ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

THE INFLUENCE OF INDIGENOUS INSTITUTIONS IN THE CONSERVATION AND USE OF *coffea arabica*:

THE CASE OF YAYOFOREST IN ILUU ABBA BORA ZONE, SOUTHWEST ETHIOPIA

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BY

Zewdie Jotte

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Acronyms

ACF	Advocacy Coalition Framework
ADR	Alternative Dispute Resolution
CBD	Coffee Berry Disease
CIP	Coffee Improvement Project
CoCE	Conservation and Use of wild populations of *Coffea arabica* in the montane rainforests of Ethiopia
CPR	Common Pool Resources
DA	Development Agents
EARO	Ethiopian Agricultural Research Organization
EDE	Embden, Drishaus and Epping
EPRDF	Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary and Democratic Front
FGRC	Forest Genetic Resource Conservation
GIS	Geographic Information System
Ha	Hectare
IAD	Institutional Analysis and Development
IBCR	Institute of Biodiversity Conservation and Research
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources.
IZRADD	Iluu Abba Bora Zone Rural and Agricultural Development Desk
KA	*Kebele*
Km	Kilometers
LATIN	Indonesian Tropical institute
LIAM	Legal-Institutional Analysis Model
LRM	Local Resource Management
MTCA	Ministry of Coffee and Tea development
n.d	No Date
NFPA	National Forest Priority Area
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
NIE	New Institutional Economics
NRM	Natural Resource Management
OBPED	Oromia Bureau of Planning and Economic Development
ORADB	Oromia Rural and Agricultural Development Bureau
ORBEP	Oromia Region Bureau of Economic Planning
PA	Peasant Associations
RNR	Rural Natural Resource
RADO	Rural and Agricultural Development Office
SNNP	Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples
SNNPR	Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region
UFRIC	International Union of Forest Research Organizations
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
YADO	Yayo Agricultural Development Office
YDRADO	Yayo District Rural and Agricultural Development Office
ZEF	Zentrum für Entwicklungsforschung (Center for Development Research)

Glossary of Local Terms

Abaaree	Curse
Abba	Father
Abba Alanga	Lawmaker; legislator
Abba Bokku	Head of four adjacent *tuullas*
Abba Lafaa	Chief of the land; who some times serve as a local chief.
Abdari	A living tree believed to have spirits dwelling in it under which religious rituals are performed (Tilahun, 1989:5).
Adaada	Aunt
Akaakayyuu	Grandfather
Akka'oo	Grandmother
Ayyanaa	A sprit indwelt in *qallus that believed to bring death, disease, prosperity,* etc.
Baalaa Balleessaa	Leaf of special tree that grows on the twig of big trees
Biyya	Country
Boqollo	Maize
Cidha,	Wedding ceremony or feast; it also refers to arranged marriage in the study area
Daangaa	Boundary
Dabaree	A practice of taking turn usually in cattle herding and keeping coffee from wild animals
Misoomaa	Development
Dhagaa	Stone
Dirra	Rib
Eeboo	Spear
Eessumaa	Uncle
Firaa	Relative
Garee	Team; set

Ganamee	Labour support in the morning
Hanqaaquu	Egg
Hidda	climber
Irreessa	Moist grass used for different ritual purposes; Tall grass usually put under a tree to appease the gods (Tilahun, 1989:329).
Jaarsa	Old man
Jabanaa	Coffee pot
Kaka	Swear
Korma	Young or uncastrated bull
Lafee	Self-help local institution by which Labour support is provided for an individual who has been in bed for more than one or more weeks.
Maseena	Barren, unproductive
Michuu	Friend
Muda	Prayer, festivities and rituals conducted for the health and prosperity of the people.
Olla	Neighbor
Onqorda	Sorghum straw
Qacee	Whip, usually made of twine
Qallu	Person in whom a supernatural being, god or deity is believed to reside (Tilahun, 1989:360).
Qunnii	Sedge like grass used as comforter mainly in ritual practices
Rabbi	God
Sibiila duudaa,	Iron Bar
Tumaa	Promulgation, legislation i.e., put a new law in to effect.
Tuumaalessa	Fattened goat or sheep usually after being castrated
Ulee	Stick; it also refers to a single cattle-herding group
Waqaa	God; sky

ABSTRACT

The research is conducted on the influence of indigenous institutions in the conservation and use of forest Coffea arabica and its habitat, natural forest. It is conducted in Yayo district of Iluu Abba Bora zone, Southwest Ethiopia. The general objective of the research is to explore the contribution, challenges and prospects of indigenous institutions in forest coffee and natural forest conservation.

Coffee is a base for the Ethiopian Economy that contributes over more than 60 percent of its foreign exchange earnings and 42 percent of taxes from foreign trade (EDE, 1999:1) as well as for local consumption. A substantial portion of coffee grow wild under the natural forest in the South and Southwestern parts of the country on which a large number of population depend for their economic subsistence and socio-cultural affairs. However, the existing wild coffee is endangered due to natural calamities and various human factors that contributed to the increasing deforestation. The interaction between human beings and the natural environment are the causes for the endangered wild coffee and natural forest. This in turn is regulated through various rules and regulation that control the activities of institutions of which indigenous institutions constitute a part.

The research, hence, employed functionalism, cultural ecology and Ostrom's Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework. Malinowski's functionalism is set up on what he regards as the seven basic needs of man that include nutrition, reproduction, bodily comforts, safety, relaxation, movement, and growth. These individual needs are satisfied by derived cultural and social institutions, whose functions are to satisfy them. It demonstrates that the function of institutions in satisfying human needs that contribute in keeping environmental stability. Cultural ecologists, focus on the impact of local populations using different cultural and social institutions on the environment. Indigenous institutions in particular, thus, mediate the interaction between human society and the natural environment. This is because indigenous institutions based on the social, cultural and other practices of the society in their attempt to serve the society in adapting the environment. Every rules and regulations, code of conducts, customary rights and practices, rituals, cultural values, etc. on which indigenous institutions found directly or indirectly influence the natural environment. The IAD framework also enables to analyze the role of institutions at different level through substantiating the empirical data with theoretical thoughts. It allows synchronizing the impact of indigenous institutions at operational and collective choice level as well as their interaction with formal institutions in order to contemplate its impact on forest conservation and use.

The study reveals that indigenous institutions exist in the study area can be categorized in to four major categories. These include territorial based administrative indigenous institutions, self-help work organizations, religious institutions and Indigenous knowledge. Despite the fact that the indigenous institutions are not established for specific resource management with clear rules, they have been contributing a lot in the conservation and use of natural resources including forest coffee and natural forest. Broadly speaking their role can be viewed as operational level activates that perform forest coffee production activities such as clearing the undergrowth, digging, pruning, planting seedlings, transporting and collecting coffee. They also contribute in increasing local people's income that reduces deforestation of forest coffee and natural forest. Administrative indigenous institutions perform collective choice level activities that determine the activities of operational level institutions or self-help organizations. They organize and make decisions on these activities of self-help work organizations such as dabo, jiga, lafee and quqube that greatly contributes to the conservation and use of forest coffee and natural forest. The role of indigenous institutions in natural resource conservation has been changed and declining over the past many years for various reasons of which the domination of formal institution is a major one.

The research also confirm that the attitude and perception of the local community towards the conservation, property rights, indigenous and formal institution interrelations, and resource conflicts are the main challenges for resource conservation and use.

The potentials of Indigenous institutions in natural resource management is evident from their ability to manage natural resources through indigenous knowledge, adaptability of their rules with changing situations and mobilization of the community towards natural resource conservation. Hence, systematic combination of indigenous and state forced local institution through policies and programs of natural resource management can ensure sustainable forest coffee and natural forest conservation and use.

1.1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Human activities highly endangered the existing environment and its natural resource endowment including wild populations of *Coffea arabica* in the montane rainforest of the southwest Ethiopia. Large-scale deforestation that contributes to *Coffea arabica* genetic diversity losses is accelerating at an alarming rate, which reached a critical situation that requires immediate response. Taddesse described that about 60% of the Ethiopian forest are lost due to manmade destruction during the last thirty years (Taddesse *et al*, 2001 in ZEF and EARO, 2002). 9000 km^2 of closed high forests are destroyed between 1973 and 1990 (Matthias Ruesing, 1998 in Daba 2000:4-53) and 50% of natural high forest were lost or degraded in the time span of 1971-1997 to slightly or heavily disturbed forestlands (Daba, 2000:4-55). Currently about 2000 square km of extremely fragmented rainforest remains in the country (Taddesse *et al.*, in ZEF and EARO, 2002:3).

Various scholars have indicated the causes of deforestation that enables to save the genetic erosion of both wild *Coffea arabica* and its host, the montane natural rainforest at stake. Deforestation mainly results from the relation between human society and the environment related with political and cultural factors. The disturbance of these environmental equilibrium leads to the "reduction of the carrying capacity of many ecosystems" (Terefe, 2003:4) due to overpopulation, migration, etc, which are among the forces behind diminishing natural forest. The establishment and expansion of big farms, is one of the factors contributing for large-scale deforestation (Daba, 2000:2-28; ZEF and EARO, 2002:3) that in turn leads to the loss of its undergrowth, the natural genetic diversity of *Coffea arabica*. On the other hand, Daba blames illegal settlement, overgrazing, uncontrolled tree harvesting and utilization, poverty, technology, market accessibility as other driving forces behind deforestation (Daba, 2000:2-28).

Anthropologists mainly functionalists and cultural ecologists described the interaction of cultural and social institutions with the natural environment and its consequences on the societal system. Functionalists promote the view that society consists of parts each of which have their own functions that form the social systems together, make up society and work together to promote social stability (Barnard, 2000:62). It can fully include the underlying rules for resource management such as customary rules and practices of various indigenous institutions, rituals and values, which contribute for proper management of forest as well as for maintaining the stability of local environment or the wider system. Malinowski's biopsychological functionalism that set up on "the seven basic needs of man" are satisfied by derived cultural and social institutions, whose functions are to satisfy them, i.e. every social institution and cultural item has a need to satisfy (Bohannan and Glazer, 1988:276). Functionalists however, did not clearly

describe institutional and environmental dynamics and changes that can lead to deforestation and other environmental problems, which the research focused on.

Cultural ecologists mainly deal with the interrelations of cultural, environmental and, technological factors. It includes population growth and intensification that leads to change in social structure and organization, which in turn bring new ways of exploiting natural resources. This needs worldview, values and norms – culture change to adapt with the depleted new environment. Proponents of Cultural ecologists and ecological anthropology however, undermined and generally underestimated the role of global or even regional systems and processes in shaping local economy and culture. In other words, apart from describing the interaction of culture with techno environmental situation, they failed to consider the external or national and global impacts on local activities and practices of resource management which is the other gap that the research needs to fill.

Indigenous institutions have been playing a central role for many centuries in sustaining the use of natural resources. However, some of these are being unwittingly destroyed, as Ostrom stated, under the pretext of environmental conservation by national governments and international donors and organizations that put more emphases on physical facilities than on social capital, the shared knowledge, trust and understanding among users that have sustained the productivity of natural resources for ages[1]. Jain had also pointed out that the agencies promoting institutions without considering the existence of other institutions traditionally present or promoted by other agencies are responsible for the weakening of the role of indigenous institutions in resource management (Jain, 2004;[2]). Social capital strengthens trust and mutual co-operation, which serve as a base for effective forest management;[3] and Jain, 2004). Hence, the destruction of natural resources is accelerated due to the marginalization of social capital that mainly exists in indigenous institutions. Consequently, as (Becker and Rosario, n.d) stated, trees have been replaced by crops and urban centers for the past five hundred years in many places.

Dealing with the influence of human actions on the environment particularly deforestation, requires deep investigation of the livelihood of the local community. It is highly interrelated with the activities of indigenous institutions. Pankhurst states in cultural terms that resource management institution " is not a separate field with its own organization, separate from other social institutions; rather it is part and parcel of the rest of social organizations within which it is embedded" (Pankhurst, 2001:3). The community's

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[1] http://www.ifpri.org/reports/0694 RPI/0694B.HTM
[2] http://www.conferences.conm/c/a/m/k/25.htm
[3] http.www.ifpri-org/reports/0694 RPT/0694B HTM

conservation and utilization process of forest coffee and other natural resources is primarily based on the societal cultural practices that include values, norms, rituals, traditions, beliefs, customary rules like inheritance rule, kinship ties etc. These indigenous institutions are also based on experience gained over centuries and adapted to local culture and environment that are transmitted from generation to generation through story, folks, proverbs, etc. It is also applicable in agriculture, fishers and forestry (IUCN, 2004). The influence of these indigenous institutions on the use and conservation varies across a community based on the socio-cultural background of the particular community. Hence, it is possible to argue that indigenous institutions have managed to sustain forest resources in Southwest Ethiopia for many generations. However, simultaneous development and changes brought over time led to deforestation and the weakening of traditional indigenous institutions, which regulate forest conservation and use. Therefore, the present research focuses on and attempts to understand how these institutions work, what influence they have in the conservation and use of forests, and forest coffee, and the changes that have taken place.

Indigenous institutions have rules and regulations as well as associated traditions that determine property rights over various resources. Various mechanisms enable communities to resolve recurrent conflicts that arise relating to the protection and use of natural resources such as forest products and wild coffee. Hence, the current research also focuses on this aspect as well.

Research outputs indicate the prior importance of indigenous institutions in conservation. They are either threatened or marginalized and alienated that further aggravated the process of deforestation. The marginalizing impact of formal institutions mainly state policies and rules, on these (indigenous) institutions is worth mentioned. Despite the fact that indigenous institutions have been playing crucial role in NRM, their capacity questioned under the current rising demand for the resources that has been the causes of conflicts and competition (Ibid, 2003:14-17). Pankhurst stated that "the management of natural resources can be shaped by the way in which local cultures relate with wider processes, and may even emerge through this interaction" (Pankhurst, 2001:4).

Hence, the present research considers the role, challenges, and prospects of the indigenous institutions predominantly in light of issues stated above in resource management or the conservation and use of forest coffee and its natural habitat, montane rainforests.

1.2. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

It was estimated that the world has already lost about as many as 90 percent of the species currently exist (Sci Dev. Net, 2003) which threaten the prospect of presently prevailing species. The fact that *Coffea arabica* population in the montane rainforest is selected as a research topic can be observed from different perspectives. Firstly, it is the best model for biodiversity research for it is among a few species endemic to Ethiopia whose wild population is still found in natural rainforest habitat (ZEF and EARO, 2003). There is an urgent need to conserve species diversity of coffee farms around the country especially the natural forest ecosystems where coffee is found in the wild to save from erosion and extinction (EDE, 2000: 3). Secondly, coffee has a crucial importance in economic situation of the country. It accounts for 65% of national foreign exchange earnings and 10% of employment opportunities in the country. Thirdly, it has a socio-cultural importance that strengthens societal bonds through the coffee ceremony and other related ritual practices. Ceremonies and occasions related with coffee facilitate conditions for the transmission and sharing of cultural values and knowledge in a society. Biodiversity conservation in general, is a crucial issue that determines the perpetuation of species in the world in general and human beings in particular. Therefore, an indigenous institution that mediates the physical environment and human society has of great importance in biodiversity conservation.

1.3. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The general objective of the study is to explore the influence i.e., contributions, challenges and prospects of indigenous institutions in the conservation of wild population of *Coffea arabica* and the montane rainforest among the local users. This general objective has the following specific objectives:

- To study indigenous institutions and their role (contribution) in yayo area principally *tuulla, xuxee, shane, jaarsa biyya, mucho, jiga (kudha'arfee), lafee, dabo, jaat'anii, sijaallee, qugubee, quxubee, jalabutii, dugdaafdugdaa, iddir and abba ulee.* This involves analysis of customary laws, rules and regulations; cultural values, rituals, knowledge and practices that operate with in indigenous institutions. It also studies how local rules and regulations enforce forest management and how their role changes over time;
- To explore the *challenges* of indigenous institutions in effective resource management in general and in forest coffee conservation and use in particular. This engross factors that impede the role of indigenous institutions in resource management such as *relations* with formal institutions and conflicts that might arise on the *access,* use and allocation (distribution) of resources that include the issue of *land tenure and property right; and*

- To scrutinize ***prospects*** or potentials of these indigenous institutions in forest coffee and other natural *resource management.*

1.4. GUIDING QUESTIONS

The following general questions will guide the research:

A. What are the underlying indigenous institutions influencing the conservation and use of wild (forest) *Coffea arabica* and natural rainforest?

B. How do the indigenous institutions currently manage or contribute in the conservation of local resources including wild *Coffea arabica* and natural forest?

C. How do the indigenous institutions in the area affect behaviors related to resource management (montane forest and *coffea arabica* conservation and use)?

D. What are the most crucial *challenges* to the existence and functioning of these indigenous institutions in the conservation and use of forest coffee and montane rainforest?

F. What are the *prospects* of indigenous institutions in the area in resource management, i.e., conservation of forest coffee and montane rainforest.

1.5. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

1.5.1. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

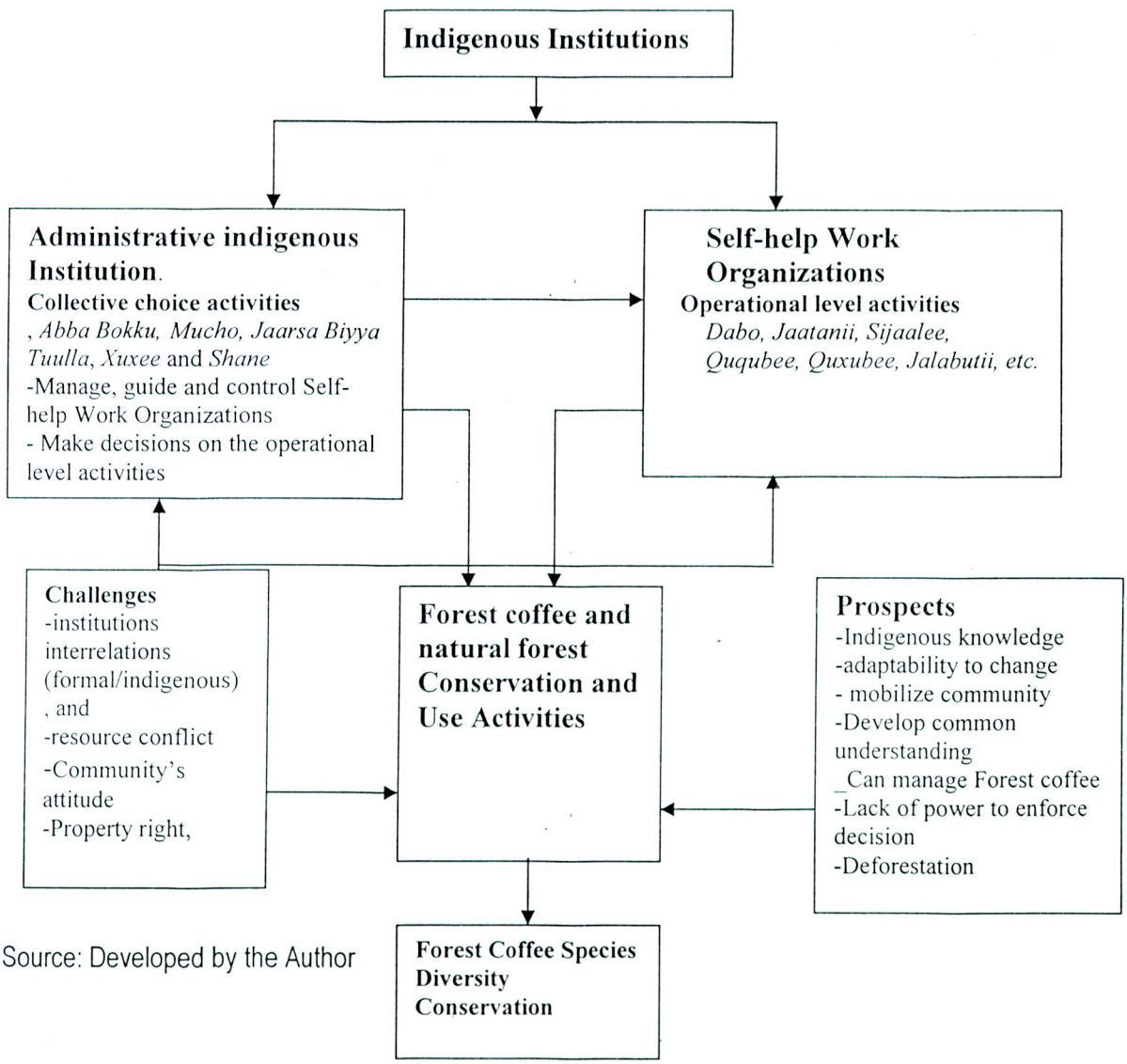
Institutions mediate the link between local communities and natural resource management. Indigenous institutions are part of the institutions that have a crucial impact on natural resource management including montane rainforest and wild *Coffea arabica* in Southwest Ethiopia. They incorporate customary rules, norms, values, indigenous knowledge and practices that a society possesses to organize social, economic and political activities. A group of people who organized to achieve purpose, as Malinowski stated, plays an important role in institutional framework. The activities derived from indigenous knowledge or incorporated in indigenous institutions are influence natural resource (montane forest and wild coffee) management.

These components of indigenous institution (rules, values, norms, players within institution and knowledge) determine what must be done and must not. Certain types of tree species, for instance, are so valued that they has to be protected for ritual or other socio-cultural purposes. Other indigenous institutions at operational level directly or indirectly involve in forest coffee and its natural habitat conservation and use. *Dabo, jiga* and *abba ulee* are some of these institutions. Deviance from the customary rules, values and beliefs of these indigenous institutions at operational level enforced or

controlled through kinship group, local chiefs, and elders' councils etc., which are also parts of indigenous institutions at higher or decision making level. The rules and regulations of these indigenous institutions, hence, influence conservation activities, property rights and/or access to forest coffee and natural forest.

However, there are various challenges and constraints to the role of indigenous institutions in forest coffee conservation and use. Their interaction with state empowered formal institution at local and higher level is the major one. Indigenous institutions rules and regulations are some times contradict with formal institutions. There is also a marginalization impact from formal institutions. As a result, they have no formal right and power to enforce their decisions apart from using social ostracism mechanisms. Some indigenous institutions by themselves do not have clear conservation procedure, which is actually the problem equally in formal institutions.

Figure 1.1.Conceptual Framework of the Study



Source: Developed by the Author

The conditions under which, indigenous institutions operate, as mentioned above, affect the conservation process. In other words, their contributions that ensure effective conservation and use activities, challenges, constraints, altogether establish the status of natural forest conservation and use process in general, and forest *Coffea arabica* species diversity conservation in general. This conceptual framework is clearly stipulated in the theoretical part of the thesis, using Ostrom's IAD framework, which has three levels of analysis.

1.5.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

It is a great scientific challenge to link empirical and theoretical knowledge or "using intellectual tools in understanding institutions" (Ostrom, 2002:1). Anthropological approaches as, for example, the study of indigenous knowledge and actor approaches (Brokensha *et al.*, 1980; Long, 1989) and Political theory and policy analysis (Ostrom, 1990), are among the origins of theoretical frames in local level resource management (cited in Den Breemer and Venema (1995:5). This is partly for the reason (Ostrom 1986) stated that institutional analysis is unique because it proposes "a more general explanatory theory" to predict and explain behavior (USGS, 2005).

There are various analytical frameworks put forth to describe the interaction of human activities and the environment through various institutions. Different scholars propose several promising approaches to institutional analysis. Among those (USGS, 2005) stated the institutional analysis and development framework (IAD); Crawford and Ostrom 1995; Koontz 1997), Legal-Institutional Analysis Model (LIAM; Lamb 1980; Wilds 1990; Caughlan 2002); and the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF; Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1999). The environmental entitlement approach that developed at Institute of Development Studies is also among the main frameworks for institutional analysis worth mentioned. It focuses on the behaviors that result from rules and is based on three key elements: endowments, environmental entitlements, and capabilities and how various institutions mediate the relationships between them[4].

For the purpose of this study Elinor Ostrom's Institutional, Analysis and Development (IAD) framework is adopted as one of a relevant conceptual framework. The IAD framework was developed by scholars at the Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis, Indiana University (Ostrom, 1990; Oakerson, 1992; Ostrom *et al.*, 1994) as a multidisciplinary tool to frame policy research on public goods and common pool resources (CPRs) at multiple levels of analysis (Murray A. Rudd, 2002: 7).

Ostrom's model of institutional analysis operates within three levels: operational choice, collective choice and constitutional choice. The operational level refers to action of individuals that affect the state of the

[4] http://web.idrc.ca/en/ev-3221-201-1-Do TOPIC.htm/.

forest i.e. harvesting, transplanting, pruning, culling etc. Collective choice, applies to actions of individuals that affect the operational level, i.e., prescribing, invoicing, monitoring, enforcing etc. Finally, actions at the "constitutional" level affect collective choice, i.e., determining who, prescribes, invokes, monitors, enforces or rules. (Dustin and Leon[5]; Buck, 1998:31). Broadly speaking (Ostrom's 1990) Institutional Analysis and Development Approach (IAD) identifies or analyses the links between the physical environment (mainly the natural forest and forest coffee) and the socio-cultural, political and institutional arrangement of the community. In this study, indigenous institutions' operation can be broadly categorized in to two: Those at operational level such as self-help work organizations (*jiga (kudha'arfee), lafee, dabo, jaatanii, sijaalee, qugubee, quxubee, jalabutii, dugdaafdugdaa, iddir and abba ulee*) and administrative indigenous institutions that comprise *tuulla, xuxee, shane, jaarsa biyya, and mucho.* These indigenous institutions have their own customary rules, values, believes, norms, and indigenous practices that determine their role in natural forest and wild coffee management. Administrative indigenous institutions have impacts on self-help or voluntary indigenous institutions. It also enables to substantiate the interaction of these indigenous institutions with state forced formal institutions at local level using Ostrom's three level analyses. Polices, programs and projects devised by state forced institutions influence both operational level self-help or voluntary organisations and administrative indigenous institutions for they can limit their power and authority to involve in forest coffee and natural forest conservation. Hence, the IDA framework is a sound framework to analyze community, indigenous institutions and the environment (natural resource) interaction.

Most IAD analyses include variables relating to the physical and material world within which the actors interact, the attributes of community, and the formal rules and informal norms that define the 'rules-in-use' (Rudd, 2002: 8).

The main potency of new institutionalist theories lies in their realistic assumptions regarding human behavior, nuancing the rational choice assumption (empirical data) to include changes in preferences, rather than choice based on a future outlook (Daftary, 2004). This strength of the IAD framework is derived from its systematic theoretical focus on the impact of rules and norms on individual incentives in complex ecological-economic systems, its empirically oriented focus on outcomes (Ostrom, 1999b Cited in Rudd, 2002: 6). On the contrary, though Ostrom's touches up on it, her institutional analysis avoids a discussion of Politics on the commons for the large part (Daftary, 2004:3).

[5] http://www.fao.org/documents/show-cdr.asp?uvl-file

Malinowiski's biocultural (or psychological) functionalism, also can explain the function of institutions in fulfilling human needs that has an impact on natural environment and its resource endowment. A functional analysis reveals that culture is a vast apparatus for the satisfaction of needs. Each institution integrated on a certain principle has a certain system of needs to satisfy (Malinowski, 1945:62). Institutions which have grown up in a long historical evolution in-situ show adaptations to environment to certain specific local needs and to the level of culture and can not be replaced either piecemeal or in a haphazard way (Ibid: 63). Glazer similarly indicated Malinowiski's idea that every social institution has a need to satisfy, and so does every item in a culture. For folklorists, this means that even the smallest item one collects, such as a single folk belief, has the function to perform both at individual and at societal level (Glazer, (1996).

Malinowski suggested that individuals have physiological needs and that social institutions develop to meet these needs. He stated that each institution has personnel, a charter, a set of norms or rules, activities, material apparatus (technology), and a function (Murphy, 2001). Goldschmidt (1996:510) and Voget 1996:573) avowed Malinowski's idea that uniform psychological responses are correlates of physiological needs (Cited in Murphy (2001). Therefore, various indigenous institutions function to meet human needs that enable to keep stable environmental situation through forest and other natural resource management. This can be evident from different indigenous institutions in Yayo area that developed in peoples attempt to adapt their social and physical environment as they are the mechanisms through which they can fulfill their needs. Indigenous institutions like the *abba ulee, dabo, tuulla, etc perform* forest clearing, keeping forest coffee from wild animals, ensuring traditional use rights, etc. are established in attempt to adapt or fill individuals and societal needs in the forest environment. Malinowski's biocultural (or psychological) functionalism, however, did not adequately explain the changes that occur in indigenous institution and its consequence on the environment.

Despite the fact that it clearly stipulates the importance of institutions in fulfilling human needs and enabling to adapt with the environment, it failed to critically consider the changes in institutions and their interaction among themselves that can contributes to environmental degradation. Murphy, (2001) pointed out that Malinowski's functionalism was highly influential in the 1920s and 1930s except for situations of social or cultural change. Young (1991:445) affirmed that the general form in which Malinowski developed functionalism a theory of culture based on the satisfaction of primary and derived biological needs, did not survive intact, though elements it persist (Murphy, 2001). Jarvie (1973) also described that at one time or another functionalism has been accused of reifying abstractions; stressing the static rather than the dynamic aspects of society; and confusing cause with effect.

Cultural Ecologists mainly Marvin Harris's Cultural materialism Indicates how arbitrary cultural phenomena represent an extreme version of cultural ecology to explain culture by reference to nature. The major idea of his Cultural materialist approach is that population growth and intensification leads to change in social structure and organization, which in turn leads to new ways of exploiting natural resources, which needs worldview, values and norms – culture change to adapt with the depleted new environment. Cultural ecologists in general, focus on the interrelation of local populations, environment and technology. Therefore, it can validate the empirical fact that indigenous institutions influence the natural environment (mainly natural forest and wild coffee) through human's exploitation of natural resources. The changes in social institutions and organization that chiefly related with the interaction of technology and culture influences how people exploit an environment. This in turn can change the environmental situation including the deforestation of wild coffee and natural forest.

1.5.3. METHODOLOGY

In order to achieve the research objectives various approaches and research tools were employed at different time. I have gone to the research3 site taking the letter from Addis Ababa University that signifies the cooperation of all concerned bodies. My first target was to contact Yayo district administration office to legalize the research. Having submitted my letter of recommendation, I could immediately get letters to nine rural *kebeles* around my study areas (*Gabba-Dogi* Demarcated Forest coffee) including those I might not select. This was for the reason that I had not yet exactly identified my target *kebeles, as* it was my first arrival to the area to conduct pilot survey for three to four days. The first visit enabled me to identify target *Kebeles*, villages and to create the necessary link with some local agents. It also facilitated a smooth channel with target individuals, government offices and concerned bodies at a local level. After conducting a two-day survey and tours on those *kebeles*, I was able to select target rural *Kebeles* from where the communities are living excluding the core zone of the demarcated forest, where there are no inhabitants. The *KAs* selection was carefully conducted from 11 *kebeles* the demarcated forest coffee covered to include all heterogeneous factors in the area. Four *KAs* are purposively selected from different directions of the project that include *Baddessa, Gaabaa, Wixete, and Achibo.* At the beginning, three *KAs* were selected. *Achibo* was included later as a fourth KA through the cross reference of the respondents in the adjacent KA (*Wixete)* to strengthen some of the information. *Wixete* was the main research site where in-depth study was conducted as many indigenous institutions

are actively operating at present. There are well knowledgeable key informants in *Achibo* who can trace the socio-economic conditions of the area through historical approaches.

Hence, the research focuses on four of the eleven KAs that *Gabba-Dogi* forest coffee project embraces. The KAs included in the demarcated forest coffee area compose 32 *goxs* and many development groups (*garee misomaa*), the lowest government structure in the area.

