that the resettlers rather than supporting the local development association where they are fed, they tend to pay membership fee for the Amhara Development Association (ADA). This has created suspicion on the people that one day they may leave the area depleting the natural resource. In addition to this, there is also a roamer that the Amhara resettlers from Jäba to Tepi organized a movement called “የኮይ ተፋሰስ ንቅናቄ” which literally mean ‘Koy-Basin Movement’. Independent informants stated that this hatred and suspicion might be the result of the partiality of most of the local government officials’ and negative attitude towards the spontaneous resettlers. The same sources declare that in some instances the local government bodies failed to serve both resettlers impartially. Most of the services provided at the kábäle administration differ in quality in accordance with the type of resettlement scheme.

On the other hand, the spontaneous resettlers were found to be, in some instances, disobedience to the local administration particularly the wäräda. This emanated from lack of trust in each other. The spontaneous Amhara resettlers are also suspicious of the local government for the reason that the authorities took the guns that they bought with the consent of the wäräda administration. The guns were bought so that the resettlers could defend the villages from the Surma raiders. According to the local authorities, the reason for the disarmament was the

ruthless criminal acts happened in the wäräda. In due course, people bought many guns beyond the expectation of the local zonal and wäräda authorities. For fear of each other the resettlers in the sense of competition bought guns. Then the homicide escalated in resettlement sites where the spontaneous resettlers reside. In the end the issue got ears of the regional government. Decision was made to disarm all the holders. Some resisted and even opened fire on the police force who were disarming. Therefore, they were forcibly disarmed and the wäräda was made free of machine guns. However, the disarmament resulted suspicion between the resettlers and the local government. Since then, the spontaneous resettlers, except tax payment they quitted attending public gatherings announced by the wäräda or zone.

Another security problem was the attack on the southwest of the wäräda by the Surma raiders. The Surma community is pastoralist which lives around the Ethio-Sudan border on the Southwest of the country. They yearly attack the wäräda. The attack targets *Kuja*, *Berji*, *Wotwa* and *Biftu Kābāles*. The wäräda Security Officer asserted that the security of the area is threatened by Surma and the spontaneous resettlers. Nonetheless, the state-sponsored resettlers are not free from conflicts. As mentioned in this research there existed that the state-organized resettlers also face challenge among different ethnic groups of the same scheme residing in a kābāle. There exhibited inter-ethnic conflicts among the organized resettlers though not severe as the spontaneous.

Learning from the resettlement practices since 2003, the government launched resettlement programme in 2010-11 more within Bench-Maji and some from other zones of the region. The mechanism may reduce the damage on the natural resource and conflict between different ethnic groups. This strategy may suit to the multi-linguistic and multicultural situation of the SNNPR.

#### **4.6.3 “Voluntary” Versus “Illegal” Resettlers**

The issue of ‘voluntary’ and ‘illegality’ in the research area heard widely since the Ethiopian millennium (2007/8). According to the Wāräda political officials, the period from 2006-2008, was the time of high population influx. In these years, land grabbing in the name of local agreement, land lease, contract and selling was escalated. Resettlers who obtained farmland

before 2007/8 were thought to be legal while those who arrived to the wäräda after that period are considered as illegal and are even suspected in criminal acts. Although the word ‘illegal’ was being used for those who occupied land illegally, among the resettlers it emits bad feeling towards the officials. As opposed to the word ‘illegal’ “•• ••”[hige wä’tt], in Amharic, the resettlers call themselves as “•• •••” [wädo säfari], meaning “voluntary resettler”. The word ‘voluntary resettler’ was being used by the officials to address the state-sponsored resettlers. However, the resettlers who settled by their own initiative call themselves as they established the Wäräda and claim that they paid paramount sacrifice for the socio-economic development of the region and the country in general. Therefore, they denounce the employment of the word in addressing them. These controversial words were uttered not only by few people but also amplified by the political elites and the social public figures of the resettler community.

The semantics of the words used on the either side has got more than their literal meaning. It became more than what they mean. Since recently, as was observed in any meetings and political discourses in the Wäräda, these opposing words were being used officially. It was made to reach into the local community whose lands are taken by the spontaneous resettlers either by contract, lease or any of the local agreements. This, sooner or later would lit serious conflict between the resettlers and the host community. Signals of clashes in a sense of ethnicity were being seen.

