

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS OF DEVELOPMENT--
INDUCED IMPOVERISHMENT: THE CASE OF THE
KARRAYU OROMO OF THE UPPER AWASH VALLEY

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AWASH VALLEY**

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BY

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The Socioeconomic dimensions of Development-induced Impoverishment:
The Case of the Karrayu Oromo of the Upper Awash Valley

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Acronyms

MSF	Metahara Sugar Factory
MSP	Metahara Sugar Plantation
ANP	Awash National Park
EWCO	Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Organization
HVA	Handles Vereening Amsterdam

Glossary

Ayyaana **- Waqa's creative activity in any creature or group of creatures making them, the way they are, assigning to them their place in this world and their relationship to others 'something of Waqa' or Waqa in particular way. The invisible parts of man, his personality, good luck.

Dhibaayyu-- ritual libation. It also refers to sticks carried by men on ritual performances.

Gada- Oromo social organization in which five classes alternate in taking political as well as ritual responsibility every eight years. It takes forty years for a class to assume such a responsibility for the second time. These classes are called *tuutaa*.

Oda- a sycamore tree chosen for the performance of religious rituals as well as political actions. It is a symbol of Waqa's presence among men and as such also called '*muka Waqa*'- the tree of God.

Seera. Law. Gada council stipulates it every eight years. It consists of a set of values and norms that guide every Oromo/Karrayu daily life, political and religious actions.

Aadaa- custom, tradition or, sometimes, culture.

Choqorsa* - a type of grass; a symbol of fertility, survival and peace.

Safuu*- the mutual relationship (right and duties) between individual creatures according to their place in cosmic and social order on the basis of their *ayana*.

* Definitions which are given by Bartles (1990).

Qorasuma-- is a special type of tree. It is usually cut into pieces and burnt as frankincense to perfume a house. It also gives good odor for household utensils, especially that are used as milk container.

Oolchaa - food that is reserved to be eaten at noon or late in the afternoon. It is sometimes an indication of abundance of food in the household since, if there is no sufficient food the morning meal, there would not be any food to reserve for the rest of the day.

Ashara- is a drink, which is prepared as tea. The ingredients are coffee cuff, water, sugar and small amount of milk, if any, all boiled together. If a pounded coffee berry is used instead of coffee cuff, they call it '*buna*' -coffee- and are used in the same way.

Raaga- A man who has an ability to tell about future events and tell the people to pray at certain specified place so that the undesirable happening would be averted. (This definition is applicable only to the situation in which this term is used in this text since the concept is much broader than this definition).

Qallu- Oromo religious leader. He leads ritual performances and prayers, anoint the participants as a religious piety. His *gosa* and himself are believed to be the 'eldest and purest' of all the Karrayu. He is seen as a custodian of the *waqeffanna* and the guardian of the harmonious functioning of the *gada* system.

Ona bonaa- a grazing zone in which human and the livestock stay during dry season (December, January, February, and March)

Ona gannaa- a grazing zone in which human and the livestock stay during rainy season (June, July, and August).

Ona birraa - a grazing zone in which human and livestock stay during dry season, beginning from mid September, October, November, and December.

Arfaasa - Beginning of the rainy season.

Damina- a traditional *gosa* leader elected by the council of elders of that particular *gosa*. He executes his responsibilities according to *seera*, *heera* and *aada*.

Moggassaa (medhicha)- a system by which non Oromo or Karrayu are accommodated in to Karrayu social organization, given accessibility to resources and social security and protection against enemies. A group, which is given such an opportunity, is considered Oromo.

Heera. A set of values that are derived from the *Seera*. They are part and parcel of the law but which does the Gada Council not stipulate every eight years. Local elders and *gosa* leaders depending on the local situations develop them.

Abstract

This thesis deals with the issue of development and impoverishment among the Karrayu Oromo of the Upper Awash Valley, Eastern Showa. Before they were alienated from their land, the Karrayu had full right over the ownership and management of their pastoral resources. Their social organization functioned without the support of modern state structure or the super-imposition of the 'alien authority', as the Karrayu call it, such that it was virtually autonomous and flexible. Free movement, which was indispensable for the kind of arid and semi arid pastoral economy had been the core element of Karrayu pastoralism. The sacred grounds along the Awash Valley, beyond its religious importance, had been one regulatory element in the seasonal and spatial movement. Thus before land alienation, the Karrayu had full advantage of free movement of their herds, adequate grazing space, proportional number of population size and flexible political organization. In short, Karrayu production had both ecological as well as socio- cultural adaptive forms.

The process of marginalization or land alienation, however, set in motion chains of events, which worked against these forms of Karrayu adaptation. It imposed a new form of political structure that curtailed the flexibility and autonomy of pastoral social organization. This process in turn transformed Karrayu land right that created a conducive environment for the Plantation and Park to alienate the Karrayu from their traditional grazing area. The Development of towns further exacerbated the process of marginalization by taking more of Karrayu land and negatively attaching them to the market economy. Moreover, the intensification of

population pressure, due to the Commercial Farm and towns and movement of other pastoral groups into Karrayu territorial domain caused land encroachment, and above all, brought-in large number of people which traversed the balance between man, land and livestock. The result was herd loss and destitution on the part of the Karrayu.

The responses of the Karrayu to the process of marginalization and destitution involved peaceful and non-peaceful resistance, wage labor employment and concomitant sedentarization and involvement in the share-cropping through farming, which exposed them to the exploitation of townsmen. It also involved incorporation into market economy through petty trading and charcoal selling. However, every form of response led to the transformation of Karrayu subsistence economy -from producers of their own subsistence to wage labor employment.

Transformation of Karrayu production system through land alienation, specially the loss of sacred grounds, contributed to massive social and cultural change- more Karrayus are embracing Islam and their social organization is showing gradual change.

Chapter One

Introduction

1. Statement of the Problem

Pastoralism is a mode of production, which depends on natural forage. In arid and semi-arid regions this requires constant or periodic movement in search of pasture, a factor that differentiates this form of livestock production from ranching and other forms of livestock husbandry. Every herder must have access to dispersed, ecologically specialized and seasonally varied foraging needs of different livestock species and to afford a margin of safety against the vagaries of rainfall. The best protection against the unreliability of rainfall is access to extensive territory perfectly containing a regular supply of water. Such a grazing ecosystem requires a considerable space. Consequently pastoral societies are highly segmented, mobile and have a very low man/land ratio (Markakis, 1993:3).

Since the beginning of mechanized irrigation system in the flood plains of the Awash Valley, such imperatives of the pastoral production system have been constantly changing. The indigenous pastoralists (Afar, Karrayu Oromo, Itu Oromo and Jille Oromo) have been continuously evicted and/or displaced. According to Kloos (1982:32), more than 20,000 pastoralists were forcefully deprived of their grazing pastureland and alienated from crucial dry season water sources

Of all the displaced pastoralists, the Karrayu Oromo were most severely affected (Wondwosen, 1987:32). Irrigation by the Metahara Sugar Plantation and the Awash National Park have denied the Karrayu access to critical water points along the riverbank (Jacobs and Schloeder, 1993:7). The Awash National Park alone expropriated more than 70,000 hectares of their best dry-season grazing areas. As a result, the Karrayu left the plain and inhabited the surrounding dry hills from where they observed the flourishing sugar plantation in Metahara and Merti plain which formerly used to sustain their cattle for centuries (Raggasa, 1993:37). The 'development projects' have affected Karrayu's access to the flood plain pastures and the Awash River. The gradual curtailment of spontaneous movement disrupted the natural processes of adjustment that maintained the balance between people, land and livestock (Baxter, 1990). This was to have a precarious effect on the fragile lowland ecology and the pastoralist economy. Their mobility is restricted, a process that led to the relative over-population of the fertile areas to which they had to move with consequent over-grazing and livestock starvation followed by diminishing herds and malnutrition. The herd size and growth rate declined. Elders (Qasaro Jilo, Gada Roba) report that the number of cattle owned by an individual herd owner today is only one third of what it was before the displacement- a report that indicates the impoverishment of the Karrayu who, as the 1973 - 74 famine hit, became extremely vulnerable. According to Jacobs and Schloeder (1993), the Karrayu are worse off today socially, economically, politically and culturally than they were 40 years ago. The loss of herds and impoverishment led some of the Karrayu to wage employment and the consequent settlement, which signifies sedentarization and the abandonment of pastoralism as a way of life. Forced settlement, the break down of the traditional framework of day-to-day social relations, and subjugation of the pastoralists to

external political and economic interest has only accelerated their negative transformation i.e. destitution and disruption.

This research investigates the effect of Karrayu displacement on their socio-economic life. The fact of being a pastoralist in the conception of the Karrayu coincides with the fact of being owner and herder of livestock: it is through the possession of animals that the full personality of Karrayu from birth to death is realized. Without herds, an individual is considered lost, has no social status, no power, and cannot support a family. Without herds the pastoral society is dislocated, will wither and die (NOPA, 1992:24; Asafa Tolera, 2000). According to Markakis (1993:1) animals play a paramount role in socio-cultural life of many pastoral societies.

Dietz (1993), in the same tone, vindicates the role animals play in the socio-cultural and economic life of the Pokot of northwestern Kenya and northeastern Uganda. He states that every household had animals and animal husbandry clearly was most important in the central ideology of the people, playing an important role in ceremonies, as in bridewealth and in cementing an extensive social network covering the whole Pokot area. Gifts and reciprocal exchanges of stocks create social ties and establish networks of support on which individuals and households rely in times of need. In the same way the herding process in many pastoral groups demand a high degree of social cooperation and reciprocity. In the first place, the natural resource- pasture and water- are held collectively. Hence group membership is an important issue. An individual herd owner has to be concerned about his relation with others. The herding of four species of animals in an ecologically fragile and harsh environment, where animals must be split in different herding groups and distributed over a wide territory in different areas according

to the availability and animals' requirement of pasturage and water, causes strain on manpower of the individual families. These necessitate cooperation among individual families and herding groups. According to Sisaraw (1995), the individual herd owner or herd management unit is always concerned about reciprocal relationships with others. With the transformation of the transhumance nature of the pastoral economy into settled way of life with diminishing herds, such forms of social relations inevitably change.