The field visit was very challenging as the sites were far from the nearest city and mostly covered with natural forest that is endowed with a variety of wild animals. However, it was possible to assume that one can conduct field research at the end of the first field visit, which became more convenient during the actual fieldworks. The majority of the informants were asking my background sometime including the major clan origin. After honestly responding much of their questions without assuming any false position, it was not difficult to create close relation. The fact that I was having my lunch with some of the local dwellers where there is no any hotel under the trees enabled me to share various information relevant to the research. It also created an opportunity to be invited to coffee ceremonies where further closer relations were formed. Despite the fact that I was able to establish close relation with many of the informants, and participating in some local affairs, it is not possible to conclude that I was participant observer.

DATA COLLECTION

Both the secondary and primary sources are deployed in the data collection process. Books, journals, articles, unpublished and published materials and theses, research and official reports, statistical abstracts etc were utilized. Primary data was gathered through in-depth, unstructured and semi-structured interviews, personal observation, focus group discussion, and a few case studies. **Four** Key informants also provided plenty of information and facilitated the data collection process.

Many of the Informants are approached through the smooth channel of some district officials, *KA* administrators and Development agents (DA). After few days of the field research, some of the informants are contacted through the informants I already interviewed and my own personal contact. Individuals interviewed through different types of data collection procedures are purposively recruited from all segments of the society. Various factors such as sex, age, economic status, and the position of the interviewee in the socio-cultural affairs of the local community are taken in to consideration.

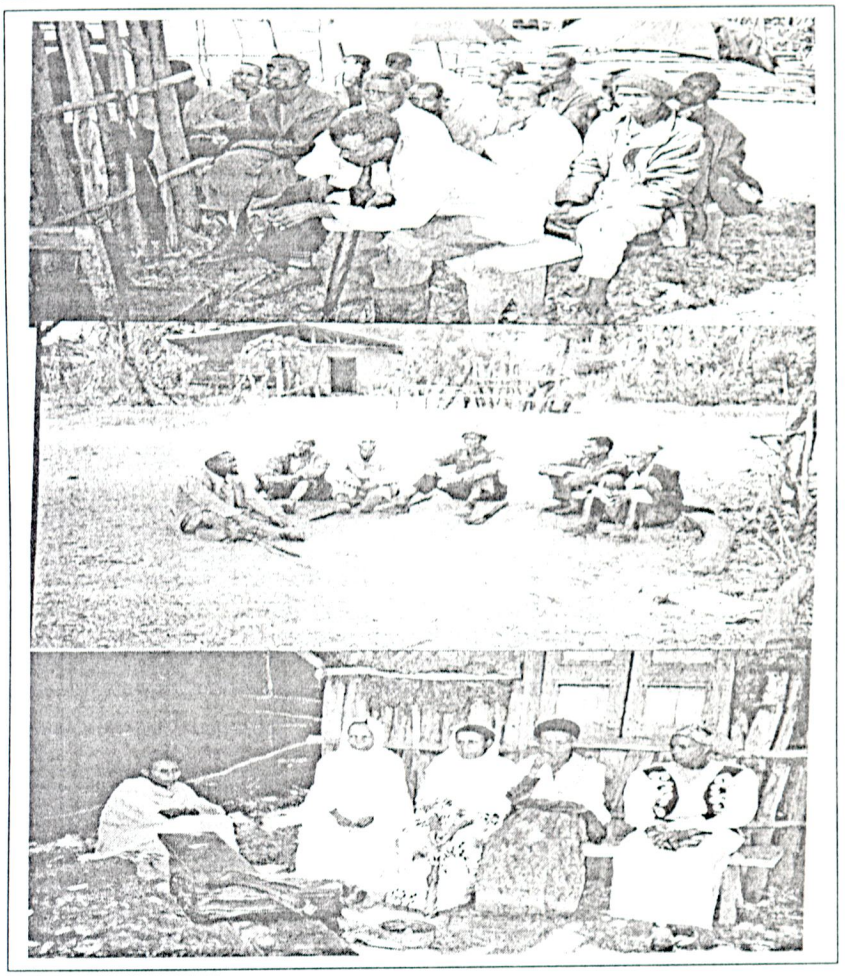
Traditional religious leaders, local elders, leaders of indigenous institutions were interviewed through an in-depth interview conducted in four KAs to trace the role of indigenous institutions in the socio-economic

and cultural life of the study community through historical approaches. Unstructured and semi-structured interviews were conducted with different individuals in the area.

People involved in focus group discussion are purposively recruited from different social and economic status but supposed to give the necessary information on natural forest and forest coffee. The number of cattle, ownership of coffee plot and production capacity are roughly considered in incorporating informants from all economic groups. Individuals' position or participation in societal affairs such as in conflict resolution and performance of some rituals was also considered. Various group discussions were conducted with different segment of the local community mainly the youth, elders, women, and the resettlers using the checklist developed. The highest is with elders (5) and the least (2) conducted with women, as there was problem in getting women for the group discussion. Many small informal discussions were conducted with two to three individuals to reach on clear idea of some issues. The rest discussions were with youth and settlers. In some areas, discussion was conducted at a time with all groups due to some inconveniency. (See the picture on the following page that shows some of the group discussions conducted with the informants)

Case studies are used to investigate the situation of natural resource conflict in the area and its resolution mechanisms. Six cases were analyzed that comprise conflicts on forest and coffee. These include cases that were resolved and some in progresses. Ideas shared both formally and informally on various issues pertinent to the research with some experts at district level and local dwellers other than mentioned above to check the validity of the collected data.

Picture 1.1. Some of the group discussions conducted with informants



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2. Indigenous Institutions and Natural Resource Management

2.1. Institution: the Concept

The concept institution is seen within different frameworks such as political, social, economic and cultural relationships. Hence, miscellaneous definitions are provided to the concept from different angles.
New Institutional Economics (NIE) or the New Institutionalists are understood institutions in contrast to organizations, where institutions are "the rules of the game in society" (North, 1990:3); then organizations may be thought of as the players, or "groups of individuals bound together by some common purpose to achieve objectives" (North, 1990: 5 and Leach *et al.*, 1997a: 24 in Watson[6], *et al*, 1999:5; Daftary, 2004:15; and[7]). Ostrom also defines institutions as rules that 'forbid, allow or permit people to do something (Cited in Daftary, 2004). Institutions are comprised of formal rules (e.g., property rights, laws) and/or informal prescriptions (e.g., norms, taboos) that permit, prohibit or require certain actions or outcomes while specifying the sanctions for breaking rules (cited in Crawford and Ostrom, 1995; Rudd, 2002:7- 8).

Malinowski claims that an institution "is always the organization of people for a given purpose, accepted by themselves, and recognized by the community" (Tower, n.d). However, every institution in Malinowski's sense has authority, division of functions, and distribution of privileges and duties; norms or rules, that is, "the technical acquired skills, habits, legal norms, and ethical commands which are accepted by the members or imposed upon them" (Ibid). An important institutions like the family, or chieftainship, ancestor worship or agriculture, has its root in all aspects of culture (Malinowski, 1945:52). Chieftainship is associated with the local religion and magical beliefs; with the tribesmen acceptance of customary lows as the only adequate expression of right and wrong (Ibid: 52).

Eggrtsson (1990:281) defines the term institution in its broader sense as formal and informal rules, norms, and customs of a community that affect economic behavior, the organization of production and economic outcomes (cited in Getnet, 1999:45). Uphoff (1996)[7] also defined institutions as complexes of norms and behaviors that persist over time by serving collectively valued purposes.

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[6] http: //www.livelihoods. org/ info/d ocs/nieweb2.doc

[7] http: //www.livelihoods. org/ info/d ocs/nieweb2.doc

In understanding institutional analysis, it is important to distinguish between the terms institution and organization. Organizations are a group of people bound together by some common purpose to achieve a specific objective where institutions are described as rules and rights governing social and productive behavior (North, 1990). In other words, institutions are the underlying rules for resource management while organizations are the "players" and/or "structures" that operate within the framework of the institution. Therefore, institution refers to rules, norms, customs and traditions of the society that serve as a mode of conduct, and/or guideline that determine the behavior and the interaction of the society in socio-economic, political and cultural affairs. Scholars define institutions as the formal or informal rules governing peoples and organizations' behaviour (Watson *et al*, 1999:6, and[6]).

Formal Institutions: Formal institutions are mostly described in terms of formal, documented and transparent rules for transactions and decision-making. They have, for instance, regulations, membership, executive structure and powers, fine taxes, duties etc. (Watson, 2001:6) [9]

Informal/Local/Indigenous Institutions: These terms are mostly used interchangeably without significant difference. However, some scholars define them more precisely.

Informal institutions are more flexible or dynamic overtime. They may not be recognized or understood especially by outsiders; but they can also be very rigid, very strong and very clear to internal participants (Manchur, 2002). Watson states that informal institutions encompass traditional or customary organizations, rules and ideas (Watson *et al*, 1999:6).

Local institutions are those institutions that operate within a single community or between several communities. Based on the locus of initiatives behind their establishment, local organizations are classified in to 'formal' and 'informal'. Formal organizations, as (Uphoff, 1986:6) stated, are largely state sponsored and tend to be monolithic in structure, while informal organizations are mainly community initiated and tended to show huge diversity in their management structures (cited in Yihenew, 2004:31).

Local institutions can also range from indigenous, with their origins clearly going back many generations, to contemporary or more "modern" forms (Manchur, 2002).

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[6] web.idrc.ca/en/ev-3221-201-1-DoTopic.htm/

[9] http://web.idrc.ca/en/ev-3221-201-Do Topic.htm/

Indigenous institutions are informal institutions that include local cultural forms of organization, such as locally elected, appointed or hereditary leaders and elders, and indigenous knowledge (Watson, 2001:6). Indigenous institutions also include "Kin networks, local cultural administrative structures..., customary rights to resources, and indigenous practices of grazing and use of forests" (Ibid, 2001:4). Indigenous institutions are also defined as those norms, values and social arrangements, which indigenous people possess for organizing political, economic and social activities. Examples include traditional kinship groups, ceremonial societies, leadership institutions such as elder councils and chieftainships, voluntary organizations, women's groups and the like. The above definition of indigenous institution stresses on the competence of indigenous knowledge and practices.

Indigenous knowledge by itself refers to" knowledge possessed by indigenous people and other local people which is transmitted orally and often shows an in-depth understanding of natural and other processes". Traditional medicinal plants, agricultural, ethno veterinary and other forms of knowledge are typical examples. It may also include such knowledge as usually related to broader cultural values and beliefs of indigenous and other traditional peoples (Ibid). Therefore, in order to narrow the research ground based on the above definitions, the study focuses on indigenous institutions, particularly *tuulla, xuxee, shane, jiga (kudha'arfee), lafee, , iddir, dabo, jaatanii, sijaalee, qugubee, quxubee, jalabutii, dugdaafdugdaa and abba ulee*.

2.2. Institution and Environment in Anthropological Perspective

Anthropolologists viewed institutions and environment from different perspectives. Functionalists and cultural ecologists are among the academics who described institutions and environmental phenomenon. Functionalism was one of the first twentieth century anthropological theories, until it was superseded by structural-functionalism. The early functionalist perspective transformed in the early twentieth century, partly by Durkheim in his more synchronic work (Barnard, 2000:62). Spencer and Durkaheim saw society as made up of parts each with its own function and they saw parts as increasing in heterogeneity with evolution (Ibid, 2000:62). In the social sciences specifically socio-cultural anthropology, functionalism is a sociological philosophy that originally attempted to explain social institutions as collective means to fill individual biological needs. Later it came to focus on the ways social institutions fill social needs, especially social solidarity (Wikibooks, n.d).

Durkaheim's influence on Anthropology has been widespread. He has heavily influenced three of the most important social anthropologists in the discipline-Mauss, Radcliff Brown, and Levi-Strauss

(Bohannan and Glazer, 1988:276). Because, structural functionalism tends to be concerned less with individual action or needs and more with place of individuals in the social order itself (Barnard, 2000:61). Malinowski's functionalism is set up on what he regards as the seven basic needs of man: nutrition, reproduction, bodily comforts, safety, relaxation, movement, and growth. These individual needs are satisfied by derived cultural and social institutions, whose functions are to satisfy them. In other words, every social institution has a need to satisfy and so does every cultural item (Bohannan and Glazer, 1988:276).

Thus, one contribution of Malinowski is his idea of the institution. By calling a specific social phenomenon an 'institution', he encouraged people to underplay it, for the word is widely and variously used. According to Malinowski, an institution "is a group of people united or organized for a purpose" (Ibid, 1988:276). The current research, however concentrates more on the institutions or rules and regulations that permits or forbids various practices. It also visualizes institutions in Malinowskis perispective that focus on a group of people united or organized for certain purpose which New Institutional Economics (NIE), as (North, 1990) described, called "the rules of the game in society" or organization, players with in institutional framework. Individuals like leaders of indigenous institutions, religious leaders, ritual experts, participants at various levels of indigenous institutions, etc. are parts of organizations that play a crucial role in the interaction of social and cultural factors with environmental situations in attempt to satisfy individual or societal needs in maintaining environmental stability. On the contrary, the rules and regulations of these organizations, which others called, (North, 1990: 5, Leach *et al.*, 1997a: 24 in Watson, *et al*, 1999:5; Daftary, 2004:15), institutions play similar role. They equally contribute in satisfying people's need and maintaining ecological situation, as they are two sides of the same coin, i.e. a group of people with certain objective vis-à-vis rules and regulations that guide them are inseparable. The functionalist includes both the emotional and the intellectual side of mental processes, as well as the idea that man in his full biological reality has to be drawn in to our analysis of culture. The bodily needs and environmental influences and the cultural reactions to them are, thus in the realm of their concern in which institutions play a crucial intermediary role.

This can be evident from the role of various indigenous institutions in natural resource management and in different aspects of the societal livelihoods as indicated mainly in chapter five of the thesis. It is possible to argue that many indigenous institutions are established in attempt to enable a particular society to perform a particular activity so that they can maintain their social and

environmental stability. Nevertheless, institutions can also enable a society to cope up with the changing situations unlike the functionalists' resistance to change and overemphasis of the internal stability among the different part of society.

Malinowski's work on social institution criticized for it remained submerged within scholarly and ethnographic text; unlike his statement on biological needs was never the subject of theoretical generalization (Barnard, 2000:68).

Functionalists in general viewed institutions in a broad perspective. The structural functionalists, mainly Radcliff-Brown, viewed institution as parts which make up each society while biopsychological functionalist of Malinowski described as a group of people united or organized for a purpose" or specific social phenomenon apart from their differential emphasis on society and individual.

Different scholars mainly ecologists also concerned on the relation between natural environment and human society. Batterbury described Haeckel's (1870) original definition of ecology, who coined the term, as "...the study of the economy, of the household, of animal organisms. This includes the relationships of animals with both the inorganic and organic environments, above all the beneficial and inimical relations that Darwin referred to as the conditions of the struggle of existence." (Cited in Batterbury, 1997).

Cultural ecologists have attempted to apply these concepts usually to small-scale communities reliant on the local resource base for all or most of their daily needs. Julian Steward (1955) in his "Origins of Cultural Change" said that cultural ecology is the "...study of the adaptive processes by which the nature of society, and an unpredictable number of features of culture, are affected by the basic adjustment through which man utilizes a given environment" (Ibid. 1997).

Bohannan and Glazer also described that ecology is adaptation to environment and has been conceived as the total web of life where all plant and animal species interact with one another and with physical features in a particular unit of territory (Bohannan and Glazer, 1988:322).

Cultural ecology in a wide sense denotes a concern with the relationship between human culture and the natural environment, and in a narrow sense a particular perspective on this relationship that was first developed by anthropologists such as Julian Steward (1902-1972) and Leslie White

(1900-1975) in the late 1940s and the 1950s. Steward's emphasis on ecology, cultural types and multilinear evolution gave the anthropology of the 1930s and 1940s a viable alternative to the traditional approaches to cultural evolution. Steward's multi-linear evolution tends to develop cultural low empirically while cultural types came about as cultural adaptations to the environment; each representing a level of socio-cultural integration as the key to the adaptation of a culture is its technology (Bohannan and Glazer, 1988:321-322). Stewards methods of cultural ecology focus on analysis of methods of production in the environment; pattern of human behavior in order to understand the relationship of production techniques to the other elements of culture (Ibid,1988:322).

White also argued for an evolutionary perspective on culture as a mode of adaptation, but focused on technological advances in the harnessing of energy as the standard by which to measure evolutionary progress. More specifically, he describes culture as energy capturing system. Hence, according to his basic low of cultural evolution, culture evolves as the amount of energy harvest percapita per year increased or the efficiency of instrumental means of putting to the energy is increased. In other words, the more advanced technology, it gives human control over energy and as a result, culture expands and changes. The idea is that the more energy develops the more it captures energy and utilizes which lead to cultural differentiation (Ibid, 1988:336).

Although the differences between Steward and White were considerable, they converged in the aspiration to revive an evolutionist and comparative perspective on culture, and in seeking explanations of cultural forms in technological and environmental factors. Both had predisposed to regard culture as a room to its technological and environmental features. Despite the differences, White and Julian Stewards agreed that many aspects of socio-cultural systems related to the need of the population to exploit nature.

Marvin Harris (1927-2001) is the other Anthropologist known for his cultural materialism. He traces its root to Karl Marx and twenty-century anthropologist Julian Steward. His cultural materialism advocates that arbitrary cultural phenomena represent an extreme version of cultural ecology ambition to explain culture by reference to nature. He has a refined approach to emic and etic views which he used to interpret social facts. The major idea of his Cultural materialist approach is that population growth and intensification leads to change in social structure and organization, which in turn leads to new ways of exploiting natural resources, which needs worldview, values and norms – culture change to adapt with the depleted new environment. The universal structures of

socio-cultural system posited by cultural materialism roots on the biological and psychological constants of human nature and on the distinction between thought and behaviour (Bohannan and Glatzer, 1988:378). Cultural ecologists, overall, incline to focus on local populations and ecosystems and on technology as a local phenomenon.

Institutions in general and indigenous institutions in particular as parts of socio-cultural and technological constructs, thus, mediate the interaction between human society and the natural environment. This perhaps due to the fact that indigenous institutions based on the social, cultural, economic and other aspects of the society in their attempt to serve the society in adapting the environment. Every rules and regulations, code of conducts, customary rights and practices, rituals, cultural values, etc. on which indigenous institutions found directly or indirectly influence the natural environment as well as influenced by the changing situations of the environment.

A number of criticisms have been directed at various accounts of cultural ecology that include their inclination toward environmental determinism. Cultural ecology and subsequent proponents of ecological anthropology have generally underestimated the role of global or even regional systems and processes in shaping local economy and culture, which Ostrom's IAD framework stipulated. Hence, apart from describing the dealings of culture with technology and environment it failed to consider the external or national and global impacts on local activities or institutions.

2.3. Paradigm Shift in Resource Conservation

The alarming rates of deforestation contributed for the extinction of some of the plant species and endangered others in different parts of the world. This became the reason for the paradigm shift in resource conservation (Indian Institute of Forest Management, 2001) [10]

During the last decades, the paradigm of conservation has changed from being strictly technical focusing on the biophysical environment to a more "people oriented" approaches incorporating the concepts of a holistic sustainable development (E.D.E Consulting for coffee, 1999:2). Because the "environmental problems are growing beyond control of the state, an appeal to the local people has been made. ...a local organization with clear rules and sanctions and which enables people to reap the reward is of their efforts" (Den Breemer and Venema, 1995:4). According to the participatory approach, such local resource management needs to be linked up with local groups and institutions (Ibid, 1995:5).

[10] http://Inweb18.worldbank org./ESSD/sdev xt.nsf/63 By DOCName/Key concepts

Experiences have shown that centralized management of natural resources, based on a culture of exclusion and rules, has not contributed to the sustainable management of natural resources (Indian Institute of Forest Management, 2001). In early days of conservation, local communities were seen as actively destroying natural resources and biodiversity because of a lack of understanding and therefore, where hardly involved into conservation activities (E.D.E Consulting for coffee 1999:2). This perhaps resulted from the view that, as Davis and Wali (1993) pointed out, market integration and 'western' values have eroded indigenous views of the universe in which trees and animals have indwelling sprits, towards one in which the forest is a material object subordinate to the needs of mankind (Richards, 1997). Following decades of frustration with state managed approaches such as protected areas and industrial forest concessions, many started to see community-based forest management as one of the main hopes for bio-diversity conservation in the region (Ibid, 1997).

During the 1980's environmental problems in Africa and resource management become a field of interest in social science (Horewith and Painter, 1986; Brokensha and Riley, 1989) and local resource management became a new meeting point for the social and natural sciences. Besides this multidisciplinary challenge, local resource management (LRM) became an important field of study for the mono-discipline of sociology and anthropology (Den Breemer and Venema, 1995: 5). Anthropologists and some other social scientists were reticent to forest research and policy debate until the past few decades. Roosevelt (1995) was among the fore runners who have turned their critical eye towards the subject. She commented three common but "erroneous assumptions" of natural scientists in dealing with natural forest ecosystem that faced challenges. She stated that natural scientists primarily rely on present and short-term bio-geographical evidence; mono causality for forest problems and naturalism or thinking of natural forest problem in terms of natural causes than human socio-cultural impacts (Quoted in Omohundro, 1999). (De Grooz, 1992) argued that it has even led to the creation of a new discipline called "environmental science" (cited in Den Breemer and Venema, 1995:5). Much emphasis is also put on the development relevance of local knowledge. Regional voluntary associations too are considered to be very important. They may contribute to the empowerment of local rural groups. Local institution building is advocated (Ibid, 1995:6).

However, the paradigm shift towards people centered conservation is not effectively realized for various reasons. It is mostly remain at the level of encouragement. The advocators do not criticize their own underpinnings and their recommendations are not sufficiently based on empirical research. They advocate the use of local knowledge and practices without having sufficient knowledge of their content and social significance. Hence, "linking up with local groups and institutions is easier said than done"

(Den Breemer and Venema, 1995:.6). Conservation policies should consider and work towards attaining a win-win situation of enhancing the livelihood of the local people and protecting biodiversity (Coomes *et al*, 2001, cited in Degnet and Virchow, 2003).

However, the increasing change of resource conservation paradigm provides an ever-widening democratic space to the local community for articulating their needs and managing natural resources. These result in an increasing conflict on natural resource management among various stakeholders. There is therefore a need for alternative methods of dispute resolution and capacity building for persons engaged in natural resource management (Indian Institute of Forest Management, 2001).

2.4. The Role of Indigenous institution in Natural resource conservation

A review of the literature focuses on institutions that enable to devise sustainable forest management approach and consider social, cultural, economic and environmental situations. Special emphasis is placed on reviewing the role of indigenous institutions in sustainable forest management from different perspectives. It considers their relation with formal institutions and some stakeholders in forest management.

The literature on the impact of institutions in general and indigenous institutions in particular in resource management is highly sparse and fragmented. The shortcoming of many literatures is lack of conclusion as to the aptness of institution/s that can harmoniously manage resources optimally within the dynamic social and ecological situations. The majority of the literatures from the very beginning have given little or no attentions to the issue of resource management through indigenous institutions. Demel (1999) described a number of formal organizations involved in FGRC and strongly recommended further study on the role of indigenous institutions in FGRC. On the other hand, Daba, for instance, described triggering forces that accelerate deforestation and institutions involved in forest conservation (Daba, 2000: 6-65) without devoting a page for detail description, in the share of indigenous institutions in this regard. The current research contributes in narrowing this gap and other related issues.

Boku and Irwin, (2003), Anteneh, (1999); Watson, (2001); Pankhurst, (2001, 2003), are some of the latest literatures in Ethiopian context that focus on the influence of traditional/indigenous institutions on natural resource or forest management. Some of these researches by themselves gave little attention for the nucleus issues in indigenous institutions such as how their customary rules, norms, customs, and traditional values determine community's interaction and their impact on the natural resource management.

Anteneh (1999) describes the roles of indigenous institutions, particularly *Yejoka* institution, on development initiatives that try to point out the merits and demerits of this institution. Boku and Irwin (2003) describe traditional institutions in common resource management in Borana area. The study focuses on the *Gadaa* institution that plays a basic role in resource management. However, the study did not indicate how the *Gadaa* system works in resource management and its clear potential and prospect in resource management. Pankhurst (2001) and Watson (2001) are researches that focus on the role of indigenous institutions in Northern *Wollo* (*Yegof*) and *Borana*, respectively. Both researches give special emphases on how indigenous institutions influence resource management among the local community and heterogeneous groups.

Pankhurst (2003) also indicated various roles of indigenous institutions in natural resource conflict management (grazing land, irrigation water and state forest) and their relation with formal institutions. Watson, (2001) focuses on inter-institutional alliances and conflicts in natural resource management in Borana. She came up with the finding that the Borana indigenous institution's role in resource management and peace making will draw a lesson for government institutions. She also stressed the importance of indigenous institutions that involve all users equally (Watson, 2001:18).

In general, various scholars described indigenous institutions from two angles. The majority of them argued that indigenous institutions play a profound role in resource management that needs to be compatible in their application with changing situation that might be social, economic, cultural or political. Watson (2001); Bokuu and Irwin (2003); and Pankhurst (2001) can be mentioned among the literatures that share this idea. Ostrom (1990) and Bruce *et al* (1994) stated that indigenous practices and knowledge have been seen as highly adaptive to precarious and changing microenvironments. They are risk averse and hence are highly suitable for many environments in developing countries (Richards, 1985; Fairhead, 1992 quoted in Watson, 2001:6).

On the contrary, a few scholars such as Hardin (1968) pointed out the failure of indigenous institutions in natural resource management. He has seen customary rights to resources as chaotic and often leading to environmental degradation (quoted in Watson, 2001:6). Uphoff (1996) also avowed that local organizations' resource management structure is not clearly visible (Cited in Pankhurst, 2001:3). The empirical evidences of later academics challenge the view that considers indigenous institutions as contributing bodies for forest conservation. Through their historical research approach in West Africa, (Fairhead and Leach, 1996; 1998) have shown evidence of appropriate management of the natural environment by farmers who enhance reforestation rather

than deforestation (Ibid, 2001:3). The Oromo *Gadaa* system in Boran is the other evidence that confirms the efficiency of indigenous institutions (Boku and Irwin, 2003).

Although many of the literatures argue in favoring the importance of indigenous institutions in resource management, it is not without some reservations, preconditions and doubts under the dynamic socio-economic, political and ecological factors. This shows that the activity of indigenous institution, as Boku and Irwin (2003) pointed out, may not be visible if the resource users and managers are not homogeneous in ethnic, residential and other backgrounds. There should also be a trust between government and indigenous institution. Leach *et al* (1995) also assert that it is an organization at homogeneous community level that can reconstitute community based natural resource institutions (quoted in Pankhurst, 2001:3). Hence, Ostrom (1990) and others argued that local institutions can effectively manage resources that needs to be carefully studied (cited in ZEF and EARO, 2002).

2.5. Challenges of Indigenous Institutions in Natural Resource Management

Indigenous institutions face various challenges in their attempt to manage natural resources. Their relation with formal institution influences the issues of customary right, rules, traditional conflict resolution mechanisms of resource and other activities of natural resource management.

There are various arguments on the relation of indigenous institutions with formal institutions on natural resource management. Many argue that, indigenous institutions are highly alienated and isolated by the formal institutions from their role of forest management through changing governmental rules and policies (Boku and Irwin 2003:14). This can lead us, as Pankhurst asserted, to presume that the local institution become under the pressure and destroyed by the process of incorporation by state and market forces (Pankhurst, 2001:3).

The government privatization policy by itself paves the way for individuals to control various resources. As Carney, (1999) pointed out, these transferring parts of the resource management system in the private system are not contradicting with centralized approach (quoted in ZEF and EARO, 2002). However, the centralized top-down resource management system, as Frederickson, (1992) stated, usually ignores the social and cultural values and assets of the local people that play a crucial role in resource management (Ibid: 2002).

Some writers exaggerate the impact of formal institutions on indigenous institutions resource management system in stating that it goes to the extent that it can endanger human gene. The

privatization policy enables the economic power to control the world power through globalization and the state and community loose sovereignty over the management of biological resources. Under this circumstance, private powers can abolish control over forest genetic resources as well as human gene (ECO: 2003). Of course, this can be some how evident from Boku and Irwin, (2003) research that described the government formal institution's failure to control resource exploitation after the management system is shifted from the *Gadaa* system, the traditional institution responsible for resource management mainly among the Boran Oromo. The privatization policy also highly ignores the important role of indigenous institutions in natural resource management.

Property rights are important issue where indigenous institutions can play an influential role through their interaction with formal institutions. Indigenous institutions mostly play a dominant role in communal property management. UFRIC assessed 10 institutional sustainability factors on communal, individual, and Government forests. The finding was that, communal forests are more likely to be efficiently and sustainably utilized while government forests were least likely to be sustainably managed (UFRIC, 1999). Ostrom argues that communities can manage resources effectively without external intervention from the state, because they are more knowledgeable and more vested in the resource, therefore better able to manage it (Daftary, 2004:3).

Indigenous institutions also play an important role in natural resource conflict resolution and management. Among the pastoralists in his study area, Ayittey for instance states that, their cultures emphasize on the resolution of conflicts amicably through a council of elders, dialogue, traditional rituals and common utilization of resources especially dry-season grazing land (Ayittey, 2003). However, Pankhurst described that informal institutions' ability to manage conflict over common resources depends on their relations with formal institutions. If informal institutions are excluded from playing a role, they may work behind the scenes on minor interpersonal conflicts (Pankhurst, 2003:76). Makiko asserts that "in order to prevent conflicts, it will be important to clarify and guarantee basic rights of indigenous people by laws, ...and give chances to participate in decision-making process at various stages, in particular at the early stage" (Makiko, n.d).

The interrelation between indigenous and state formal institutions in resource management is not clearly stipulated, often left without any tangible conclusions. There are no rules and regulations commonly developed except remarking the harmonious relation and the importance of interdependence among these institutions for effective natural resource conservation. In this regard, Pankhurst pointed out that natural resource management is shaped by the way, in which local culture is related with wider processes

and cannot be understood in isolation from national, regional processes and global interactions (Pankhurst, 2001:4). In some situations, governments are decentralizing the resource management to local communities to help them in protection and management. The Food and Agricultural Organization's report also emphasizes "greater reliance on resources at local community level is taken as a potential solution to the growing resource problem"(FAOUN, 2001:23).

Despite consistent influences from formal institution, indigenous institutions have been playing a crucial role in natural resource management. Shiferaw stated the potentials of indigenous organizations in resource conservation. The acceptance of elders among the rural society, the potential of *Iddir* (traditional self help institution), in the use of forest resources; the potentials of Orthodox Church and task oriented traditional structures in Northern Ethiopia serve as a solid foundation for resource management due to their voluntary, permanent, democratic, flexible and grassroots oriented nature (Shiferaw, 2003:226).

The efficiency and sustainability of forest management can be improved if local communities are involved in the management of forest resources in their vicinity. Employing locals to monitor in the place of regular national staff, together with increased tangible benefits to the local communities will greatly improve the conditions of the forest (UFRIC, 1999). In general, indigenous institutions have been playing an important role in natural resource management. The absence of smooth relation with state formal institutions, absence of clear conservation and use rules, and inability to enforce their decisions are their main problems. However, they have a great potential to manage resources in collaboration with state formal institutions.