#### Case V

*I am 43 residing in Wotwa kábäle I tell you what happened to me while I was marching in the kábäle with my relative who did not have the wäräda residential ID. We were searching of our ‘Jala’ literally mean fictive keen in Me’enit. Three Me’enit adolescents in Amharic “ጎረምሳ” [Gorämsa] (which has derogative connotation) met us in our way and asked us the kábäle identity card. I realized that something was going on and tried not to show them my ID. I know them that they were not even the kábäle Militia leave alone to be members of the kábäle administration (KA). They requested us rather to give them 500 ETB. When I attempted to refuse, they began to insult us using the words that the political elites used to denounce us. One of them snatched my ID and went off and said that I would leave their land from that we occupied illegally. We*

*escaped the attack in the territory we lived for about eight years peacefully. This hostility came to us because of the repeated words that were being used by the political elites. Just after that moment, my feeling about the area begun to change. I had been living as if it was my homeland where my children's destiny is sustained. However, the effect of the incidence that the attempted attack on me and those bitter words had triggered us to revise our feeling and attitude towards the political elites and some of the locale.*

According to the case above, when words once used, it can never end there. It would bring chaos in the peaceful coexistence of the resettlers and the local people. This researcher also witnessed that there happened such unidentified employment of the word 'illegal' with idea that the resettlers would be pushed away to their place of origin. The repeated employment of agitation words would be dangerous even to secure social and economic development of the region as a whole. These problems have far reaching implications on the endeavors made towards attaining food security. The problem as observed was not emanated from the resettlers. The resettlers assert that selling the legally unsellable resource was enacted by the local corrupted authorities. The practice has intensified to the kábäle administration and household level. As indicated in the earlier chapters, the plan and the implementation of both schemes was found to be inconsistent.

#### **4.5.4 Aid and its Impact**

According to the working document of the government, it was planned that organized resettlers have to be given aid for eight months until they could collect their first harvest. Accordingly, though the working document of the programme declarers that the resettlers would be provided with ration only until the first harvest. They were under the care of the Food Security Desk of the wäräda until the field work was adjourned. The oxen, according to the plan were to be bought and distributed within a year. According to the information from the Food Security Desk of the Wäräda (GWFS), till the end of April the oxen, for some resettlers in Qu'ttir Amäst, were not bought and distributed. The office was told that it would be bought and distributed in the third quarter of 2010/11 fiscal year. Those who were given oxen were told to have a substitute, if only their oxen were died of disease and this is witnessed by the kábäle administration. The GWFS Desk informed that the resettlers are to reimbursed the oxen cost to

the government. However, since the resettlement no one has requested them to refund. These and other benefactions have been making the state-sponsored resettler dependent and indulgent on the government than themselves.

In comparison to the self-sponsored resettlers in the Wārāda, organized were appeared to be weak, underproductive, inefficient and risk advertent. They were perceived as 'lazy' and 'silly' by the local people. Of the Māngāsha (Me'enit) families in Qu'ttir Amāst, one told me about the organized resettlers as *babi* which literally mean- foolish, the one who does not know anything, can easily be disguised.

On the other hand, the indigenous people though not acknowledge other inappropriate characteristics of the spontaneous resettlers, appreciate the way they withstand the challenges of the harsh environment and their hardworking culture. On the other hand, the organized resettlers appeared to be in need of government than solving their affairs by themselves. This implies that, the organized resettlers are directly or indirectly affected by aid and has been made to expect and await patronage from the donor than from their social network and individual endeavors. The prolonged provision assistance beyond the time table of the project might have effected dependency.

The Dergue Regime resettlement programme is a practical witness to such extended aid provision. Even though the Derg's intention was to make the resettlers self-sufficient within two years, they became increasingly dependent on the government since there was a continuing provision of free food, transportation, agricultural inputs, training and technical services (Dessalegn 2003, Oberai 1992, Eshetu and Teshome1988). As a result, the recent programme is found to be the same to that of the former. The manner in which the government handles the resettlement project pushes the resettlers against the principle of self-reliance stated in the government resettlement document.

#### **4.7 The Host Community Vis-à-vis the Resettlers**

The local people residing in both resettlement sites are Me'enit. Very little is known about this people. Very few writers taken part of their culture and wrote little of them. Among them, John Abbink in his study indicated that not much of this population is known. Continuing his description he mentioned that Me'enit settled in the densely forested area at altitude between 1000 and 1400 meters. Among other things, Abbink stated that the social organization of Me'en is based on a kin-ordered mode of production. Land in Me'enit, according to Abbink, is held by exogamous patrilineal descent groups or clans called *du'uts* literally mean seed. The main purpose of the descent group sections is to gather as many people in the homestead as possible through multiple marriage and many children (1988:433). Awoke indicated that they are shifting cultivators using stick and hoe (2007:110).

Me'enit, according to Awoke (2007), is agro-pastoralists. However, Me'enits living in Gurafarda wäräda are different in their livelihood from the same ethnic group in Me'enit Goldiya and Me'enit Shasha. Me'enits living in other wärädas are agro-pastoralists. Whereas Me'enit in the research wäräda, like the neighbouring Shäko and Majangir ethnic groups, are agro-foresters. They get food from the forest and forest related agriculture produces. The forest for the Me'enit is not only the natural resource that others think about but everything necessary for their living is obtained from. Due to the influx of the resettlers and the introduction of new ways of life, the Me'enit and other indigenous people left their ancestral places went to the margins of the wäräda and the neighbouring areas where they could obtain their livings.