It is in such frame of reference that this research set out to examine how development-induced displacement affects the cattle population of the Karrayu thereby affecting aspects of their social and economic life, like individual and groups social status and roles; religious and ritual practices along with the loss of sacred places; bridewealth payment; value systems, attitudes, and perceptions; the differential impact on various groups of people; and the relation between the Karrayu, on the one hand, and the Matahara Sugar Factory, Awash National Park and the state, on the other.

2 Literature Review: the Marginalization of Pastoralism

Resource alienation and displacement of pastoralists is being intensified due to encroaching farmers, and, above all, due to the prevalence of development schemes like national parks and irrigated agricultural schemes (Scoones, Lane and Toulmin 1991; Campbell 1993, Blench 1997). As such the issue is gaining prominence in the literature. The earliest story of the displacement of pastoralists and the subsequent impoverishment was recorded in the Sudan when the Gezira Scheme began in 1925 (Barnet and Abdulkerim, 1991). In the northern and northeastern parts of the Sudanese, the same story holds when the Gash and Tokor Deltas were commercialized

through cotton cultivation by the British colonial government and the subsequent Sudan governments. The result was the loss of large area of dry-season grazing resources and water points previously used by the Beja pastoralists (Salih, 1990; Paul, 1974; Morton, 1993). Marginalization of the Beja was further reinforced through the damming of River Atbara for the irrigation of the New Halfa Agricultural Scheme (Abdel Ati, 1991; Davies, 1991). The beginning of rainfed agricultural Scheme in the Southern Funj Region also marginalised the Rufa'a al Hoi, the Umbarraro and the Ingassana as the result of which they lost their best grazing land, water resources and gum gardens which served as the source of additional cash income for these pastoralists. The Rufa'a al Hoi also lost the small plots of land which they used to cultivate to support their income from herd for their daily subsistence (Abdel Ghaffar, 1999).

Many writers also recorded the same story in Tanzania and Kenya. According to Kaj Arhem(1984) in precolonial times the Massai controlled a vast area of land in Kenya and Tanzania. At the height of their power in the mid-nineteenth century Massai land extended from Lake Victoria in Kenya down to Ugugo and Usher in central Tanzania. Today the Massai occupy less than two thirds of their former territory due to the intensification of land use and 'rationalization of production' which were the guiding principles of development in Massai land during the colonial times. National rangelands gave way to wheat schemes, beef ranches and small holder farmers both in Kenya and Tanzania (Arhem, 1984). After independence the same policy was followed. Resources have been channeled away from the pastoral producers and concentrated in ranch sector (Raikes 1981). In Tanzania, villagization, coupled with the one-sided orientation of livestock development policies towards commercial beef ranching and dairy farming,

form part of the state overall policy of integrating the pastoralists into the national society by breaking down of the Massai cultural distinctiveness and replacing their pastoral way of life with a market oriented and state controlled livestock economy (Parkipuny, 1979; Raikes, 1981).

Moreover, since 1950, a large number of game reserves and national parks were established in Kenya and Tanzania ousting pastoralists from their land and eventually inhibiting them to use the land (Jacobs, 1975; Galaty, 1980). In East African legal terminology, national parks and game reserve exclude all human habitation and subsistence activities. Massai land is today riddled with one or the other form of wildlife reserves. On the Kenyan side there are the Amboseli National Park and the Massai Mara Reserve. On the Tanzanian side there are the Serengeti, Manyara, Tanganyika, Arusha and Kilimanjaro National Parks and the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, all extending over Massai grazing land. To widen the grip of the conservation schemes and the national parks, pastoralists were moved out and forcefully settled. They were seen as a threat to the 'development endeavor' and 'natural heritage' of the Ngorongoro and that the settlement of the pastoralists outside the conservation area was the only solution to the crises (Ibid.). When drought hit northern Tanzania in 1959-60, the already diminished pasture and water resources could not support the pastoralists. This led to the depletion of grazing grounds and the spread of disease as the result of which large number of animals died (Arhem, 1984). A large wheat scheme, supported by the Canadian Government has also taken over vast area of prime grazing grounds previously used by the Barbiag pastoralists under communal tenure arrangements

(Lane, 1991). A similar case happened in Kenya in Narok District where wheat farms have sprung up using land on the basis of crop-sharing arrangements (Hogg, 1981).

In Ethiopia, the predicament of the pastoralists was more severe as they are particularly forbidden land rights enshrined in the constitutions. Since the end of the Second World War the Ethiopian Government authorized a number of concessionaires to development enterprises throughout the Awash Valley. The largest of these were the Tendaho Plantation (TPSC) managed by the British-based firm Mitchell Cotts (Herbson, 1978). This development scheme took the form of mechanized large-scale cotton plantation. It utilized land close to the riverbank, which had been used by the Afar pastoralists as the best dry season grazing areas. The impact of this irrigation development scheme was severe for the Afars precisely because it drastically affected the Awash River bank. By 1972, a decade and a half after the introduction of this form of agricultural capitalism, the amount of land that was 'developed' reached 50,000 hectares, mostly comprising a narrow belt along the river Awash. Outside this belt the rest of the land could not support the people and the livestock in both the dry and the wet seasons. The removal of these strategic grazing areas also meant the blocking of migration routes and livestock watering points (Gamaldin, 1992, 1993). As a result, some Afar were forced to adopt a more profound reliance upon less supportive grazing area. Others died in the struggle for survival. And still others were attracted to the pilot agricultural scheme because they thought agriculture was more likely to provide protection against the vicissitudes of future drought. The rest opted to settle down in their bid to forestall the eminent encroachment (Herbson, 1978; Gamaldin, 1993).

In the Ogaden, the process of impoverishment through marginalization was also more or less documented. Here, according to Ahamed Hussien (1992), such a process began with the imperial incorporation of the Ogaden into the Ethiopian State structure. The incorporation subjected the Ogadenian, other pastoralists too, of course, to the biased conception of the Ethiopian State, which often viewed pastoralism as a backward mode of production and denied them the right to own land. As a result, pastoralists were to pay the notorious poll tax whose collection was to add to their predicament and was impractical as families were to pay on behalf of deceased relatives or those who left the country decades ago.

The central contentions of the above literature are that development schemes have negatively affected: 1) the resource base of the pastoralists, i.e. their dry and wet season grazing land and water resources; 2) limited their geographical habitat and restricted their mobility, which is an essential mechanism in pastoral production to maintain the balance between land, man and the herd (Baxter, 1990); and 3) as the result of these process pastoralists suffered from the loss of their herds.

But, the literatures, in general, tend to over-emphasize only the economic effects of development induced impoverishment relegating its socio-cultural dimensions to a secondary importance. Issues like changes in the pastoralists' cultural perceptions, the loss of sacred places, alteration in their symbolic and ritual domains, and the differential effect of the impoverishment are not treated systematically. Such gaps, we can presume, spring from the simplistic view, which perceives pastoralists in purely economic terms as livestock producers and resource managers rather than perceiving them as human agents within the context of culture.

3. Analytical and Conceptual Framework

Recently, scholars like Egeimi (1996) and Johanson (1991) followed a different perspective in studying the marginalization of the pastoral society, a perspective that perceives the process as a dynamic one that takes the general political, economic and social milieu of the process into account. According to these authors, the adoption of this perspective springs from the conviction that though the dimensions of the crisis that ravaged the pastoral mode of production are to some extent clear, its secrets and real causes are not. This is because, they argue, of the failure of most of the contemporary social science research to recognize the political, economic and social determinants that mark the onset of the crisis while conceptualizing it as the outcome of the malevolent nature, population pressure, ignorance and /or irrational land use practices (Egeimi, 1996: 30; Johanson 1991;). The new theoretical model that came out of this criticism is referred to as political ecology that sees the pastoralists as culturally adaptive agents to the limitation of nature but whose basic relation with nature has been negatively affected and eroded by the working of the structural process of marginalization (Egeimi, 1996: 31). According to Blaikie and Brookfield (1987:17), political ecology combines the concerns of ecology and the broadly defined political economy with emphasis on the constantly shifting dialectic between society and nature and also between classes and groups within the society itself. The basic argument of this theory is 'that traditional producers, cultivators and herders in the Third World, are not in a state of chronic crisis but it is the way in which human interference with nature is managed under the market economy that is the cause of much of the impoverishment among the traditional producers in most of the Third World' (Egeimi 1996:33). As such vulnerability to hazard

is a structural historical process shaped by the effects of geographical, ecological, political and economic marginalization. This view, according to Watts, underpins two important points: first, the subsistence crises are reflections of the structural ability of the socio-economic system to cope with the harsh ecological conditions and their effects. Second, that the appreciation that hazards are mediated by the socio-economic structure of society affected shows that development and modernization have failed to resolve the age-old problem of subsistence crisis, and in some cases, have aggravated them (Watts, 1983).

Another related analytical approach that is gaining currency in modern social research is the one that views the overall social, economic, political life of a society into an integrated whole. This approach abandons confining itself only to the micro-level analyses and takes into account the articulation of the process in both micro as well as macro level. Such an approach, according to Clammer, should reformulate the basic focus of interest: not any longer the ethnographic analysis of the individual primitive economies but rather of the radical impacts of what is becoming virtual universal process: the penetration of capitalism (Clammer, 1985). This approach debunks a-historicity in favor of historicity. It sees the impacts of capitalism and its socio-economic consequences like the introduction of money and change in relation of production in historical perspective and evaluates them as ongoing strand of continuing process. Such an approach emphasizes that it is not only what the participant observer sees, observes and hears that would be the final explanation for the subject under study but also the historical dynamic process.

Another analytical model that deserves noting came from the study of the displacement that entailed resettlement. Such were from the Volta resettlement, Ghana's Akosombo and Ipong reservoir, the resettlement of the Gwembe Tonga in Zambia and the relocation of the Egyptian and Sudanese Nubians by the Aswan High Dam. These and similar studies led to the development of some models among which Cernea's 'impoverishment model' is most popular. According to Cernea, the relocatees suffer from eight type of impoverishment indicators. These are land-lessness; homelessness; joblessness; marginalization; loss of access to common property resources; food insecurity; increased morbidity and social disarticulation (Cernea, 1996a;). No sooner the model was formulated, however, than Cernea's model began to be criticized. According to De Wet the nature of the relationship between Cernea's variables are not well articulated (De Wet, 1996). Moreover, the model largely stresses the economic aspect of the process of displacement (Fernades, 1996; Feleke, 1999). On top of these, according to Feleke, Cernea's association with the World Bank directly influenced his model such that it is only concerned with the maintenance of the *status quo* in the current development process by minimizing the risk of impoverishment (Feleke, 1999). Cernea's model suffers also from its limited scope as it is only concerned with the specific situation of the relocatees. It hardly takes development and the resultant impoverishment as a process and thereby ignores the conditions of the relocatees and their structural ties to the wider economy and social fabrics before the onset of displacement. The model also has no room for considering conflict that may arise between the relocatees themselves, between the relocatees and the agencies, and between the relocatees and their neighboring or host communities. To add one more,

Cernea's model overlooks the differential effect of impoverishment on the victims in respect to age, gender, wealth and group.