CHAPTER THREE

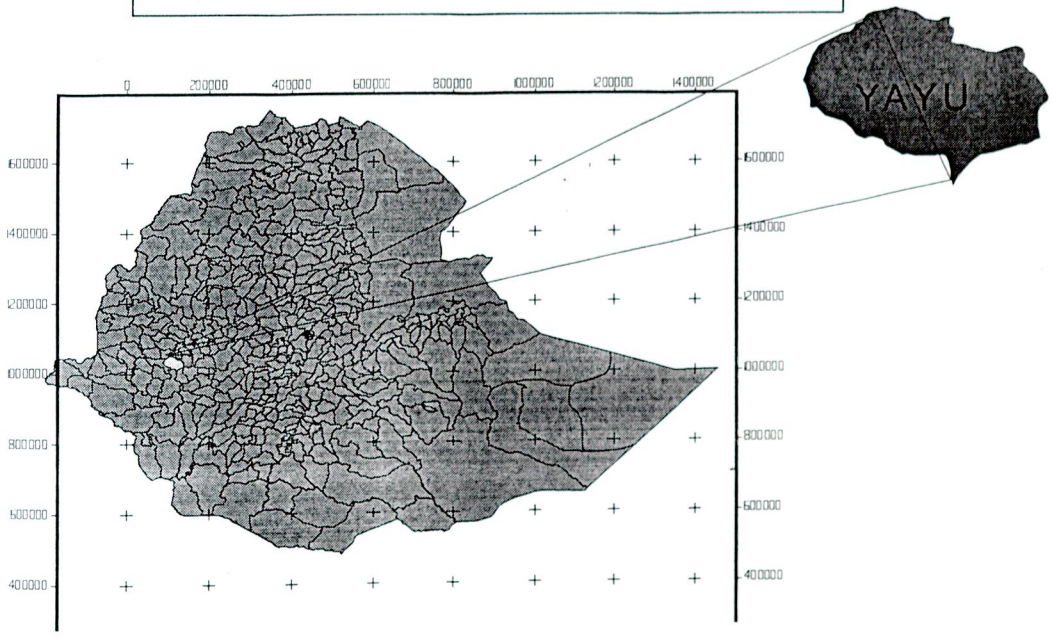
3. Backgrounds of the Study Area and the Population

3.1. Geographical Characteristics of the Study Area

Yayo-Hurumu District is found in *Iluu Abba Bora* zone of Oromia Regional State. *Iluu Abba Bora* zone is situated in South Western part of the Regional State as well as the country. It is bounded by East *Wellega* and *Jimma* zones in the East. Iluu Abba Bora zone also shares a border with west and East *Wellega* in the North; SNNP region in the South; and with Gambella Regional State in the West. The total area of the zone is 1,633156.6 hectares that divided into twelve districts of which Yayo-Hurumu, the research site, is one.

Yayo-Hurumu district is found at about 564 kms from Addis Ababa. It is located between $8^{0}2^{0}42^{00}$N and $8^{0}31^{0}18'$ North and $35^{0}37^{0}$ 48^{0} E and $36^{0}05^{0}18^{0}$East. The district has a total area of 162,901 hectares (1,629.01km^2) that constitutes 9.97 percent of the total land of the zone. The exact study site, *Gabba-Dogi* forest coffee, specifically lies between $8^{0}21'$ – $8^{0}26'$ N and 35' 45'-$36^{0}03'$ E along the rivers *Gabba* and *Dogi* (Tadesse, 2003:28). (See the location of the study area (the district) on figure 3.1.

Map 3.1 Location of the Study Area



Source: Ethio GIS

Topographically deep river valleys (dissected by *Gabba* and *Doggi* rivers), gorges, escarpments, ridges and rolling sceneries and hills characterize the study site. The major part of the locale consists of rising and falling plateau. In areas where there are no deeply incised valleys, the territory is rolling with a pattern of small rounded hills and ridges, usually forested but sometimes cleared and cultivated.

The altitude of the district ranges between 1139.2 and 2581.9 m. a.s.l; the lowest altitude is found at *Gabba* River and the highest is at the top of *Sayi* Mountain (2,581 m. a.s.l) in *Keresi*. The district has hot and humid climatic condition. The mean annual temperature is about 23^{0}c that ranges between 18.59^{0}c mean minimum annual temperature and 27.88^{0}c mean maximum temperature (YDRADO, 2005:10). The hottest months range from February to April while the coldest is from July to September (Tadesse, 2003:29). The physical conditions and variations in altitudes have resulted in a great diversity of climate, soil and vegetation. This, in turn, has brought about the evolution of many plant species with large diversity (EDE, 1991:1).

The rainfall pattern of the district varies annually from 1,191.6 to 1,960.7mm showing variations from year to year. It is a unimodal type of rainfall that increases from May to October and declines in November.

Yayo-Hurumu district has three climatic zones: These include 3.5 percent (5750.4 hectares) highland (*badda*); 85 percent (138465.85 hectares) temperate (*baddadare*) and 11.47 percent (18684.75 hectares) lowland (*Gamojji*). Such diverse climatic conditions and habitats partly contributed to the occurrence of high species diversity in plants and animals, making Ethiopia one of the top 20 richest countries of the world in biodiversity (WCMC 1992 Cited in Tadesse, 2003:35).

3.2. Population and Settlement Patterns

Yayo-Hurumu district has a total population of 104,300 (54,769 males and 49,531 females) that constitute 8.62 percent of the zonal population. Of the total population, 5,266 (5.05 percent) are living in urban areas while the rest 94.95 percent live in rural areas (YDRADO.2005). The district has an average population density of 65.9 people per km^2, which is comparatively sparsely inhabited in relation to 80.3 persons per km^2 of the zonal population density. This contributed for the highest percentage of forest coverage (58.8) in the zone as well as in the country due to its relative lower population pressure on natural resources. Statistical abstract from Oromia Bureau of Planning and Economic Development (OBPED) reveals that, the average household size of the district is 4.5, i.e., 4.4 for urban and 4.5 for rural. The economically dependent population, which is found in the age group 0-14, comprises 43.8 percent .Those above 64 years make up 4.7 percent of the total population in the district (OBPED,

2000:236). Despite having sparse population density, higher dependency ratio entails or forces the majority of the population to involve in imprudent use of natural resources to clutch their daily subsistence. The economically active segment of the population (15-64 years), on the other hand, comprises 51.5 percent of the total population. The zonal annual population growth rate was 3.2 percent (Tafesse, 1996, cited in Tadesse, 2003) which is one of the highest in the country implying some level of pressure on natural resources.

Settlement patterns of the population in the district are sparsely distributed mainly over the highland areas. Lowland areas particularly both sides of *Gabba* River have very few settlement far from the river. In other words, the bulk of the settlement is found on the plateau surface on the small hills and ridges. There are few sporadic settlements at lower altitudes. This is mainly for the reason that, as the majority of the dwellers stated, they left their earlier settlement areas, near *Gabba* River, due to animal diseases and to avoid lose of their crop production. Substantial portion of their crop is usually damaged by wild animals such as Colobus baboon, bush pigs and monkey in the relatively dense forest around the river. Wood stated that settlers experienced the devastating loses of animals when they were beginning to become 'settled' in the area for they would not be able to build up herds of cattle in these areas that forced them to left (Wood, 1979:53). This confirms both the forest coffee damaged by the earlier resettlement program and the environmental situation (the prevalence of animal disease that make difficult for human settlement) contributed for the remaining forest coffee near both sides of *Gabba* River, which also the informants currently ensured. The roads in the settlement areas near dense forest unsurprisingly follow the ridges and hills keeping away from the lowlands and densely forested areas with hot and humid temperature.

3.3. Natural Resource Endowment

South Western Ethiopia in general, Iluu Abba Bora zone, and Yayo district in particular are well known in terms of natural resource endowment. There are a variety of vegetations, soil types and wild animals.

Yayo district is primarily known by its vast natural forest that forms the major part of "Yayo National Forest Priority Area (NFPA)" that incorporates forests from the other four adjacent districts. The natural forest has wild coffee grown under it. There is significant amount of Coffee in Yayo district that accounts for 24.42 percent of the total forest coffee in Iluu Abba Bora zone (IZRADD, 2005:6) which is the second highest figure next to Mettu district.

3.3.1. Land Use Practice

The land in the district is used for various utilities. Cultivated land constitutes 24.4 percent of the district's total land while uncultivated, grazing and forest land account for 9.5, 4.6, and 50.8 percent of the total land, respectively. Marshlands and land utilized for construction each account for about 2 percent of the total land whilst the rest 1.53 percent is unproductive land (YDRADO, 2005). The land use pattern of the district signifies higher proportion of land being occupied with forest and cultivated land.

3.3.2. Soil, Vegetation and Wild Animals

The Southwest Ethiopian Forest is among the diverse bionetwork in Ethiopia, varying from broad-leaved deciduous woodlands in the lowlands to montane rainforests in the highlands. Studies conducted in Ethiopia (Friis, 1992) shows that there are seven vegetation types in Ethiopia. Of these vegetation types, Tadesse stated that four of them occur in South West Ethiopia: A) dry peripheral semi-deciduous Guineo congolian forest (B) transitional rainforest, (C) Afromontaine rainforest, and (D) riverine forest (Tadesse, 2003:11). Riverine forests occur along the Gabba River from the southwestern edge at about 1450 Mts. a.s.l (Ararsa, *et al,*. 2000:6). The montaine rainforests of Ethiopia are home to various endemic and indigenous plants (Mesfin 1991b cited in Tadesse, 2003:35). They contain the wild gene pools of some important plants for food and agriculture such as *Aframimum* corrorima, *Coffea arabica* and piper capense (Tadesse, 2003:35). Tadesse further stated that coffee Arabica is one of the common trees in the lower stratum of small trees and shrubs below 10m both in the afromortane and the transitional rainforests (Ibid:14).

There are various types of soils in the district that contribute to the prevalence of miscellaneous vegetation species. The area has brownish ferry soils derived from volcanic parent material (Tadesse, 2003:29). Shallow rocky and grayish brown soils (Lepthosoils) (IZRARDD, 2005:13; Tadesse, 2003:29) acrisoils, vertisoils, deep red and clay soils (Nitsoils and cambisoils) are the other soil groups in the area (IZRARDD, 2005:13; Tafesse, 1996 cited in Tadesse, 2003:29). Yayo district, in broad-spectrum, is therefore, dominated by two types of soils, namely acrisoils and dystric Nitosols that cover 90 and 10 percent of the district respectively (ORBEP,2000:236).These types of soil are suitable for the production of various cereal and cash crops such as maize, sorghum, *teff*, and coffee.

3.3.3. Overview of Yayo Forest

Yayo is one of the few areas in the country that endowed with a variety of vegetation including few species, which are found only in Ethiopia. Yayo forest is about 90,890.7 hectares constituting 58.8

percent of the total area of the district (YADO, 2005). It is part of Yayo National Forest Priority Area (NFPA) that covers 193,534 hectare from four adjacent districts that include Yayo, *Metu*, Darimu, *Algee* and *Chora* (IZRADD, 2005). From the 58 National Forest Priority Areas in the country, Illuu Abba Bora zone has five National Forest Priority Areas that cover 608,396 hectares of land including the Yayo NFPA.

Coffea arabica is one of the UN selected 25 economically important crops which have to be saved through in situ conservation. Hence, the international communities have showed an initiative for coffee development project. Owing to its relatively enormous genetic diversity of *Coffea arabica*, Ethiopia became one of the main targets of coffee conservation project. The fact that the Coffee Improvement Project (CIP) started in Ethiopia is also related with being the origin of *Coffea arabica* that needs to be a place for in situ conservation. As a result, research has been proceeding since the early 1970's in the selection of coffee cultivars which are resistant to CBD (Coffee Berry Disease) with funds provided by UNDP and the ministry of coffee and tea development (MTCA, 1981:33). Consequently, the implementation of phase one Coffee Improvement Projects (CIP) commenced in July 1977 with the primary objective of increasing the yield of coffee per unit area at the eight selected locations in five administrative regions of Ethiopia (MCTA, 1981:10). The present Yayo (*Gabba-Dogi* forest coffee project area) was also included under that project for the first four years.

Until recently, the CIP project was extended for four consecutive phases. However, its opening objective of "increasing the yield of coffee per unit area" (MCTD, 1981:10) was left its primacy (shifted) to the key objective of *Coffea arabica* gene reserve. The idea of genetic diversity conservation was initiated during the third phase when CIP proposed the establishment of three *Coffea arabica* gene reserve sites in its three sites in South West Ethiopia in 1998 including Yayo (*Gabba*-Dogi forest coffee area). This forced the CIP project to start *Coffea arabica* genetic diversity conservation in *Gabba-Dogi* as well as in its other two sites, i.e., in the present Kefa Sheka (Bongida-Yebo) and Sheko wereda (Kontir-Berihan) of Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR). It became the foundation for the current *Gabba-Dogi* forest coffee conservation project that was demarcated in 1999 under the Federal Ministry of Agriculture; but its discernable commencement delayed until 2003 due to various administrative problem and structural changes. This is mainly due to the transfer of responsibility to run the project from the Institute of Biodiversity Conservation and Research (IBCR) under the Ministry of Agriculture to Oromia Rural and Agricultural Development Bureau (ORADB) while currently administers the states separate project. As a result, *Gabba-Dogi* forest coffee conservation project was established in June 2003 at local level before it was handed over to ORADB.

The sketch of Yayo Forest Coffee Conservation, therefore, starts from the researches of 1970s and the commencement of CIP project in 1977 and reached its present stage, *Gabba-Dogi* forest coffee conservation project, passing through various administrative structures and objectives.

3.3.4. Background of *Gabba-Dogi* Forest Coffee Project

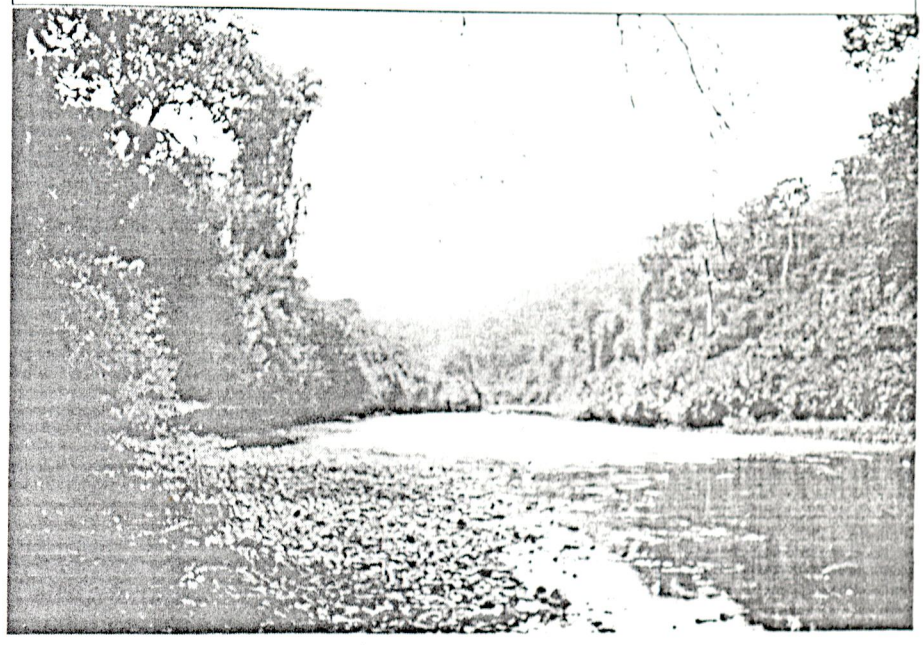
As stated earlier, Gabba-Dogi forest coffee conservation project was formally established in June 2003 at the local level before it was handed over to ORADB. The project site is geographically located in Yayo-Hurumu district of Iluu Abba Bora zone, Oromia regional state. It lies between $8^{0}21$-$8^{0}26$N and $35^{0}45'$-$36^{0}03'$E along *Gabba* and *Dogi* rivers from which the name came.

It is selected as in-situ conservation area for the wild *Coffea arabica* populations based on such criteria as the presence of wild coffee populations, relative accessibility for research and management; and size of the forest area. Based on these criteria, Yayo forest (which is located between 793870-830490 m E and 923320-934340m N, zone 36) is the most accessible and the largest of the other areas (Tadesse, 2003: 36). The fact that Coffee production is the major source of income for the majority of the local population; customarily harvested from the wild plants in the undisturbed forest or from managed forests in the area; incompatibility of the landscape for other agricultural practices also increased the feasibility of Gabba-Dogi Forest Coffee in situ conservation.

The forest ecosystem is endowed with a variety of plant species. The most common are *Hambabessa* (*Albizia gummifera*) *Waddessa* (*Cordia africana*), *Qararoo* (*Aningeria adolfi friedertel*), *Hogda* (*Ficus varta*), *Sondi* (*acacia lahai*), and *Alele* (*Albizia grand ibracteata*). Hence, the vegetation diversity of Yayo forest is very important for the genetic conservation of *Coffea arabica* and rare plant species. See an overview of natural forest around *Gabba* River on plates shown in the following page).

Apart from *Coffea arabica,* the Yayo forest is a habitat for different species of animals among which arboreal and species of bird are the most dominant. Anubus baboon (*Jaldessaa*), colobus monkey (*weenni*); vervet monkey (*qamalee*), porcupine (*xaddee*), fox (*waango*), hyena (*waraabessa*), bush buck (*bosonuu*), duiker (*quruphee*), birazas monkey (*chena'a*), several cats (*lyyanii*),ant-eater (*awaal diigessa,* leopard (*qeeransa*) and bat (*simbiro halkanii*), are also among the wild animals living in the Yayo forest. Very small numbers of big wild animals such as lion (*leenca*), buffalo (*gafarsa*), Bush pig (*booyyee*), and warthog (*karkarro*) also exist *in Gabba-Dogi*

Picture3.1. A glimpse of natural forest around *Gabba* River



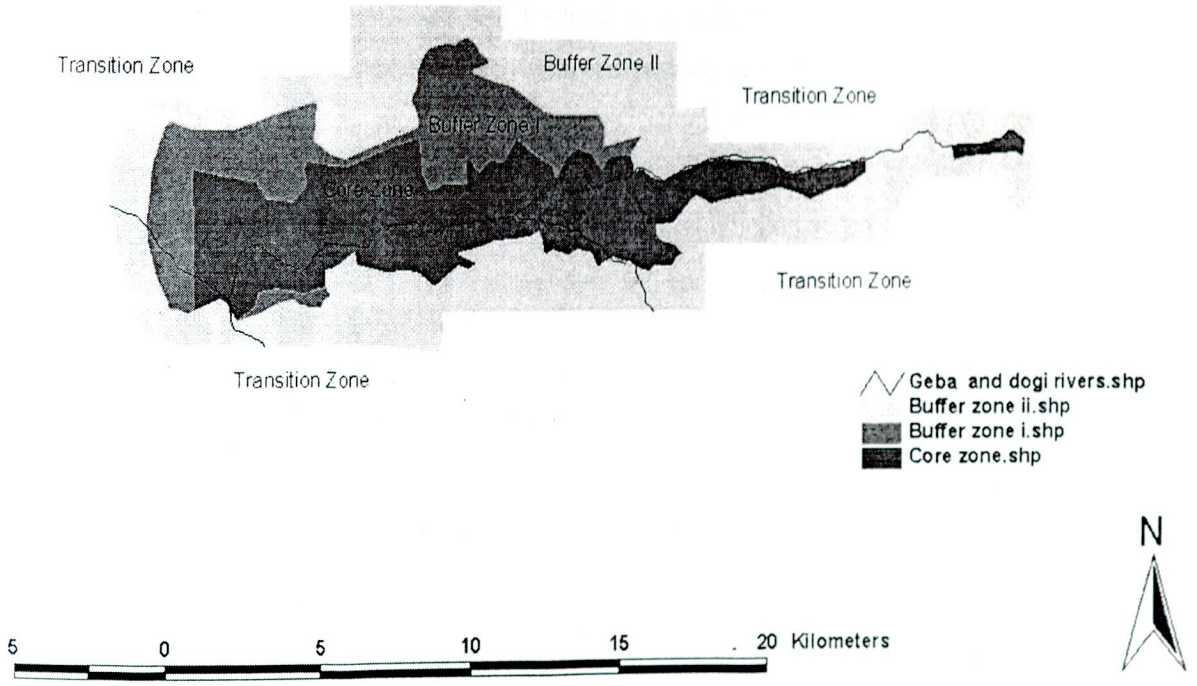
Picture 3.2. Natural forest with forest coffee undergrowth



forest. Some of the wild animals such as anabus baboon, bush pig (*booyee*) and warihog (*karkarro)* share substantial amount of food crops of the local community and therefore dwellers are recently permitted to kill some of them, principally anabus baboon and monkey.

Gabba-Dogi forest coffee conservation project was started implementation under the close supervision of ORADB being demarcated into four management zones since 2003. Traditional local community management systems, scientific forest management mechanisms and other factors are major criteria to classify the *Gabba-Dogi* forest coffee into four management zones (Tadesse, 2003). The demarcations include core zone, buffer zone-I, buffer zone-II; and transition zone. Figure 3.2. below show different management zones of *Gabba-Dogi* Forest Coffee Conservation Project.

Map 3.2. Different Management Zones of Yayo Forest Coffee Gene Reserve



Source: (Tadesse, 2003b:10)

Tadesse described the significance of zoning as follows:

> *The core zones are strictly protected areas for conserving biological diversity. Allowed activities in this zone are low-impact uses such as education and ecotourism as well as non-destructive research. The buffer zones are clearly identified areas, and usually surround the core zones. Buffer zones can be used for cooperatives compatible with sound ecological practices, including environmental education, recreation, ecotourism and research. The transition or cooperation zones may contain settlement areas, farms, and other human activities and are the areas where local communities, management agencies, scientists, non-governmental organizations, cultural groups, economic interests, and other stakeholders work together to manage and sustainably develop the areas resources (Tadesse, 2003:99-100).*

Information gathered from the forest coffee conservation project shows that Currently out of 6141 house holds living in the Buffer zone that covers 11 *kebeles or 32 goxs* 1,692 households own coffee in the buffer zones and 308 households are in disagreement about their coffee demarcated in core zones .

The project has an objective of forest coffee in-situ conservation, together with all other biological diversities living in association with coffee in their natural habitat at *Gabba-Dogi* forest site, Iluu Abba Bora zone of Oromia region (ORADB, 2004:6). It intends to adopt participatory, policy compatible, gender sensitivity, approach on the basis of research outcome and indigenous knowledge systems (Ibid: 6-7). Hence, the present research analyses the impact of indigenous institutions on forest coffee managements from different perspectives.

3.4. Social Organization

The majority of the population in the study area shares similar forms of social organization and cultural characteristics. People living in *Gaabaa KA* share extreme homogeneity in ethnic and religious background while *Achibo* and *Badessaa* (particularly *Haroo goxe*) consist of relatively some heterogenic characteristics, as there are influential numbers of resettlers from Tigray, Wollo and Gonder. This does not mean that there is extreme heterogeneity among the resettlers and the indigenous people. There is homogeneity among the host people and resettlers mainly from *Wollo* as an influential portion of both groups practice Muslim folklore and some traditional beliefs, which has been a strong bridge to share some similar indigenous institutions.

3.4.1. Kinship

Kinship is important in studying the role of indigenous institution in various development efforts. It is important in natural resource management through contributing to the role indigenous institutions have been playing in this regard. For this reason, it is a social organization that strengthens societal bonds

contributing to enhance various socio-economic affairs. Kin groups, for instance, sometimes force compliance with the rules of indigenous institutions.

Both consanguine and affinal kinship relations are widely observed among the Iluu Abba Bora Oromos. They trace consanguine kinship groups through patrilineal family that is common among the Oromo people (Bartels, 1975:12). Hultin pointed out that the *Macha* consisted of a number of patrilineal descents and the existence of genealogical relation between (*Macha*) as a whole and the *Tulama* (Hultin, 1979:183). Likewise, the people in Yayo area reckon their kinship descent mostly to five to thirteen generations back through male links. Peoples form special relations with their close and distant relatives (*firaa*). It starts from family (*warraa*) which mostly includes ones parent and siblings that more often grouped in first degree kin groups followed by grand father (*akaakayyuu*), grandmother (*akka'oo*), uncle (*eesumaa*), and aunt (*adaada)*, which are grouped under second degree kinships. They further trace distant relatives with whom they have blood relatives as well as the clans they believe to have blood relation after some generations. Lineages are mostly referred to (*fira dhiyoo*). They also trace their distant common ancestor with a large group of people known as *gosaa, which* refers to clan.

The Oromos in the area trace their kinship to two major clans (Moieties) who came from a place in the West Shoa, particularly around Ambo area called *Noonno Roggee,* as some of the informants stated. This concedes with Lamberts idea that in the course of the 16th century, the Oromo moved from their homeland, probably near the *Ganale* river when the *matcha* tribe moved west wards in search of new land, walking in the footsteps of their cattle as they phrase it themselves (Bartels, 1990:20). On the basis of Genealogical Calculations, Tesema Ta'a (1980:28) estimates that the Settlement Process of the Western Oromos was over by the 1680s (cited in Triulzi, 1996: 251). Estimation of the informants genealogical tracing also shows that they are settled to the area before nine generations.

They trace their kinship to two major clans known as *Jahan Noonnoo* and *Torban Hadheesso* which literary means the six *Noonnos* and the seven *Hadhessos,* respectively. Gradually, the *Noonnos* developed in to *Hurumuu, Aferson* (*Goree* area), *Matuu, Qrettii, Didduu and Algaa.* The *Hadheessos*, on the other hand, developed into seven clans. One of these clans is known as *Hadheesso* itself that incorporates *Caalii Shonno's* family whose other name is *Iluu Abba Bora* that become the name of the zone. *Lagoo, Bachoo, Sarsaroo, Dongoro, Yakunoo, Bodee, Binooraal and Tuulama* are the other clans derived from *torban Hadheessoo*. Key informants in the study area indicated that the two grand clans (*Jahan Noonnoo and Torbban Hadheessoo)* developed further beyond their original number due to groups migrated to the area at different times. Among the main Groups Remembered in *Matcha* traditions

Gidada (1984:92-129) listed *Mucucoo*, *Gabbato Agadi*, *Kaza*, *Daamata* and many others (Triulzi, 1996: 251). From these groups *Mucucos* dwell in *Wixete KA* (the research site) which is also the name of the *gox* currently in that area. This confirms kinship tie that exist and the expansion towards the west.

Kinship enables individual people to identify their destination and origin. The kinship system among the *Iluu Abba Bora* Oromos in general is traced through unilineal patril clan family that has a wide range of similarity with the Borana Oromos. As much the Borana Oromos where "unilineal descent groups comprising 18 clans divided into two exogamous moieties of respectively 15 and 3 clans" (Knutson, 1967:135), the Iluu Abba Bora Oromos also, as stated earlier, originated from the two major clans (moieties) named *jahan Noonnoos* and the *torban Hadheessos*. These are in turn divided into six and seven sub clans respectively. This has a wide range of implications on property rights, marriage and co-operation in work, solidarity, and in conflict management. Many of the informants in the study area agree on the fact that privileges, rights, duties, seniority, and social identity are imbedded in the kinship system. However, it is difficult to clearly separate the constituents of lineage and clan as this is very diverse (Bartels, 1990:205) and still remain the major difficulty among many societies.

Kinship is the sources of some indigenous institutions. As the Oromos come from the central part of the country to the present area, elderly key informants stated that, those who arrived during the first phase or at the beginning become *qoro*, the highest rank under the regional Oromo governors before the conquest of Menelik. *Qoro* later became the title under vice district administrators and some how affiliated with feudal land lords. There is a fabulous explanation among some informants that those came later to the area, who were mostly the extended families of the original comers could get the title of *abba lagaa* who is elected by *qoros*. Detail description of *qoro* and *abba lagaa* is discussed in chapter four.

Affinal kinship ties are also traced starting from neighborhood (*ollaa*), friendships (*michuu*), various group binds created through marriage and other wide ranges of socio-economic and cultural relations. Bartels pointed out that though in many respects people think in terms of kinship concepts of neighborhood, community and friendship, voluntary association and personal achievement often play a greater part in daily life (Bartels, 1975:12).

All these forms of kinship groups have an impact on access to resources such as land or other natural resources and property rights. In this regard, it is stated that kinship has "far reaching implications for economic development potential, attitudes toward collective or individual ownership of property, conception of legal responsibility, and reactions toward individualistic behaviour (Asmerom, 1973:37).

3.4.2. Marriage

Four different types of marriages are usually acknowledged among different groups in the study area. These marriage types are practiced with different extent. Arranged marriage, *naqii*, *aseena* and wife inheritance are the different types of marriages or mechanisms through which marriage contract is established. Marriages in the vicinity are mainly exogamous, patrilocal and monogamous.

A. Arranged Marriage: It is the most widely practiced type of marriage. This type of marriage is commonly known *cidha,* which is also a word used for the ceremony on the wedding day among other Oromo groups. Arranged Marriage is conducted with little or no knowledge of the two partners, by the two parents and close kins. Parents of the two partners make cautious mate selection sometimes participating close relatives, as they become close relatives who help each other in various socio-economic activities. Holcomb stated in this regard that the father is choosing not only a wife for his son but people who will become *Sodda* (in laws), that help each other in various agricultural activities (Holcomb, 1979:108). This type of marriage is, however, currently changing its tradition, as few partners are creating some informal relation before marriage, i.e., the partners' role in mate selection is somehow enhanced.

B. Naqii: It is a type of marriage where the groom's parents go to the bride's parent home during the evening to pass the night on the outlet of the brides' compound. It is conducted on selected days mostly since Saturday, Monday and in rare cases Wednesday evening to get the bride in the next day. Various people often accompany the groom's parents and they carry different materials to perform some ritual activities. They include individuals from some special clans mainly *Dagoyye* and *Badi* in Wixete and *Baddessa* area who will not return without getting the bride unless they (the bride's parent and the bride) are resolute to be cursed. The groom's parent also take a horse to tie on the outside gate and a moist grass (*irreessa*) and a plant (*urgessaa)* to place on the gate which all are made to ensure getting the bride; otherwise it causes cursing and social outcasting on the bride's parent from the local community. This type of marriage is rarely practiced.

C. Aseena is the other type of marriage, which is also rarely practiced mainly in *Baddessa* area. This kind of marriage is mostly arranged with the knowledge of the two partners and the groom's parent. The bride is encouraged by one of the women in the area who serve as an activist to support the groom so that he can form marriage. After the agreement is reached between the two partners, the bride goes to an appointment situate usually on the thoroughfare to conduct willful or sympathetic abduction to unashamed her (the bride's) parent who are unaware of the issue.

D. **Inheritance:** It is rarely practiced among the Muslims in the area. Currently, it is conducted among the people who lost their brother through death. This kind of marriage (widow inheritance) is practiced to ensure the social and economic security of the deceased fathers children presently in a very informal manner. Polygamy marriage is also rarely observed in the study area and its extent is highly diminishing. Almost all the marriages practiced in the area are patrilocal that have an influential impact on the property rights and the participation of women's resource access and management.

3.4.3. Religion/Belief System

All the societies in the study area believe in the existence of a Supreme Being whom they call *Waqaa,* the creator of every thing in the universe. They are mainly the followers of Christianity (Orthodox and protestant) and Muslim religion. The many of them also practice some traditional beliefs such as *qallu* institution; *abdaari* (*qollo*) etc, hand in hand with the major religions. Traditional beliefs serve as a base for the compliance of the majority of the rules and punishments of many indigenous institutions. The way the rules of indigenous institutions are legislated (devised) and have been under implementation upto present is mainly based on the traditional belief system and the indigenous knowledge of the local community. Cursing (*abaarsa*); swearing (*kaka*) that involve various practices and rituals; to identify the plaintiffs or the offenders of the rules of indigenous institutions are among the role of traditional belief systems.

Information gathered through different mechanisms show that religious institutions, in general, were very significant in the operation of many indigenous institutions. The influence of government led formal institutions at local level and the interference of external socio-cultural and economic practices, however, immeasurably reduced the significance of these religious institutions. Nevertheless, they still play an important part in the activities of indigenous institutions.

3.4.4. Local Institutions

There are various local institutions, both formal and informal, that have a crucial role in the livelihood of the local dwellers. This can be categorized into state formed formal institutions and indigenous institutions that are principally based on the indigenous knowledge and/or long experience of local people.