In this regard, Pankhurst asserts about the resettlement and shifting cultivators as: "Resettlement is still in some cases in lowlands. Shifting cultivators are being marginalized by population influxes. This pressure has also led to some urbanization and social and cultural change with both positive and negative consequences" (Pankhurst, 2004:20).

Most Me'enit, whose economic earning was based on honey, left their ancestral place. They leave their ancestral place either by leasing the land or selling it. However, now, they are

intending to return back to their place breaking the agreement they made with the spontaneous resettlers.

On the other hand, Me'enit living with the state-sponsored resettlers were pushed not only by the resettlers but also by the local authorities of the Wārāda or/and the kǎbāle. Their farmland was taken by the authorities. As a result of this act, they were evicted to the peripheries of the kǎbāle. This tends to give rise to problems on the basis of competition to resources and the negotiation of political leadership within new settlements. While such tensions are usually most acute in the early years after resettlement, easing off with time (De Wet, 2009:39).

Oberai also states that tensions are likely to arise between resettlers and indigenous populations if the resettlers are perceived to have larger landholdings and better provision of social services (1992:91). Feeling of jealousy arises among the host population if better services and housing are provided to the resettlers. According to the assumption of Oberai and De Wet, the Me'enit do not have good feeling about the state-sponsored and spontaneous resettlers for they damaged the trees which would have been used for hanging the beehives. And the local people also argue that state-sponsored resettlers are indulgent. They contend that the resettlers do not work hard like the Amharas and the Me'enits. They say “*Edde bulangie ba degai*” meaning, they simply play on our father's land.

On the other hand though the Me'enit community hates the spontaneous resettlers, some mechanisms implemented by the resettlers appeared to minimize the crises between the indigenous community and the spontaneous resettlers. Scholars indicated that spontaneous resettlers use social links as a mechanism to integrate with the local community. The following result indicates the vast practice among the spontaneous resettlers.

*Self-initiated Amhara migrant-settlers have often sought to establish relations with local individuals, groups and their leaders, sometimes involving informal tenancy, share cropping, share-breeding or other resource-sharing arrangements. These relations are often intended primarily as economic strategies to gain access to land, but may be initiated or strengthened through social,*

*cultural and religious ties, sometimes between groups or communities, but usually on an individual dyadic patron-client or bond-friendship basis and occasionally, religion permitting, even through intermarriage (Assefa 1995; Berihun 1996).*

In the area under question, the spontaneous resettlers have established link with the Me'enit through technological transformation, land lease, incorporating key figures of the community in their social institutions and fictive kinship. Teaching the Me'enit to harness oxen plough, advising them to reduce energy loss and enhance productivity, spontaneous resettlers have established mentor-client relation with the Me'enit community. They also incorporated some Me'enit in their idir and Iqub. The Me'enit who has been members of the institutions declare that they benefited through increased saving and constructing new iron- roofed houses with what they saved. Among these are Demise and Tsafi Shallo.

The very single relation that has been used as an icon is the marriage between the Me'enit man and the Amhara woman, Demissie Bulla's and Senait Alemu's marriage is a single and the only example of inter-ethnic marriage between the Amhara resettlers and the Me'enit community that was taken by some as a symbol for the union of the two contending groups for resource- the forest and farmland. This marriage has made the effects of conflicting issues not to be escalated. The local Me'enit looks the Amharas as son-in-laws. Marriage in Me'enit is between clans than individual households. When a marriage is done between two people from different ethnic groups, it is taken as the inter-marriage between the ethnic groups.

Mentioning such relations Pankhurst stated the following:

*The spontaneous resettlers have often sought to establish relations between the local individuals, groups and their leaders sometimes involved informal tenancy, sharecropping, share breeding or other resource sharing arrangements. These relations are often largely economic, but also may be strengthened through social, cultural and religious ties, sometimes between groups or communities, but usually on individual dyadic patron-client or bond-friendship basis, and rarely religious, permitting, even through intermarriage When conflict arises, such ties can some extent provide local protection and mitigate dangers of escalation of conflict, which may otherwise lead to loss of property, life or even expulsions (Pankhurst 2004: 6).*

Consequently, the ignited conflicts were shaded under political elites were resolved through the traditional conflict resolution mechanisms by the means of the above mentioned marriage. Me'enits hate the Amhara spontaneous resettlers for three reasons. One is that the resettlers kill each other like wild animals. Secondly, the Me'enits abhor the malicious behavior of some resettlers on local land agreement. The third and the most seriously taken by the host community is the ruthless action of the resettlers against the forest. Otherwise Amharas are liked for their hard work. Since the Me'enit man is appreciated for his hard work.