The condition of the impoverishment of the Karrayu calls for an approach that sees the process in historical perspective, as a continuous one, which takes the political, economic and social upheavals as contributing factors to the process of impoverishment. The issue needs to be treated in terms of Karrayu's interaction with the wider political economy of the Ethiopian State and society. This is because, African pastoralists are not only affected by issues related to their locality and man-land relations but also by the general political, economic and social conditions which are connected with issues like demographic factors, market economy, civil wars, conflict, improper national planning, climate, etc.(Manger, 1996).

4. Objectives

General Objectives:

This research:

- Assess changes in the social and economic life of the Karrayu induced by marginalisation (displacement) caused by the Matahara Sugar Factory, the Awash National Park and the State
- Investigates, in what way and to what extent, Karrayu's value system have changed.

Specific Objectives:

- Assess how the Karrayu responded to displacement.
- Examines the impacts of displacement on religious and ritual practices;
- Examine changes in the system of bride-price payment, and gift and alteration in concomitant social relations.

- Assess how the Karrayu responded to the loss of their sacred grounds.
- Asses the relationship between the Karrayu on the one hand and the Matahara Sugar Factory Awash, National Park and the State, on the other

5. *Methods, Fieldwork Situation and Limitations*

The field research has been performed in three successive rounds. The first one was carried out from June 20-July 10. The second one from July 26 –September 20 and the third, from October 2- November 15.

The first round of field work was aimed at achieving two things: observation of the general setting of the research area, which included mapping the main topographic characteristics, recording the type and pattern of vegetation cover, recording demographic pattern from regional offices, observation of settlement pattern, etc. The second aim was the establishment of rapport with the subject people, as well as *woreda* and *kebele* officials. The traditional social structures of the Karrayu required the initial permission of the elders for a stranger to roam in their territorial domain. However, since I already had good relation with elders in my previous encounter that did not take me longer time and more energy. The amicable relationship with the elders helped me to locate the existence of a general meeting of the Karrayu. On this meeting the elders introduced me with the populace that I had an opportunity to tell them why I was there. That opportunity further helped me to identify potential informants. I spent the remaining days of my first round fieldwork with these informants, holding informal talks and posing few general questions to them, which gave me a direction for my second round fieldwork.

In the second and third rounds of fieldwork, I employed the combination of participant observations and in-depth interviewing, among those groups of the Karrayu who were evicted from their pastoral resources and obliged to settle on the fringes of the sugar plantation. These methods were aimed to collect data on how the Karrayu responded to the displacement; how Karrayu religious and ritual practices, attitudes and values affected, and the loss of herd and destitution affected social relations through alteration of the form and amount of bride wealth payment and gift giving. To this effect observation of the daily routine of the social and economic life of the people as well as listening during different types of social gatherings, elders meetings, political and ritual performances were conducted. The study also employed the method of historical inquiry with specific techniques of unstructured interviewing, archival and documents collection and analysis. This is envisaged to avail insights into data on the relationship between, on the one hand, the Karrayu, and on the other, the Metahara Sugar Factory, Awash National Park and the state since the inauguration of the mechanized farms in the area. Data on this issue are used to uncover the story of the displacement over an extended period of time (1960s-1990s). Unstructured interviews were also conducted with key informants including women and men.

Data collection also included the search for archival in different government offices like the Fantalle *woreda* administration, Agricultural Bureau and council for the administration of the Metrahara town. However there is no valuable data found in these government offices concerning the long process of marginalization except some current demographic data. This was, because, the *woreda* administration and other government offices had been in Awash town till 1991 government change. At Awash town, which is currently the center of

woreda administration for Region 2 (Afar Regional State) there is no systematic preservation of archival material, and hence no satisfactory information were found. From Metahara Sugar Factory a written history of the establishment of the Factory was found along with the data which show the development of the production capacity of the factory from time to time, which indicates, with other sources, of course, the intensification of Karrayu marginalisation over time.

As it is true to any research endeavor, this research has also faced some problems and has got some limitations. The tense relationship that ever existed between the Karrayu on the one hand, and the Scheme and the Park, on the other, caused the scheme management and workers to receive me with suspicion. That deterred me, for the time being, to obtain official data on the relationship between the Karrayu and the Scheme, and to assess this relation from the point view of the Scheme and the government. However, such a problem was overcome by spending more time with the managerial committee of the Scheme to establish rapport and to make clear to them that my research has no any affiliation with any group. Moreover, attempts were also made to interview individual Scheme workers who witnessed the process of marginalization beginning from its inception. Valuable informations were obtained in this way, which could not have been possible otherwise.

The other problem faced by this research is related to the nature of the research topic itself and the time extent of the process of marginalization. The process began in the 1950s. The changes that have been induced into the Karrayu life style have been so gradual and succinct that some of the issues like the differential impacts of the process of impoverishment in terms of age, wealth and sex were not easy to be uncovered. Such

parameters necessitate reliable and quantifiable data to make a comparison on the conditions of the individuals before and after the onset of the process of impoverishment. This was hardly possible in a situation like this in which the process lasted over 40 years and there was virtually no study made on the Karrayu life style and no official data before the on-set of the displacement. Moreover, it proved to be hard to obtain data on the day-to-day social life of the Karrayu before the displacement to compare it with the present condition as the memory of our informants is limited as one goes back into the far past. Such problems forced us to stress on the structural changes of the socio-cultural and economic life of the Karrayu.

The common language between the researcher and the subject people is one important thing that advantaged the research. We share the same mother tongue -*afaan Oromo*- that there was no need for a third person to translate. The sharing of the same language also helped me to understand some of the cultural symbols that are embedded in the language which indicate the changing value system of the Karrayu. Above all, being cultural insider helped me to establish rapport and trust with the people in a short period of time. But it should be noted that a great care has been taken not to be overwhelmed by dichotomous disadvantages of being cultural insider- a complete immersion has been avoided by frequent detachment from the people and reserving one's self from a very close social interaction. In this respect my background, coming from sedentary agricultural group of people saved me from complete immersion in the fact that many of the pastoralist way of life and pastoral etiquette were new to me. This created a tremendous curiosity on my side to ask about many cultural things.

6. Rationale for the Selection of Research Site

The collection of data for this research has mainly focused at a place called Galcha-Dirre Reedde *Kebele*, which has about 160 inhabitants. There are some reasons for the selection of this *kebele*. The first reason is the geographical location of the *kebele*. It is bounded from the south by the settlement camp of the workers of the scheme called North Camp and schemes' sugar plantation which, according to the argument of this research, is the main cause for the destitution of the Karrayu in general and the dwellers of this *Kebele* in particular. On the western flank, Metahara and Haro Adi towns border the *Kebele*. These towns mainly came about as a result of the development of the Scheme and the Factory. As it will be shown, they played a significant role in the alienation of the Karrayu from their resources and tying them to the wider market economy. The Awash National Park, which alienated off the Karrayu large tracts of grazing and important dry season water points along the Awash River, forms the most eastern border of the Galcha Dirre Redde *Kebele*. From the North the asphalt road and the agricultural plots of the encroaching farmers border the *kebele*. Thus the *kebele* seems the best place to scrutinize the influence of these entities, which are largely the result of the scheme, and contributed to the impoverishment of the Karrayu in one way or the other.

Second the *kebele* constitutes the sedenitized group of the Karrayu, who, as a result of land alienation and consequent impoverishment, are obliged to serve as wage laborers in the scheme. Almost all of the resident of the of the *kebele* survive on wage labor, which means the abandonment of the pastoral way of life and change of life style. In connection with this, it is a place where the Karrayu felt a great loss of herd and destitution. As such, in this *kebele*, the direct effect of the process of alienation could be sensed.

Chapter Two

Physical and Social Environment

1. Location, Physical Features and Climate

The Karrayu inhabit the Upper Awash Valley, a portion of the Great East African Rift Valley. Their country, according to the administrative division of the current regime, is included in Oromia Regional State, Eastern Shawa Zone and Fantale *Woreda*, which is located at a distance of 200 km. from Addis Ababa to the east. The railway and asphalt road that connect the center of the country, Addis Ababa, and Djibouti and the Asab Port passes through their country. From the south the Karrayu are bounded by the Arsi Oromo agro-pastoralists, the sedentary agriculturist Tulama and Argoba in the west and northwest; Afar and Itu Oromo pastoralists in the north and in the East. As such the Karrayu, seem, geographically to have been sandwiched among different groups of people with whom, except the Tulama and Itu, they have tense relationships.

The physical feature of their country exhibits varied feature. Along the Awash River, there had been extensive lowland plain. This plain land, due to its rich vegetation cover and grass, had been the source of life for the Karrayu stocks. Now this low land had already been overtaken and it no longer belongs to them. Out of this plain, to the east and north, Karrayu land harbors Mount Fantale, and other small-undulated plateau like Barru Harka, Bosat and Fantale Xinnoo and some other smaller peaks. Mount Fantale with its relatively steep bottom covers a large area limiting the possibility of plain

pasture. Its height is about 2007m above sea level. It also has a crater of 35m. deep and width of 3.5km in diameter.