There are various indigenous institutions that directly or indirectly involved in forest coffee conservation as well as other natural resource management activities. *Qoro, abba lagaa*, and *abba bokku* are heads of the Oromo indigenous institution that existed until the coming of the *Derg* regime. *Tuulla, xuxee and*

shane are the other territorial based indigenous institutions that operate in descending chain of command under the *abba Lagaa* until the coming of the *Derg* regime. *Tuulla, xuxee and shane* currently operate under the general assembly of the local community (*ya'ii biyya*) which are among the main focuses of this research. However, all these indigenous institutions were rejected during the *Derg* régime with the exception of *tuulla, xuxee and shane*, which were operating underground in some areas until their formal reestablishment and strengthening almost in all parts of the study area right after the downfall of the *Derg* regime.

Elders' council and religious institutions are also among local institutions that have paramount significance in the livelihood of local dwellers. The indigenous knowledge of the population also play an essential role in the management of natural resources.

Various indigenous self-help institutions also exist within the society that deal with different aspects of the livelihood of the population in Yayo district. These institutions directly or indirectly involve in resource management. *Tuulla, xuxee, shane, dabo, jaatanii, sijaalee, ququbee, quxubee, jalabutii, dugdaafdugdaa, abba ulee, jiga (kudha'arfee), lafee, and iddir* are among indigenous institutions widely operate in natural resource management as well as other activities. Many of these indigenous self-help institutions are controlled or monitored by the territorial based institutions currently invigorated, i.e. *tuulla, xuxee and shane.*

On the other hand, first cycle schools, health posts, clinics, agricultural development agent offices, *KAs*, and *KA* social courts are the major state enforced formal institutions at local level that influence the life of the local community. The *kebele* administration particularly incorporates various committees and institutional hierarchies that deal with a range of local issues. It includes *kebele* rural land management committee, *gox* leaders and development teams (*garee misoomaa).*

3.5. Economic Subsistence

Agriculture that embraces both crop production and animal rearing is the major means of subsistence for the society in the study area. The economic subsistence of the population in the study area can be categorized into crop production and animal rearing. These can extensively be depicted as cereal crop production, coffee production, use of minor forest products, and animal production that include cattle rearing, beekeeping and few benefits from wild animals. The statistical abstract compiled by Yayo-Hurumu district Rural and Agriculture Development Office (YDRADO) shows that crop, animal and coffee production account for 51 percent, 14 percent and 30 percent of the total production in the district,

respectively. The remaining 5 percent of the production is covered by *chat* and other agricultural production activities (YDRADO, 2005).

From the figure above, it is possible to argue that agriculture is the mainstay of the population in *Yayo-Hurumu* district. Information from the district YDRADO reveals that 94 percent of the populations make their livelihood based on agriculture while trade and daily labour serve 6 percent of the population as a means of subsistence. From the total population whose livelihood is based on agriculture 98 percent are coffee users.

Animal rearing is the other means of subsistence for the people in Yayo *Hurumu* district. There are over 87,292 cattle 26,043 pack animals and 53,843 chickens in the district (Ibid). The wide prevalence of animal disease in the district is the foremost problem that has impact on agricultural productivity of the area. The majority of the informants indicated that farm oxen die of diseases within one or two years that has an overall negative impact on agricultural activity in general and on animal production in particular. Relatively better income from coffee production is the major copying mechanism with the high rate of animal death due to disease, for instance, through earning income to replace died farm oxen.

Maize, sorghum, *teff*, and wheat are the main cereal crops commonly grown in the district. This has an impact on wild coffee conservation practices in the area as it some times involves illegal deforestation to expand farmland for cereal crop production.

Forest and forest related production systems are the other means of subsistence for the society in Yayo district. Forest coffee or wild *Coffea arabica* is one of the foundations for the economic subsistence that grow under the natural forest canopy. Yayo district has the highest percentage of forest coverage compared to the other districts in Ethiopia. It has the greatest amount of forest coverage far beyond the percentage for the South Western part of Ethiopia (18 percent) and that of a country as a whole (2.7 percent) (Tafesse, 1996; cited inTadesse *et al*, 2002). This makes the production of managed as well as wild *Coffea arabica* under the natural montane, riverine and transitory forest canopy very attractive.

Beekeeping is the other source of income. Research conducted in the adjacent district that included under one NFPA with *Gabba-Dogi i.e.*, Yayo NFPA (Ararsa *et al*, 2000) revealed that 92.6 percent of the population in the study area have coffee in the forest (Ararsa *et al*, 2000:57) from which 57.3kg of honey on average is harvested per household (Ibid: 19).

Wild animals that dwell in the forest significantly supplement the subsistence of the society. Bushbuck (*bosonuu)*, duiker (*Quruphee*), bush *pig (booyyee)*, etc are among animals, which the dwellers used to hunt selectively to fill their food requirements.

Various timber and non-timber products also considerably contribute to the societal means of subsistence both in cash and in kind. People depend on forest products for timbers in house construction as well as for sale mainly before land was demarcated in forest coffee. They also depend on non-timber products such as different climbers (*hidda)* for various purposes such as fencing, house and beehive construction.

As a whole, the population of *Yayo* district depends on crop production, animal rearing and various forest products for livelihood sustenance. In other words, agricultural production; activities; crop, livestock, coffee, and honey production as well as the use of other forest products are the fundamental basis of subsistence in the area.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Changes in Indigenous Institutions

This chapter is devoted to explore changes that prevailed within the performance of the indigenous institutions as well as the prevalence or obliteration of some indigenous institutions at some point in different regimes and the impacts of the changes on the conservation and use of forest coffee in particular and its natural habitat, natural forest, in general. The two approaches, i.e., tracing the historic and the current role of indigenous institutions and the corresponding deforestation status enables to develop the conservation and use concepts of the remaining forest coffee and the natural forests. The prospects or potentials of the indigenous institutions (discussed in the last chapter of the thesis) that emanate from the former ideas (the historic and the current role of indigenous institutions) is the third factor that enables us to develop the forest coffee conservation and use concept.

In other words, changes in the roles and relationships of indigenous institution with formal state institutions enable us to anticipate their prospects, and develop conservation and use concepts for forest coffee and other natural resources.

4.1. Sources of Indigenous Institutions and their Rule

It is clear from the field observation, oral traditions, and responses of the informants that the communities in the study area have been living in their current settlement area for the past many years by maintaining the ecological balance through various mechanisms. The people in the study localities have a special relation with their physical and social environment that shaped their economic, social, cultural and political situations. These activities are controlled and regulated by the rules of local or indigenous institutions. Hence, researchers and policy makers need to understand the foundation of the legitimacy of local institutions, and avoid undermining them (Black, 2001:10).

The bulk of these indigenous institutions currently exist in *Yayo* areas are essentially derived from the previous Oromo *Gadaa* system. This can be seen from the foundation of the rules of currently practiced indigenous institutions (*bakke abba alanga*), the role of some remnants of beliefs and rituals (*qallu, ayyanaa, Muuda* and *Abdarí*) in the *Gadaa* system, which also at present bluntly enforces compliance to the rules of indigenous institutions. Knutson describes, for instance, *qallu* as the most important institution in the local western Oromo culture and society (Knutson, 1967:134), i.e., the *qallu* called for blessing the elected *Gadaa* leader.

The prevalence of fractures of *Gadaa* terminologies and rituals among the *Yayo* people such as the *muda* ceremony (though it highly differs from its practice in earlier *Gadaa* system except in providing offerings to the *abba muda*) is another indication of the evolution and impact of the *Gadaa* system in current indigenous institutions. In this regard, it was indicated that the *muda* ceremony was important because it was the point at which the *qallu* institution and the *Gadaa* system intersected (Mohammad 1994:7). Indigenous institutions derived from the earlier *Gadaa* institution are very important in natural resource conservation. Hence, Watson pointed out that in *Borana* the *Gadaa* leaders play an important role in natural resources management through the rules and regulations laid down by the *Gadaa* tradition. The higher *Gadaa* leaders would handle any problem regarding resources use, which elders could not solve (Watson, 2001). Mekuria (1988:51) also indicated that *Gadaa* would regulate the allocation of resources to different social functions and communal tasks without discrimination and exploitation (Cited in Terefe, 2001:127).

The interaction of peoples from various backgrounds also contributed for the changes (establishment, modifications through time and the ending of few of them) of the institutions in the area. This can be evident from the ending of some indigenous institutions during the *Derg* regime such as *qoro* and *abba-lagaa* and the merging of the different institutions into similar rules and regulation such as *jiga* and *iddir* in few places.

For the most part, the indigenous institutions presently practiced in the study quarter are as old as the existence of the population in the area. Many of the informants trace their origin to the Shoan Oromos. An in-depth interview conducted with three elder people, for instance, reveals the past thirteen patrilineal generations of descent lines as follows:

> *Abetu, Chali, Sirna, Garrisa, Dimmaa, Chaalii, Shonno, Qilxuu, Laaftoo, Guyyee, Hadheesso, Danfa, Bidiru. The descendants after the eighth generation (Qilxu) are born in the present* ***Iluu Abba Bora****.... The name Iluu Abba-Bora is the other name of the eighth generation,* ***Chaalii Shonno****.*

The source of the rules of indigenous institutions is, thus, the Shoa Oromo's *Gadaa* system that was brought to the present Iluu Abba Bora zone by the two major grand clans, i.e. the six *Noonnos* and the seven *Hadhessos* stated earlier in the background of the thesis.

In fact, the rules of the indigenous institutions during the governship of *Iluu Abba Bora* was made in Yayo area specifically in *Wixete kebele* in a place called *Bakke Abba Alanga*. The researcher has got an opportunity to observe the place where various rules and regulations of indigenous institutions used to be made or legislated and revised. Presently it is very different from the other surrounding area, as it is not

covered with forest; rather it is covered by a special grass for ceremonial bedding (*qunnii)* which clearly shows that it was a place of residence and ritual ceremonies for centuries. The area has a shape nearer to a circular figure that approximately has a diameter of 200 meter.

Numerous informants indicated that, it was a place where all the rules, regulations, rituals etc. of the *Gadaa* system were made and practiced, that enabled it to be a foundation for the rules of the predominant indigenous institutions. Elder informants stressed that representatives of all Oromo clans in *Illu Abba Bora* zone particularly those under the two grand clans (*jahan Noonnoo and torban Hadheesso* that literary means the six *Noonnos* and the seven *Hadhessos* clan) made a scheduled general assembly (*Ya'i)* twice a year in this area, *bakke abba alanga*. When rules are made, the previous are revised or when the need arose to deal with emergency issues they also make a general assembly by which the representatives of all the Oromo clans (*qomo*) in the area. The general assembly that used to be held in *bakke abba alanga* had been alive, as many informants traced from their oral history, until during disruption by the conquest of Menelik II. However, the majority of indigenous institutions continue to exist based on the rules made before the conquest with occasional revision in different localities. As a result, the rules and regulation of indigenous institutions (i.e., a particular institution itself), in Yayo have some variations across different *kebeles* allowing the consideration of ecological situation in a particular area. Detail changes in indigenous institutions will be discussed in the coming sections of the thesis.

4.2. Indigenous Institutions before the Imperial Period

Information gathered through various mechanisms show the verity that the function of indigenous institutions in natural resource management before the imperial period was very significant, it has been declining over the past century.

Before the late nineteenth century, various indigenous institutions in the area were responsible for natural resource conservation as well as other socio-economic, and politico-cultural life of the society. *Abba biyya, qoro, abba lagaa, tuulla, xuxee* and *shane* are the major indigenous institutions that existed before Menelik's occupation of the area. These indigenous institutions were holistic in nature and dealt with the entire aspects of the local community including the natural resources management such as forest coffee and natural forest. During that period, ownership of natural resources, including land was in the hands of *abba biyya* The administrations of these resources, however, remain mainly under the existing indigenous structure that consists *of qoro, abba lagaa, tuulla, xuxee and shane* in descending order.

The existing indigenous structures stated above influence the natural resource conservation activities such as, resource dispute resolution; organization and control of voluntary associations (or local indigenous institutions such as *jiga, dabo, abba ulee* and other different forms of organizations. This directly or indirectly affect forest coffee conservation activities through their rules. Access to land and resources it endowed with such as natural forest and forest coffee was through either the direct interaction with *abba biyya or the abba lafas*. However, administrative indigenous institutions (*qoro, abba lagaa, tuulla, xuxee, and shane)* were also involved directly in conflicts raised over forest coffee and natural resources. They also run self-help indigenous institutions like *dabo, and jiga*, which are involved in forest clearing and coffee production activities in addition to other multidimensional agricultural activities. Therefore, before the conquest of Menelik II, indigenous institutions played central role in forest coffee and natural forest conservation both through administrative affairs and performing agricultural activities.

After the conquest of Menelik II, the informants indicate that many of the indigenous institutions continue to operate their earlier activities with minor modifications related to ownership of resources such as land. Land was given for the military servants (mainly *Naftagna* groups from the North), few *abba lafaas* and *abba biyya*. Among the Oromos, "traditions of close family ties, mutual support, communal life... and their economic viability began to face serious stresses and strains following Meneliks conquest and the increasing centralization (Tesema, 1996:206).

Apart from that, *qoro, abba lagaa, tuulla, xuxee and shane* are continued to operate their administrative activities on agricultural, social and cultural duties through various indigenous institutions. The rules and regulations that govern the activities and define the responsibilities of *qoro* and other indigenous institutions was 'known as *Tuma Oromo* which literary means the Oromo's legislation. This rule was also the base for various socio-economic and cultural lives of the people in the area. After the conquest of Menilik to the area, however, the institution was directly adopted as formal structure with various modifications in its rules and regulations. As a result, the source of *qoro* and other institutions rules ceased to be *tuma Oromo* that was in fact made at *bakke abba alanga*, which situated in Yayo district.

However, some of the informants and the existing literature indicate that there was a wide range of deforestation associated with the military camp, settlements and shifting of property right during this period that had a great influence on the conservation and utilization of forest coffee and natural forests. Black *et al*, (2001) stated that in southern Ethiopia environmental degradation has been a concern of

governments for decades, with some dating such problems to the conquest and occupation of the region by Northern Ethiopian armies in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

In general, the role of indigenous institutions in natural resource conservation before the imperial period was very influential and the structures of formal government administration did not influentially operate or even exist at local level, except for a few government representatives who were collecting taxes and manipulating access to some resources like land. In fact, it had an immense impact on forest and wild coffee conservation.

4.3. Indigenous Institutions during the Imperial Period

Almost all the indigenous institutions continued to exist and play their role in natural resource conservation as well as in other socio-political and economic affairs. However, there were changes with the emphases given to the indigenous institutions as the power of state enforced formal institutions were increasing both in terms of wide coverage and strength. The introduction of *astdadari* that replaced *abegaz* before the imperial period at higher level (district level) highly influenced various institutions at local level mainly *qoro, abba lagaa and abba bokku. Qoro, abba lagaa* and *abba bokku* are territorially based indigenous institutions that existed upto the coming of the *Derg* regime.

4.3.1. Qoro

Qoro is an Oromo word, which is derived from the word *quro* (equivalent to *cimaa) which* stands for an influential, outstanding or strong person. As the name indicates, it is a title given for a person who is authorized to rule a specified geographical area mainly due to his remarkable personality. Some informants described that there were about 58 *qoros* under the former *Iluu Abba Bora* province. During the imperial period the current one district, for instance, was mostly demarcated into 7-12 *qoros*. Yayo district was classified into 12 *qoros* who have various responsibilities in the whole aspects of the local community's livelihood including natural resource management. Hence, *qoro* was a position structured under the vice-district administrator, i.e., district administrator→vice district administrator→*qoro* → *abba lagaa→abba boku→tuulla→xuxee→shane.* A single *qoro* can have one to four or above *abba lagaas* under him.

The main responsibility of *qoro* was to control the implementation of various individual and communal activities in his territory and to manage deviance and violations of societal rules and regulation in close relation with the traditional structures under him, particularly the *abba lagaa.*

He also organizes the community labour to perform various agricultural activities for state officials. *Qoro* also controls violations to property rights particularly related with natural resources such as land, forest, wild coffee etc. However, he has no right to deal with access to those resources as land is at the hands of the landlords that directly granted from regional governors. Some informants, however, indicated that *qoros* are landlords who inclined towards the interest of state than standing for local people as earlier days. According to most of the informants, *qoro* and his immediate lower structure (official), nevertheless, hold an influential position as their decisions can result in relocation of individuals' resources. This is mainly based on the active role of a*bba lagaa*, as his name indicate, who has detail knowledge of local resources including the boundaries and limitations of forest that enables him to settle resource related issues primarily through identifying the right information. *Qoro's* role in relation to various natural resources is to hear complaints on these resources as a judge, to be in charge of illegal activities performed on natural resources and to collect taxes from the beneficiaries of these resources in collaboration with the structures under him.

4.3.2. Abba Lagaa

Abba lagaa is the immediate traditional structure under *qoro*. As stated earlier, the number of *Abba lagaas* under *qoro* varies from place to place that usually ranges from one to four. *Qoro* appoint *abba lagaa*. The term a*bba lagaa* literary means the father of river. The term, however, idiomatically refers to a ritual or legal expert, which further can be interpreted as a person who is highly knowledgeable about the local conditions such as natural resources, agricultural duties and societal relations. Hence, being under *qoro*, a*bba lagaa* detects issues raised over natural resources by identifying boundaries and gathering the necessary information on wild coffee and other natural resources to enable *qoro* and his higher officials to make decisions on various issues.

Abba lagaa also serves as chair or one of the government structures that facilitate all the duties delegated down to him from the *qoro.* It might be mobilization of community on different activities or execution of various administrative activities through close relation (chain of command) with the structures under him i.e. *tuulla, xuxee and shane* which are still alive and actively operate on various livelihoods of the community. *Abba lagaa* mobilizes the community under him for the construction of bridges, road, offices, schools etc. In general, *abba lagaa* plays a crucial role in dealing with various aspects of people's livelihood including the natural resource issues. More specifically, he initiates people for development activity and detects local resource issues to prevent resource conflict or to make decisions on conflict resolution.

The *abba lagaa*, like before the imperial period, has no right, to deal with land right or ensure access to other resources for individuals. Nevertheless, he can judge the case of proprietors and tenants over resources through *qoros* advice. He can delegate government's socio-economic and political affairs such as tax collection and construction of road and bridges, to the *tuulla, xuxee and shane*. This shows that indigenous institutions used to perform both the activities of formal organizations as well as the socio-economic and cultural affairs of the local people since during Menelik II. During this particular period, the issue of forest coffee and natural forest conservation and use can better be raised in relation to access to land and property right, rather than a range of conservation and utilization activities. Because, land enormously became under the control of few proprietors who provided military service and substantial portion of land was also given for the church. This gradually increased state involvement in determining property right issues and natural resource management practices that destabilized and reduced a portion of the roles of indigenous institutions mainly by *qoro and abba lagaa*. Apart from difference in the type of formal and informal institutions that exist in the two respective areas, a study conducted in South *Wollo* (Pankhurst,2003:74) also confirm that the involvement of informal institutions in managing common resources was mainly limited to settling interpersonal disputes during the imperial times.

4.3.3. Abba Boku

Abba bokku is the head of four adjacent *tuulla* that deals with issues that require the decisions of four or some times more *Kebeles*. He occasionally involved in issues that require the joint participation of people who dwell in four *tuullas*. However, many of the responsibilities of *abba bokku* could not be clearly indicated, as its tasks were occasional and ceased to exist many years ago in different area. Nevertheless, many informants certainly explained that *abba bokku* is an indigenous institution found above *tuulla* and below *abba lagaa* until the last period of the imperial regime.

On the contrary, the state empowered the roles of various government agents such as *mislene* and the like who were engaged in tax collection and other political and economic errands of the government. Positions next to the district administrators (*qoro and abba lagaa*) are highly weakened though lower structures of *tuulla, Xuxee and shane* are still operating. There were no radical and momentous impositions on indigenous institutions from the imperial government as their role in resource conservation at local level were operational until the coming of the *Derg* government, but relegated to dispute resolution and provision of the necessary information for higher officials for decision-making. In general, the imperial period was an epoch of gradual responsibility transmission from many indigenous institutions to the state forced formal institutions as elaborated in relation to the ceased duties of some indigenous

CHAPTER FIVE

5. The Role of Indigenous Institutions in Forest Coffee and Natural Forest Conservation and Use

The role of indigenous institutions in natural resource conservation in general and wild *Coffea arabica* conservation and use in particular vary with place and time. The majority of indigenous institutions are not established for a particular purpose or a specif3ic resource conservation and use. They bring into play the whole aspects of the life of the study community. Pankhurst verifies that NRM is not a separate or discrete field. His research shows clearly that NRM is part of the rest of social organization and "...resource management institutions would often deal not with a single resource, but several" (Pankhurst, 2001:6). In some localities, however, a few indigenous institutions work for a particular purpose, duty or specific natural resource management like the *abba ulee* institution of Yayo[8] area that specialized only in cattle herding.

In many areas, however, indigenous institutions deal with the whole aspects of the local community's lives which is typical to those predominantly found in Yayo area, i.e., indigenous institutions in the area do not operate only on forest coffee and natural forest as they are directly or indirectly involved in all the natural resource conservation duties and other aspects of life. There are no specific forest institutions, which have rules regarding harvesting, processing, and selling level or use of products.

Hence, the nature and structure of indigenous institutions, the roles they play in forest coffee conservation and use as well as other natural resource management vary from place to place and time to time. Nevertheless, institutions have a common role of reducing uncertainty by establishing a stable structure to human interaction (Daftary, 2004:15). Manchur also states that "institutions form a fundamental link between local communities and their environments, and it is through these rules that the collective action associated with controlling access to local resources is organized" Manchur, (2002).

For the purpose of this study, indigenous institutions can be categorized into four major groups based on the roles they play and their mode of function. Territorial based indigenous institutions, indigenous work institutions, religious institutions and indigenous knowledge are discussed below. The Classification of these indigenous institutions exist in Yayo area ensures the fact that community resource management is often shaped by a number of overlapping institutions from the social, political, economic and religious spheres (Ibid, 2002).

[8] In some literatures used the name Yayu instead of Yayo, for which I used Yayo as the natives pronounce it.

institutions discussed above. Nevertheless, it is not an official recognition or total isolation of their lost responsibility in natural resource conservation as in the case of the beginning of the *Derg* period stated below.

4.4. Indigenous Institutions during the *Derg* Regime

The Post 1974 is a unique period both in the history of indigenous institution that greatly reduced their role in natural resource management principally natural forest and wild coffee conservation and use. Many indigenous institutions that were adopted as a state formal structure for the most part during the earlier regimes either came to an end or were relegated by the *Derg* government. *Qoro* and *abba lagaa, for instance,* were totally abolished. *Tuulla, xuxee and shane* were also isolated. Consequently, the remaining indigenous institutions at local level were forced to execute only few of their earlier duties at the underground, since they were nearly serving as a blood vessel for the local community. Pankhurst (2003:74) stated, "under the *Derg*, with the land reform and the establishment of local state structures, informal institutions were excluded from involvement in land-related issues, but continued to deal with minor disputes".

A wide range of natural forest and wild coffee, in the contrary, were destroyed for various reasons that include resettlement, various forms of cooperatives and villagization programme. This is evident from (Black *et al 2001) that* the resettlement of the mid-1980s conducted in South western Ethiopia including Iluu Abba Bora had little impact on alleviating pressure on rural natural resources in areas from which settlers were taken, and instead created greater pressure on RNR, and conflict with local populations in resettlement areas.

The roles of some indigenous institutions did not totally cease though it is highly reduced. Ostensibly, some indigenous self-help institutions such as *jiga, lafee, dabo, abba ulee and dugdafdugda* did not totally ceased unlike the administrative role of *tuulla* and its descending structures, *Xuxee and Shane* whose functions declined in many areas that are hardly observed to function. Therefore, the higher deforestation rate of natural forest and its undergrowth (forest coffee) is associated with economic and political policy of the *Derg* government. On the one hand, the policy greatly reduced and demoted the role of indigenous institutions. On the other hand, the government introduced programs such as resettlement, villagization and co-operatives that aggravated environmental degradation in general and forest coffee and natural forest deforestation in particular. As a result, as (Black, *et al* 2001:1) asserted, dramatic deforestation has been associated with political transitions from the Imperial to *Derg* regimes and especially from the latter to the EPRDF. This mainly because the majority of the indigenous institutions were either eliminated or marginalized leaving vacuum the responsibility of resource

management during the transition period. Thus, the *Derg* regime was the climax period when the indigenous institutions were extremely isolated from their role of resource management or conservation and role. As a result, a substantial portion of the natural forest and its under growing forest coffee was deforested as stated by many respondents.

4.5. Indigenous Institutions in the Post-1991

What have been discussed about *tuulla* and other indigenous institutions were historical changes in the relations of indigenous institutions with the emerging state enforced local formal institutions and the corresponding natural resource degradation processes, mainly forest coffee and natural forest situation under different regimes. Changes in the prevalence and the role of indigenous institution as well as their involvement in natural resource management have also been stated. The current topic (post 1991), deals with the positive experience among the society of Yayo district in general and those living adjacent to *Gabba-Dogi* forest in particular.

Some of the indigenous institutions that ceased to exist during the *Derg* function during the *Derg* regime were reinvigorated right after the fall of the Derg regime. Among the contemporary Yayo society specifically among those located adjacent to the *Gabba-Dogi* forest, many of the indigenous institutions except *qoro, abba lagaa, and abba bokku* that were ceased at the dawn of the *Derg* regime are operating to varying extents from place to place.

Informants particularly those in *Wixete, Achibo and Gaabaa* areas stated that the EPRDF peace and stability committee strengthened the *tuulla* institution through encouraging its formal resurrection. For the period of the early EPRDF years, as Pankhurst affirmed, informal institutions has played a role in resource management and state institutions also "sought to involve religious leaders in preventive cursing of tree-cutting as well as burial associations in identifying offenders" (Pankhurst,2003:74).

With the exception of the *Derg* regime, all the state structures including the very brief Italian invaders did not formally relegate the *tuulla* institution. This can be for the reason that *tuulla* has holistic quintessence which include socio-economic, cultural and political importance in the life of the local community. Analyses of the informants' response indicate that with the exception of during the *Derg* period *tuulla* was an indigenous/local administrator. Many of the issues were under the concern of the *tuulla* administration that mainly focuses on socio-economic and political affairs of the local community. However, the role *tuulla* played as a local/indigenous administrator has been diminishing from time to time in scope and power mainly post-1974 though it relatively improved after 1991, because, local government institutions

provide an informal acceptance and support for the rules and regulations of the *tuulla institutions* and voluntary work organizations that it controls. This, however, did not save the alarming deforestation, which occurred during the transition period and the early years of the EPRDF as it was a time when indigenous institutions were highly devastated and the formal local institution were also not strengthened. Despite the fact that, indigenous institutions in the area were strengthened by the EPRDF peace and stability committee during the transition period, as informants indicated there were large scale deforestation of natural forests.

Tuulla, xuxee and shane have no formal relation with the existing state legislated formal local institutions. However, during the earlier regimes except the *Derg*, they were also serving as official structure that performed holistic administrative as well as informal societal affairs through organizing, monitoring and controlling the activities of various indigenous institutions such as, *jiga (Kudha'arfee), dabo, dugdaafdugda, lafee, ququbee, abba ulee* etc. It has to be very clear that ***tuulla*** (the most emphasized indigenous institution in the thesis) was an indigenous administrative institution but was adopted as a formal institution alongside its original responsibilities before and during the imperial period. It is currently revived as an indigenous institution after long period of exclusion during the *Derg* period. Unlike those previous days, the contemporary *tuulla* institution and its lower structures (*xuxee and shane*) are relegated from the formal interference of state socio-economic affairs and remained only with the organizing, monitoring, and controlling activities of indigenous institutions largely of *jiga, lafee, dabo, and abba ulee*. The role of the *tuulla* in organizing *dabo* and other work group has highly dwindled and even ended in few localities.

These indigenous institutions have a direct and indirect impact on wild coffee and natural forest conservation and use. Their relation with government formal institutions at local level is, however, gradually limited to informal level. It is mainly observed during the violation of the indigenous institutions' rule. The *kebele* social court is supporting the indigenous institutions through giving swift legal or court service, as some indigenous institutions' leaders indicated, based on their rules and regulations both written and oral witness. The *kebele* administrative bodies are also showing an informal acceptance of the *tuulla* and other institutions, as they are also part of the beneficiaries of these institutions. Nevertheless, it is impossible to state that the prevailing indigenous institutions are fully reflecting the participatory role of the local community through incorporating the interest, knowledge, social, cultural and economic values of the local people in the conservation and use of forest coffee and the natural forest. Rather, they are still isolated formally from resource management activities though there is a little

informal encouragement from state institutions than before. See the table below that depicts the analysis of changes in the role of indigenous institutions and its implication on forest coffee conservation.

Table 4.1.Comparative Analysis of Changes in Indigenous Institutions and Forest coffee Conservation

S/N	Period	Major Conservation Activity of Indigenous Institutions	Change in Conservation and use role	Major impact on Forest Coffee Conservation
1	Before the imperial period (before and after) late 19 th C	-Run self-help indigenous institutions like *dabo, and jiga*, which are involved in forest clearing and coffee. Indigenous institutions were very influential in natural resource conflicts management. raised over forest coffee and natural resources.	-Derived from Oromo *Gadaa* system - Source of indigenous institutions' rules ceased to be *tuma Oromo* (at *bakke abba alanga*) -Formal institutions did not influentially operate at local level - Adopted as formal structure	-Deforestation related with, shifting of property right and settlement
2	During the imperial period	-Detects issues raised over natural resources -Detail knowledge of local resources e.g. boundaries of forest (*abba lagaa*) -Their decisions can result in relocation of individuals' resources. -Judge complaints on these resources, - Punish illegal activities performed on natural resources -Prevent and resolve resource conflict -Mobilization of community on different activities that indirectly contribute to resource conservation	-Emphases given to the indigenous institutions reduced -*Qoro and abba lagaa*) are highly weakened; some stated that they were inclined towards the interests and the activities of feudal lords -Limited to dispute resolution and providing information for officials -Access to resources granted from landlords and regional governors. - State involvement in local resource management increased - state empowered the roles of various government representative such as *mislene*	Contributed to forest and coffee conservation in spite of increasing deforestation due to increasing isolation from resource management and many other factors beyond the scope of the study.
3	During *Derg* Regime	Limited to informal welfare related activities performed by *jig, lafee and iddir* -*Tuulla* and other administrative indigenous institutions weakened and ceased in many places	-Indigenous institutions' role greatly reduced or extremely isolated -Some ceased to exist e.g. *qoro, abba lagaa, and abba bokku.*	- Institutions ceased & weakening, Resettlement, various forms of cooperatives and villagization resulted in large scale deforestation
4	During transition from *Derg* to EPRDF	-It was a time when indigenous institutions were highly devastated and the formal local institutions were not strengthened - Strengthening and encouraging of the remaining indigenous institutions	Restructuring their rules and regulations (rejuvenation).	-Could not save from the alarming deforestation; but played influential role
5	During EPRDF	-Remained with the organizing, monitoring, and controlling activities of self-help organizations largely of *jiga, lafee, dabo, and Abba-ulee.*	-Relegated from the formal interference of state socio-economic affairs - Little informal encouragement from state institutions than before. -Informal relation with government formal institutions at local level i.e., Still formally isolated from resource management	-Isolation of indigenous institutions corresponds with the increasing deforestation
6	General trend of conservation and use	There is no active and formal involvement of indigenous institutions in forest coffee and natural forest conservation with clear rules and regulations; but highly contributing for conservation.	Formal acceptance, isolation, and informal support and acceptance from the formal institutions	Increasing deforestation resulted from isolation and many other factors such as resettlement, trade etc.

4.6. Conclusion

Indigenous institutions in *Yayo* area have undergone various changes in their role of forest coffee and other natural resource conservation. Oral history traced by elderly key informant's shows that many indigenous institutions were primarily responsible for natural resource management before the late nineteenth century. *Qoro*, *abba lagaa*, *abba bokku*, *tuulla*, *xuxee* and *shane* were among indigenous institutions that existed during this period. These indigenous institutions are originated from the former *Gadaa* system and their rules and regulations were made in *bakke abba alanga*, a place found in Yayo district.