The expulsive incidence that happened in *Me'enit Shasha* (one of the wärädas of Bench-Maji Zone) in the year 2008/9 is a signal for its obstruction for tolerance. In Me'enit Shasha wäräda, there were the so called "illegal" resettlers who have lived for not less than eight years. In 2007, due to the instigations from the wäräda political elites, resettlers not less than seven hundred were expelled from the wäräda. While driving them out, the local people were told to chop up the resettlers' crops on the farmland. The ethnic groups fully occupied Me'enit Shasha wäräda are Me'enit. Hence, there are roamers coming from elsewhere and was reported to the researcher that the wäräda political elites express that "illegal resettlers" would be expelled. Such talks found to hamper the social integration of the resettlers and the indigenous community. This has made the spontaneous resettlers to cautiously watch the move in the area.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **5. CONCLUSIONS**

Resettlement is movement of people from one place to another due to different push factors at their place of origin and pull factors at the destination. The push factors include land shortage, environmental degradation and drought; the pull factors include the availability of fertile and large tract of farmland, and conducive social and physical environment.

In Ethiopia, since long ago, trans-regional migration was acknowledged by different scholars. However now regional demarcations are based on ethnic boundaries, the inter-regional migration towards south and southwest is the contemporary reality of the country. With this regard, Mengistu asserts that "... neither the regional borders or the geographical demarcations, nor planned resettlement and other types of government regulations have stopped population movement from one ecological or cultural zone to another (1992: 412). This is because of the severity of the pushing factors in their home of place and the strength of the pulling factors in the area under question. Unless the push factors are alleviated by strategies other than land based mechanisms, the influx of migrant population will never be halted with the establishment of check points to control the 'strangers' from getting into the resettlement sites.

The area under question was where the 1980s resettlement programme was employed in resettling people from Wollo and other Amhara region. It had been reported that the area was unfit to human life and development. However, with the pioneering spontaneous resettlers from North Shoa since 2001 and the state sponsored intra-regional resettlers from different zones of the SNNPR encroached the area. As a result, it became home for multiethnic and multicultural communities with different economic and subsistence system background.

The number of people resettled in the area has overwhelmed the indigenous people. These people do not resettle in a bare land but in the land occupied by the indigenous Me'enit, Shako and Majangir beekeepers and horticulturalist (shifting cultivators). The resettlers, so as to fit to the physical and social milieu devised differential livelihood strategies.

The spontaneous and the organized resettlers exhibited discrepant social, economic and adaptive strategies. Employing these strategies, they registered different economic achievements adapting to the new social and physical environment. Among others, landholding strategy is found to be the basis for the significance social and economic disparity. Land was also appeared to be a conflict-inducing factor more among the spontaneous resettlement and rarely in organized resettlement site. Spontaneous resettlers employed different strategies to access farmland. The strategy ranges from sharecropping to lease and even bribery of the local authorities. Having large tracts of farmland, people recruited vast labour which is not compatible to the law of the land and the social security of both the resettlers and the local community. Access to farmland and labour recruitment strategies appeared to be factors to determine household income. Household income in its turn determines the social and economic status of a household. Therefore, spontaneous resettlers employing diverse strategies in accessing large tracts of land and recruiting labour through different social institutions individual households registered high productivity and prosperity than the organized resettlers.

On the other hand, the organized resettlers used to stick on the 2.1 ha of land distributed by the government. However, most of the resettlers contracted out their farmland to the Amhara spontaneous resettlers and left the resettlement site. The youth resettlers went to the gold mining area by leasing their land. Most of the organized resettlers who retained in the resettlement sites have had very less economic achievement compared to the spontaneous resettlers. They are still in subsistence economy though their livelihood is better off their place of origin. Almost all spontaneous resettlers who have farmland have realized sustainable capital accumulation.

Spontaneous resettlers employed local social organizations that enabled them to withstand the shortcomings in the new resettlement area. Among these is *iqub* (*the long-established voluntary saving association*) through which they could circulate the collected financial capital among the members to invest more. However, in the organized resettlement area the resettlers get credit service from the Omo Micro Credit Enterprise (OMCE), which loans them money through the PAs in the resettlement sites. The differential credit institutes have diverse functions. In due course, the resettlers in the spontaneous site get in to competition to enhance their income than

the state-sponsored resettlers. Except few in the organized resettlement sites, most of the credit users were blamed of expending the money other than they were expected to. The relation between the donor and the recipients determines the attainment of the intended objectives. Till the compilation of this paper, it was learnt that no resettler in the research Kābāle has reimbursed the credit.

The effectiveness of resettlement is also found to be dependent on the management that harnesses the potential resources of different government agencies and other institutions to the purpose of rehabilitation and reconstruction of the socio-economic life of both resettlement schemes. However, the authorities in the research wārāda were found to be very biased towards the state-sponsored resettlers and perceived the spontaneous resettlers as only destructors. The spontaneous resettlers, on the other hand, appeared to be suspicious of the local authority and feel that one day they might be compelled out of the wārāda. As a result, they do not act in the feeling of belongingness.

Self governance and good management is also helpful in preparing the resettlers for gradual transfer of authorities and responsibilities from the resettlement agencies to resettlers. However the state-sponsored resettlers believe that they still need patronage. This has made the resettlers dependent on other agencies than on their own. This has put its negative impact on the productivity and self reliance of the resettlers.