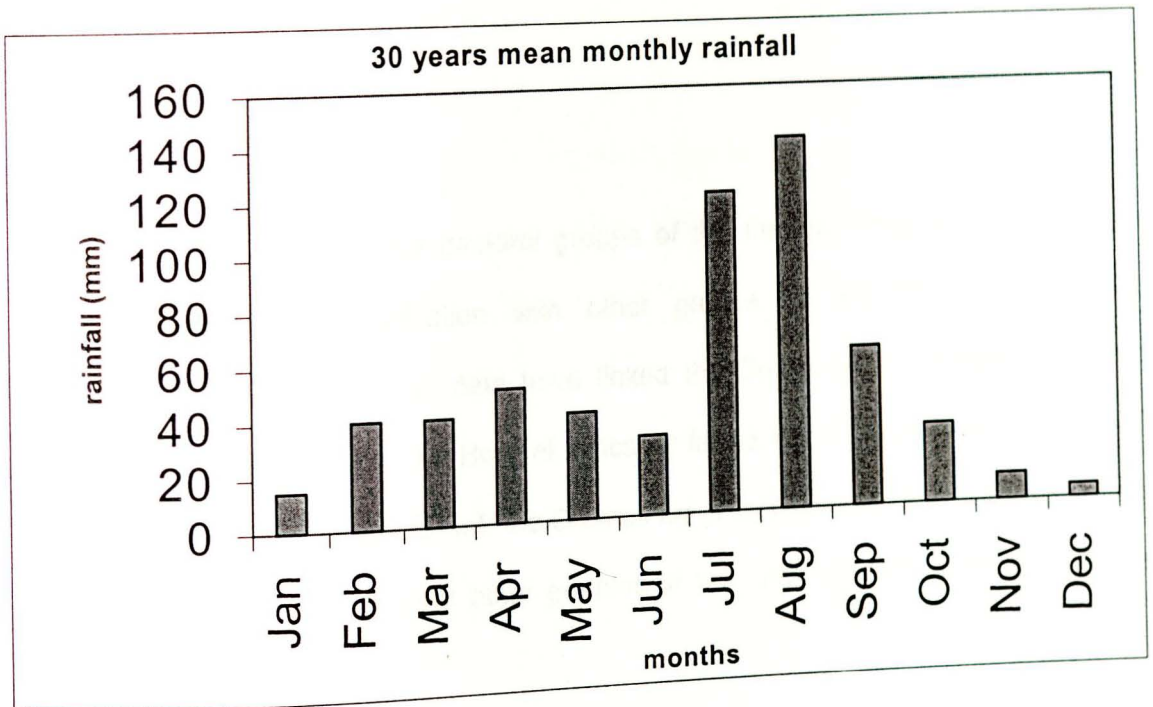
The Awash River, about 1200 km long (the second largest river in the country) crosses Karrayu country. The river has its origin in the highlands around Ginchi, 90km west of Addis Ababa. It is the only largest water body in this arid land, which has wide plain low lands from its either flank. In the north and north west of Karrayu country, on the boarder of the Afar and Argoba, there is a river called Bulga, which again has its origin in the highland area. Before the displacement, the Karrayu used it for its 'medicinal value' in the few months of the year when their stock suffer from some kind of disease. Nowadays, the river came to be a bone of contentions between the Karrayu and their Afar and Argoba counterparts that their accessibility to it is highly limited.

Basaka Lake forms another physical feature of Karrayu land. It is situated at the western side of Metahara Sugar Estate and on the western fringe of Metahara town. The lake is expanding at an alarming rate. Its surface area has increased ten times its original size, from 3.5 square kilometer to 35 square kilometer in the last 20 years. It has strong salt content so that it cannot provide any service for both animal and human water needs (see the following chapter for the reason of the increase of the surface of the lake).

The climate of the area exhibits typical characteristics of arid and semi-arid environments. The yearly maximum temperature ranges from 32.0 to 42.0 degrees centigrade while minimum temperature ranges from 9.6 to 22.0 degree centigrade. The mean annual rainfall is about 553mm. Rainfall of the area is very erratic and scarce occurring two or three times yearly. The main rainfall season, which accounts for the

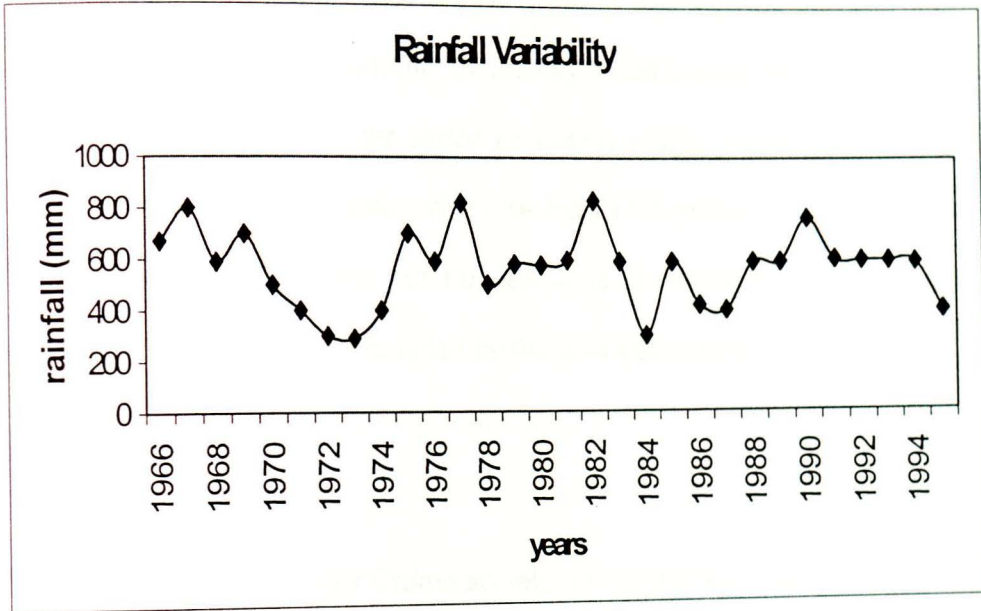
largest total rainfall of the year occurs from July to September, and this season is locally termed *Ganna*. In good years Karrayu land also experiences some amount of rainfall in the month of December. And the other rainfall regime, called *Afrasa*, occurs from February to April. This one is very important for the Karrayu since it comes at the point when herds and humans are exhausted by the long dry season. According to Muderis (1998), between years, there is a considerable degree of variation in the amount of rainfall, with a 25% coefficient of variation. In 1973 and 1984, when the country hit by sever drought, the rainfall record of the area declined severely while the rainfall record of the year 1982 showed the highest.

Fig 1 . Mean Monthly Rainfall



Source: MPS Stastics

Fig.2 Rainfall Variability



Source: MSP Statistics

2. The People

The Karrayu are one of the pastoral groups of the Oromo. They share the same linguistic and cultural affiliation with other groups of the Oromo. Linguistic, anthropological and historical data have linked the Oromo to the Eastern Cushitic peoples who have been in the Horn of Africa as far as their history is known (Lewis, 1966). Bates (1979) suggests that "the Oromos are a very ancient race, the indigenous stock, perhaps on which most other peoples in this part of east Africa have been grafted."

The livelihood of the Karrayu largely depends on animal husbandry namely cattle, camel, sheep and goats. Though cattle represent the largest proportion in total animal

population of the Karrayu, the number of camels to some extent and largely sheep and goats are steadily increasing due to the growing shortage of grazing land. As the pastureland for cattle decreases, the community tends to rear more camels, which can resist harsh conditions for longer period and move longer distance without water and pasture. Species diversity is becoming one form of Karrayu's adaptive mechanisms. Generally, livestock population per household is dramatically dwindling due to the disturbance of their ecosystem entailed by the said development schemes.

3. Social Organization

a) The Gosa (Clanship)

As part and parcel of the larger Oromo society, as mentioned above, the Karrayu social organization exhibits the same organizational principles as the rest of Oromo society. According to Baxter "each of the several Oromo groups cherishes, as part of its oral tradition, descent from an eponymous ancestor or family stock named Oromo or Orma; that they are each and all *ilma orma* i.e. literally 'children of' or 'descendants of' *Orma* or the *Orma* family (Baxter, 1988). Between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries the Oromos were already organized in two confederacies known as Borana and Barentuma (Asafa Jalata, 1993:1). Borana is believed to be the elder brother of Barentuma. The later settled in the eastern and Rift Valley regions of Oromia while the former occupies the central, southern and western parts of the same region. Each of these two confederacies has 'sons'. Borana begot Mecha and Tulama while Barentuma begot Tumuga, Humbana, Itu and Karrayu. The last is the one I focus on in this study.

The social organization of the Karrayu follows the same pattern of its ancestors mentioned above. First, let us see the organizational principles of the *gosa*, which may be translated, as clanship. According to their own view of their history, Karrayu, who is the son of Barentuma, begot two sons, Dullcha and Baso. Dullacha is the elder son of Karrayu while Baso is believed to be the younger son. This forms the main two endogamous *gosa* of the Karrayu. Dullacha again has two 'sons', who are named as Shanan Dayyu (the Five Dayyus) and Booxa Saden (the Three Booxas). Each of these is again divided into smaller *gosa*. Baso has three 'sons': Torban Ilu (the seven Ilu), Toraban Koyye (the Seven Koyyes) and Abbayyi-Daga Beerre -Kuutaye. Each of these sub-sub-*gosa* in turn has 'sons' or divided into smaller sub-sub-sub-*gosas*. Karrayu organization of Clanship is shown on Fig.3.

Gosa is a corporate group on the basis of genealogy over-wrapped by the idioms of kinship. Each group or sub-group in the system of genealogically interwoven relations has a definite line of relation with the eponymous ancestor. It is a unilineal agnatic descent group. The level of emphasis of this genealogical reckoning varies depending on the condition at hand. The identity of a group or sub-group is defined in relation with other. When a part of the whole emerges in social action, it emerges relatively to other part of it and to the whole. It is a fluid system in which the behavior of the part is regulated by its relation to the whole, and the behavior of the whole is the product of the relation of the parts. Its fluidity could be seen in the fact that the term *gosa* itself and the function related to it can apply to any level of the *gosa* organization. For example when the Dullacha and Baso *gosa* leaders gather on a certain issue, the gathering is referred to as *Kora gosa* (meeting of the *gosa*). In the same way when elders of the smallest

group of the gosa gather they again refer to the gathering as *Kora gosa*. Every corporate action of each level of the gosa is referred to as *dhimma gossa* (issues of the *gosa*). Besides, leadership in the system of the *gosa*, is so fluid that an individual can act as a leader of a sub-sub-sub-*gosa* and at the same time as the leader of a larger group, Dullacha or Basso, or even a more inclusive unit- the Karrayu as a whole, depending on the prevailing circumstances and that individual's personal abilities. In most cases an individual's personality, talent, ability to persuade people and reputation within the society in terms of resolving conflicts and general performance in the community determines an elder's position as a leader of a sub-*gosa* or a more inclusive *gosa*.