After the late nineteenth century, many of these indigenous institutions were adopted as formal institutions in addition to their original responsibility of serving the local people. Their rules were also ended to be made at *bakke abba alanga*. In spite of this, they were also performing for the enhancement of rights of the local people. The role *tuullas* used to play in local peoples' resource use rights and their negotiation duties with state agents to reduce the amount of taxation imposed on the local people are among the examples indicated by the informants.

However, some of them that include *qoro*, *abba lagaa* and *abba bokku* were gradually exterminated due to different internal and external factors mainly, by the influence of state forced formal institutions at the beginning of the *Derg* regime, and the changing socio-cultural factors mainly influenced by political situations. Others have changed their rules and regulations radically and even assimilated with the newly introduced indigenous institutions. The interface of *tuulla* with *Iddir* in some places, for instance, resulted from the interaction of different people. The strengthening power of state forced formal institution has gradually controlled the responsibility of natural resource management. This has its own implications on the conservation and use of wild *Coffea arabica* and its habitat.

The gradual isolation of indigenous institutions corresponds with the increasing deforestation where both reached its climax during the transition period from the *Derg* to the EPRDF regime. This confirms the fact that institutional change involves gains or losses for society as a whole and for different groups within society, but change itself is likely to be driven more by the interests of powerful groups with the greatest influence over those institutions[7]. When evaluating institutional change, therefore, the general effectiveness and gains from state formal institutions and the benefits for the local people in terms of forest coffee conservation and use was minimal and dominated by the interest of formal institutions.

[7] http://www.livelihoods. org/ info/d ocs/nieweb2.doc

After the EPRDF came to power, there has been an informal support and acceptance from the formal institutions toward the role of indigenous institution in natural resource conservation and other aspects. The government gave some attention to reduce deforestation through demarcating protected areas of which *Gabba-Dogi* forest *coffee* conservation is one. However, there is no active and formal involvement of indigenous institutions in forest coffee and natural forest conservation, i.e., the isolation of indigenous institution continued except informal supports rarely provided. This could not retain the speed of deforestation as the role of local people in resource management is not practically enhanced and not formally acknowledged the responsibility of indigenous institutions.

Hence, it is possible to argue from analysis of the informants' oral history that the past century showed an evolutionary trend where indigenous institutions are evolved from the principal natural resource management responsibility to the total isolation (formally) from the natural resource management task. The evolutionary trend of the indigenous institutions that was observed since the late nineteenth century was radical until the time the military government came to power. As evolution is a continuous and gradual trend having various phases beyond both tips of the time span (before the late nineteenth century and after the fall of *Derg*) mentioned here, it bring about the consequences and implications mentioned above on resource management.

The causes of this evolutionary trend were diverse and multidimensional and include political, demographic, ecological, technological, economic, and cultural factors. Hence, the causes of the gradual shift of responsibility from indigenous institution to state forced government institution cannot be solely attributed to the increasing power of the different regimes over the indigenous institutions, which is beyond the scope of this thesis to deal with. Nonetheless, this is not to substantiate the thesis with the unilineal evolution or one line fits the whole type of evolutionary theory to elaborate the gradual isolation of indigenous institutions from formal resource management responsibility that contributed to the endangered species diversity of Coffea arabica and other tree species of natural forest. Because it cannot explain the two tips (before late 19th and after post-1991) of the evolution and the objective of the thesis, that has its own theoretical orientation. The research rather explains the relation of indigenous institutions with formal institutions (gradual isolation and increasing deforestation) as stated above.

Chapter five and six of the thesis deal with the role of indigenous institutions in the conservation and use of forest coffee and natural forest in the contemporary situations. Various challenges such as obstacles and conflicts are also explored so as to develop and/or anticipate the prospects of the existing indigenous institutions.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. The Role of Indigenous Institutions in Forest Coffee and Natural Forest Conservation and Use

The role of indigenous institutions in natural resource conservation in general and wild *Coffea arabica* conservation and use in particular vary with place and time. The majority of indigenous institutions are not established for a particular purpose or a specif3ic resource conservation and use. They bring into play the whole aspects of the life of the study community. Pankhurst verifies that NRM is not a separate or discrete field. His research shows clearly that NRM is part of the rest of social organization and "...resource management institutions would often deal not with a single resource, but several" (Pankhurst, 2001:6). In some localities, however, a few indigenous institutions work for a particular purpose, duty or specific natural resource management like the *abba ulee* institution of Yayo[8] area that specialized only in cattle herding.

In many areas, however, indigenous institutions deal with the whole aspects of the local community's lives which is typical to those predominantly found in Yayo area, i.e., indigenous institutions in the area do not operate only on forest coffee and natural forest as they are directly or indirectly involved in all the natural resource conservation duties and other aspects of life. There are no specific forest institutions, which have rules regarding harvesting, processing, and selling level or use of products.

Hence, the nature and structure of indigenous institutions, the roles they play in forest coffee conservation and use as well as other natural resource management vary from place to place and time to time. Nevertheless, institutions have a common role of reducing uncertainty by establishing a stable structure to human interaction (Daftary, 2004:15). Manchur also states that "institutions form a fundamental link between local communities and their environments, and it is through these rules that the collective action associated with controlling access to local resources is organized" Manchur, (2002).

For the purpose of this study, indigenous institutions can be categorized into four major groups based on the roles they play and their mode of function. Territorial based indigenous institutions, indigenous work institutions, religious institutions and indigenous knowledge are discussed below. The Classification of these indigenous institutions exist in Yayo area ensures the fact that community resource management is often shaped by a number of overlapping institutions from the social, political, economic and religious spheres (Ibid, 2002).

[8] In some literatures used the name Yayu instead of Yayo, for which I used Yayo as the natives pronounce it.

5.1. Territorial Based, Administrative Indigenous Institutions

The main boundary or frame of reference to the establishment of these institutions is a specific amount of local area. This shows that during the earlier periods, the settlement of the Oromo society was to some extent based on both kinship and territoriality. Kinship mainly (clanship) and territoriality laid the foundation for the formation of the current lower government structure, *kebele*, the size of which varies from place to place. This can also be confirmed from the fact that the names of the majority of the current *kebele* administrations are derived from the earlier dominant clan in that particular area.

There are two groups of territorial based, administrative and holistic indigenous institutions. The first category comprises *tuulla, xuxee and shane* that are institutions playing various roles in Yayo area. The other category is different types of elders' councils that include *mucho, salgii and jaarsa biyya* that mainly operate both on genealogical and territorial bases with the above-mentioned institutions and a range of self-help work organizations.

5.1.1. Tuulla, Xuxee and Shane

Tuulla is one of the indigenous institutions, which has been still surviving. The word *tuulla* itself is an *Oromiffaa* word that is originated from *tuula, which* refers to heap or stack. It is derived from the way the head of *tuulla* institution (*tuulla*) is elected in a very democratic manner; after people in the assembly recommended him for election, all the households under the particular territory gives a vote for the suggested person. The vote will be given through placing a moist grass (*irreessaa)* on the proposed candidate. All people interested in electing the proposed person place the moist grass on the individual, which serves to cast a ritual election card. As the majority of the people place the *irreessaa* on him, it becomes a heap or *tuulla* as it covers almost the most part of his cloth.

The word *tuulla* is used to represent three different meanings that can be clear from the context it used: firstly, it refers to the institution as a whole that has three descending structures, i.e., *tuulla, xuxee, and Shane*. Secondly, the word tuulla refers to a person elected as a head of the institution. Thirdly, it signifies specified amount of territory equivalent to the earlier (before 1998) one *PA*, currently named as *a gox* [9]in few places.

Tuulla is elected by the community living in his locality (*tuulla*) based on his acceptance among the society mainly due to his capability and participation on various socio-economic affairs. These include his talent to organize people for various purposes such as self-help organizations, skill to handle societal

[9] Under the *kebele* the current formal structure constitutes *gox and gree misoomaa, the* lowest administrative structure under the current government.

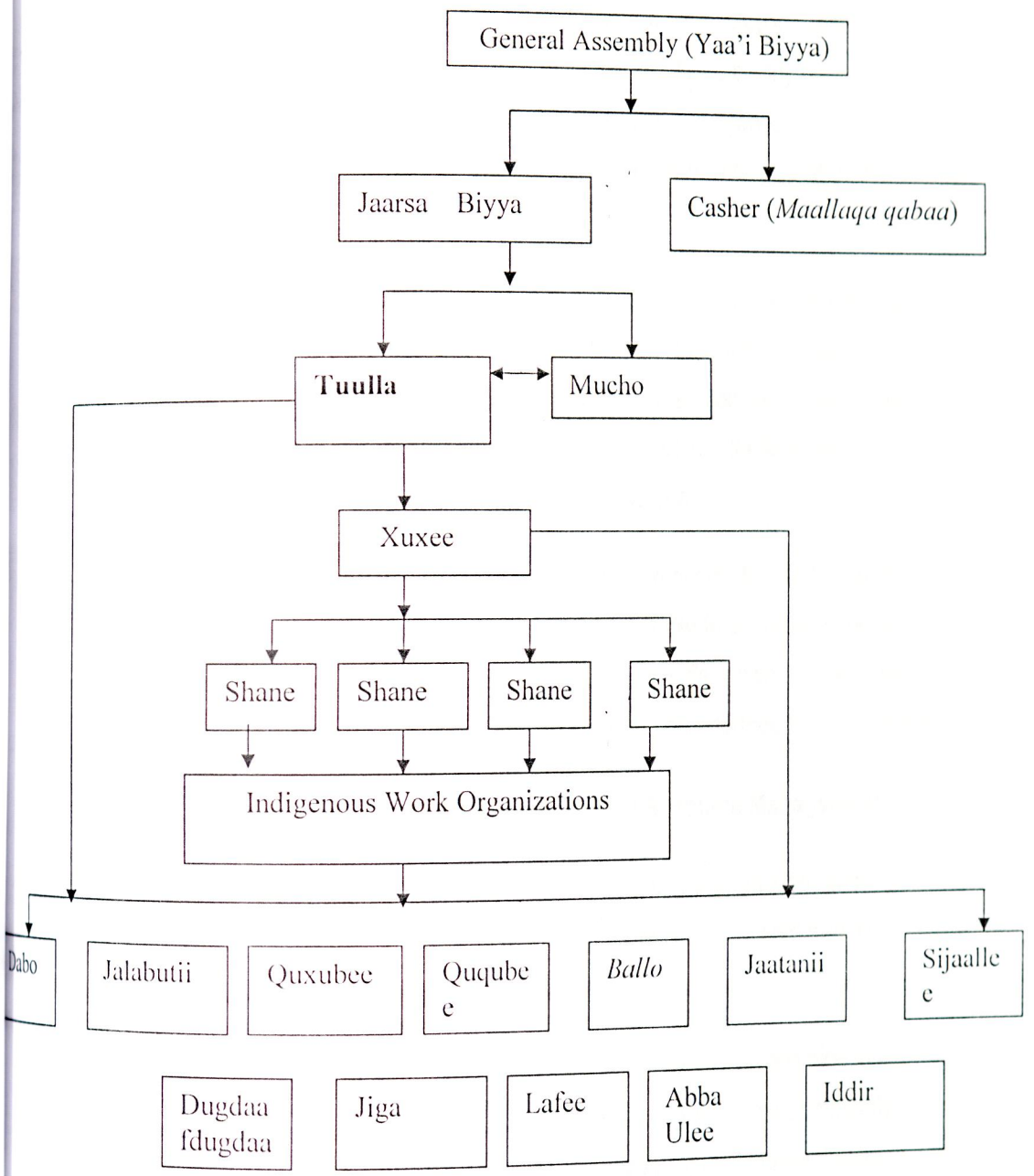
conflict and ability to convince people. This can be confirmed from his earlier participation in various communal affairs. Wealth status is not a criterion for *tuullas* election. Fortunately, they are people from medium classes who are mostly elected. In *Wixete Kebele*, for instance there are three *tuullas* as there are three *goxs* that include *Deebisa, Jjito and Haro. Jaarsa biyya, mucho, Tuulla, xuxee and shanes of Deebisa got is described in the table below.*

Table 5.1. The Current ruling body of indigenous institutions in *Deebisa gox* (former Deebisa KA)

S/N	Jaarsa Biyya	Mucho	Tuulla	Xuxee	Shane
1	Didha Gemeda	Fikadu Hordofa	Eshetu Imam	Banti Bushura	Tsegaye Abebe
2	Sime Gemeda	Hailu Mangasha			Dabale Sharafu
3		Aliyu Husen			Jamam Mahammad
4		Abdu Indris			Tadesse Mengistu

The *tuulla* delegates authority as well as responsibility for his two descending structures. These are *Xuxee and Shane.* Territoriality is the major criteria for the establishment of the *Tuulla* institution. There was always one *tuulla* under the former PA. Currently after two to four PA's have been merged into a single *Kebele,* however, there are two to four *tuullas* in a single *kebele.* There is no territorial overlap among the *tuullas* found in the same *kebele.* Within the territory of a single *tuulla,* there is always a single *Xuxee* with the same territorial coverage. In the case of *Shane,* however, there are one to five *shanes* within a single *tuulla* or *xuxee,* which also do not territorially overlap among themselves. (See the organizational structure of *tuulla, xuxee, shane and* other indigenous institutions discussed on figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1.Organizational Structure of Contemporary (Post1991) Indigenous Institutions in Yayo Area



Source: Developed by the Author

It is difficult to confine the role of the *tuulla* institution to few activities for it is directly or indirectly deal with many aspects of the livelihood of the local community. It has a social, political, economic and cultural importance for the society. The *tuulla* institutions either control or work with almost all the other indigenous self-help work organizations shown on the figure above such as *jiga, lafee dabo, sijaallee, abba ulee* and some times *iddir. Tuulla* is everything for the society under his territory particularly in

earlier days. He organizes economic support among the local people through labour, in cash and kind for the poor, the sick, victims of various disasters such as those who lost their cattle through disease or theft and their home by fire, etc. *Tuulla* has also the right to punish people who digress from the rules and regulations of various indigenous self-help or voluntary work institutions such as, *jiga, lafee, dabo, abba-ulee* etc with a group of elders *mucho* or *jaarsa biyya*, i.e., *tuulla* clearly plays an executive role in conflict prevention and resolution mechanisms together with the indigenous horizontal (*mucho*) and vertical (*jaarsa biyya*) structures. *Tuullas* conflict resolution role is mainly implicit in the activities of indigenous work institutions mentioned above.

In-depth investigation of the *tuulla* institution shows that it has no confined activity as a single institution that focuses on a single and specific duty; rather *tùulla* organize and controls the activities of various indigenous institutions through different mechanisms that can be more clearly stipulated as these institutions discussed in the following sections. In other words, *tuulla* is behind many institutions though the emphasis varies across an area and different institutions.

Xuxee on the other hand, performs activities delegated to him by the *tuulla*. *Xuxee* passes down some of the responsibilities delegated to *Shane* (the lowest structure) to act most of the activities to be performed by the local community. *Shane* literary means five in *Oromiffa*, which signifies dealing with small number of people during early days. The *Shane* tells activities to be performed to the people in his village.

5.1.2. The Role of Jaarsa Biyya, Mucho and *Salgi* in Resource Management

Some people currently use *jaarsa biyya, mucho, and salgi*, though quite different in their earlier responsibility, interchangeably for the group of elders who are involved in decisions of some indigenous institutions' activities.

Salgi was a group of elders as the name indicates, which literary means nine in *Oromiffa*, consists of nine individuals who are believed to be knowledgeable among the local community. As elders in the area indicated, *Salgi* existed in its real sense or functioned approximately before a century while others confirmed that existed until the end of the imperial regime. Its main duty was to provide traditional court/justice service in their locality. Some indicated that it was a separate structure in the earlier *Gadaa* system. They judge disputes or conflicts that arise in every aspect of the local people's life including natural resource disputes. Currently, though the *salgis* hardly exist, many people interchangeably use the word with *mucho* who perform similar functions. The majority of the respondents indicated that *Salgi* is different from *mucho* in that they used to give justice or court service through the chairing of *qoro*, which

was operational until the coming of the *Derg* regime. The *mucho*, however, chaired by themselves, with little suggestions of the *tuulla* before the meeting while there are situations when the *tuulla* chairs them.

The writer suggests that *mucho* is an elders institution that replaced *salgi* (as some still interchangeably use their name) to fill the gap upon the ending of *salgi* to give legal or justice service dealing with various issues including land and other natural resources.

Jaarsa biyya is 'elders of the land' people who are entitled to involve in various societal activities such as conflict resolution and decision making on critical and very important societal issues. Individuals privileged to the position of *jaarsa biyya* are mainly recruited or acknowledged due to their knowledge on the culture of the people and rarely clan origin (usually from elder clan) that enables them to perform certain rituals such as leading the *abdarii* and various ceremonies. In almost all the study *kebeles*, *jaarsa biyya* have a higher status than *mucho* as they can deal beyond the territory of the *tuulla*. Ayittey stated that the authority held by the elders is derived from their position in society. They control resources, marital relations, and networks that go beyond the clan boundaries, ethnic identity and generations (Ayittey, 2003).

Mucho is the most commonly used name of the four to five elders who make decisions on the issues presented to them via the *tuulla*. *Muchos* are persons who believed to have skill and acceptance among the society within the territory of *tuulla* and have ability and skill to make decisions on issues presented to them from various indigenous institutions.

When the *tuulla* sends the case to *mucho*, he also participates in the discussion but mostly cannot give suggestions. If the *mucho* are not in harmony with the *tuulla* on some issues, conflict or disagreement might occasionally arise. Under this circumstance, the *tuulla* creates a forum with elders' council (*Jaarsa biyya*) to settle the conflict created with mucho through investigating the issue on which conflict is created. There is no indigenous structure beyond the known elders' council except the general assembly (*Yaa'i biyya*). (See figure 5.1). Hence, when conflict is created between elders council and *tuulla* on making some decisions it is presented to the general assembly (*Yaa'i biyya*) who is assembled through the initiation of *xuxee* and *shane* which are the indigenous administrative structures in descending order below *tuulla*. Under this circumstance or when the general assembly is called to resolve the conflict between *tuulla* and elders council, the assembly is chaired by the *xuxee* rather than *tuulla* as usual to avoid the bias that might be created by *tuulla* as he become a plaintiff or an applicant. Then the general assembly can make a decision on the issue on which conflict is raised that might be in favor of *jaarsa*

biyya (elders' council) or *tuulla* based on the evidences provided from the two sides. They are obliged to take the decisions made by the general assembly unless they are decided to be totally alienated or outcasted from the general society.

The punishments usually imposed on them are in terms of cash and in kind. The fines imposed on the offender were gradually changed in to cash from in kind, which was sheep, bull, other animals or honey. Animals brought through fine such as a sheep or bull, used to be sold or slaughtered, based on the decision of the general assembly. Currently fines are imposed in terms of cash that varies based on the rule of the respective indigenous institution that the *tuulla* enforces. Fines imposed in *jiga* institution on a person absent from burial ceremony, for instance, ranges from three to five Birr that varies from place to place. Such fines are mentioned on the description of the rules of some institutions. The casher is elected by and responsible for the general assembly. The casher usually stores the cash collected through fines. This cash is finally utilized for public affairs such as purchase of common tools like spade, axles and other material used in *jiga* institution or other communal development activities such as road construction.

The elders' council decides on the activities of indigenous institutions such as *jiga (Kudha'arfee), dabo, dugdaafdugda, lafee, ququbee, abba ulee* etc. Based on the rules of the respective institution they regulate the activities these institutions perform. These institutions involve in agricultural activities of which coffee production is the major one. Coffee production activities in turn determine the conservation and use behaviour of forest coffee either through enhancing the productivity of managed coffee that reduces further expansion in to forest coffee or through well managing the forest coffee it self. In addition, the role of these indigenous institutions in other agricultural activities can reduce the local people's deforestation impact on forest coffee through increasing their income. Hence, the decision of elders council that enhances the efficient and effective performance of these work organization greatly contributes in forest coffee conservation and use.

From the above discussion, it is possible to argue that the three elders' institutions (*jaarsa biyya, mucho, and salgi)* are indigenous institutions that involve in decision-making processes without any limitation. In real terms, there is no discernable structure and activity of the *salgi* currently observed, but misusing the terms for the *muchos*. They make decisions on the activities per the rules and regulations of all indigenous institutions with the exception of *iddir* in some places. They also deal with all activities occurring in the life of the local people. The major similarities between the three forms of the elders council is that all participate on decision-making activities at different levels on the issues of indigenous institutions and/or individuals. The main difference between *jaarsa biyya* and *mucho* is a matter of

territorial coverage, ability and authority. *Mucho* works only within a single *tuulla* and their experience and age is usually lower than *jaarsa biyya*. Jaarsa biyya on the other hand as their name indicates (*biyya* in *Oromiffaa* literary means large territory or country) work on the vast territory as they are well known for their decision making experience on different issues. They also have an authority to see and decide including the cases of *muchos*. Therefore, they have been playing a central role in natural resource management as part of the livelihood of the community. Principally, they deal with resource conflict resolution and the activities of other indigenous institutions that directly or indirectly involved in natural resource conservation and use including forest coffee.

3Almost all the indigenous institutions involve in agricultural activities that include both animal rearing and crop production. It includes the *abba ulee* institution that deals with cattle herding that contributes in two ways for forest coffee conservation, i.e., by herding cattle away from coffee and enhancing their agricultural income that reduce their dependence on selling forest products.

5.2. Self-Help Work Organizations

5.2.1. Adversity based Self-help Institutions

I. Jiga (Kudha'arfee). *Jiga* is a voluntary self-help institution, which provides support for a person or a family faced with severe problems that might be death of family member; loses of one's own cattle due to disease or thief; a house burning down due to fire disaster and other similar problems, which are beyond the victim's capacity to control. The name *jiga* itself is related with the inherent nature of the activities it involves, i.e. unexpected natural death or death resulted from fire, plague etc. In Oromo culture, it is common to say *"jige", which* literary means "plummet down". It is an ironic expression for a deceased person that is still used among elders and oracles when a man is going to die. Hence, the word *jiga* is used for the institution that works based on voluntary self-help association for death and other related disasters mentioned above. It also symbolizes the action and the sanctions that the institution takes on those violate its rule. The people in the area say *jigaan namarratti jiga* which literary means *jiga* falls on people. This is to indicate the huge sanctions that the institution imposes on the offenders, which are usually fines in cash and social ostracism.

The *Jiga* institution performs many similar agricultural activities with *dabo* and some other self-help indigenous work organizations except the circumstance under which it is organized as mentioned above. *Jiga* among the *macha* Oromas, as (Tesema, 1996:206) stated, is slightly different as it is the help given to parents-in-law by sons-in-law like the *sijaallees* of Yayo area. He stated that the sons in low provide

help for certain days, in gathering crops, repairing old houses or building new ones; preparing an extensive farmland for planting etc" (Tesema, 1996:206).

Jiga is unique in its strict working rules and regulations that involve severe chastisement. However, *jiga* is also exceptional in the sense that it participates on death and related activities such as digging burial place, assisting in covering costs related with entombment ceremony and provision of labour overhaul afterwards for the family of deceased person if the deceased person is not a child. This will be realized in performing various agricultural duties such as ploughing, sawing, construction of houses, clearing undergrowth in forest coffee, coffee planting and transporting etc., which have an overriding importance in forest coffee conservation and use. The greater parts of these activities are performed after two weeks or fourteen days of the death of a person, forming the basis for its other name, *Kudha'arfee in Oromiffaa*, which decodes fourteen.

Jiga (Kudha'arfee) is unique from other indigenous institutions except *lafee*, that discussed below, in that its rules and regulations are very strict that involves sturdy economic punishments and social outcasts on the reprobates of the rule.

The three hierarchically descending indigenous institutions (*tuulla, xuxee* and *shane)* that engross holistic administrative concern play a central role in *jiga* as well as other indigenous institutions. Participation in *jiga*, compliance with its rules and regulations, punishments imposed on the offenders are strictly followed by *tuulla, xuxee and shane*.

Jiga's (kudha'arfe's) rules and regulations vary from one KA to another. Some KAs such as *Achibo* has a very detailed and written rules and regulations that have procedural resemblance with formal institutions unlike other KAs like *Baddessa*. *Tuulla, xuxee and Shane* organize *jiga*, control effective performance of the participant on the work, identify the truants; and give permission for individuals who are unable to participate on *jiga*. All the three institutions (*tuulla, xuxee and shane*) have their own division of labour in controlling compliance with *jiga* rules and regulation. *Shane*, for instance, report absentees, and slow workers to xuxee and then xuxee for *tuulla* who takes the necessary retribution or decision with *muchos* consisting a group of four to five elders. *Tuulla* also dispense participants of *jiga* if unfortunately two individuals passed away on the same day from the same locality.

The *tuulla's* currently emphasized duty is strict organization and follows up of self-help associations mainly, *jiga, lafee and da bo* that has its own detail rules and regulations. Dealing with the burial ceremony and construction of burnt houses are among the current foremost focuses of *tuulla*. The rule in

one of the KAs, for instance states that a person has to stop ploughing if his oxen are not borrowed; and unless he borrowed ahead of hearing the death or the burning of house. However, if an individual or his family member is chronically ill he will not participate.

If an individual fails or refuses to participate in *jiga* without permission or tangible reason, *tuulla* passes the issue to *mucho* and the later investigates the case to inflict punishment or pass corrective measures. Physical punishments in former days included that offenders are ordered to sit where five sticks (*Karaabaa*) are placed in both sides of the individual to be beaten by two youths. It will be executed unless people from the same community place a cloth on his shoulder, a sign to ask forgiveness on behalf of the offender. The offender himself can say "*dirra kootan bitadha*" which literary to means, "I want to buy my rib" meaning, fines in kind such as sheep or young bull. They also used to impose physical punishments such as exposing an offender to hot sun tying his hands and legs under the condition rules are repeatedly violated. Presently, the punishment has also changed into cash with the changing socio-economic situation.

Economic punishment paid in kind such as sheep (*Tuumaalessa*), a young bull (*korma*) are currently changed to cash so as to adapt with the changing socio-political and economic circumstances. Two birr for the first offenders; three birr for the second offenders and social ostracism for the third offenders are some of the currently accepted fines among the local community. The social ostracism include denying help in the event of searching lost cattle, death of cattle, isolation of the offenders cattle from herd, refusing assistance if house is burned, etc. This kind of person is known as *jibbee biyya* that literary means "abhorrent of the country".

Jiga has an influential role in natural resource management as it organizes people for agricultural activities that include forest clearing and other activities related with both people planted (managed) and forest coffee conservation activities.

II. Lafee: - Is another form of work organization that provides help for a sick person. Labour support is provided for an individual who has been in bed for more than one or more weeks. If a person has been in bed for seven days due to illness, labour support will be provided for half a day, i.e., up to 12:00 A.M. If he becomes sick for fourteen days, he will get labour support for a full day. The duty on which labour support is provided is based on individual's interest and can be ploughing, forest clearing for coffee, transporting coffee or other duties which in one way or another have an importance in resource conservation.

the only reported case of an attempt to use *iddir* as a vehicle of natural resource management by SIDA-Financed project in South Wollo (Yeraswork, 2000:84-85). However, *iddir* involve in resource conservation activities in yayo area.

5.2.2.. Voluntary Self-Help Work Institutions

I. **Dabo** is a voluntary self-help organization in which members participates in various duties mainly agricultural that include forest coffee production. The most common duties of *dabo* are plowing, sowing, harvesting and house building that usually organized only for a single day at a time (Bartels 1975:12). Bartels further described *dabo* organized for forest coffee clearing as follows (ibid: 23):

> *The dabo had been convened with the intension of clearing the teacher's coffee plantation. His coffee plants were growing in the shadow of higher bushes and trees, as is the ideal condition. The tool used for this work is the so-called bila, a kind of chopper, double-edge, which stands between a sickle and a cleaver.*

Dabo is mostly organized in two ways; i.e., with or without the knowledge and permission of *tuulla*. The former is most commonly practiced. *Dabos* organized without the knowledge of *tuulla*, on the other hand, are very rare and often involve five to ten people. On the contrary, very big *dabos* that involve 300-500 people are organized through the permission and co-ordination of *tuullas*. These types of *dabos* are mostly known as *jaatanii* and hosted by wealthy people. Huge *dabo* that involve more than one *KA* is also called *Balle* which literary means wide. These types of dabo hardly exist at present.

Many of the informants clearly indicated that the relevance of *tuulla* in *dabo* institution is considerable. From the very beginning, the day of *dabo* is mostly held on the days of some ones *dabo*. A person who wants to host *dabo* tells the issue to the *tuulla* on the day of some ones *dabo* on the work, so that the *tuulla* will tell all of them. The *tuulla* then communicates to the *dabo* participants about the host's request.

As focus group discussants agree on the process, a person who wants to host *dabo* stands in front of the *tuulla* and the *dabo* participants in the work place holding *irressaa* (moist grass used for various rituals) that signifies his wish to host a *dabo*. The *tuulla* then communicates this already understood message to the participants mostly using the following word: "You people, Mr. x stands holding *irressa*". Following this response, the *dabo* participants respond in respectful words to *tuulla* "*gaafadhaa kaa yaa tuulla*," which means "*tuulla*, Please ask what he wants to convey to us". Then, the *tuulla* says Mr. x what is your problem? Then, Mr. x (a person who wants to host *dabo*), for instance say "My coffee is totally covered with forest", "my house is destroyed or is about to fall", etc., "hence, please try to help me in these activities". Then the participants respond to the *tuulla* through their representatives (usually *abba jaarsa)*

saying *marga harkaa fuudhaa*, which means, "Please *tuulla* deliver his, *irreessa*. We will help him in doing the activity he mentioned on the day to be decided through negotiation". In such a manner, the *tuulla* also avoids overlap of two or more people's (hosts) *dabo* that might be held on the same day in his territory by arranging the schedule and in a separate day that helps the *dabo* hosts to get as many people as possible. Hence, the *tuulla* plays a crucial role in organizing *dabo* meant for coffee conservation.

The other role of *tuulla* in *dabo* institution is to avoid conflict among participants and ensure compliance to the rules and regulations of *dabo* within a short period as far as possible. Measures taken on defy of dabo rule are based on the type of the activity under implementation by the participants and the actions unlawfully committed by the offender. To avoid conflict the *tuulla* collect every material that the participants hold such as stick, iron tools such as axe, *cube (knife like hand tool for self protection), gajara , eeboo (spear)* etc. except materials necessary for the job they are doing. The *tuulla* also control and initiates the job or activity under implementation with his lower structures, xuxee and shane. The *shanes* monitor each and every activity of the dabo, and reports to *tuulla* if serious problem is observed. The *shanes* deal with detail issues such as keeping time for late comers, monitoring small *dabos* in which *tuulla* and xuxee do not participating, etc.

Dabo participants are usually divided in to two work groups: i.e., youth group and elders group. The youth group is led by *dure dargago/wannaa darggago* which literary means "head of the youth" while *abba jaarsa* that literary means "father of elders" leads or monitors the elders group. The people who are elected from both groups are responsible to control the performances of their respective group. The leader of the work group or *dabo* is in some places is known as jaarsa *dabo* and controls the quantity and quality of foods and drinks as well as the participants work (Bartels, 1975: 23). If the activity on which the *dabo* members are participating is house construction, for instance, the *abba-Jaarsa* (elder leader) and the *dure dargaggo* (youth leader) are responsible to organize, lead and monitor the participants until the house construction is completed. Otherwise, the *tuulla* would punish the two leaders on the basis of its own procedure that would involve *mucho or jaarsa biyya*. In some places, the leaders impose affine of five birr for the latecomers.

Dabo is organized to perform various activities. It includes farming, sowing, winnowing, house construction, clearing forest undergrowth for wild coffee, coffee transporting, etc.