According to Mengistu, “The resettlement process in many regions has led to physical environmental adaptation and cultural assimilation” (1992: 396). The resettlers in the place under question have employed different strategies so that they could adapt to the new social and physical environment. Some of these mechanisms were found to be incompatible with the natural resource of the area under question. Deforestation which was intensified so as to possess large tract of land and to get rid of the unfriendly wild animals from their farmland and there around became severe to the biosphere of the area. This happened severely in the spontaneous resettlement sites. The state sponsored resettlers have had land provided by the government and were found to be less damaging. However, the abandonment of the resettlement sites and the

reconstruction of house in their farmland than the homestead had impact on the forest though not so serious as that of the spontaneous resettlement.

The challenge of African countries is identifying policy issues which are able to put our resettlement patterns in harmony with our environment (Cook, 1994:210). The over written issue on the resettlement programmes since the imperial period in Ethiopia is its incompatibility to the natural resource. What was learnt in the research area is alike asserted by Cook.

The resettlers in the research area adapted mechanisms that could enable them to cope with the new circumstances. They changed their feeding culture from teff to rice. They become petty traders so as to enhance household income. They had never been slash burners, but now they burn the chopped grasses in their farmland, learning that it furnishes the land fertility. The houses built were not similar to their place of origin but assimilated to the construction of the Me'enit. This was done so as to cope with the harsh weather (sun) and termites of the new area. Though the roofs are made of corrugated iron the sides of the houses were not covered with mud as they were used to be in the resettlers' place of origin.

These diverse strategies have brought difference in attainment of personal and social benefits. In due course diverse strategies were employed. Among these strategies some have brought conflict within the resettlers themselves and with the host community too.

The conflict was among the ethnic groups in both spontaneous and state-organized resettlement sites. Though there appeared conflicts among the organized resettlers, the severe was among the spontaneous resettlers. Both resettlers, be it mild or serious had conflict with the indigenous ethnic groups. The factors which triggered conflicts are related to social, economic and cultural behaviours among the actors in the research area.

On the other hand, resettlers from different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds of the SNNPR were made to resettle in the Wārāda. This was done through the intra-regional resettlement programme launched throughout the country in 2003/5. This new resettlement programme was

meant to reduce ethnic conflicts which were registered during the 1980s resettlement programme. However, in practice due to slackness in implementation, it appeared to fail to attain its intention in the research sites.

Though intra-regional resettlement approach declares that it is based on voluntarism, it appeared to fail to abide by the principles since it did not give options for the resettlers to determine where one's destiny would be. For this reason, more than half of the organized resettlers in the research wäräda abandoned the resettlement sites. In addition to this, the new programme is presumed to minimize ethnic tensions, the barriers of local culture to the incoming new practices and, most importantly, ethnic dichotomy remains unresolved. Therefore, there is no guarantee that locals and resettlers in both schemes could coexist amicably on sustainable basis.

The indigenous community had grief on both resettlers. Particularly because of the damage on the forest resource and the deprivation of their usufruct right of their ancestral land, the local people accuse both types of resettlers. Their basic economic source, honey no more earns them money for the reason that the special trees where they used to hang beehives were cut off.

Notwithstanding all the threats, Me'enits appeared to be accepting some of the Amhara spontaneous resettlers for their assistance to transform from the stick and hoe farm to draft animal technology. In addition to this the spontaneous resettlers had progress by recruiting some of the indigenous Me'emit men in their idir and iqub. On the other hand, the state-sponsored resettlers appeared to be not worrying about their social integration with the indigenous people. Their reliance was on the government administrative structures than that of the informal social organizations. As a result, the Me'enits embraced in the social institutions of the spontaneous resettlers' has shown economic advancement differently from the same ethnic men living with the state-sponsored resettlers.

## Bibliography

- Abbink, Jon (1988). "The Cannibalism Discourse in Southwestern Ethiopia: Problem of Superstructure". In Par Claude Lepage. 10<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Ethiopian Studies Paris: De la Societe Francaise Pour l etudes Ethiopiense 1994 Vol.1,431-440
- Assefa Tolera (1999) Ethnic Integration and Conflict: The Case of Indigenous Oromo and Amhara Settlers in Aaroo Addis Alem, KIRAMU Area, Northeastern Wälläga. Department of Sociology and Social Administration Series No. 5
- Alemneh Dejene (1990). "Peasants, Environment, Resettlement". In Ethiopia: Rural Development Options (eds) Seigfried Pausewang et al. New Jersey: Zed Book Ltd.
- Awoke Amzaye (2007). Mosaic Cultures and Peoples of South, Nation, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State. Awassa: Africa Printing Plc
- Balan, Jorge (ed) (1981). Why People Move: Comparative Perspectives on the Dynamics of Internal Migration Process. UNESCO Press
- Barlett, P. F. (1980) Agricultural Decision Making: Anthropological Contributions to Rural Development. New York: Academic press
- Biossevian J. (ed) (1973). Network analysis: Studies in Human Interaction. The Uague: Mouton and Co.
- Bouma, Gary D. (2000). The Research process (4th ed). Chicago: McNally and Company. University Press.
- Carpio, J.(1988). "Settlement Policies in the forest highlands of Peru" in Oberai, A.S. Land Settlement Policies Population Redistribution in Developing countries, New York: paeger.
- Cernea M. Michael (2000a). Risks, Safeguards, and Reconstruction: A Model for Population Displacement and Resettlement. Washington, D.C: The World Bank.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2000b). "Risks, Safeguards and Reconstruction: A Model for Population Displacement and Resettlement". Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 35, No. 41 (Oct.7-13, 2000),pp. 3659-3678. Accessed on November 3, 2010