Be this as it may, the *gosa* organization has its own system of administration. A council of 'executive' body consisting of two or more individuals administers each level of the corporate group. The head of this body is called *Damina* and its representative *qondala*. The *qondala* acts as assistant to the *damina* and discharge his responsibility at the absence of the *damina*. For example the seven sub-sub-*gosa* of the Torban Ilu have their own *damina* and *qondala* for their internal social regulations. However on issues beyond the responsibility of the sub-sub-*gosa*, the *damina* of that particular unit need the cooperation of the *damina* of other similar corporate group. The flexibility of the cooperation and action of the *damina* depends on the seriousness of the matter at hand. There are cases, which could be handled by the member of the Loyya sub-sub-*gosa* only. Some cases involve the Dobba and Buubbuu and hence the Sadeen Dhaasu. More serious case involves Dullacha and Baso. A very minute case between father and son or husband and wife could sometimes be handled at sub-sub-sub-*gosa* level. If it does not, it would be taken to the second level, to Afran Abri. If it gets more severe it

would proceed to the Dullacha and Baso level. The seriousness of an issue, for example, of dispute settlement, depends on the number of people involved, identity of people (which and how many *gosas* involved), the type or the cause of the conflict (conflict over resources or homicide). Issues like paying life indemnities or reconciling the *gosa* of the deceased and the culprit involve both Torban Ilu and Torban Kooye and even the Dullacha (see Fig.3).

The Damina is charged with varieties of responsibilities. He keeps the peace and the welfare of the *gosa*; defends the right of the poor, the weak and widows (*hadha iyessaa*); protect individuals from *roorroo* (discrimination and injustice); calls up on the elders to reconcile disputants; protects the *heera*, *aadaa* and *seeraa* of the Karrayu and the etiquette of the *gosa*, *Gada* and the *Qallu*; looks after the appropriate performance and integrity of household, individual and group herding management practices, etc. In addition a *damina* is responsible to bring the head of a household to a charge if he does not care for the well being of his own family; if he does not cloth his wife/wives and children. Moreover the *damina* has a responsibility to punish a person who does not manage his livestock properly, if they are lost or devoured by wild beasts due to his carelessness; he so often goes to town without any duty, drunk and chew chat. The *damina* summons such a culprit in front of the elders *kora* (meeting) of that particular *gosa*. The elders verdict would be applied on the culprit by the *damina* himself.

b) The Council of Elders

Eldership in the Karrayu society is not merely a physical age. Any married man who can articulate Karrayu social life in terms of *heera*, *seera* and *aada* could attain the status of elderly and a political figure. Unlike the *damina*, elders are not elected. They are

individuals who gain prominence among their *gosa*, sub-*gosa* or the entire Karrayu due to their merit. Eldership is the ability to handle cases of dispute and others skillfully, speak persuasively, and have a dignified personality in treating each and every individual, poor or rich, equally. Each unit of the *gosa* has its own *damina* as well as elderly group who work together. The elderly group at each level serves as a supreme body who oversees the efficiency of the *damina*. However the *damina* is not always accountable to the elders. Since he is the executive protector of the Karrayu *aadaa*, he has the authority to punish any wrongdoer, including the elders themselves, depending on the consensus of the entire *gosa* members. In the same way the *damina* has no exclusive power. If he could not discharge his responsibility properly and rightfully, he would be impeached by the council of elders and forced to renounce his tenure of office. The system works as check and balance. The council of elders has no full jurisdiction over the *damina* and the *damina* is not always totally responsible to the elders. *Seera*, *heera* and *aada* determine the parameter of their power and action.

At each level of such a structure, these elders form, very often, a body of elders or a 'council of elders'. An elder can act on each level depending on his ability, prominence and recognition among his people. Elders within that sub-*gosa* could handle issues that involve few individuals within sub-*gosa*, except cases of homicide. Issues that involve two or more sub-*gosa* within the same *gosa* may or may not involve elders at the *biyya*¹ level (the highest level which constitute the entire Karrayu). But when issues come to the interest of the whole Karrayu and involve their identity as 'being a Karrayu', elders from the two major *gosa*, Dullcha and Baso, come together and act as a single entity.

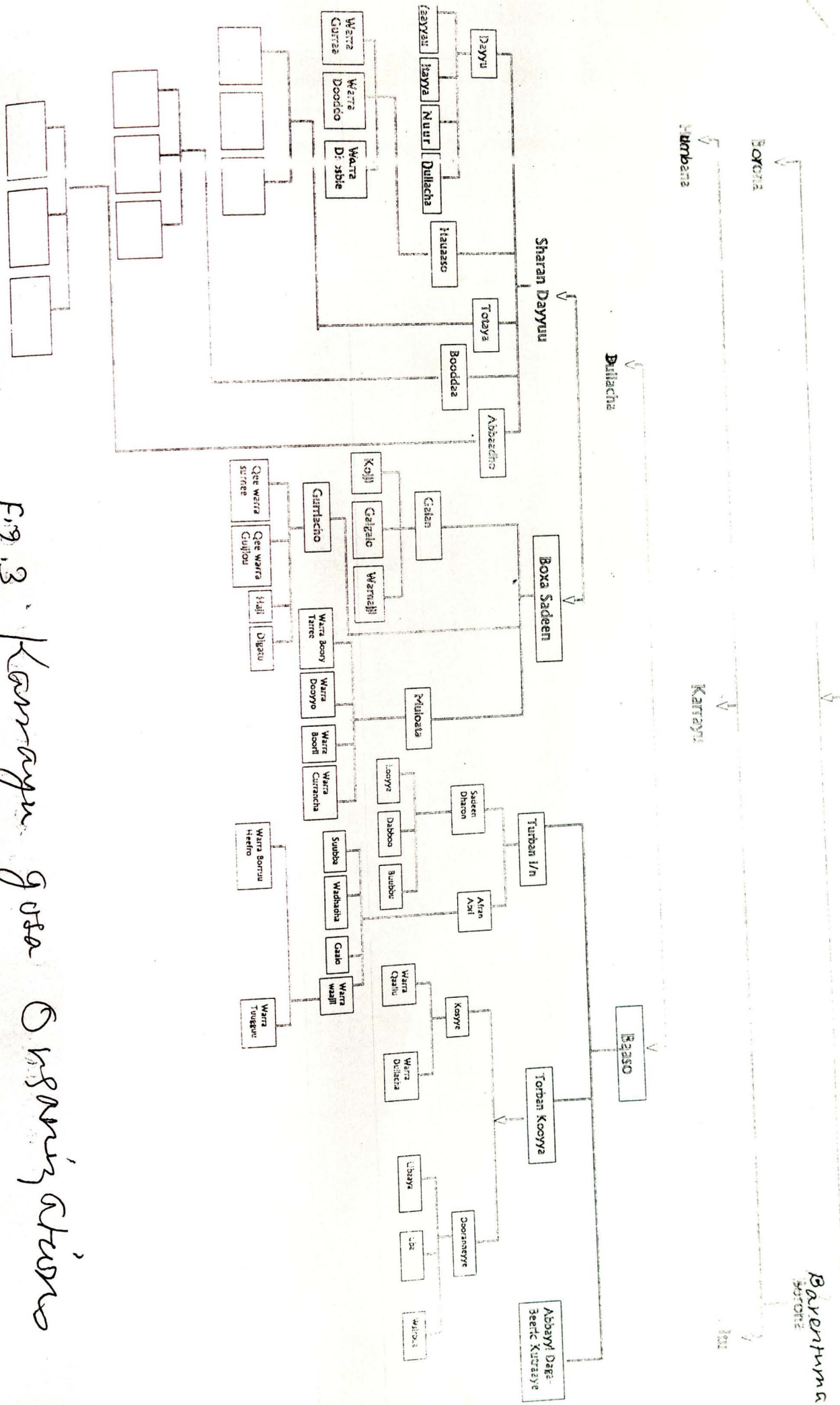


Fig. 3. Karamayy gosa Barentuma Bortora

This is an action at the *biyya* level. For example, when the Karrayu deal with the non-Oromo/Karrayu group like the Afar and Argoba, and entities like the government, and Plantation Scheme and the Park, the renowned elders from each major *gosa*, Dullacha and Baso, handle the case. In this case, elders, even though they come from the smallest unit of the sub-*gosa* and have such an affiliation, act as representatives of the interest of the entire Karrayu. Currently renowned elders from the Dullacha and Baso handle the leadership of the Karrayu as a single entity.

c) The Gada System

The Gada system (institution) cross cuts the *gosa* organization. There are five *tuuta* (parties) in the Oromo gada system. They take political and ritual responsibilities turn by turn within time duration of eight years. Each *tuuta* holds such a responsibility for eight years. It therefore takes forty years for a party to assume power for a second time. One such period is called *Jaarraa*. In a single *tuuta* there are different sub-*gosa* or *gosa*. If individuals A and B belong to the same *gosa* they do not necessarily belong to the same *tuuta*. Members of each *tuuta* perform political affairs and ritual practices together. Therefore, the *gada* system brings every individual Karrayu and even the entire Oromo, under one umbrella, avoiding clan and local identities. With the *tuuta*, however, the office of *warra seeraa* (gada leaders)- Abbaa Bokku (the president) and the Qaallu (religious leader, see below) depends on clan affiliation. It is from a predestined *gosa* that a man can hold such office. But eligibility to office depends on the merit of an individual as promotion to the office is effected through election.

¹ Literally '*biyya*' refers to a 'country'. But in terms of *gosa* organization it represents the highest level of *gosa* organization involving the entire Karrayu as an entity, which overshadows the *gosa* difference or affiliation.