If the participants and the host have violated the rules and regulations of *dabo*, they will be punished by *tuulla* in accordance with the decisions of *mucho* or *jaarsa biyya*. In most cases, four elders known as *mucho* reach the decision for punishment. A failure from the host's part usually relates to quality of food that entails five birr as a fine. On the part of the participants, there is no strong rule based formal punishment unlike other institutions that involve reciprocal labour exchange.

Therefore, the role of *tuulla* in *dabo* (voluntary work organization) is very crucial from organizing the occasion to maintaining the necessary rules and regulation. As a result, it has an impact in the use and conservation of natural resources in general and forest coffee in particular. This is mainly through participating directly in forest coffee production activities such as clearing the undergrowth, digging, pruning, planting seedlings, transporting and collecting coffee. Yeraswork from the study conducted, however, stated that *dabo* performs a short-term arrangement that does not last for more than an agricultural season that forces to argue that, "it will be wishful thinking to pin any hops of the management of long-term schemes such as that of hillside tree plantations on this type of institution" (Yeraswork, 2000:84). Its current potential in other agricultural activities is a future hope in future NRM. It indirectly contributes through enabling the local community to produce sufficient cereal and other crops. Tesema asserts that the existence of a variety of neighborhood voluntary self-help associations helped Oromo to generate surplus production, food security and self-sufficiency (Tesema 1990:204). That has an impact in forest and forest coffee conservation and use principally in transitory, and buffer II zones of the conservation project as it lessons people's dependency on selling forest products. There are various forms of self-help organization similar with *dabo* that include *Jalabutii, jaatanii, sijaallee, quxubee, ququbee, quxubee and dugdaafdugdaa.* They can be differentiated only by the working hours and the conditions for which they are organized.

II. **Jalabutii:** is the other form of work organization performed together with *dabo*. It differs from *dabo* on the kind of activity participants perform and their origin. People invited in *jalabutii* are usually from the neighborhood to facilitate conditions for the bigger *dabo* or the majority of participants came from distant areas. They participate in steward host as well as in the main activity on which the *dabo* participate. This is for the sack of reducing cost or not to prepare separate *dabo* for those who come from neighborhood. Hence, *jalabutii* is an *Oromiffa* word that refers to "associating" or "relating something with the other". It is conducted to reduce cost and facilitate conditions to increase the efficiency of the main objective of *dabo*.

III. **Jaatanii** is a sort of *dabo* that involve people from two or more *kebeles*. It is very similar with *sijaalee* except in the way it is organized. *Sijaallee* is organized by the beloved friend or son in law while *jaatanii* is

organized by the host himself or/and through the cooperation of *tuulla*. In some other areas, *jaatanii* is an activity or *dabo* organized for construction activities.

IV. Sijaalee is a large number of people that participate in a voluntary work group (*dabo*) through the request of a son in law or other close relatives of the host. *Sijaallee* is an *Oromiffaa* word that means, "I love you". This love is construed through organizing voluntary work group for the beloved person usually for the newly married spouse's parent or close relatives. Holcomb asserted that whenever either family [of the partners] might need more assistance than blood relations, *sodda* (in law) call on each other could give support at times of house building or *dabo* work parties for harvesting (Holcomb, 1979:108). A person may get *sijallee* (*dabo* organized for some one by in laws or other close relative) from two or more places in a single day. It includes people from distant areas and do not involve direct reciprocal labour exchange similar to *dabo, jaatanii, quxubee, and jalabuti.* However, the participants of these institutions are mainly from their proximate areas unlike *sijaalle* and under the close supervision of the *tuulla.* However, it does not mean that *sijaallee* is entirely free from *tuullas* supervision; the *tuulla* controls through the hosts or one or two people who solicited the participants.

V. Dugdaafdugda: It is a kind of work organization that based on voluntary and equivalent labour exchange. Members of this work organization perform different agricultural duties in turn for all the members. It performs similar activities with other institutions particularly *dabo, ququbee* and *quxubee.* Their major difference is the absence of strict rules and regulations to enforce equal and compulsory labour exchange. Deviation from the rule is very strict entailing instant fines and punishments that the *kebele* social courts enforce based on their written agreements if the case reached at that level. Hence, it has a significant contribution in the management and conservation of forest coffee and other agricultural productivity increasing. Reciprocal labour exchange also imply higher interdependence of the local community that has a great importance for forest coffee conservation .Ostrom in this regard stated that stronger norms demonstrated by reciprocity may be needed to protect the commons (Daftary, 2004 :9).

VI. Ququbee and Quxubee: are kinds of self-help institutions that are involved in various agricultural duties. Both participate in a range of agricultural duties that include, sowing, ploughing, clearing forest, pruning coffee, transporting crops, etc. Each of them takes few hours (2-4) of the day, sometimes with out breaking the principal duty of the day. It helps to enhance efficient utilization of the time during peak harvesting or agricultural periods.

Ququbee: It is a kind of work organization very similar to *dugdafdugda or wanfel* except in the length of working hours. The participants usually work between 8 AM and 12 AM. It involves very strict rules and

regulations involving fines in cash. The fines imposed as a result of the violation of the rule take into consideration the activities of other indigenous institutions and local socio-cultural practices. This shows a thoughtful synchronization among the indigenous institutions to keep the system stable and resourcefully operational to uphold ecological balance.

Quxubee: A self-help group that performs various agricultural duties for a very short period usually for four to six hours. It is conducted in the afternoon in contrast to *quqube* that operate in the morning. *Quxubee* has no any formal punishment except informal social ostracism, as it is not based on predetermined rules and regulations that enforce reciprocal labour exchange. Its major punishment is contempt among people that have a most common saying: *abalu dugda nama hin baasuu waliin hin hojjetina*, which literary means "Do not work with Mr. X for he did not reciprocate peoples' back". It is a great and shameful saying that ostracizes the infringers of the rule. The fact that *quqube* is held before noon while *quxubee* function in the afternoon shows the existence of central co-ordination and harmonization of work hours among institutions. The same is true for the absence and the presence of strict punishments in the rules of different self-help organizations.

VII. Abba Ulee: is an indigenous institution specialized in specific agricultural duty. Unlike other institutions, it deals with various activities. *Abba ulee* literary means "father of stick" while its original name was *abba qacee* which literary means the "father of whip". The meanings of both its names are closely related with the specific duty in which it is specialized i.e., the herder uses either the stick or the whip in herding cattle. All members of the institution herd cattle in turn on their common grazing area based on the rules and regulation of a particular *abba-ulee*. A single *abba-ulee* consists of 20 to 30 members or on average from 40 to 60 cattle. This single herding group is known as *ulee* (Kassahun, 2001:37) while the head of the institution is known as *abba ulee*. Thus, *abba ulee* is the name of the cattle herding institutions as well as the name of the head of the institution.

Abba ulee, in this case the head of the institution, is elected through participation of all the members of the institution. The major duties of *abba ulee* are to control the violation of the rules and regulations of the institution in close relation with the *tuulla*. The responsibilities of the members include herding cattle away from crops (both cereal and coffee) and avoiding problems inflicting the cattle. This might be falling into the cliff, being tied by climbers in the dense forest etc. Avoiding loses of cattle and keeping from attacks of wild animals are within the realm of the herders' responsibilities. These all are within the range of the capacity of *abba dabaree* (*abba taraa*) or the "herder" of the day. If the herder did not report on time when a cow gave birth, or a bull fall into the cavern, he will be responsible for the damage of the cattle. If the

herder also released the cattle into some body else's cereal crop or coffee again he is responsible for the damage.

The punishment is effected based on the rule of the *abba ulee* institutions that varies from place to place. The herders usually pay the punishment as per the rule without external enforcement. If the herder or a person who defies the rule is not willing to accept the punishment according to the rule, the *abba ulee* (the head of the institution) follows up compliance to the rule that usually supported or informally recognized by the *kebele* social court. If the *abba ulee* and a person who violated the rule could not easily reached on the agreement, the elders' council (*mucho*) become involved in the issue since they are always behind the *tuulla* institution in making decisions on controversial issues. The issue goes step by step from herder, *abba ulee*, *tuulla* and elders' council, beyond where currently the informal support of *kebele* social court is always present.

The role of the *abba ulee* institution in forest coffee conservation is both direct and indirect. It directly contributed in forest and managed coffee conservation through keeping from damages resulting from cattle. The way cattle are herded in a common grazing land also indirectly contributes in sustaining cattle in a single plot also enables to reduce the expansion of grazing land at the cost of forest coffee. More specifically, if cattle were not kept through the *abba ulee* institution at least each household needs a separate and a number of fragmented grazing areas that fosters deforestation for new agricultural land leaving the earlier one for grazing. Increasing the agricultural productivity also has a great importance in the transitory zone of the forest coffee conservation. This can be achieved through strengthening the indigenous agriculture oriented institutions such as *abba ulee* and improving their production techniques and the quality of their farm products by providing external support. Tadesse in this regard states that, it is essential to provide special public or government support to the developments in transitory zone of forest coffee conservation project so that the people can get compensation for limited use right in the protected areas of the forest and the threat on the forest areas important for conservation will be minimal (Tadesse, 2003:11).

5.3. Religious Institutions

As stated in the background part, Christianity and Islam religions are widely practiced in the study area. Various traditional beliefs are also practiced hand in hand with the major religions that play a major role in maintaining and strengthening compliance to the rules and regulations of indigenous institutions. For effective conservation, natural resource managers must understand the beliefs and perceptions

concerning trees and forests within different communities and cultures Coder, (1996). Watson stated in this regard that institutions embody rules that govern practices and views of the world, and makes possible certain practices and actions (Watson *et al*, 1999:6).

Though it is difficult to make a clear boundary between the roles of the major religions (Christianity and Muslim) in enforcing compliance with the rules of indigenous institutions, both have a paramount significance. The values within Christian and Muslim tradition enhance and sometime strongly advocate for the acceptance of the decision of elder and generally accepted rules of conduct among the local community, which is part of an indigenous institution. Hence, they regulate their socio-economic and cultural interaction as well as natural resource management. Their role in natural resource management is mainly indirect (Pankhurst, 2003:72). However, they can contribute positively or negatively for different societal activities. They are very powerful in shaping human action, but in keeping with recent conceptualizations of power they are both constraining and enabling structures (Lukes, 1986 cited in Watson *et al*, 1999:6). More specifically cursing (*abaaree*) and swearing (*Kaka*) are very common mainly in traditional belief systems that have their own procedural practices and rituals, which vary from place to place.

The role of religious beliefs or institutions in enforcing compliance to the rules of indigenous institutions or in contributing to natural resource management may be grouped into two, i.e., through the activities of traditional religious institutions and belief systems.

5.3.1. Customary Religious Institutions

Two customary religious institutions are widely practiced in the study area. These are the *qallu* and the *abdari* institutions. In fact, the role of these institutions in resource management is relatively minimal as compared to the other belief systems.

I. **Qallu:** The *qallu* institution in some of the localities in the study area is mainly recognized as individuals who are endowed with the spirit, *ayyaana*. Bartels states that *ayyaana* may be personalized, feared and, at times invoked and this view of the world is expressed in a wealth of rituals (Bartels, 1990:150). He also stated that *ayyana* is *waqa's* creative power in a person, an animal, and a plant (Ibid, 1975: 16).

People are complement to the belief, rituals and duties of individuals who are endowed with spirits. *Abba caffee* in *Baddessa*, *Malimo Sotai* and *Abeto Ogee's* of *Hurumu* are the *qallus* (*abba ayyanas)* worth mentioning. (See the picture on the next page that shows people bowing to *qallu*). It is the most important

institution in the *macha* culture and society as it depends on a traditional conception of reality (Knutson, 1967:134). Many people acknowledge the existence of the *qallu* institution in one of the outlying districts in the zone (*Deega*) that has more significance.

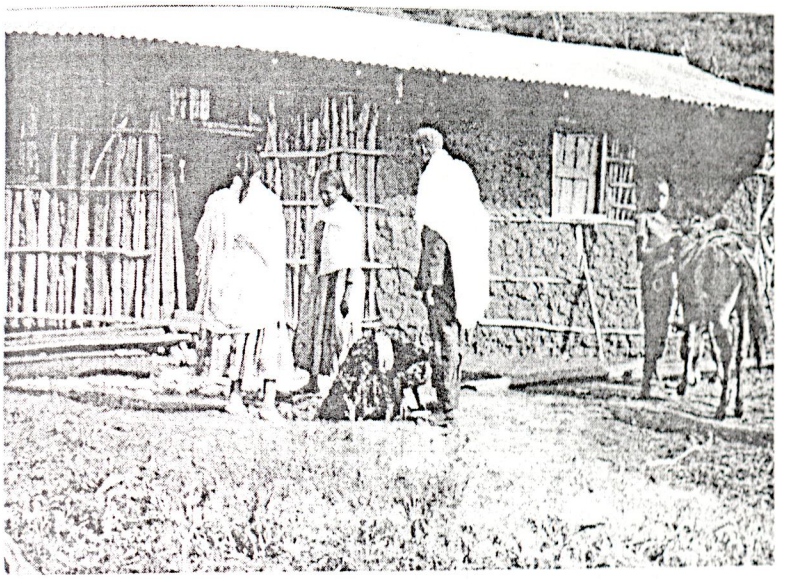
They have a power in mobilizing the community in various communal duties such as road construction as they did many years ago in *Badeessa* area. This is because the local communities believe spirits will bring evil things if they are refused. As a result, people who are endowed with spirits (*qallu*) play a great role mainly in resource conflict resolution among the local community and in various development activities. At the same time, it is flexible and adoptable because of its individualistic character and the *qallu's* ability to give authoritative solutions to problems created by a changing situation (Ibid: 134).

II.**Abdari:** The *abdari (qolloo)* institution contributes a lot in societal integration enabling to develop common value and belief system that have a paramount significance in various socio-economic affairs related to natural resource conservation.

From the very beginning, the *abdari (qolloo)* institution is practiced under the trees of some species. Mostly *Prunus africanus* (*homi*), *Ficus varta* (*Hogda*), *Ekebergin capensis (sombo)*, etc are trees selected for *abdari (qolloo)* institution. It is a place where a prayer and some sacraments are conducted once or twice a year under the tree. (See a tree in the following page that used as *abdarii* where various rituals are performed in *Achibo* area). The *abdari* institution is a place where the people pray for rain, children, healthy life and prosperity for the country and themselves. Some times, it is also a place for conflict resolution. This is due to the belief that God hears the prayers conducted at *abdari* and brings peace when conflicts arise. Coder indicated various symbolic understandings of trees that range from the mythical concepts of paradise and damnation through trees, to the romantic and physical aspects of love, artists and scientists alike have used trees and forests as models, symbols, and analogies. Hence, clearly understanding the human--tree relationship is essential for social acceptance of community natural resource management messages (Coder, 1996).

A single *abdari (qollo)* usually serves from 8-15 households. There are also big *abdaris* that incorporate hundreds of people from many *kebeles*. Such types of *Abdaris* are celebrated once in a year when various rituals are conducted. *Abdari Doorani*, for instance, is celebrated once in a year on *Gabba* River in November where hundreds of people participate and various sacraments are performed. A bull is slaughtered in November on the occasion in one of the days that will be decided by the organizers. In a small *abdaris* that are celebrated in each other's vicinity, however, a sheep and other small animals are

Picture5.1. People bowing for a person endowed with spirit *ayyana* (*qallu*)



Picture 5.2. A tree used as *abdarii* where various rituals are performed in Achibo



slaughtered on one of the days in November as a sacrifice, which usually differs based on the individual's economic capacity. The Abdari institutions in general play a great role through strengthening people's compliance for societal value, through the fear of supernatural force and the taboos imposed on cutting the trees selected for *abdari* and sometimes the trees surrounded the area". The [Oromo] have a great reverence for nature and "groves of trees", and individual trees, especially *Ficus sycamorus*, near huts and villages are indeed "sacred". These are often planted for spirits as an act of piety Huntingford, (1955). Moreover, the *abdari* institutions strengthen societal bonds, common values and norms through a variety of activities it involves. This include the spiritual values that they commonly share, i.e. prayer conducted together for rain, good productivity, wellbeing of the local community and fear for supernatural force on condition of violation of the *abdari's* rules. Ostrom attributes a great role to shared norms in facilitating collective action, and shared norms can offset differences due to inequality. Moreover, shared norms of a certain kind may be needed to protect the commons (Daftary, 2004:9).

Hence, *abdari* is one of the indigenous institutions that inherently promote forest protection and mobilize a society for natural forest conservation, habitat of wild *Coffea arabica*, through the common religious (belief) identity and common understandings it develops among the society.

5.3.2. Traditional Belief Systems

Swearing and cursing are the traditional belief systems of the society that are widely practiced in the study area and greatly contribute in the rules of indigenous institutions. Both have importance in obeying the rules and regulations of various indigenous institutions in various mechanisms that substantially contribute to natural resource management. Terefe pointed out that Pre-conquest Oromia's traditional religious beliefs and culture had important functions in protecting the environment (Terefe, 2001.125). Hence, the role of traditional beliefs in natural resource management is significant for the past many years. Few of these are still practiced as stated in the following section.

I. Curse (*abaree*) helps people to detect or identify an offender of the traditional rules that might be stealing others' wild coffee or explicit violation of the rules of indigenous institutions by the offenders personal resole. During this situation, cursing might serve as a mechanism that forces an offender to expose himself or accept the decision of elders or other institutions' decision due to the fear of cursing that might cause death. It has its own procedure that varies from place to place. In some places like Beddeessa, a group of people gather in a very stony place (*Katta*) that do not grow any plant to make a cursing speech saying, *Rabbi akka dhakaa kanatitti duwatti isa/ishi yaa hambisu or rabbi akka dhakaa kanaatitti isa/ishii yaa gogokisu which mean,* "let God dry him/her like this stone" or "let God remain

him/her a bare like this stony place". In other places like *Achibo*, a group of people gathers on asphalt road, which seems a recent phenomenon, and curse saying *Akka ciincaa kanaatitti isa yaa gogokisu*, which means, "Let God dry him/her like this dry road". Others slaughter black hen and immerse their smallest left hand finger to pass the cursing speech saying May the curse stick to him/her just like this blood and the like which is very intimidating among the local community. The cursing forum is prepared through the coordination of *tuulla* on which elder person are leaders and main participants.

II. Swear (*kaka*) is also a mechanism to detect an offender or crimes done without the knowledge of the local people as well as leaders of indigenous institutions. When someone has committed a crime, a forum is organized through the coordination of *tuulla* to make profanities or swear words. Swearing has been performed during the Gibe states among the Western Oromos. Huntingford (1955) stated that Oaths (*kaka*) in the Gibe states were sworn by "the death of the king" (or of a man's patron, or even of the man to whom he might be talking), or by the name of famous diviners. People also swore in the name of God. The swearing process is conducted through the guiding of known local elders (*jaarsa biyya*). There are various materials prepared for swearing that includes stone (*dhagaa*), spear *(eeboo)*, egg (*hanqaaquu*), leaf from special tree (*baalaa balleessaa*), iron bar (*sibiila duudaa*), maize stick (*muka boqollo*) and sorghum straw (*onqorda*) where all the seven materials with which the swearing speech is made have their own menacing interpretation. A typical cursing procedure conducted in *wixte* area is described below by group of elders on 3/03/2005:

1. *Dhakaa* (stone)*: Yoon biyya hachisiise dhagaa kana garaa Koo keessaa yaa ka'au (dhukuba na yaa baachisu); which means* "If I had stolen or did so and so let God, place a stone in my stomach"; interpreted as fatal disease.
2. *Eeboo* (spear): "*Eeboon rabbii na yaa waraanu*"; which means "If I did so and so let God's spear puncture me"; interpreted as unexpected evil that might be disease or death.
3. *Hanqaaquu* (egg): "*duudaa kana garaa isaa keessaa yaa ka'u" (dhukuba); which means* "If I did so and so let God, place an egg in my belly"; interpreted as incurable disease.
4. *Baala Balleessaa* (Leaf of special tree that does not grow on the ground, but on twig of some big trees): "*Yoon Biyyaa kana balleessee na yaa balleessu*"; which means "If I did an evil thing on this society, let God Vanish me from the earth's face as this leaf, which grows only on the twig of big trees.
5. *Sibiila duuda* (an iron bar)*:"Yoon biyya hate duudan naaf yaa dhalatu"; which means* "If I had stolen societal property or did so and so let God, give me a deaf offspring who does not speak like this iron bar".

6. *Muka boqoollo* (Maiz straw): *"Akka muka boqoolloo kanaa qullaatti na yaa hambisu"*, which means, "If I did what afore mentioned, let God make me a bare like this maize straw".
7. *Onqorddaa* (sorghum straw); *"Akka misingaan kuni duwwaatti hafe, Rabbi duwaatti na yaa hambisu"; which means* "If I did so and so let; God make me an empty like this sorghum straw" that is interpreted as loss of any prosperity or full health.

This swearing procedures or speeches are also in some places used in cursing procedure by applying for unknown person that passed in common by a group of people with the guidance of elders usually *jaarsa biyya*. Therefore, the swearing and cursing procedure has an intimidating effect on the offenders. It can also imply an influential role that traditional beliefs play in enforcing compliance to the rules of indigenous institution or to the common understanding of the local community.

Both swearing and cursing forum are organized through the institution of *tuulla* and it works in many aspect of societal life that shows its potential for natural resource conservation. Moreover, cursing and swearing, particularly cursing is followed by social ostracism if the public directly or indirectly knows an offender. Therefore, both cursing and swearing play a significant role in forest coffee conservation through discouraging illegal deforestation, theft, and enforcing compliance to the rules of other indigenous institutions that contribute to forest coffee conservation and use.

5.4. Indigenous Knowledge

Indigenous knowledge is the base for the activities of indigenous institutions that enabled the society to maintain the ecological balance. Hence, indigenous knowledge has a momentous contribution in the conservation and use of wild coffee and the natural forest. Indigenous knowledge is common and a part of the tradition of the communities. It is formed due to the close proximity of the communities to the natural resource along with generations of experience in natural resource use and management (Mehra and Ghate, 2004:6).

People in Yayo area have an indigenous or local knowledge that have been a good response for the ecological stability for the past many centuries. They know various types of resources with its specific importance. They can also identify various types of plant species, wild animals and their categories that enable them to maintain harmonious relation with their environment for the past many years. Every way of life is designed in a way that enables to adapt to the ecological situation in the area. The way the local people identify pathway in the dense forest; territoriality; property right, etc., were fully based on the indigenous knowledge that allowed them to sustain their life until the state enforced formal institutions gradually dominated it.

Local communities have their own views in both the conservation and use. Though the majority of them do not know the current demarcations into different zone, they are told not to interfere some of the protected areas particularly the core zone which they call "*daangaa lammaffaa*" that literary means the second boundary. The local community, however, are not convinced with the scientific importance of strict protection of the core zone as they claim that the forest coffee will be unproductive (*ni maseena*) unless the forest undergrowth is cleared and the upper canopy is thinned. However, the scientific mechanism of biodiversity conservation excludes human intervention in the core zone as it decreases the genetic pool of forest coffee species as well as other plants.

Through their indigenous knowledge gained over long experience, the local people can identify the fruits of wild coffee from the coffee seeds introduced through agricultural extension program, which they know to be highly susceptible to coffee diseases. In contrast, they indicated that the seeds of wild coffee are very big, smooth skinned, heavier in weight and contain three seeds within a single enclose of coffee. The local people can also identify wild coffee varieties resistant to various diseases. Many of them also agree on the fact that forest coffee flavors are very attractive and different from coffee cultivars introduced through modern agricultural input supplying agents and extension services.

As the indigenous knowledge of the local community is too vast to deal with all of them at this particular juncture, it is important to focus on forest conservation and use. The local people are highly selective in forest utilization. It is culturally forbidden to cut some trees such as *hogda (Ficus vasto)* and *homi (Prune africanus)*. Because particularly *hogda* has a large branches often used as a shade for coffee as well as human beings. Hence, it serves as a place for ritual ceremony, conference and hanging beehives like *homi* and few other tree species. Hence, it is not exposed for deforestation.

The indigenous knowledge of the local community in identifying the various importances of forest in the area has a paramount significance in forest coffee conservation. They identify tree species essential for ritual and trees important and dangerous for coffee shade. They are quite aware of the type of tree species, which are suitable or very dangerous when used as a shade, tree for coffee production. *Hogda*, for instance, is a big tree that does not serve in timber production. On the contrary, it is very important for ritual, coffee shade and hanging beehives due to its many branches. On the other hand, *hambabessa (Albizia gummifera)*, *qararoo (Aningeria adolififriederici)*, *sondi (Acacia lahae)* *sotallo (Millettia ferruginea)*, *waddeessa (Cordia africanus)*, *alalee (Albizia grandibracteata)* are very suitable for coffee shade. *Wagaa*, *bakkanissa*, *abbayyi (Maesa lenceolata)*, *sacoo (Bittesporum viridifolium)*, *bosoqa*, *chahii (Tecles nobilis)* and *xaaxessaa (Rhus natalensis)* are very dangerous for coffee shade due to their wide leave

that do not transmit enough sun light, higher mineral and water sharing behaviour, or reproduce insects that serve as food for baboon. This damage ripens coffee seeds as he feeds the insects on the shade. Moreover, varieties of climbers (*hidda*) substitute modern construction materials. For instance, *liqixi* is used for tying the centre of the roof (*waaltaa/geeboo*) in place of nail. *Xiya* is also a kind of climber used for the construction of beehive. Other types of climbers used for different purposes: *hircime used* for house well erection while *roggee serve* for beehive building. *Lookoo* is a kind of plant that replace holder for corrugated sheets of iron. Others serve as handles for axes. Wide ranges of agricultural tools are also made of forest products that based on the indigenous knowledge of the local people.

Hence, the indigenous knowledge of the local community has great importance in forest coffee conservation and identifying the attachments or forest and forest coffee use behaviors of the local community that directs the external intervention of forest coffee and forest conservation strategies without affecting the dwellers. Any external intervention such as wild/forest coffee conservation and use project need to mull over the impact of the project on the socio-economic life of the dwellers. It requires understanding the indigenous knowledge of the local community since it is very important for forest coffee conservation. This is the point of failure for many natural resource conservation activities. They advocate the use of local knowledge and practices without having sufficient knowledge of their content and social significance. Hence, linking up with local groups and institutions is easier said than done (Den Breemer and Venema, 1995:6).

The indigenous knowledge of the local community is very important for forest coffee conservations. Policy makers and programmers need to consider the needs and economic options of the local people so as to create a win-win relationship between conservation and local agricultural development (Degnet and Virchow, 2003). Summary of the role of indigenous institutions and their implication on forest coffee and natural forest conservation is described in the table below.

Table 5.1.The Role of Indigenous Institutions and its Implication on Forest coffee Conservation and Use

Major Indigenous Institution	Major Activities they Perform	Impact on forest coffee conservation and use	Remark
Administrative Indigenous Institutions Qoro, *abba lagaa, and abba bokku*	Decides on the activities of self-help organizations such as *jiga (Kudha'arfee), dabo, dugdaafdugda, lafee, ququbee, Abba ulee* etc.	Influence the role of self-help organizations that perform access, withdrawal activities (conservation and use) activities.	Ceased during the *Derg* Regime
Elders' Council *Salgi, jaarsa biyya,* and *mucho*	- Make decisions based on the rules of indigenous institutions -Provide routine court/justice service - Involve conflict resolution	" " "	Salgi ceased many years ago
Tuulla, xuxee and shane	-*Tuulla* organize and controls the activities of indigenous institutions	" " "	fines changed from in kind to cash
Self-Help Work Organization Adversity Based *Jiga, lafee,* and *iddir* *Dabo* and similar **self-help Associations** -Jalabutii -Jaatanii -Sijaallee -Ballo -Jalabutii - Quxubee - Qoqubee -Dugdaafdugda	-Labour support that conserves forest coffee and enhance the income of the individuals exposed to various socio-economic problems. -Involve in coffee production activities such as digging, clearing the undergrowth, pruning, planting seedlings, transporting, collecting etc. -Participate in a range of agricultural duties that include, sowing, ploughing, clearing forest, pruning coffee, transporting crops, etc	-Conserve forest coffee and reduce the impact of local people on forest and forest coffee that result from low income -Performing coffee conservation activities -Increasing local peoples' income so as to reduce dependency on forest through increasing cereal and other crops production -Compensate the income they gain from demarcated area	
Abba Ulee	- Cattle Herding	-Reduce coffee that damage by cattle - reduce the expansion of grazing land at the cost of forest coffee	
Abba Dabaree	-Keeping wild coffee from baboons and other wild animals in turn specially on coffee farms at the middle of forest (*Mogga*)	-Avoid or reduce damages on forest coffee	
Religious Institutions	-Enforcing the rules of institutions through religious beliefs and practices		
Qallu	-Play a role in resource conflict resolution. and management. -Perform various rituals and religious practices	-Have a power in mobilizing the community in forest coffee conservation as People accept the decisions of qallu, due to the belief &fear of the spirit *ayyaana*	
Abdarii	-Serve as a place for conflict resolution -Strengthen societal bonds and norms through a variety of activities - Enhances common belief and rituals	- Impose taboos on some trees and enhances common understanding that promote resource conservation through beliefs, prayers ,rituals etc	
Cursing (*Abaaree*)	Perform different rituals and cursing procedures	-Helps people to detect an offender and prevent violation of the rules of indigenous institution	
Swearing (*kaka biyya*)	-Perform various swearing processes and speeches	-Helps to detect an offender and its existence reduce violation of rules on forest coffee	

5.5. Conclusion

The influences of four major categories of indigenous institutions were described above. These indigenous institutions are not specific to a particular resource, i.e., forest coffee or other natural forest conservation and use. Territorial based administrative indigenous institutions, Self-help work organizations, religious institutions and indigenous knowledge of the local community have an influential role in the conservation and use of forest coffee and natural forest in Yayo area.

The role of territorial based administrative indigenous institutions in forest coffee conservation can be seen in two categories. *Tuulla*, *xuxee*, and *shane* are indigenous institutions that play a crucial role in the organization and enforcement of the rules and regulations of various indigenous self-help work organizations. They specifically organize and control the activities of *dabo*, *quxubee*, *ququbee*, *jiga/Kudha'arfee*, *lafee*, *dugdaafdugdaa*, *abba ulee*, etc, which involve in various agricultural activities. These agricultural activities directly or indirectly contribute to the conservation and use of forest coffee.

Indigenous institutions that *tuulla* organize and enforce compliance to their respective rules and regulations work on agricultural activities such as farming, sowing, forest clearing for coffee production, pruning, transporting coffee, etc. Hence, the *tuulla* institution indirectly contributes to forest coffee conservation and use through the role these self-help work organizations play as they impose punishments, fines, ostracisms, and other important decisions. The *tuulla* make these decisions mainly with the heads of these indigenous institutions such as *abba ulee and abba Jaarsalduree darggagoo* who are heads of the *abba ulee* institution and *dabo* participants, respectively. The *tuulla* also make these decisions with different form of elders' council (mainly with *Jaarsa biyya* and *mucho*) who are the other types of administrative indigenous institutions. The decisions that the *tuulla* or the elders council make on the activities of individuals participating in different indigenous self–help institutions establish the operational-level choice rights related to resource management, i.e., directly influencing individuals' access to resources and their withdrawal (right to obtain products) (Schlager and Ostrom,1992:250) of forest coffee. Moreover, administrative indigenous institutions, principally the *tuulla* centrally co-ordinate the activities of different institutions that enhance agricultural production of the local community, and hence income levels. The improvements of the incomes of the people in turn reduce the impact of the society on forest coffee and improve their use and conservation behaviour.

Self-help work organizations on the other hand, influence forest coffee conservation through two different ways. Adversity based institutions such as *jiga*, *lafee*, and *Iddir* participate in production activities of

people or supporting individuals faced different forms of disasters and hardships .It might be death, sickness, loses of property that might constrain or affect production activity. Hence, these institutions fill the gap created through providing mainly labour support, and sometimes supports are in kind, and cash. The labour supports either directly conserves forest coffee or indirectly increase the income of the affected individuals, which would reduce the impact of these individual on forest and forest coffee.