- \_\_\_\_\_ (1997). "The Risk and Reconstruction Model for Resettling Displaced Populatin" The World Bank,Environment Department.Washington Dc.USA  
Development Policy Kiosk Accessed from: <http://policykiosk.com/cer1.htm>
- Chambers, Robert.(1969). Settlement Schemes in Tropical Africa: A Study of Organizations and Development. London: Routledge and Regan Paul Limited.
- Chimhowu, Adams and David Hulme (2006). "Livelihood Dynamics in Planned and Spontaneous Resettlement in Zimbabwe: Converging and Vulnerable." In Journal of World Development. Vol.34,No.4, pp. 728–750, Elsevier Ltd  
Accessed from: [www.elsevier.com/locate/worlddev](http://www.elsevier.com/locate/worlddev) , on November 27,2011
- Cook, Cynthia C. (1994). "Environment and Settlement Issues in Africa: Toward a Policy Agenda" in Cynthia C. Cook (ed.). Involuntary Resettlement in Africa. Selected papers from a Conference on Environment and Settlement Issues in Africa. World Bank Technical Paper No.227. Africa Technical Department Series. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- Cook, Cynthia C. and Aleki Mukendi. (1994). "Involuntary Resettlements in Bank Financed Projects: Lessons from Experience in Sub-Saharan Africa". In Cynthia C. Cook (ed). Involuntary Resettlement in Africa. Selected Papers from a Conference on Environment and Settlement Issues in Africa. World Bank Technical Paper No. 277. Africa Technical Department series. Wessington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- Cook, Cynthia C. and Franco Falloux. (1994). "Introduction". In Cynthia C. Cook (ed.). Involuntary Resettlement in Africa. Selected Papers from a conference on Environment and settlement Issues in Africa. Technical Paper No. 227. Africa Technical Department Series. Washington D.C: The World Bank.
- Creswell, W. John 2008. "Mixed Methods Research". In Given, M. Lisa. The Sage

Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods.UK: London. SAGE Publications Ltd. Pp526-529

- Dessaiegn Rahmato (2003). "Resettlement in Ethiopia: The Tragedy of Population Relocation in the 1980s." in Forum for Social Studies. Addis Ababa: Discussion paper No. 11. June.
- De Wet, Chris (2009) "Why Do Things So Often Go Wrong in Resettlement Projects?" In Alula Pankhurst and F. Piguet (eds), Moving People in Ethiopia, Development, Displacement and the State. Janes Curry, Boydsell and Brewer Ltd. UK
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2004). "Why Do Things So Often Go Wrong in Resettlement Projects?" In Alula Pankhurst and F. Piguet (eds). People, Space and State: Migration, Resettlement and Displacement in Ethiopia. Proceedings of the Workshop held by ESSWA: Addis Ababa University.28-30 January 2003, (pp.50-70).
- DFID (Department for International Development) (1999), Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets. London: UK Government (DFID).
- Dieci, Paolo and Claudio Viezoli,(eds).(1992).Resettlement and Rural Development in Ethiopia. Socialand Economic Research, Training and Technical Assistance in the Beles Valley. Milano (Italy): CISP.
- Dunham, D. (1994)). " Politics and Land Settlement Schemes: The Case of Sri Lanka". in Journal of Development and Change, Vol 13: pp 43-61, London: Sage.
- Ellis, F. (2000). Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries, New York.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1998). "Household strategies and rural livelihood diversification". Journal of Development Studies, 35 (1), 1–38.
- Eshetu Chole and Teshome Mulat (1988). "Land settlement in Ethiopia, A review of Development" in A.S.Oberai (ed) Land settlement Policies and Population Distribution in Developing countries. New York: Praeger.Francis
- Francis, E. (2001). Making a living, changing livelihoods in rural Africa. London: Routledge.
- Gavian, Sara and Gemechu Degefa (1994). "Commercial Investors and Access to Land". In Desalegn Rahmato (ed) Land Tenure and Land Policy in Ethiopia after the Dergue. Proceeding of the Second Workshop of the Land Tenure Project. Working papers on Ethiopian Development. No. 8 October. The University of Trondheim Center