Those elected officials of the *tuutaa* on power live at one village, called *Yaa'aa Gabala* (places where the leaders settle). This village forms the political center of the entire Karrayu country and society, because it is from this village that directions and orders radiate to each *gosa* and sub -*gosa* of the Karrayu. This group is the highest law-making body. It assesses the performances of the previous party, which had relinquished power, so that mistakes would not be repeated by the incoming party; redefine the Karrayu *aadaa* and *heera* depending on the *seera*. It makes and unmakes wars. It follows how much correctly the *damina* and elders effect Karrayu laws. They have a secret force within the people to tell them what is going on in the society. It is the highest body of the social organization of the Karrayu.

b) The Qallu Institution

The Qallu Institution is the flesh and bone of Oromo traditional religion called *Waqeffannaa*. The tenets of Oromo religion will be dealt in chapter six. Here I briefly point to the connection this institution has with other aspects of Karrayu social organization. In the Oromo religion, there are many saint like divinities called *ayyana*, each seen, according to Gada Malbaa (1988), as manifestation of one *Waaqa* (God) or the same divine reality. *Qallu* (male) and *Qaliti* (female) individuals also serve as intermediaries between the *ayyaana* and the Karrayu (Oromos). According to Malbaa, *Qallu* is synonymous to a Bishop in Christianity and an Imam in the Muslim world. He is a religious and ritual expert who has a special relationship with one of the *ayyaana*, which possess him at regular intervals (Malbaa, 1988). *Qallu* is regarded as the most senior person in the lineage and *gosa* and the most respected in the society. He is considered pure and clean. He must respect traditional taboos and ritual observances

in all situations and in all his dealings and must follow the truth and avoid sins. The *Qallu*, even though he has no political authority, has a paramount role in the society. During the transition of *gada* class from one *gada* grade to another the *Qallu* oversees the general procedure of the traditional rites, anoint and bless the participants. In every political and ritual performance of any *gada* class, the presence of the *Qallu* is mandatory. His position as a religious figure reinforces the moral binding of the people to *gada* politics. According to Gada Malba, the *Qallu* organizes and oversees the election of the *gada* leaders (Ibid.).

e) The Ganda

The smallest unit of local organization in the Karrayu traditional organization is called *Ganda*. It is the only institution that makes reference to a territory. It has little to do with *gosa* administration. The *ganda*, originally constituted a group of people who herd together. It was a temporary herding camp. Individuals who make up a *ganda* might have different *gosa* affiliation. However, it is a place where there is great social bonds due to the fact that each and any member of the *ganda* interact in everyday social life. During severe famine such social bonds have proved effective, like, for example, in sharing food and supporting one another on every day social life. The name of a man or an elder member of a group who encamped at that particular place for the first time identifies any *ganda*. Such a man is called *Abba Ganda* (the 'father' or head of the *Ganda*). The main duties of the *ganda* or the *Abba Ganda*, is the regulation of herding rules like the management of pasture and water and promotion of equal accessibility of resources to every one. Clusters of households within the *ganda* forms *ollaa*, neighborhoods.

During those days, when Karrayu pastoralism enjoyed full rights over their territory, pasture and water and pastoral movement was unaffected, *ganda* social organization had been more fluid and members changed so frequently. But nowadays especially at my very research area, Galcha, *ganda* is becoming more permanent. This is largely due to the sedentarization of many pastoral households. Now the members of the *ganda* are basically drawn from a single or two sub-gosa or gosa, because, as people began to settle they usually bring their own close kin to their *ganda*. As pastoralism declined, the role of the *Abba Ganda* became unimportant. Moreover, people within a *ganda* are now drawn from a single *gosa* and close kin administered by the *damina*.

f) Kebele Institution

The Kebele institutions are alien to the Karrayu traditional social organization outlined above. They came to the forefront during Derg times dividing the Karrayu into two. They were reinforced after the EPRDF came to power in 1991 in more strict way. As they represent the minimal structure of the government at household level their main duties are enforcing government administration, collection of tax, recruitment of the military, and justification of government authority through propaganda and agitation. For the Karrayu, it brings no benefit. In most cases it is in direct conflict with the traditional social institutions. As it represents government coercive power, the Karrayu view Kebele officials as deviant from Karrayu norms, and allying with their traditional enemy, the State. During my field research there were about sixteen *Kebeles*. They were formed by dissolving the smallest traditional Karrayu territorial unit, the *Ganda* such that there is conflict of roles among the two systems.

Chapter Three

Karrayu Pastoral Production System

Before Land Alienation

In this chapter I will try to show the patterns of Karrayu pastoral production before land alienation. The first section deals with the three ecological zones. The second deals with the patterns of movement along these zones. The third section tries to understand the dynamics of movement along these zones as one form of pastoral adaptation while the last section underlines the importance of land right and herd management of the Karrayu before land alienation.

1. The Three Grazing Zones

Before land alienation, Karrayu enjoyed full rights over their pasture and water resources. They could easily make decision on their movements in accordance with the existing ecological patterns. There had been three ecologically differentiated pasture zones in Karrayu country. These were *Ona Ganna* (summer or wet season grazing zone) *Ona Bona* (winter or dry season grazing zone) and *Ona Birraa* (autumn, dry season grazing zone). Such ecological zones are differentiated by three basic components: the spatial and temporal movements of herd and men, rainfall regime and pasture and water availability. All these are intractably related. The first one depends on the second and third factors.

Ona Gannaa; this part of grazing area, according to the Karrayu ecological classification, is that part of their country which surrounds the foothills of the Fantalle Mountain, up to the boarderlands of Bulga River in the west and Gran Plain in the east.

This roughly includes Dheebitii, Alakka, Haro Huuba, Midhadu, Haro Qarsa, Gababa, Gonnitti, Dhaga Heddu and Sabober plain, etc. Vegetation of the area is dominated by tall grassland type interspersed with few big trees. In general the area is rich in germinal family diversity, and could fall into Jacobs and Schloederis' (1993) classification of open grassland area.

Onna Bona: Ona bona is an area, which has both shrubs and grass with variation in intensity from locality to locality. The area is located between the *ona ganna* and *ona birraa*, i.e. in the transitional zone between the two. It covers an area from Muka Sara in the west to the Awash Sabet Kilo in the east including Summa Plain (which is currently included in the Park).

Ona Birra: covers an area along the River Awash. It is a long and wide strand of land on either side of the River. *Acacia nilotica*, *Acacia syal* and *Acacia tortilis* dominate such revrine zone with palatable undergrowth, and tall grasses (Jacobs and Shloeder 1993). According to Muderis (1998:53) the pods and leaves of this type of vegetation are palatable to all species of livestock. Trees here are large enough to render sufficient protection against the sun for both man and animals. It used to be a strategic place for human and livestock during the dry season. This zone harbors more than fifteen ritual places or holy grounds along the Awash River.

2. Patterns of Movement

Patterns of human and livestock movement along these three grazing areas was influenced by the availability of rainfall and pasture resources. Grazing in *ona ganna* lasts for almost four months from June up to the middle of September. As indicated on

Fig.1 and 2, these months are the time when Karrayu country receives the highest amount of rainfall of the year. During these months, grasses on open land grow to their maximum, water was available in ponds and surface water catchments. It was time when stocks need not trek. It was also a time when reproductive processes of stock are accelerated due to the availability of pasture and water. But after mid September, the range could no more render pasture and water. Rain would stop, grass no longer grows. The temporary water sources like ponds and surface water catchments dry up due to high evaporation rate. Moreover, the *onna ganna*, by now is overgrazed so that movement to another grazing zone would be inevitable.

By mid September, therefore, stocks directly head to *ona birra* ecological zone by bypassing the *Ona bonaa* grazing area. Bypassing this zone is strategically important. To begin with, stocks are more seriously in need of water than pasture at this time so that they could not stay in *ona bonaa* grazing area, which is at this very time dry and has no water. Stock could live on dry pasture for short periods of time but not without water. Moreover, water in such arid land depletes faster than pasture that stock need immediate sources of water. Second *ona bonaa* vegetation, as indicated above, is dominated by shrubs and few grasses. Considering the long dry season ahead, this scarce pasture would deplete very soon if stocks are allowed to graze on it at this very time. Besides, if pasture in this zone are grazed at the time when the stocks have another sources of reliable pasture in *ona birra* (that ecological portion located on the riverside), still ahead, stock would not have pasture on their way back to the *ona ganna*. Therefore pasture in *ona bona* should be saved for future grazing. Third, *ona birra* is an area where water is available and humidity and temperature are high. This means there

is high grass and vegetation growth that they should be used before they dry and fall down by the approaching dry season. Thus stocks should get into this area as soon as possible. Forth, *ona bona* is again strategically important to hedge against the uncertainty of the rain that may or may not come in December and June. It, should therefore, be bypassed. Last, but more important is the religious and ritual factor. The Birra season in Karrayu/Oromo traditional religion is a time of thanksgiving and many ritual performances. These rituals are held in most cases around big rivers and *Oda* (sycamore) tree. As such there are many venerated ritual places or holy grounds along the river Awash. Thus, immediate movement from *ona ganna* to *ona birra* by bypassing the *ona bona* is largely instigated by this ritual factor.

Arriving at *ona birraa*, stocks would graze on the fresh pasture that had been free from the grazing pressure over the last *gannaa* and enjoy the Awash River freely. As there was wide plain of pasture on either side of the river, there was no serious labor shortage to look after stocks. Young children could manage it. Therefore men and women have plenty of time for the religious and *gada* ritual performances. Along the Awash River, there were more than fifteen *Malka sa'aa* (water points for cattle). Each of them was strategically placed at certain reasonable distance from one another lest they create congestion when large number of livestock uses water at each point. It is also meant to avoid overgrazing. Of course, *malkas* are created by the force of nature when big erosion confluence with water in the main course of the river. In such a case irregularity in the distribution of the *malka* may occur. But Karrayu are wise enough to block some of the *malkas* which are deemed unnecessary due to the fact that they create

congestion and overgrazing. Therefore water points along the riverbank are regulated so that they are evenly distributed.

3. Holy Grounds and Gada Ceremonial Places

Many of the *malkas* watering points are also ritual places or holy grounds and a few are places of *gada* power transfer. Among many of the rituals, the well-known ones are performed year round on a fixed month and day. On such known rituals all Karrayu men and women gather and perform what is expected of them. Tha Qallu, the ritual and religious leader, leads and anoints the participants. The less known rituals have no fixed days but are ordained by *raagdu* (fortuneteller) whenever he/she felt that the prayer should be carried out. The *raagdu* does so when he/she 'foresees' undesirable happenings like livestock and human diseases and drought. The herds and the whole family would then move down to such *malkas* and *hora*, (mineral water), which is believed to be a remedy for animal diseases and also believed to strengthen animals to withstand drought.