Traditional religious institutions play similar role as those administrative indigenous institutions in enforcing the rules through religious beliefs and practices. Customary religious institutions, mainly the *qallu* contributes to forest conservation through conflict resolutions. People accept the decisions passed by religious leaders and leaders of other beliefs due to the fear of their spirit. The *abdari* institution also contributes to forest and wild coffee conservation through imposing taboos on some species of trees and through maintaining common understanding and the enforcement of social bonds among the local community. It initiates people for forest and wild coffee conservation and use through developing common understandings.

Finally, the indigenous knowledge of the local people is the main component of forest coffee and natural forest conservation. The indigenous people have knowledge gained and accumulated over centuries of experience that enabled them to live in harmonious relation with their physical environment by keeping the ecological stability. People know the kind of wild coffee species grown and the most suitable shade tree, easily identify disease resistant and coffee species with good flavors with better market opportunity to give priority in conservation and use. Hence, indigenous knowledge of the local people is the base for the activities of indigenous institutions. Knowledge related with plant species agricultural activities, analysis of issues to make decisions, belief systems and rituals conducted, procedures followed in customary conflict resolution etc. are parts of indigenous knowledge on which indigenous institutions primarily depend.

In general, the roles of various indigenous institutions in forest coffee and natural forest conservation and use are direct and indirect. They indirectly enforce rules and regulations that enhance either forest conservation or increase the income of the people through boosting agricultural productivity in the transitory zone of forest coffee conservation area that reduces the impact of deforestation from the surrounding people. They also directly contribute through involving people in some agricultural activities related to coffee production that comprises forest clearing, thinning shade tree or forest canopy etc. This, however, might have negative consequence on the species diversity conservation as it contributes for gradual deforestation.

CHAPTER SIX

6. Challenges and Prospects of Indigenous Institutions in Forest Coffee Conservation and Use

6.1. Challenges for forest Coffee Conservation

The role of indigenous institutions in natural resource management is declining from time to time for various reasons. Ranges of challenges constrain the functions that indigenous institutions can play in natural resource management and that can partially determine future roles. For the purpose of this study, the present chapter deals with the attitude of the local people towards forest coffee conservation; the interrelation of indigenous and state formal institutions at local level, property rights, resource conflict and prospects of indigenous institutions in forest coffee conservation.

6.1.1. The Attitude of the Local People and Its Impact on Forest Coffee Conservation

The attitude of the local people towards forest coffee conservation depends on the impact of the demarcated forest coffee conservation on their means of subsistence. It also depends on the levels and types of the local peoples' participation on the conservation and use activities. This is because community participation is central to effective natural resource management that has been recognized in a number of international environmental conventions (Amanor, 2003:3). Local peoples participation on the forest coffee conservation activity on the other hand depends on the level at which the social, economic and cultural values of the local community is incorporated into the conservation process. This is mainly reflected through the indigenous institutions that constitute the socio-economic and cultural life of the local community. In order to reflect the input of indigenous institutions it requires the negotiation or the interaction of power between indigenous and state forced formal institutions. However, the interdependence of these factors remained the main challenge of forest coffee conservation and other natural resources among the study population.

The attitude of various groups and segments of society have significant impact towards the forest coffee conservation and use. Information gathered from local elders, youth, women, KA and district officials, forest coffee guards, *Kebele* Agricultural Development Agents and representatives of various indigenous institutions shows that their attitudes towards *Gabba-Dogi* demarcated forest coffee conservation project is nearly alike. It is not unusual to hear words of uneasiness and distrust form local dwellers on the government run forest coffee conservation and use project that incorporated the substantial portion of their land and the resources it endowed. The more threatening aspect of the forest coffee conservation and use project is that members of government local formal institutions such as *kebele* officials and the forest coffee project guards by themselves have similar contend towards the conservation and use of the

project. Hence, with the exception of some of the district Rural and Agricultural Development Office (RADO) workers who have been playing an intermediary position towards both sides of their organizational ladder, the majority of the local dwellers have negative attitudes towards government conservation project. This is not in accordance with the most accepted conservation principle. Makiko stated that legitimate interests of indigenous communities would have to be assessed, clearly demarcated and guaranteed (Makiko, n.d). Some of the district professionals are trying to convince the local community about the importance of forest coffee conservation lobbying for clear forest conservation and use policy that enables the local community to know apparent information on the conservation project and to develop positive attitudes towards it.

Thus, the forest conversation project has relied on paid guards and regional and federal state officials who are quite aware of the species diversity situation and threats of *Coffea arabica*, rather than local community's interest and attitude or full acceptance. If accepted the latter can be the foundation for sustainable conservation and use process.

The ground for the misgivings on the conservation and use activities is actually not the intentional resistance of forest coffee species diversity conservation. It rather mainly resulted from the fact that the benefits that the local dwellers used to get from the forest coffee and natural forest have been blocked through time and remained without compensation. North in this regard states that institutional constraints include both what individuals are prohibited from doing and under what conditions some individuals are permitted to undertake certain activities (Daftary, 2004:15). Knight (1992) states that the role of institutions is to communicate information and sanctions that facilitate this constraining (Cited in Daftary, 2004:17). Hence, Institutional constraints related with use and conservation needs reconciliation.

The incorporation of their managed coffee into the core zone, prohibition of various timber and some non-timber forest products and hanging beehives on the demarcated natural forest also has an influential impact on their source of economic subsistence. Prohibitions of coffee farm expansion, rulingout use of various forest products for their basic livelihood also have paramount significance on their means of survival. One of the informants, for instance, states his complain on the prohibition of their surrounding forest coffee and natural forest as follows:

> *We are prohibited from using forest products to the extent that our door is left open, and our coffin gone without box in the middle of forest. We are also forbidden to use any forest product from the core zone (daangaa tokkoffaa) except a few undergrowth or shrubs from buffer zone (daangaa lammaffaa) that has no great importance in the construction activities and making house equipments. In general, we benefited nothing*

from the dense forest increasing in our surrounding except its awful consequences, i.e., the increasing wild animals are consuming about half of our cereal and coffee harvests.

Takasaki *et al.*, (2001) stated that "failure to understand the basic logic of forest people's livelihood practices limits the ability to develop appropriate strategies and institutional arrangements for local forest management" that reduces the likelihood to achieve the desired objective (Degnet and Virchow, 2003).

Reluctance towards the conservation has mainly resulted from the way the project area is demarcated, i.e., lack of community participation. Influential figures from the local community such as elders' council, leaders of indigenous institutions, etc, were not participated in the demarcation process. Few local government representatives (*dabballe*) who by themselves have insignificant inputs were not convinced although they did participate in the demarcation processes. There was no conducive forum by which the demarcation as well as the later conservation and use processes of the forest coffee can incorporate the inputs of indigenous institutions. This shows that participatory forest management is still generally conceptualized within a technocentric, top-down framework (Amanor, 2003:3).

Thus, the lack of participation mainly of known or influential figures and leaders of indigenous institutions from the local community is the major constraints to enhance the inputs of indigenous institutions in forest coffee conservation. Because, they are the chief stakeholders to reflect the social and economic values, traditions, rules and regulation of indigenous institutions in the area. From the project side, however, there is a claim that the local community was convinced though it is not satisfactory enough due to various constraints such as financial, structural and material problems. Pankhurst states that "community participation, which has generally become an accepted approach, is neither straightforward nor problematic, due to both internal conflicts of interests within communities and complex relations with external agents, notably governments and NGOs" (Pankhurst C, 2001:3).

Dearth of the local community participation also perverted the real information on the conservation activities and its impact. As there were no comprehensive negotiation and common understanding among the local community during the demarcation, it furthermore created a sense of insecurity and threat on their remaining coffee and other resource tenure. Few of them are expecting the probability of resettlement to other areas as their land is incorporated into the demarcated forest coffee with strict protection rules.

It is possible to take a simple example that shows the absence of participatory approach that considers the local society's socio-economic value. On the one hand, the local dwellers are moving back from the

dense forest due to the great damage of their crops at the middle of the forest by wild animals. There are crops grown on a plot surrounded by forest usually known as *Moggaa*. On the other hand, the *abba dabare* mechanism is weakening due to the decreasing trend of societal bond and other reasons beyond their capacity among local community. The *abba dabare* (which literary means the father of turn) mechanism is a co-operative mechanism, like *abba-ulee* of cattle herding, where people protect their crop or managed and wild coffee plots at the middle of the forest (*Moggaa*) from baboon and other wild animals in turn. Two individuals in the morning and the other two in the afternoon, i.e. four individuals protect from the huge damage that might occur due to wild animals. Hence, the forest coffee conservation and use project aimed at species/genetic diversity conservation needs to foot its ground on such indigenous institutions that run the social and economic value of the local community and enables them to adapt the increasing forest environment. This enables to avoid some of the problems that the surrounding communities are claiming to arouse from the increasing forest after demarcation.

Real community participation cannot be realized without enough awareness and acceptance of the local community. This can mainly be achieved through assimilating the project activities with the social, economic and cultural life of the local community. Indigenous institutions are not an isolated entity from these socio-economic and cultural lives of the community; rather they are part of these factors. Hence, absence of the genuine role of indigenous institutions in these community based or participatory forest coffee conservation and use project is the major challenge to the forest coffee conservation and use mechanism. If the rules and regulations of indigenous institutions such as *Tuulla's* administrative power are integrated into the forest coffee conservation project, for instance, this could enable increasing the legitimacy and the effectiveness of the project that can also work for other institutions. The participatory and community based approach seems to be recognized in broad spectrum rather than in their empirical or practical concept that would have enabled to materialize the objectives of the forest coffee conservation and use project through the influential input of the indigenous institutions.

Hence, it is possible to argue that an influential contribution that various indigenous institutions can put needs to be virtually incorporated into the conservation process. More specifically, the responsibility of indigenous institutions such as *tuullas* multi-dimensional administrative behavior developed through experiences of many years would have easily mobilized the community towards the conservation. Thus, avoiding or minimizing the challenge to indigenous institutions participation such as isolation from resource management can assist to save the species of both *Coffea arabica* and some highly endangered plant species.

6.1.2. Property Rights

There are various forms of property rights that can be divided based on different conceptions. Schlager and Ostrom (1992) developed a conceptual scheme for analyzing property right regimes, which makes a package of rights into four. These include "authorized user, to Plaintiff, to proprietor, and to owner," which enables to substantiate different empirical settings. They further stated that as individuals work in their day-to-day activities, they organize themselves into operational and collective-choice level of actions, which are constrained and made predictable by rules. The basic concept in understanding property right here is "rules" that govern and specify both rights and duties. Hence, "a property right is an authority to undertake a particular action related to a specific domain (Commons, 1968). For every right an individual holds, rules exist that authorize or require a particular action in exercising that property right (Ibid, 1992). Hence, rules specify both rights and duties.

Based on the above conceptual analysis rights are categorized into operational level and collective-choice level. Operational level right includes the right to enter a defined property and withdrawal right, i.e., the right to obtain the product of a resource such as forest coffee. On the other hand, collective-choice right is a right to management, exclusion and alienation (sale or lease) that authorize its holders the right to devise operational level withdrawal right (Schlager and Ostrom, 1992:251).

In an attempt to address the problem of natural resource conservation, it is essential to analyze issues related with property rights rather than others. This is because that some forms of property rights are highly susceptible for environmental degradation particularly deforestation than others. Thus, it is very essential to observe different combinations of property rights of Property regimes Fuchs (2003) in terms of ownership, access, and withdrawal regulations (Gibson, 2003:7) in relation to indigenous institutions.

Many of the literature classify property rights into four that include *open access* that has no well-defined property right: *state property*, private property and communal property. The main idea here is that, policies to establish property rights regimes should consider the ecological, cultural, geographical and economic context in which property right regimes are to function (Ibid: 7).

Based on the concepts and analytical frameworks of property rights pointed out above, it is imperative to deal with forest coffee situation in *Gabba-Dogi* area of Yayo district. This can be addressed by splitting the different property rights existed under four various regimes. The rights related to forest coffee were highly interrelated with land tenure right until the imperial period.

Before the late nineteenth century, land and forest coffee was under the extended family and clan of the then regional governor, Fatansa Iluu. Huntingford (1955) that for the [Oromo] land in theory belongs to the tribe. This also complements with Tessema's assertion that "before Menelik's conquest even among the *Macca* amongst whom the institution of kingship *mootii* had evolved, the ritual and religious practices of *gadaa* had not been entirely abandoned. Indirectly they regulated land use and occupation rights and promoted reciprocal associations" (Tessema, 1996:204). During this period, as some informants suggested, the majority of the community based their livelihood, on providing labour service and some portion of their produce mainly coffee and honey to the regional Oromo governor. This shows that land and forest coffee were the property of regional governors, their extended family and clans of the ruling class that grants the greater part of use right for the land less as far as they accomplished the requirements stated above.

Before the imperial period, just after the conquest of Minilik when his regional representatives started to collect taxes, resources became under the proprietors or landlords many of whom were military persons and the *naftagnas* from the North. Many of the Oromo regional governors remained with one-fourth (1/4) of their original holdings who retained their land near the *Gabba* river as a strategy to retain very fertile land that is covered with natural forest endowed with forest coffee undergrowth. Thus, the use rights of peasants who submit some portion of their produce for the landlord mainly dominated the forest coffee access right before the imperial period; i.e. substantial portion of land was the property of few landlords. The majority of the local people were based on the use right of the land that mainly based on crop sharing mechanism.

During the imperial period, likewise other regimes, combinations of different property right were practiced. The state and the landlords were the main holders of the land that owned Forest and wild coffee land. The majority of the peasants used to access the land through crop sharing mechanism where the elders mainly determined the ratio of crop sharing. Some portion of the land was also given for soldiers, church (*samon*), *etc.* "An interest in preserving forests defined as state-owned goes back to imperial times. In 1966, the Council of Ministers placed state forests under the Ministry of Agriculture" (Black *et al*, 2001:1). Some key informants pointed out that there were state land covered with natural forest and wild coffee which was situated in both sides of *Gabba* River specifically around the borders of *Dorenni* and *Yayo* district that was administered by imperial agents. From this forest, people harvest wild coffee that was submitted to the imperial palace.

During the *Derg* regime, land was allocated for peasants by the PA chairperson and the committee established for this purpose after the nationalization of land. Land was also gradually given for different

co-operatives (farmers, women and youth), schools and churches. The PA leaders and the committee allocate forest coffee and forestland through granting unpredictable use right as land was a government property.

After the EPRDF came to power, there was no formal access right to land except inheritance of the youth from their parents and close relatives. As a result, a substantial portion of a society live through crop sharing and land leasing (buying mainly coffee plots). Apart from that, there were no conservation and use rights formally granted to the local people regarding the forest coffee in the area with the exception of collecting forest coffee. In the buffer zone, there are no any clear use and conservation rights of forest except coffee production right in the former plot with out expansion. Hence, inheritance through kinship or fragmentation of the existing plot stayed the main means of access to managed and wild coffee. There was no ownership right granted to the local people, with the exception of the current government trend to certify land use right only on grazing and crop plot lands (excluding forest and forest coffee) to all in the 11 KA's that *Gabba-Dogi* forest coffee project incorporated. This remained the major threat for the life of the people adjacent to the project area.

Therefore, the existing property rights regime does not incorporate the ecological, geographical, cultural and customary rules and rights on natural resources that have been partly dealt in the duties of indigenous institutions. The local have their own traditional right to natural resources particularly access to land that covered with forest and forest coffee that occasionally operate. Responses of the informants agree with Huntingford, (1955) that some degree of rights to land and forest can be obtained through occupation "accompanied by the hanging of honey-barrels in the forest; but no man may enclose for himself more than he can cover with a spear-throw or stone's throw. Richards Michael states in this regard that indigenous institutions and their associated tenure forms need to be officially recognized, as in Colombia's indigenous territory model of land tenure, and the legal demarcation of indigenous territories accelerated (Richards, 1997). In other words, the traditional mechanisms of access to forest and wild coffee that existed until the near past on substantial portion of the forest (particularly the way people used forest coffee within the boundary where they hanged beehive). Hence, it has to be entertained through the participatory approach for the full acceptance of the conservation project among the local community including inheritance right through kinship. The facts that the conservation area is demarcated as state conservation area cannot develop a sense of ownership among the local community.

6.1.3. The Relationship between Formal and Indigenous Institutions

The interaction between government formal institutions and indigenous institutions at local level has a profound implication on the conservation and use of natural resource. Indigenous institutions have been managing natural resources for the past many years that enabled or contributed to keep the environmental stability. With the introduction of market economy and the establishment of modern states, indigenous institutions were relegated and some times scheduled from their natural resource management role. Pankhurst in this regard states that changing relations between local, regional and national policy and practice raise particular challenges (Pankhurst, 2001b:3). Information gathered from the key informants also Confirm the gradual marginalization of local indigenous institutions with the increasing full control of state enforced local institutions under different regimes during the past.

Until the late 19th century, as many informants indicate from their oral history, the issue of natural resource management was primarily the responsibility of indigenous institutions. Different indigenous institutions operate based on the rules and regulations devised by the *Gadaa* institution. It was devised particularly in *bakkee abba-alangaa* where the representatives of all Oromo clans assemble twice a year. The rules which used to be devised and revised was known as *tumaa Oromo* that nearly refers to Oromo legislation. During this period there was no any state forced local institutions apart from indigenous institutions that include *qoro, abba lagaa, tuulla, xuxee, Shane etc,* which were evolved from the local peoples' indigenous knowledge in their attempt to adapt with the existing ecological situations. In other words, the competition to hold formal political position during the late nineteenth century was limited to the interests prevailing among regional governors and a few administrative members based on kinship and lineage structures, and contributed for longer persistence of indigenous /local structures in resource management for the past many generations.

The introduction of state enforced formal institutions at a local level was mainly effected at the late nineteenth century, during the conquest of Menelik that was not fully realized. During this period, the existing indigenous administrative structures at local a level are adopted as they were. The major changes he brought were, the allocation of land and its resources for his followers and a few Oromo landlords based on different property right regimes. That was the greatest phase in the change of natural resource management in bringing an influential state involvement that generated increasing environmental degradation due to escalating insecure resource tenure. Therefore, indigenous institutions were smoothly working with formal state introduced institutions at a higher level with their full control at local level, except changes and resource degradations linked with property right, i.e. *Qoro, abba lagaa,*

tuulla, xuxee, and Shane were the only responsible local administrative institutions that govern other local work organization like *jiga, lafee, abba-ulee and dabo*. The expansion of trade and the construction of various access roads at different level are the other factors that contributed for the deforestation. The development of cash economy and market for surplus production in the area (Wood, n.d: 14) and the better access to this area due to it's administrative importance a large population concentrated there which all contributed to deforestation (Ibid:13).

With the expansion of the feudal system during the imperial period where land and its endowments were the property of few landlords, individuals, and state favored institutions, the above mentioned indigenous institution were continued to exist with the increasing impact from the higher level state forced formal institutions. *Qoro, abba-lagaa, tuulla, xuxee and shane* continued to be the chief indigenous as well as government institutions at local level. They continued to exist based on the imperial government rules and regulations that favour the few privileged classes rather than the majority lower classes. Very surprisingly, the *tuulla* institution that is supported by its two descending structures (*xuxee and shane*) continued to stand and advocate for the rights of local people based on traditional rules and regulations hand in hand with realizing state forced rules and regulations. The *tuulla* used to negotiate with state higher officials when the amount of tax imposed on the local dwellers in his territory become beyond the local peoples' capacity. *Tuulla* was also highly accepted and strengthened by the Italian invaders, due to its higher acceptance among the society.

The *Derg* period was a unique period in the history of natural resource degradation and the role of indigenous institutions in natural resource management as well as their relation with formal institutions. The *Derg's* political and economic policy was totally against the role of indigenous institutions in natural resource management and other aspects of societal livelihood. All the indigenous institutions handed down by the local people were abolished by the *Derg* principle of different forms of farmers co-operatives, associations (farmers, women and youth), villagization and resettlement programmes. All these programs introduced within a very brief period were handicapped indigenous institutions that dramatically changed resource tenure management in relation with co-operatives, associations and residential instability related with villagisation and resettlement. These highly dislocated the society and broke the long lasted social bonds among the indigenous community that place a corner stone for the existence and the role of indigenous institutions.

The major change in the life of the society in *Yayo* area was the expansion of state established local formal institutions to the least possible local area, i.e., the establishment of peasant associations with

appointed government officials including chairperson and other *kebele* secretaries and vicinity (*ketena*) representatives that profoundly devastated the role of indigenous institutions previously responsible for the socio-economic and cultural life of the local people. Therefore, it is possible to argue that the *Derg* government overwhelmed indigenous institutions mainly indirectly. This is indirectly through its socio-economic policies that incorporated socialist co-operatives, associations, villagization and resettlement. It also directly replaced the former *tuulla*, *xuxee* and *shane* structures with formal PA chairperson and officials. This in turn very much contributed to direct and indirect deforestation that was the highest of its kind in the history of the surrounding people. A substantial portion of forest and wild coffee was abolished in the name of villagisation and resettlement. Large amounts of managed coffee and natural forest near both sides of *Gabba* River were left without owners that also led to deforestation as people gathered in other places for villagization and resettlement. All these resulted from at point rejection of indigenous institutions rules and regulations that mainly reflected in their socio-economic and political life. More specifically, the alarming resource degradation was brought about due to the heightened isolation of indigenous institutions that were responsible for the NRM for the past many centuries. This however does not mean that the marginalization and domination of indigenous institutions by state forced local institutions is the only cause for deforestation. Pankhurst in this regard states the view that "market and state forces have necessarily destroyed traditional institutions may not always be correct and in fact, external influences may lead to more formalization and in some cases even the invention of NRM institutions" (Pankhurst, 2001:6). Hence, there might be other factors such as the expansion of trade, road, and the need for food that aggravate deforestation. Wood, for instance, described the increasing deforestation around *Gabba* River with the existence of Main road from Addis Ababa to Gore before the Italian invention and the development of cash economy and market for surplus production in the area. (Wood, n.d:13- 14).

To sum up, the *Derg* regime was characterized by rejection of indigenous institutions that were responsible for resource management for centuries and dramatic deforestation and environmental degradation. During the last period of the *Derg* regime and the earlier years of EPRDF were also a major crises and degradation for the resources mainly forest and wild coffee. When the Derg government make policy revisions at the end of the regime, some of the forest coffee owned by cooperatives and associations were left with out the owner and become open access (without identified right for no body) except local understanding among the local people retained from the pre-1974 tradition. This continued until 2003 in few places when the *Gabba-Dogi* forest coffee project is legally "demarcated" (announced) to the local people. This also led to the great lose of natural forest and wild coffee.

After EPRDF came to power, there was an informal well coming of the earlier weakened and ceased indigenous institutions. However, it was only *tuulla*, *xuxee*, and *shane* that could reinvigorate while the rest abolished once and for all. At this particular period, it has to be accredited that EPRDF peace and stability committee strengthened the *tuulla* institution during its early years. The existing local government structures are still providing informal acceptance through various local state or formal institutions such as kebele social court and development agents. Decisions passed by many of the local work organizations such as *abba ulee*, *dabo*, *jiga*, *lafee*, etc that usually controlled by the *tuulla* structure based on its respective rules and regulations are most likely confirmed by these formal government institutions. However, the role of indigenous institution in direct resource management was continually isolated since the *Derg period*. There is no direct role of indigenous institutions in forest and coffee management particularly in operational level rights (access and withdrawal) and collective-choice rights (management, exclusion and alienation). These rights are in fact isolated even from the local formal state institutions since it mainly became a concern of district and above level formal institutions. They are limited to monitoring already issued rules that indigenous institutions by far show greater involvement through traditional beliefs and conflict resolution mechanisms.

In general, there the continued formal isolation of indigenous institutions and the government management right practically concentrated at district and above level apart from little improved informal relation between state and indigenous institutions at local level.

6.1.4. The Role of Indigenous Institutions in Resource Conflict Resolution

6.1.4.1. The Concept

Different scholars view conflict from different perception. In most cases, conflict is allied with negative connotations that involve aggression and various forms of destructive activities. Michael and Jones avowed that it is often thought of as the opposite of cooperation and peace, and is most commonly connected with violence or the threat of violence (Warner and Jones, 1998).It can also be as simply described as a difference of interest among various parties. Thus, (Deloges and Gauthier, 1997: 4) defined conflict as "any relationship between opposing forces whether marked by violence or not" which incorporates the purpose of this research that synchronizes various contrasting ideas over natural forest and forest coffee conservation and use among different stakeholders mainly the local people and state agents.

6.1.4.2. Type and Causes of Conflict

A range of conflict exists in terms of scope and causes. Buckles and Rusnak (n.d) Stated the scope of conflicts over natural resources that, it can take place at a variety of levels, from within the household to

local, regional, societal, and global scales among various stakeholders. Hence, the main causes of conflict are the difference of interest among the growing number of stakeholders that participate over the management of natural resources (Castro & Nielsen, 2001).

The natural resource conflict among the study community can be categorized into two major categories i.e. conflict among the local community themselves and conflict between the local community and various stakeholders including administrative bodies (government or district rural and agricultural development office) on *Gabba-Dogi* forest coffee conservation and use.

Conflict among the local community on natural resources including wild coffee and natural forest is not rampant. The most frequent intra communal resource conflict, as most informants indicated, is dispute over the boundary of land. This comprises all the resources on the land that might be, cereal crop, forest coffee, managed coffee farms etc. This type of conflict is mainly managed or resolved through the local elders (*jarsa biyya*) on the forum mostly organized by *tuullas*. The other types of conflicts that widely exist are the clash over managed coffee land that sold to other people during the time of food shortage. This coffee land is in great controversy when the government ordered to return this coffee land to the original holders per the land policy of the region. This raised a great conflict between the sellers and the buyers who are currently ordered to return the land. This particular conflict was mainly managed through the formal legal system that is based on the land policy. A few cases of such conflicts were also resolved through the involvement of elders committee established by the government, in situation where the conflict reached its apex. Such conflict is too broad has great economic and political implications. This kind of conflict is beyond the scope of this paper as it has lower significance in forest coffee conservation and use.

The second type of conflict arises between the local community and the government RADO i.e. *Gabba-Dogi* Forest Coffee conservation and use project. This category of conflict is on property rights of the natural resources, the application of indigenous knowledge in the conservation and use of forest coffee; and the socio-economic consequences that are associated with the demarcation of forest coffee conservation and use project. Castro & Nielsen pointed out the fact that communities have been managing these resources in their own traditional and indigenous ways for the past many years. However, the contemporary collaborative management of the natural resources has increased the number of stakeholders in this sector, which is not limited to the foresters and the villagers, there are many others has increased the possibilities of conflicts (Castro and Nielsen, 2001). Pankhurst in this regard stated that there is a big difference between the way local communities and outsiders view natural

resources; this difference of perspective may lead to tensions between the various actors mainly due to differences of interest among local communities, donors and the Government (Pankhurst, 2003:78). This is evident from the local people and the government having contrasting interests on the conservation and use of *Gabba-dogi* forest coffee project.

The local people's economic subsistence and in some cases their overall livelihood is based on the natural forest and forest *Coffea arabica,* a resource that has to sustained their life for the past many years. On the Contrary, the government structures mainly Oromia Rural and Agricultural Development Office is striving to conserve *Coffea arabica* species diversity that produces the most favourite drink that Ethiopia contributed to the world, Wild *Coffea arabica*, in collaboration with international donors. The EDE consultancy group stated that wild *Coffea arabica* in Ethiopia is one of the most important and at the same time, in terms of genetic conservation, one of the most neglected crops in the world (EDE, 1999:3). This shows the rationality of both stakeholders except the gap created in the implementation process of the forest coffee conservation and use lack of participation by the local community creates various forms of conflict. It resulted from the marginalization of the role of indigenous institutions in the use and conservation process. These mainly constitute differential interests among local community themselves, local community and various stakeholders such as government, NGOs, and donors.

The information gap between the local community and the forest coffee conservation project administrative bodies is one of the sources of the conflict. The bulk of the local communities in and adjacent to the demarcated forest coffee area is oblivious about the exact boundary and the differences between the different zones as well as its implication on forest coffee and natural forest conservation which is unclear including for some district technical staffs. The surrounding communities do not clearly know the exact objective and benefit of the demarcated forest and the significance of different management zones. This has created a tension among the local community due to the fear of sever resource scarcity particularly future forest and farmland tenure security on their remained farmland. That is why, Buckles and Rusnak described that conflict may also arise enormously from confusion and frustration among members of a community over poorly communicated development policies that leads to violent clashes between groups over resource ownership rights and responsibilities (Buckles and Rusnak, n.d).

The prevailing information gap also created lack of common understanding on the conservation and use of forest coffee. The local people do not believe in strict protection of the core zone. The majority of them argue that forest coffee has no use, if the undergrowth bush is not cleared. It stops giving productivity

after two years; forest canopy that serves as a shade also needs to be thinned; otherwise, it will sometimes either dried or stand with out leaf and product until it is hacked. These arguments force the local community to prefer societal interventions that involve conservation and use including clearing undergrowth and thinning the canopy. This is contrary to the scientific conservation research on which *Gabba-Dogi* forest coffee conservation and use project primarily footed. It indicated that the species diversity tends to decrease with the increase in the length of management period (Taddese, 2003:91) which recommends strict protection of the core zone. This show the significance of indigenous knowledge and awareness of the local community in order to ensure smooth conservation and use of natural forest that based on the input of indigenous institutions.

The major ground for strict protection of core zone except ecotourism and very slight interference is to avoid the decline in species variety due to clearing forest and thinning forest canopy in managed as well as forest coffee. However, some local dwellers even do not believe in the existence of forest coffee in the area with out the earlier intervention of human beings.

Some of the informants stated that most of the areas currently demarcated as a forest coffee conservation project were habitats for human beings. They tried to mention a number of artifacts that show its being human residence area. Informants indicated the existence of stone mills, coffee pots (*jabanaa*), burial places, and remains of spices that people used to use. Their other evidence is the fact that, some of the forest coffee areas have local names designated by the early passed owners such as *bunna abba Tibbaa (*abba Tibba's coffee*), buna abba Luksi (*abba Luksi's coffee*) buna abba Dinka (*abba Dinka's coffee*)* etc. all of whom are currently not alive. Many of the local dwellers also strongly justify their observation during their life time that the areas of "forest coffee" coverage is increasing North and South wards in both sides of *Gabba* river that constitute the major part of the core zone. Their assumption is that the spread coverage of forest coffee is increased through the multiplication effect of wild animals that consume as a food, mainly baboons and different types of birds. However, this cannot be a source of conflict unlike the basic knowledge gap on forest coffee management or conservation activities mentioned earlier, as the government demarcated forest coffee project staff belief the existence of individual coffee in the demarcated forest coffee; rather, the absence of terms of agreement on the demarcated area with a local people is a major source of disagreement.

Over 308 households have managed coffee from the core zone of the demarcated area. Many of these households are claiming that their means of survival that they inherited from their ancestors is included in the demarcated area. Only in a single *kebele* (*Gaabaa*), twenty-five households managed coffee had

included in core zone (*daangaa lammaffaa*) which is under strict protection with out human intervention except for ecotourism and similar purposes.

Many of the adjoining local communities lost an estimated average of half a hectare of managed coffee farm per household who are totally forbidden from conserving and using forest coffee and natural forest in the core zone (*daangaa lammaffaa*). They are also strictly forbidden from expanding any form of agricultural activity in the buffer zone. Expansion of managed coffee farm, clearing forest coffee under growth, and thinning coffee shades are also forbidden. These people are also outlawed to hang up beehives in core zone trees for which they have a traditional use right among them selves. They also prohibited using timber products of forest with few exceptions, which has bottleneck procedures that requires getting permission from district RADO. The demarcation of natural forest that has forest coffee undergrowth imposed the local society's conservation and use right of forest coffee and natural forest.