- for Environment and Development Unit-SMU,
- Gebre, Yntiso (2004). "The Metekel Resettlement in Ethiopia: Why Did It Fail?" In Alula Pankhurst and F. Piguet (Eds), People, Space and the State: Migration, Resettlement and Displacement in Ethiopia. Proceedings of the Workshop held by ESSWA, Addis Ababa University. 28-30 January 2003, (pp.92-111)
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2003) Resettlement and the Unnoticed Losers: Impoverishment Disasters among the Gumz in Ethiopia. Human Organization 62, No. 1:50-61
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2002) "Differential Reestablishment of Voluntary and Involuntary Migrants: The Case of Metekel Settlers in Ethiopia". In African Study Monograph, 23 (1), March, 2002, Pp31-46,
- Gizachew Abegaz (1994). "Rural Land Use Issues and Policy: Overview". In Desalegn Rahmato (ed) Land Land Tenure and Land Policy in Ethiopia after the Dergue. Proceeding of the Second Workshop of the Land Tenure Project. Working papers on Ethiopian Development. No. 8 October. The University of Trondheim Center for Environment and Development Unit-SMU,
- Hajdu, Flora. (2006). Local Worlds: Rural Livelihood Strategies in Eastern Cape, South Africa. Linköping University, Department of Water and Environmental Studies. Linköping Studies in Arts and Science No. 366
- Helena, Maria and F.T. Henrique. (1988). "The Colonization Experience in Brazil" in A.S. Oberai (ed.). Land Settlement Policies and Population Redistribution in Developing Countries: Achievements, Problems and Prospects. New York, London: PRAEGER.
- Kassahun Berhanu (2003) "Resettlement and the Quest for Food Security in Ethiopia" in Bulletin of the Forum for Social Studies Volume1 No.3, Addis Ababa; United Printers
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2000). "Resettlement: A Strategy for Vulnerable Group?" In Zenebework Taddesse (ed) Issues in Rural Development: Proceedings of the Inaugural Workshop of the Forum for Social Studies 18 September 1998 (Pp:123-152), Addis Ababa: FSS
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1998) Returnees, Resettlement and Power Relations: The making of a

- Political Constituency in Humera, Ethiopia. VU University Press. Amsterdam
- Maro , P.S. (1988) Maro, P.S.(1988). "Land Settlements and population Redistribution in the United Republic of Tanzania". In Oberai A.S. (ed) Land Settlement Policies and Population Redistribution in Developing countries, New York: Praeger.
- Mengistu Woube (1992) Southward- Northward Resettlement in Ethiopia. In Hinnant, T.John and Beth Fenne. Proceedings of the six Michigan University Conference on Northeast Africa. Pp 396-416.Held in Holiday Inc, East Lansing April 23-25,
- Mesfin Wolde Mariam (1986). Rural Vulnerability to Famine in Ethiopia. A Rural History 1900-1935. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press
- Nelson, Michael (1973). The Development of Tropical Lands, Baltimore: the John Hopkins University Press
- Oberai, A.S. (1992). "An overview of Settlement Policies and Programmes" in Paolo Dieci and Claudio Viezzoli (eds.). Resettlement and rural Development in Research, Training and Technical Assistance in the Beles Valley: Malimo (Italy): CISP.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1988). An overview of Settlement Policies and Programs. In Land Settlement Policies and Population Redistribution in Developing Countries: Achievements, Problems and Prospects (ed) A. S. Oberai, New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Paderagna, Cayeanto.(1988). "Land Settlement in the Philippines." In Siegfried Pausewang & et.al (eds). Ethiopia: Options for Rural Development. London: Zed Books Ltd
- Pankhurst. Alula (2004). "Long term implication of resettlement in Ethiopia". In Alula Pankhurst and Francois Piguet (eds.) People, Space and the State: Migration, Resettlement and Displacement in Ethiopia. The proceedings of the workshop by the Ethiopian Sociologists, Social Workers and Anthropologists and UNEUFE. Addis Ababa
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1992). Resettlement and Famine in Ethiopia. The Villagers' Experience. Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1990) "Resettlement : Policy and Practice". In S. Pansewang, Fantu Cheru, S. Brune and Eshetu Chole (eds), Ethiopia: Rural Development Options: London.