Malka Ulee Warra Qallu, is for example, a place where the Qallu *gosa* (a senior and honored *gosa*), settle to lead a prayer. This place is considered pure as the Qallu himself does. Each year, at a regular time, every Karrayu makes a pilgrimage to this place and anointed by the Qallu and takes back *qumbii*, cinnamon, as a symbol of piety. At Malka Leedi and Malka Gobbu, a lamb is ceremonially slaughtered. *Buna qala* (roasted coffee with butter) is prepared. A prayer is extended to Waqa for rain, health, cattle and human fertility. The two rituals take place just after mid September when pasture from the *ona ganna* exhausts and water is dearly needed both by men and

stocks. Malka Abadir is the most renowned ritual place. It is situated at a place where there is ample pasture. Furthermore, there is a big tree called *Oda* (a sycamore tree), at Abadir, which is traditionally used as place of *gada* power transfer. According to folk thinking the existence of this big *Oda* tree and water (Awash River) at one place epitomizes '*Waqa*'s power, as both of them are the result of his work, and his generosity to render rain for pasture' (informant, Booru Rukeessa). Beginning from the month of March in the season of *Arfasa* (Spring) there was also a prayer at a place called Malka Awarsa. According to informants this ritual is made to delay stocks not to hurriedly go to the *ona ganna* before Spring or Summer rain falls. It was, at the same time, a thanksgiving to *Waqa* for his mercy against last dry season, and prayer for the ensuing *Arfasa* (Spring) rain and successful return of stocks to *ona ganna*. At Alge Dagaaga, almost at the same time, the above ritual takes place led by the Qallu of the Doyyo gosa who slaughter a lamb.

The ritual place at Leedi derives its name from a special tree that bears the same name and is found only at this place. The tree is ritually important because, *dhibaayyuu*, a stick carried by men and some times by women at ritual performances, is carved out of this tree. The *dhibaayyuu* is carried by a man on ritual ceremonies like those mentioned above. It is a symbol of masculinity and husbandship. When a man marries, he holds it in his right hand. In the Karrayu conception the saying, '*inni dhibaayyuu murate*' is translated as 'he has married according to Karrayu tradition'. Thus the loss of Malka Leedi denied the Karrayu, *lafa ganama*, the original source of that ritually important tree.

Some of these ritual places are also places of *gada* ceremonies. As mentioned above, power transfer between the incoming *tuuta* (*gada* class) takes place every eight years. There is, therefore, a big political drama every eight years. Such an action takes place in four of the ritual places mentioned above. At Malka Leedi, an outgoing *tuuta* of the Baso *gosa* gives away the *bokku* and at Malka Walqite another *tuuta* of the same *gosa* takes the *bokku*. From the Dullacha *gosa* the outgoing clan handover the *bokku* at Luugo while the incoming *tuuta* of the same *gosa* takes it at Kubi.

How could the interrelations between the ritual and ceremonial places, time and practices, on the one hand, and the pastoral movement, on the other, be explained? Anthropologists have shown that beliefs and ritual practices and behaviors connected with them are not only contingent with supernatural beings, powers and forces but also help people survive in their material environments and ecological settings. For example Indians worship *zebu* cattle which are protected by the Hindu doctrine of *ahimsa*, a non-violence principle, that forbids the killing of animals generally. Western economic development experts occasionally (and erroneously) cite the Hindu cattle taboo to illustrate the idea that religious beliefs can stand in the way of rational economic decision. Hindus seem to be ignoring a valuable resource (beef) because of their cultural or religious traditions. However sacred cattle actually play an important adaptive role in Indian ecosystem that has evolved over thousands of years (Harris, 1974). Peasant use of cattle to pull plows and carts is part of the technology of agriculture. Indian peasants have no need for large, hungry cattle for the sort those economic developers, beef-makers want to have. Scraggy animals pull plows and carts well enough but do not eat their owners out of house and home. Biologically adapted to poor

pasture and marginal environment, the scraggy zebu provides fuel and fertilizers, indispensable for farming. The taboo stops peasants from killing their draft cattle even in times of extreme need. This preserves a vital resource for Indian agriculture (Kottak, 1991:253-257).

Potlatching in many of the Pacific Coast of East America helps to even out variations in social production by distributing resources throughout the region. Potlatching also prevented economic differentiation because wealth was either destroyed or given away (and thus converted into prestige) rather than being hoarded or reinvested to create additional wealth. In the same way, in many tribes inter-community feasting works as redistributive mechanism helping to even out imbalances in access to strategic resources. Although inter-community feasting is often done for religious purpose, particularly to fulfill obligation to dead ancestors, this religious behavior has real-world effect. Kottack (1991) documents a vivid example of how religious beliefs form an aspect of cultural adaptation among the Betsileo. The Betsileo live in small villages each village has ancestral tombs which every living individual is expected to honor through elaborate ceremonies. These ceremonies largely takes place after the annual rice harvest in April and May when the intensity of agricultural work is less. On such ceremonies, the Betsileo slaughter cattle on these ceremonies. Small portion of the meat is offered for the ancestors' cult by putting it on an altar while the rest is distributed to the people. Even those offered for the cult is eventually eaten by the people by removing it from the altar. According to Kottak, 'this custom developed in time when the Betsileo have no market accessibility and when they lived in small hamlets'. During that time, Kottack argues, 'ceremonial distribution was the only source of beef. It was not

feasible to slaughter and eat an entire animal in a small hamlet, because there were too few people to consume it. Nor could the Betsileo buy meat in the market. They got by attending ceremonials in villages where they had kinship, descent, and marriage links'. More over the Betsileo also kill cattle on funeral. Animal's portion of the beef is again dedicated to the ancestors while the rest is consumed. The Betsileo also attend many funerals of their kin so that they get beef and animal's protein. According to Kottack even though there could be deaths at any time, Betsileo funeral ceremonies largely occur during the rainy season especially from November to February. This is a time when the Betsileo suffer from food shortages since the harvested rice already is exhausted. Therefore 'many funeral occasions on which beef and rice are distributed occurs at precisely the time of year (the pre-harvest season of food scarcity) when people are hungriest. In Betsileo cultural adaptations funeral distribute food beyond the local group and to the lean season' (Kottack 1991: 255). Such funeral ceremonies and ancestor worshiping, beyond its religious importance in the folks conception and maintenance of social solidarity, provides cultural adaptations by regulating access to strategic resources, including the nutrients that people need to resist disease and infection to survive (*ibid.*).

Ray Rappaport (1984) brought forth another example of the adaptive importance of ritual performance among the Tsembeg Maring of the Papua New Guinea highlands. This is the ritual sacrifice of pigs and the uprooting and planting of rumbim plant. Such an activity prevails in two contextual levels. One is in terms of the Tsembaga ecosystem and the other is the relation between the Tsembaga ecosystem and that of the larger, more inclusive Maring.

Before the Australian invasion of the region, different sections of the Maring including the Tsembaga use to wage war against one another. The one who prevails over the other seizes the territory of the defeated and the one who succeeded reversing the enemy and maintained his ancestral territory plant a rumbim plant and slaughter sacrificial animal. On such ritual, a big number of young pigs are slaughtered and the Tsembaga make a vow to conduct another *Kaiko*, a large pig feast, when pigs again grow to its size. This, in most cases takes about 20 years for the number of the pigs to grow to the required size and the rumbin tree to take up the field. There would be no war, and peace prevails among the Maring groups for this long time. But as soon as the number of the pigs grow to unmanageable size, the rumbim plant would be uprooted, pigs would be slaughtered lavishly and another war begins. Such ritual practice according to Rappaport, first, regulates the number of pigs, which otherwise causes overpopulation and the eventual conflict of people over grazing resources. Second, the pigs provide protein for the people. Third, and above all, controls the over-growth of the number of rumbim plant, which at about 20 years takes over the whole productive land. Fourth, by imposing taboo on waging war before the rumbim plant grow wide and the pig size grow large, such ritual practice create a long time stability and peace between the Maring groups. As such the ritual prohibition help regulate relationship in local and regional ecosystems and provides the groups an adaptive mechanism to their environment

Karrayu system of ritual practice and *gada* ceremonies along the Awash River could be explained within the context of this paradigm. It is a form of an adaptive mechanism, which regulates movement across the three ecological zones. The rituals exactly take

place after pasture and water depletes from the *ona ganna*, and movement to another source of such important things became a mandatory. Arriving at the Awash River bank, as indicated above, series of ritual would be carried out throughout the *Birra* (autumn) season. These rituals would keep stock in the *ona birra* so that pasture in the other two ecological zones would not be overgrazed. Upon return to the *ona bona* and *ona ganna* another ritual would be performed. Moreover, we have also seen that many of the ritual places bears the same name as the watering points which exactly indicates the close interrelations between the ritual performances and pastoral movement. The participants' view, although it is not articulated in terms of the ecological zone and the concept of adaptation to the environment, also concurs with this idea. The aim of the rituals, as they claim, is to pray for *Waaqa* so that *sa'aa manni* (lit. man and cattle, but which connotes a reference to every aspect of life) be healthy and wealthy (*nagaa badhahda*). On each ritual, the basic contents of the songs are prayers for peaceful performance of the pastoral movement. The frequent reference to *Malka* in the songs may clearly indicate this issue (see the details in chapter six).

4. Herd Composition and Management.

Before alienation, Karrayu rear more cattle than camels, goats and sheep. As there was relatively good pasture and water, cattle, which are culturally important than the rest of species, were sufficient enough to support a household. Elders say that the number of camels in the total number of animals increased very recently when cattle could not resist the diminishing pasture and water. Sheep and goats were not suitable for those days tall grasses.

During those time Karrayu pastoralism had two systems of herd management. The first one was management at the (*ganda*) village level. A *ganda*, as mentioned earlier, is a territorial-based herding group headed by the *abba ganda*. The *abba ganda* (head of the *ganda*) along other members of the *ganda* decides on the pattern and time of movement, the composition of the type of stocks in a given herding party, and the allocation of the communal labor.