The strict protection of natural forest also has an indirect impact on the community living adjacent to it. Many of them indicated that, as forest is getting dense, the substantial portion of their cereal as well as coffee production is eaten by wild animals mainly baboons, monkeys and bush pigs.

In connection with the demarcation of forest coffee, the spread of animal and human disease including malaria is also aggravating from time to time, as priority was not given for human habitat in those adjacent areas like *Beddessa*. Hence, the demarcation of forest coffee is facilitating environmental situation free of human activity due to biological factors as well as human factors mainly government impact related with forest coffee conservation project. This shows the lack or absence of practical participatory approach that enhances the role of indigenous institutions in the forest coffee and natural forest conservation and use. Hence, various forms of conflicts stated above are resulted from the fact that the role of indigenous institutions that reflect the social, economic and cultural life as well as the general livelihood of the community is highly ignored. This forces to question the sustainability of government forced forest coffee species diversity conservation.

6.1.4.3. Conflict Resolution

Indigenous institutions that are involved in resource conflict management are based on a range of characteristics that include territoriality, religion and seniority among the local community. There is therefore a need for alternative methods of dispute resolution for persons engaged in natural resource management, because there cannot be a single method that can be efficient, equitable and administratively practicable in all types of conflicts (Indian Institute of Forest Management, 2001).

ADR mechanisms involve a variety of collaborative approaches including conciliation, negotiation, and mediation (Pundit *et al.* 1994; Moore 1996 cited in Buckles and Rusnak, n.d). These ADR mechanisms are widely practiced by local indigenous institutions mainly *tuulla*, elders council (*Jaarsa Biyya*) and traditional religious leaders. Ayittey asserts that the elders are believed to hold and control supernatural powers reinforced by belief in superstitions and witchcraft. This is perhaps the basis of the legitimacy of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms (Ayittey, 2003).

If there is a conflict amid individuals with in a family, neighborhood or a local community over resources, local elders or the *tuulla* are primarily involved in conflict resolution process either by themselves or through arranging arbitrators. The *tuulla* leads or submits the case *for* elders' councils (*jaarsa biyya*) for mediation and arbitration based on the existing cultural and social situation. The *tuulla's* position here is a facilitation role or bringing the disputants for arbitration in front of religious leaders or the elders' council.

Religious leaders, particularly the *qallus*, (which the local people call "*abba ayyaana*") that exist in few a places; and play a significant role in dispute resolution. Sometimes, the *tuulla*, local elders, or influential people in the locality submit the case to the *qallu*, where the disputants mostly become submissive to the decision of the *qallu,* as his spirit (*ayyaana)* is highly feared among the local dwellers. Practices of traditional beliefs such as swearing (*kaka*) also play a significant role in resource conflict resolution. If two individuals are involved in conflict with one another, for instance, they may agree to swear to identify the issue on which conflict is arisen. This is evident in many societies, as Castro and Ettenger (1996:7) asserted, that diverse mechanisms are used to handle disputes at a local level, including peer pressure, gossip, ostracism, violence, public humiliation, witchcraft, and spiritual healing" (Cited in Buckles and Rusnak, n.d). Therefore, the *tuulla*, elders' council and traditional beliefs play an important role in resource conflict management and resolution including forest coffee and natural forest conservation and use.

Conflict between local people and the government or state forced conservation project needs to be addressed through the principle of co-management with the influential input of the indigenous institutions' resource conflict management skill. Brown (1999), for instance, defines co-management as a "working partnership" between local communities and the state, with its principles embodied in participatory forestry, collaborative and joint forest management (cited in Castro & Nielsen, 2001). Makiko Yamauchi stated that conflict between many stakeholders that include a state, the indigenous communities and NGOs, have occurred quite often for which two conflict resolution mechanisms have been used: the courts and the EIA system, which is now a statutory obligation for project proponents in forest areas"

(Makiko Yamauchi, n.d). However, some suggest that co-management regimes can set into motion new conflicts or cause old ones to escalate, as practical power sharing is not realized; but rather a strengthening of the state's control over resource policy, management, and allocation that further marginalize communities and resource users (Castro & Nielsen (2001). Hence, resource conflict between the local community and the state on forest coffee conservation project have similar nature with the later concept that relegates community's inputs and tries to strengthen government control over the resource. This can be palpable from the case studies collected from *kebele* social courts and *district* courts that show the interaction of formal and customary conflict resolution mechanisms on forest coffee and natural forest.

6.1.4.4. Case Studies on Conflict Resolution

Six conflict cases over natural resources mainly coffee and natural forest are collected from four different *kebeles*.

Case One

It is about Conflict over the boundary of coffee Plot created between the plaintiff W/o Nure Aga and the defendant Ato Gizaw Bekele. Both the plaintiff and the defendant are the dwellers of *Wixete kebele* in Yayo district. The case was submitted to the *kebele* social court on 10/01/97. The defendant responded to the issue he requested on 26/1/97. Seeing the response of the defendant, the kebele social court transferred the case to the elders' council to investigate the case and make decision on the issue.

The elders' council reached a decision through counting the number of coffee stems the defendant used to have, as he did not plant the new ones after the litigation started. Based on this counting, they decided on farm of W/o Nure Aga and decided that the defendant should leave the piece of land that he trespassed. The elders' council verdict was submitted to the court on 24/2/97. However, the defendant was not willing to accept the elders' decision; hence, the plaintiff resubmitted the case to the kebele social court. The kebele social court heard the witnesses on 30/2/97. Based on the elders' council decision and the witnesses' idea, the kebele social court has concurred with the decision of the elders' council, i.e., the defendant was found guilty of trespassing into others' coffee plot.

The defendant finally requested an appeal for further litigation at district court and the case is still ongoing.

This shows that the role of customary conflict resolution mechanism, the negotiation (stated above) is very strong, as the elders could reach on the same decision with the social court within a short period with out expending much time. The bases for the elders' council to reach a decision are their local knowledge that they have on the issue and resource on which conflict is raised.

Case Two

The second case is conflict over the boundary of coffee plot between two individuals.

The Plaintiff Ato Eshetu Yimam submitted the case to the *kebele* social court on 15/2/96 in which he accused the defendant Alaro Keletu for trespassing to his coffee plot boundary. The kebele social court passed the case to the local elders' council to decide on the case. The elders' council submitted their decision to the kebele social court on 15/3/97 on which they came up with the finding that Ato Alaro, the defendant, was found guilty. The defendant, however, did not accept the elders' decision and he appealed to the district court. The district court returned the case to the kebele social court on 8/4/97 deciding that the case has to be seen at *kebele* level.

The *Kebele* social court reinvestigated the case in depth through various mechanisms. It identified, first the *kebele* committee members who gave the coffee land for both of the disputants; and then the previous committee (during the *Derg*) who had given the land, together with the current *kebele* cabinet members and militias, to identify the case on the spot, which they did as soon as possible. After that, a group of people who reinvestigated the case on the spot came up with the same finding as the elders' council. They found that Ato Alaro Keletu was discovered to be on the wrong side. Based on the finding of the group of people investigated the case, the Kebele social court imposed a fine on Ato Alaro Keletu for his violation of land use right and the boundary of coffee plot is corrected per the new finding.

From the case discussed above it is possible to infer that the decisions of the elders council, which was not accepted at the beginning, was finally accepted after further investigations by different groups at different level. This confirms that the elders' council has enough knowledge and capacity to resolve resource conflict at local level apart from lack of authority to enforce their decision mainly when the case is transferred from the court. Therefore, the lack of authority among the elders council in local resource conflict resolution is the main challenge in indigenous institutions' customary dispute resolution mechanism on the cases transferred from formal courts to them.

Case Three

The third case is a dispute over a coffee plot among W/o Mitike Qene'a, the plaintiff and three defendants: 1.Desta G/egiziabiher, 2. Zenebe W/Giyorgis, 3. Fantaye Halluu

The case was directly submitted to the kebele social court. Analyzing the situation, the *kebele* social court transferred the cases to the elders' council who found that the defendants were guilty of tresspassing the coffee plot boundary of the plaintiff. The defendants, however, did not accept the decision of the elders' council and returned the case to the *kebele* social court. After reinvestigating the decision of the elders' council against the case under litigation, the *kebele* social court confirmed the decision of elders' council. Finally, the decision was accepted and executed.

The above case shows the important role that elders' council can play in conflict resolution and the lack of formal authority to enforce the decision.

Case Four

The fourth case is a conflict over a coffee plot between two litigants; Plaintiff Asefash Endale and Defendant Jaalataa Fayissa.

The Plaintiff submitted his case to the district court in 13/7/96 stating that the defendant has forcefully dispossessed and used his father's property, which is a managed coffee plot that is estimated to cost 1260 Et. Birr since 21/4/96. Hence, the plaintiff requested to get back his coffee plot (petitory action) including his lost coffee estimated above per the Ethiopian civil code 1149(1).

The defendant responded to the case he has been accused of on 5/8/96 indicating that the coffee plot, which the Plaintiff is requesting, is his, which he has been using since 1947 E.C. for the past 49 years. The defendant has also indicated that the 1952 Ethiopian civil code is legislated after that (non-retroactivity).

The court transferred the case to the kebele administrators by the letter dated 16/10/96 Ref.No H.H312/96 for further analysis by identifying the team of investigators. The woreda court assigned three individuals from the elders, three individuals from the committee members during the *Derg*. Three individuals from kebele administrators through the chairing of the kebele administrator in front of the litigants.

After conducting a deep investigation with the above-mentioned group of people, the Kebele administrators come up with the finding that reported to the woreda court through the letter dated 27/10/96 Ref. No.883/2/126. The group of people who are recruited to conduct in-depth investigation of the case came up with the finding that the coffee plot was the property of Ato Jaalata Fayyisa from 1947 -1996 and the plaintiff was found to be guilty for claiming some one's property and ordered to pay 100.00 Eth. Birr for the expenses of the plaintiff. The district court granted the right for further claim and closed the dossier.

The above case can also reveal an influential contribution of the elders' council in the teams organized to analyze the case and come up with the finding. However, the role of this indigenous institution is limited to providing support and technical analysis, as it has no right to enforce the decision that paves the way for some of the litigants to refuse after the decisions are passed.

Case Five

The fifth case is different from the above four cases, i.e, it deals with conflict over forest between local dwellers and the government agents unlike the previous cases that deal with coffee cases among the dwellers themselves.

Under this case, the plaintiff is the Prosecutor while the defendants are 1. Girma Dessalegn, 2.Gizaw Adugna, and 3. Mamo Etensa who were caught red handed while they were illegally cutting trees for lumber production. Consequently, the prosecutor accused the defendants of cutting the government natural resource on 18/9/96 on 11:00 AM in Hammuumaa Deegitaa *kebele*.

The defendants were responded to the court that they had cut *waddeessa (Cordia africanus) tree*, for lumber, as they have no any mechanism to sustain their life, or any job they can make of their life. The court referred the case to the Prosecutor whose office was the plaintiff, for suggestion on the case. The prosecutor suggested on the case that the decision has to be given based on the belief of the defendants, i.e., they has to be punished per the rule by considering their faithfulness for their offense. As a result, the court finally decided six-month imprisonment, which will be materialized within the coming two years based on the activities of the defendants.

Case Six

The sixth case is similar to the fifth one as it deals with conflict on resources mainly forest between the prosecutor and the individual defendants.

The plaintiff (prosecutor) claimed that the defendants committed the crime on 26/9/96 at around 3.00 PM defraying the Ethiopian Forest protection proclamation 72/1995 Art.15.They cut *waddeessa (Cordia africanus)* tree from the protected forest in *Waboo Naanno Sakki Kebele.*

After ensuring the case by witnesses, the district social court decided an imprisonment for 15 days or to pay 100.00 Ethiopian Birr per the Ethiopian Forest Protection Proclamation 72/1995.

From the above cases (5 and 6), it is possible to argue that the decisions passed on the defendants were solely based on the civil code. It did not give any consideration for the traditional use rights and customary conflict resolution mechanisms of indigenous institutions unlike the previous conflict resolution cases among the local community themselves or that did not involve the government agents. This illustrates that conflicts over natural resources (forest coffee and natural forests) will be transferred to the elders council for informal analysis and decision mostly when the litigant parties are not from the government agents. This shows that though there is an improvement in involving indigenous institutions in resource conflict resolution mechanism, it varies in different type of litigants such as government bodies and individuals. It implies an improvement in the participation of indigenous institutions in resource conflict resolution that can result in improving the commitment among the local community that contributes in reducing illegal deforestations.

Two important conclusions can be drawn from the above six case studies. Firstly, indigenous institutions play an important role in conflict resolution particularly in negotiation, mediation and conciliation. This could be observed from the role the elders' council played in forest coffee conflict resolution through participating in the cases transferred from the court as well as before cases submitted to the courts. The role they played in the above conflict resolution processes were limited to the analysis of the cases and passing the decisions, as they have no power to enforce the decisions. If the cases were not transferred from the court, their decisions would have been more enforced through the traditional processes such as social ostracism and different mechanisms. This in general indicates the informal collaborative work they have with the state formal institutions in conflict resolution and their lack of power to enforce decisions. Suporahardjo and Wodicka, (2003) assert that communities lacking access to information and having weak organizational capacity were unable to negotiate with more powerful stakeholders, or to enforce to implementation of agreements.

Secondly, the above cases particularly the first four cases clearly show the role of indigenous institutions in resolving conflicts over coffee among the local community themselves. On the contrary, the last two

cases show that indigenous institutions conflict resolution role is limited to the local community, as they could not participate in resolving conflict cases where the government is involved as one of the litigants.

6.2. Prospects of Indigenous Institutions in Forest Coffee Management.

Indigenous institutions are by far isolated from natural resource management, which have implication in keeping the environmental steadiness as well as the species diversity of wild *Coffea arabica*. The prospects of indigenous institution in natural resource management in general and forest coffee conservation in particular thus depends on the experiences of past and the present situation that can be analyzed against the trend of environmental degradation. More expressly, the contributions of indigenous institutions in resource management, and the challenges to indigenous institutions in resource management are crucial points that need to be considered in dealing with their prospects.

It can be clear from various sources that indigenous institutions have been playing crucial roles in the past hundreds of years in resource management in the study area. Nevertheless, the adaptability of these indigenous institutions with the dynamism or changing socio-economic, political and cultural situations can be questioned. It is possible to observe that most of the rules and regulations of indigenous institutions have been revised from time to time based on various factors mainly due to the influence of state forced formal institutions, the development of market economy and the increasing heterogeneity of the local community. This enhances the adaptability of the rules and regulations of indigenous institutions with the changing situations. Their rules and regulations were originally emanated from a single area and source *bake abba alanga* where the Oromo rules (*Tumaa Oromo*) were used to be made that found in *Wixete* area of Yayo district. Most of the indigenous institutions such as *tuulla*, *xuxee*, and *shane are* very adaptable to various situations. The general assembly held twice a year has been legislating and revising different rules as the need arise to adapt with changing situations. After the influence of external forces mainly the conquest, the formal legislation of indigenous institutions' rules at *bake abba alanga* was disrupted. This had also forced revision of rules and regulations of indigenous institutions in their respective locality. As a result, the rules and regulations of the existing indigenous institutions vary in many localities including adjacent *kebeles* that enable them to adapt with the changing situations based on the practical context of their respective locality. That is why Ostrom (1990) and Bruce *et al* (1994) stated that indigenous practices and knowledge have been seen as highly adaptive to precarious and changing microenvironments. They are risk averse and hence are highly suitable for many environments in developing countries (Richards, 1985; Fair head, 1992 quoted in Watson, 2001:6).

Punishments of deviations from the rule are mostly changed from physical punishments and payment in to fines in cash that goes in line with the development of market economy and increasing heterogeneity of the local population. The revised rules of indigenous institutions, for instance those of *tuulla*, *jiga*, *abba ulee*, *lafee* and *dabo*, best fit to the life of the whole society in the area including the resettlers from the northern Ethiopia. Therefore, there is no significant negative influence from the inherent nature or rules and regulations of indigenous institutions, which exacerbate forest coffee as well as natural forest deforestation. On the contrary, the formal isolation of indigenous institutions by the past many government regimes created lack of commitments from the society for resource conservation and aggravated startling deforestation.

The main challenges to indigenous institutions is the absence of clear-cut use and conservation policies, formal power as well as rules and regulations that can integrate and enhance their input in resource conservation .This forced them to emphasize on the control of the socio-economic and cultural interaction of the local community. Of course, these have both a direct and indirect impact on natural resource conservation and use. State forced formal institutions at local level are equally liable to the problem of lack of forest coffee and other natural resource use and conservation polices and procedures.

The other challenge that needs to be considered in determining the future prospects of indigenous institutions are established relations with formal state led institution. There is no significant contradiction between the two except the lack of power among indigenous institutions to play the necessary role in resource management by resisting the formal isolation of institutions. The contradiction between indigenous institutions and state formal institution particularly in natural forest and forest coffee in practical sense was evident from the few interviews conducted with district level offices to identify their link with local level formal and informal institutions. Though it is beyond the scope of this research to deal with, it is evident that various stakeholders of resource management mainly the government offices at different hierarchical positions have contradictory ideas and duties in the same place on conservation and use duties. The contradiction on the emphases given for coffee production and for natural forest conservation needs its own further research.

Therefore, in many respects indigenous institutions in *Yayo Hurumu* district have intact potentials that enable them to play their part in resource management. These indigenous institutions have a potential to mobilize the local community and develop a sense of ownership with incorporation into the formal institutions natural resource management policies, and activities. To materialize these potential of indigenous institutions it needs to focus on the rules and regulation of each indigenous institutions and

how its potential is significant and can be interpreted in natural resource management in general and forest coffee conservation in particular.

Tuulla and its two descending structures (*shane* and *xuxee)* are holistic indigenous administrative bodies for various work organizations such as *dabo, jiga, lafee, abba-ulee, quqube*, sometimes *iddir* (in *Wixete* KA), etc., and in many other aspects of the life of the local society. Hence, the *tuulla* institution is a "traditional local administrator" based on local societal values, customs, traditions, belief systems, indigenous knowledge, etc., which can be mobilized by the society in every direction. Thus, natural resource management practices particularly forest coffee conservation and use polices, programs, projects, and activities needs to consider the roles of *tuulla* and other indigenous institutions.

6.3. CONCLUSION

There are various challenges to the conservation and use of forest coffee and natural forest. The attitude of the local community towards the conservation, property rights, indigenous and formal institution interrelations, and resource conflict are the main challenges for resource conservation and use.

The attitude of the local community towards the forest coffee conservation activity largely depends on the impact of the conservation activity on their contemporary livelihood. *Gabba-Dogi* forest coffee project in this regard has an influential impact on the economic subsistence of the society in its surroundings. The majority of the societies in the area are claiming that the conservation project has exposed them to lack of construction materials, inability to expand their coffee farms, exposure of their crops to wild animals, hindrances to traditional coffee conservation mechanisms, etc. Many of them stated that this could has resulted from lack of participation of people in all phases of the forest coffee conservation and use. This in turn resulted in the isolation of the role of indigenous institutions from forest coffee conservation and use activities as they cannot contribute without getting access or participating in the conservation processes. Hence, the misgivings towards the conservation process is the major challenge that resulted from the marginalization of indigenous institutions or lack of participation that could have been incorporated the societal attitudes and interests in the conservation and use mechanism, which can reduce the challenges.

Property rights are also among the major challenges for the forest coffee conservation and use mechanism. The rights of the local people for the use and conservation are not clear. Apart from that, the local peoples customary use rights are not reflected in the project. Customary rights such as inheritance

and traditional mechanisms of hanging beehive insure individuals' protection of forest and the forest coffee in a specified area.

Customary conflict resolution mechanisms mainly the elder's council is currently playing a significant role. Nevertheless, their role is limited to resolving conflicts among local community themselves, as they are isolated from the cases between local people and government agents. Customary conflict resolution mechanisms that are conducted by the indigenous institutions particularly the elders' council are not authorized to enforce their decisions. Hence, the isolation of formal institutions on some cases and lack of power and authority to enforce their own decisions are the main challenges to indigenous institutions in conflict resolution. This has mainly resulted from the domination of indigenous institutions by state forced formal institutions.

Indigenous institutions have great potentials in natural resource management. It can be observed from their ability to manage natural resources through the indigenous knowledge, adaptability with changing situations and to mobilize the community towards common understanding in forest coffee and other natural resource conservation and use. Hence, Warren, and Rollins stated that through "finding a better way of working out socially and ecologically acceptable relationships between people, government, and the landscape, there is a potential for new institutional forms of resource management to develop" (Warren, and Rollins, 2004:3-4). The incorporation of *tuulla, mucho and jaarsa biyya* in decision making process can ensure sustainable and legitimate natural forest and forest coffee conservation and use situation. This can be achieved through providing formal authority and responsibility in NRM activities such as guaranteeing the right to decide on access right, dispute resolution, organizing conservation activities, etc. through close relation with formal institutions.

However, lack of formal authority to enforce their decisions due to the problem of isolation by formal institutions is the major constraint to their potential role in resource management.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Ethiopia is a home for the origin of *Coffea arabica*, which grows wild in the natural forests of South and Southwest (EDE, 1999; Camenny Kruh, 2003:1). Ethiopian *Coffea arabica* in the forest is the base for the genetic diversity conservation in the world. However, *Coffea arabica* is exposed to escalating deforestation resulting from various factors. Expansion of big farms, overgrazing, illegal settlement, uncontrolled tree harvesting and utilization, poverty, technology, and market accessibility (Daba, 2000:2-28) are the main factors that aggravated the deforestation process. As a result, the government established *Coffea arabica* in-situ conservation sites in the South and southwest parts of the Country. *Gabba-Dogi* forest coffee conservation project that is found in Yayo district of *Iluu Abba Bora* zone is one of these in-situ conservation sites in Ethiopia.

Studies conducted in Yayo area revealed that, the majority of the people in these areas are reliant on the wild coffee and natural forest for their own consumption as well as market sales. Hence, the problem results from the relation between human society and the environment that comprises political, social, cultural and economic factors (Degnet, 2003).

Institutions play a central role in the natural resource use and conservation. Radcliff-Brown's structural functionalist confirm that any institution can have a function in fitting together with some other institution (Barnard, 2000:63) which can contribute for proper management of forest as well as for maintaining the stability of local environment or the wider system. Malinowski's functionalism that set up on "the seven basic needs of man: nutrition, reproduction, bodily comforts, safety, relaxation, movement, and growth" satisfied by derived cultural and social institutions (Bohannan and Glazer, 1988:276) which mainly achieved through its conservation activities. The role of indigenous institutions, however, has declined over time due to the increasing power of formal institution. This hastened the isolation of indigenous institutions from their socio-economic and cultural activities that also reduced their role in resource management. This in turn aggravated the deforestation rate that brought radical changes in the past century. However, it is difficult to argue that indigenous institutions have been managing natural resources with specific and clear rules for every type of resources. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that they have been greatly contributing in enhancing the conservation and use of different natural resources through their rules and regulations devised for various socio-economic and cultural affairs. Hence, the change in the role of indigenous institutions has a great implication in natural resource management in general and forest coffee and natural forest conservation in particular.

- There are four major categories of indigenous institutions in *Yayo* area. Territorial based administrative indigenous institutions, self-help work organizations, religious institutions and indigenous knowledge of forest coffee conservation and use.
- There are changes in the existence and the role indigenous institutions have played over the past century. Some have undergone changes in their role whiles the existence of some indigenous institutions has ended. A few indigenous institutions such as *jiga* and *iddir* are assimilated in some places and started to perform similar activities. This is evident from the fact that in some places, *iddirs* are organized by *tuullas* and involve in forest coffee conservation activities apart from death related issues. It also enabled to incorporate peoples with different backgrounds such as the natives and the resettlers from the North.

Changes are occurred in the conservation of forest coffee and natural forest at different times. Many indigenous institutions wrecked through time mainly during the *Derg* regime due to the impact of formal institutions. The type of role they are playing are also changed in emphases from collective-choice level to operational-level and from granting formal access and withdrawal rights to adversity based informal support in conservation and use, i.e., death related issues; help and labour support provided on catastrophic problems such as fire disasters and sickness, become their major emphases.

Therefore, both the ending of some indigenous institutions and the change in emphases as well as the type of their role mainly resulted from gradual change from main resource management rights to total isolation from formal resource management rights. This contributed in increasing deforestation of natural forest and forest coffee for it does not incorporate the interest, knowledge and values of the local community. Cultural materialists in this regard states that change in social structure and organization leads to new ways of exploiting natural resources -culture change to adapt with the depleted new environment.

Malinowski's biopsychological functionalism indicates that Institutions have grown up in a long historical evolution to undertake adaptations to environment to certain specific local needs (Malinowski, 1945: 63). He advocates that every social institution have a need to satisfy including the smallest item one collects, such as a single folk belief at individual and the societal level (Glazer, (1996). Hence, various indigenous institutions are developed in order to satisfy the need of individuals and the society in a respective locality through creating ecological equilibrium. Malinowski's biopsychological functionalism however, fails to consider changes in the function of institution and its impact on the environmental equilibrium.

- Cultural ecology is the other theoretical perspective that shows the interaction among local populations, natural environment and the technology adopted in exploiting natural resources. Cultural and social institutions play a great role in determining the relation between human society and the environment through their rules and regulations as well as the group of people playing different role to achieve specific purpose. It shows that human activities, which mainly displayed through the activities of different institutions with different culture and technology, are resulting in deforestation of natural forest and wild coffee.
- There are also various models within the grand institutional analysis framework. Ostrom's Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework can validate the empirical facts with the theoretical orientations. The IAD framework assesses the impact of various activities of indigenous institutions at different level on resource management. At micro or local level analysis, it deals with the interaction of collective-choice and operational level activities and rights espoused.

The decisions that administrative indigenous institutions such as the *tuulla, mucho* and the elders council make affects the activities of individuals participating in different self–help work organizations. More specifically, elders' council (*mucho and jaarsa biyya), tuulla, xuxee and shane* make decisions on the operational level activities. Their decisions influence the operational-choice level rights, which are the right to enter a defined property (access right) and withdrawal rights (labour support in transporting, pruning, etc) of forest coffee and natural forest.

The self-help work organizations that comprise *dabo, jiga, abba ulee, ququbee etc* directly involve in coffee conservation activities. They are indigenous institutions at operational level that perform, clearing forest coffee undergrowth, pruning, grafting, keeping from cattle and wild animal damages, and transporting coffee products. Enhancing other agricultural production activities that indirectly reduce the local people deforestation activity through increasing their income contributes to the conservation activities that indigenous institutions at operational level perform. Julian Steward stated that in the adaptive processes the nature of society and an unpredictable number of features of culture, are affected by the basic adjustment through which man utilizes a given environment"(Cited in Batterbury, 1997).

However, indigenous institutions involved in collective-choice level rights are more formally isolated from resource management than those perform operational-level rights. This is because state forced formal institutions mainly perform decisions at a higher level rather than involving in operational level activities such as coffee pruning, transporting and grafting. This is also because indigenous institutions have no legal formal authority to enforce their decisions related with resource issues at

higher level such as the management of demarcated forest coffee. Hence, the activities of indigenous institutions both at operational and collective choice are influenced by the rules and regulations of formal institutions (constitutional Choice) that devised from higher levels. This concedes with Radcliff-Brown's idea that any institution can have a function in fitting together with some other institution (Barnard, 2000:63). However, unlike Radcliff-Brown's idea it does not always result in social stability as it can result in deforestation and environmental degradation.

Hence, the IAD framework can also verify the fact that the contribution and the role of indigenous institutions in forest coffee conservation and use largely depends on the impact of their interface with formal institutions. The isolation, marginalization, lack of power to enforce their decisions, contradiction in the conservation and use processes resulted from dominating rules of state formal institutions.

- Religious institutions play significant roles in forest coffee conservation. *Qallu*, *abdari*, curse *(abaaree)*, swear *(kaka)* perform an influential role in discouraging illegal deforestation, theft, and in enforcing compliance to the rules of various self-help indigenous institutions. This directly or indirectly contributes for forest coffee conservation and use. In addition to enforcing compliance to the rules of other indigenous institutions, *abdari* plays operational level activities such as access to forest by imposing taboos on a few species of trees such as *homi (Prune africanus)* and *hogda (Ficus vasta)*. This could have been the case because the indigenous community recognizes the diminishing trend of natural forest and wild coffee that forced to place taboos, protective values, beliefs etc. Marvin Harris's Materialist interpretation of the taboos imposed on cows meet in India has similar interpretation (Bohannan and Glazer, 1988:378). Therefore, traditional religious institutions incorporate customary modes of thinking, rules and beliefs that influence the actual behaviour of resource users as it has protective rules for specific type of trees. It also enforces the conservation and use rules of other indigenous institutions.
- Indigenous knowledge forms a base of indigenous institutions that play an important role in forest coffee conservation and use. It helps to identify the type of tree species that are very important or harmful when used for coffee shade tree. Various coffee cultivars also have different flavors, which have different market and consumption purposes. It also contributes essential knowledge that allows enhancing the legitimacy and sustainability of the conservation activity among the local people. Therefore, any intervention in forest coffee conservation and use needs to understand the socio-economic and cultural knowledge of the local people.

- There are various challenges both for forest coffee conservation or indirectly for indigenous institutions' role in forest coffee conservation. The attitude of the local community towards the conservation, abolitions of important traditional property (forest and forest coffee) rights, asymmetric interrelations of indigenous and formal institutions, and resource conflict are the main challenges for resource conservation and use. The impact of government led forest coffee conservation project on the local people developed a negative attitude towards the conservation. The conservation project did not give the necessary attention to the customary forest rights such as inheritance and traditional mechanisms of hanging beehive. These customary rights guarantee individuals' protection of forest and the forest coffee in a specified area. Rejection of these rights becomes the challenge to the indigenous institution's effort in forest coffee conservation.

  The lack of construction materials, inability to expand their coffee farm, exposure of their crops to wild animals, hindrances to traditional coffee conservation mechanisms, etc. in demarcated area have resulted due to the lack of community participation in all phases of the forest coffee conservation and use processes. This raised conflict between the state agents and the local community that became one of the main challenges to the role of indigenous institutions in natural resource conservations.

  Customary conflict resolution mechanisms mainly the elders' council is currently playing a significant role. Nevertheless, their role is limited to resolving conflicts among local community members themselves, as they are isolated from the cases between local people and government agents. Customary conflict resolution mechanisms that are conducted by the indigenous institutions particularly the elders' council are not authorized to enforce their decisions when the case is with government agents or forest. Hence, the isolation by formal institutions on some cases and lack of power and authority to enforce their own decisions are the main challenges of indigenous institutions in conflict resolution. This has mainly resulted from the domination of indigenous institutions by state forced formal institutions and the contradiction between their rules.

- Indigenous institutions have a great prospect in natural resource management. This is evident from their ability to manage natural resources through the indigenous knowledge and adaptability of their rules with changing situations. Indigenous institutions have a potential to mobilize the community towards forest coffee and other natural resource conservation and use also through developing common understanding. Because, they adequately incorporated the socio-cultural and economic values of the society. However, the lack of formal authority to enforce their decisions due to the isolation by formal institutions and the contradiction of few of their rules with state procedures are the major constraints to their potential resource management. Limited understanding of the role played by indigenous institutions reduced their usefulness and its contribution to forest coffee in particular

and natural resource in general. Disregard of indigenous institution also have negative consequences on natural resource conservation. Well-organized combination of indigenous and state forced formal institution can develop common understanding for sustainable and effective forest coffee and other natural resource conservation and use.

- In general, indigenous institutions have been playing a fundamental role in forest coffee and natural forest conservation, which also serve as a potential for future resource management. Their isolation by state formal institution from resource management is the major challenge to their role.

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DECLARATION

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

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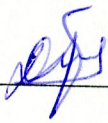
Signature 

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