Zed Books Ltd

- \_\_\_\_\_ (1989) "The Administration of Resettlement in Ethiopia Since the Revolution".  
In Abebe Zegeye and S. Ishemo. Forced Labour and Migration: Patterns of  
Movement within Africa. London: Hans Zell Publishers
- Pankhurst, Alula and Francois Piguet, (2004). "Migration, Relocation and Coexistence in  
Ethiopia" in Alula Pankhurst and Francois Piguet (eds.). People, Space and the  
State: Migration, Resettlement and Displacement in Ethiopia. Proceedings of the  
Workshop held by ESSWA, 28-30 January 2003, (pp.657-688). ESSWA.  
Addis Ababa
- Pausewang, Siegfried et.al.(ed.) .(1990). Ethiopia: Rural Development Options.  
London and New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd.
- Piguet, Francois and Dechassa Lemessa (2004). "Review of Voluntary Migration and  
Resettlement Programmes up to the end of 2001": in In Alula Pankhurst and F.  
Piguet (Eds). People, Space and the State: Migration, Resettlement and  
Displacement in Ethiopia. Proceedings of the Workshop held by ESSWA, 28-30  
January 2003, (pp.133-162). ESSWA. Addis Ababa University.
- Rogge, R. John (1981). "Africa's Resettlement Strategies". In International Migration Review,  
Vol 15, No. 1/2, Refugees Today (Spring - Summer, 1981), pp. 195-212).
- Roggers, Sarah and Mark Wang(2006). Environmental Resettlement and Social Dis/Re-  
articulation in Inner Mongolia. Journal of China Population and Environment,  
Vol. 28, No.1 (Sep.,2006), pp.41-68 Springer Stable Publishers. Accessed on  
06/07/2010 07:34
- Scudder, Thayer (1993) "Development Induced Relocation and Refugee studies: 37 years  
of change and continuity among Zambia's Gwembe Tonga". Journal of  
Refugee Studies 6(2): 123:152
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1991) "Sociological Framework for New Land Settlement". In Micheal M.  
Cernea (ed). Putting People First: Sociological Variables in Rural  
Development. USA: Oxford University Press for World Bank publication Pp  
148-168

- Scudder, Thayer and E.Colson (1982). “From Welfare to Development: A Theoretical Framework of the Analysis of Dislocated People” In A. Hansen and A. Oliver-Smith (eds) Involuntary Migration and Resettlement. Boulder, Co: Westview press.
- Tadesse Beriso (2009) “Planning Resettlement in Ethiopia. In Alula Pankhurst and Piguat Francios (eds) Moving People in Ethiopia, Development, Displacement and the State. Janes Curry, Boydsell and Brewer Ltd. UK
- Tesfaye Taffesse (2007) The Migration, Environment and Conflict Nexus in Ethiopia. A case study of Amhara Migrant-Settlers in East Wollega Zone. OSSREA.
- Turton , D. and Turton P.(1984). “Spontaneous Resettlement after Drought: An Ethiopian Example”, Disasters Vol. 8 No. 3:178-89.
- Wang, L., J.-L. Zhang and L.-M. LIU (2010). “Diversification of Rural Livelihood Strategies and Its Effect On Local Landscape Restoration In The Semiarid Hilly Area Of The Loess Plateau, China”: Jounal of Land Degradation and Development. Vol. 21: 433–445(2010) published online on 17 March, 2010 in:  
<http://www.wileyonlinelibrary.com/DOI:10.1002/ldr.978>
- Wolde-Sellassie Abbute (2004). Gumuz and Highland Resettlers: Differing Strategies of Livelihood and Ethnic Relations in Metekel, Northwestern Ethiopia. Lit Verla Munster
- Wood, Adrian P. (1977) Resettlement in Illubabor Province, Ethiopia. Un Publishes Dissertation, Working Paper 72. University of Liverpool. England
- Wold Bank (1978). Agricultural Land Settlement, Washington D.C: World Bank.

## **Official Reports**

BMZRDFSO.2010 Annual Report

BMZTCB. 2010 Annual Report

Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia (2008). Population and housing census of Ethiopia the 2007 Summary Section II; July 2008.

\_\_\_\_\_ CSA 1990 The Report of Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia the 1988  
Summary

FDRE (2003). Voluntary Resettlement Program (Access to Improved Land); New Coalition for  
Food Security in Ethiopia Vol. II. ZeroDraft, Addis Ababa

FDRE. (2002). Food Security Strategy, Addis Ababa

FDRE. (2001). Rural Development Policies and Strategies: prepared for discussion,  
(Amaharic Version). Addis Ababa

FDRE. (1997). Federal Rural Land Administration Proclamation, No 89/1997. Addis  
Ababa: Brehanena Selam printing press

GWRDFSO (2010). 2010 Annual Report

SNNPRG, (2003) SNNPR Food Security Programme Evaluation. Hawssa

## **Unpublished Theses**

Assefa Tolera (1995) Ethnic Integration and Conflict: The Case of Indigenous Oromo and  
Amhara Settlers in Aaroo Addis Alem, KIRAMU Area, Northeastern  
Wälläga. Department of Sociology and Social Administration M.A Thesis  
Unpublished

Belay Haile (2009). Resettlement Induced Land Use Changes and their Impact on Non-  
Timber products production. AAU. Unpublished MA Thesis in Geography and  
Environmental Studies.

Berihun Mebrate (1996). Spontaneous Resettlement and Inter-Ethnic Relations. AAU.  
Unpublished MA thesis in Social Anthropology

Tesfa Zewdie , (1990) Resettlers' achievement Motive in Some selected Localities of the former  
Kaffa Administrative Region. AAU. Unpublished MA Thesis