The second type of management system is based on the territorial division of the grazing area between the two major *gosa* of the Karrayu, namely the Dullacha and the Baso. Accordingly, their respective grazing zones, were termed as Ona Dullacha (the grazing area of Dullacha) and Ona Baso (the grazing area of Baso). This division crosscuts the three ecological zones mentioned above. However, it should be noted that the division is not based on ownership right of the respective *gosas* and their individual members but it is only a regulatory mechanism on how to use pasture resources. It was meant for an even use of resources to avoid overgrazing, under-grazing and the possible conflict over resources. Every group and individual has the right to graze on either zone, given that the movement complies with the principle of an even use of resources. The *abba gandas*, who are responsible for the management of group herd, are expected to regulate and comply with this principle.

Thus, before land alienation Karrayu had full tenure and management right over their resources. They had a self-reliant system of regulating movement and resource use. Divisions into different grazing zones and the spatial and temporal movement was one form of adaptive mechanisms to their arid environment. The religious and ritual performance on the sacred grounds along the Awash River, beyond its religious

importance, had been one form of cultural adaptation, which regulated movement and resource use. The process of land alienation, an issue I am going to consider in the following chapter, transformed Karrayu land ownership, use and management right and altered their cultural adaptations.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Process of Marginalization and Land Alienation

Social organization in pastoral society is characterized by diffused political authority, absence of hierarchy and virtual authority of the herd-managing unit, in most cases, made up of an extended family or groups of families. This is to underline that political superstructure, state, rarely appear in the pastoralist milieu (Markakis, 1993). Khazanov (1983: 295), likewise, asserts that only in rare cases has a nomadic state emerged without conquering and subjugating other sedentary society. Barth (1961: 12) adds that the pastoral production system survives "without the benefit of institutions and services produced by the state." Khazanov (1983:14) argues that pastoral production processes are 'guaranteed at the lowest levels of social organization, the laws that typically exhibit political autonomy, hence the highly fractious political practice of pastoralist society.' Dyson Hudson (1985: 167) characterizes such a kind of political and social organization as "low investment politics." Such form of social or political organization, writes Dyson Hudson, guarantees a form of adaptability and flexibility against the ever changing and poorly predictable external situation. When the Ethiopian State structure imposed itself on Karrayu, such a form of 'low investment politics' suffered a lot so that their pastoral production system began to face a problem. In other words the process altered one form of adaptive mechanisms, namely, the institutional flexibility and autonomy of the Karrayu pastorlists.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, when Africans fall under the yoke of colonialism, northern Ethiopia* also expanded to become the Ethiopian Empire. It was during this time that the Oromos, and then the Karrayu, were brought under the new state structure¹. For many of the pastoralist of the Horn, such a process was a novel experience since such societies had never been subjected to a centralized authority (Markakis, 1993).

The loss of autonomy due to incorporation by the colonial powers, including Ethiopia, marked the onset of the long process of pastoral predicament. In Ethiopia, beyond its political repercussions, the process had dramatically averted Karrayu system of land holding, a process which, when capital appeared on the scene, has negatively affected them. Land holding in Ethiopia is so crucial, writes Richard Pankhurst, for besides 'determining the question of social class, it was the basis of administration, taxation and military services' (Pankhurst, 1966:135). This was especially true in northern Ethiopia, but, after conquest, land holding by the new landlords becomes so crucial in the south too. In the following pages, I will try to present the process of such transformation

1. Political Inclusion and Change in Land holding System

a) Conquest and Expansion

In the first half of the eighteenth century, northern Ethiopia referred to as Abyssinia, was parceled among four regional lords: Gondar, Tigre, Gojam and Shewa. These entities belong to a similar cultural and feudal organization. In the 1840s and 1850s a man called Kassa, arose in Gondar, and waged successive wars against other kingdoms, in

* Abyssinia refers to the northern portion of current Ethiopia comprising mainly Tigre and Amhara (Donham, 1986).

¹This process is clearly elaborated by authorities like Mohammed, 1990; Holcomb and Ibsa, 1991; Ta'a, 1980; Asefa, 1991; and otherwise view by Bahru, 2000).

which he managed to bring them all under his leadership. In 1855 after successive victorious wars, he crowned himself Emperor Tewodros II of Ethiopia and Kings of Kings. Tewodros envisaged three main objectives. First, to destroy the northern regional lords and unite Abyssinia; second, either to convert the Oromos in Wollo to Christianity or expel them; third, to force out the Turko -Egyptian from the Red Sea area. He accomplished his first mission. But with the second and third, he faced great predicament which forced him to seek help from Britain. Accordingly, he wrote a letter to Queen Victoria to send him firearms. When he could not get a response, he detained British envoys that had been in Ethiopia. A British Expeditionary force, which came to release the detainee, dealt a *du grace* to his regime and his life (Bahru 1991).

His successor, Yohannis IV, adopted the same policy of consolidating Abyssinia and subjugating the Oromos and Southern Ethiopia. With his vassal Menelik, king of Shewa, Yohannis began to conquer further a land. In June 1878 at Boru Meda they divided Wollo between themselves, after which Menelik turned south. In his letter to Queen Victoria Menelik determined 'to conquer a land up to Khartoum and lake Nyanza (Victoria) with all Oromos included', and reaffirmed that 'if powers at a distance [Europeans] came forward to partition Africa between them, I don't intend to be indifferent.'(quoted in Melba,1988). As such with remarkable vigor, he launched a war toward the south, west, and east. By the end of 1882, Menelik had brought under control the Tulama, Metta, Limu, Gomma, Gera, Jimma and Leqa Naqamte. In the longest and bloodiest campaign, from1881-1886, due to the stiff resistance of the Arsi, at a single battle 12,000 Arsi warriors were killed (Darkwah, 1975). In June 6,1887 on the Battle of Chalanqo, the campaign he personally led, Menelik annihilated pastoral

Oromos: Metta, Oborra and Itu Oromo (Mohammad, 1979, Caulk, 1971). On his way back from Chalanqo, according to my informant Abba Gobbu Jilo and Qasaro Jilo, Menelik subdued the pastoral group of the Karrayu. According to these informants, the Karrayu severely suffered in the hands of the superior army of Menelik. From then onwards, they were subjected to pay hundred heads of cattle and a certain amount of ivory each year as a tribute to Menelik as a token of submission. Subsequently they were placed under the administrative control of appointed officials, *balabats*. Two *balabats* ruled the Karrayu during the reign of Menelik. On January 14, 1887, Menelik controlled the town of Harar (Marcus, 1975). On the death of Yohannis in 1889, Menelik crowned himself "Menelik II, Elect of God, King of Kings of Ethiopia". By conquering Boran pastoralists in 1897, Menelik completed the conquest of many parts of the present day Ethiopia (Bahru, 1991).

Within 25 years, 1867-1897, Menelik conquered, annexed and absorbed Oromo, Sidama, Afar, Somali and Nilotic groups. This achievement was backed by the European powers. It was during this time that the "inter-marriage" between European imperialism and Ethiopian State began. This, in turn had paved the way for incorporating Ethiopian into a market economy and capital penetration (Holcomb and Ibsa, 1990).

Military subjugation was followed by a protracted and endless process of land confiscation hence changes in the landholding system. Military superiority and the imposition of a new state structure justified land confiscation. Menelik had a huge army whom he had to remunerate for their past service and for future administration of the conquered lands (Abbas, 1982). The Ethiopian nobility, ecclesiastic, civil and military personnel were rewarded with grants of *madaria* and *rist-gult*. A commander soldier

received from one to three *gashas* (1 *gasha* = 40 hectares), a captain of fifty soldiers was granted up to five *gashas*, and a leader of three hundred soldiers received up to twenty *gashas* of land (Markakis, 1974). A governor received 1,000 *gasha*, a *fitwararii* (commander of the front) 300 *gasha*; a *qanyazmach* (commander of the right) 150. These lands were granted with the resident pastoralists and peasants who now turned to *gabbars* (serfs). *Gabbars* were obliged to provide the new landlords with food, labor, tribute, and land tax revenues both in cash and kind (McClellan, 1988). They are the indigenous people whose relation to their own land changed as the result of conquest and confiscation. The Ethiopian State, in favor of its entourage and itself, expropriated 14.5 million hectares of land (Pankhurst, 1966). The cumulative effect is the formation of a new landholding class (actually there is a variation. In the Gibe region and Wollega, for example, the traditional landholding system almost remained unchanged for sometimes, see Mohammad Hassen, 1990). The most serious effect of the process was that these landlords, at the same time, held important administrative offices. They were governors at all government levels, military and police officers or had position in the church. The implication was that the landlords had limitless authority over the *gabars* for the fact that they are 'makers and the executors of the law' (Asafa, 1993: 70). Such a power was severely exercised over the Karrayu when they were evicted from their land. Previously, in the conquered areas land ownership was based on communal land tenure owned collectively by lineage or extended family. As such decision making concerning the management of this land is vested in the traditional authority of these corporate groups (Melakou Tegeng, 2000).

Concomitant with this transformation of land-ownership and management was the development of a new intermediary group known as *balabats*. *Balabats* are selected from the local people to smooth the functioning of the new administration system. As the new masters are unfamiliar with the culture and language of the subject people the existence of these middlemen became indispensable. The major purpose of the *balabat* system was to serve in the administration of the new state structure. Asafa Jalata (1993) indicates that the immediate purpose was to guarantee continuous provision of grain, labor, tax, and tribute for the settlers. Eventually this group emerged as a privileged class, who associates themselves with northern ruling groups and adopting their characteristic domination (Markakis, 1974).

b) Imperial Consolidation and Karrayu Predicament

The coming to power of Haile Sellasie in 1930 heralded the further tightening of the new land holding system in the conquered regions. Three major developments could be cited. First, the centralization and modernization of government administrative machinery. With the help of the British, Haile Sellasie embarked on modernization of the state machinery by establishing full control over the appointment of officials, establishment of a fiscal system with tax payment by the officials to the Ministry of Finance, instead of the nobility; monetisation of taxes and tithes, introduction of the ascending land tax based on size and fertility; creation and maintenance of a central armed forces. As a result the pastoralists were subjected to a centralized authority. According to Markakis (1993), the development of the military in the post-war Ethiopia was largely meant for the control of the valuable pastoral areas. Troops were encamped for the close surveillance of the pastoralists. With the reformation of the administration

the Karrayu were first put under the governor of Harar, but later on moved to the Shewa *Tekelayi Gizat*. It was during this time that Karrayu country was super-imposed with *awuraja astadadari* (district administrator), *woreda astadadari* (sub-district administrator), and *mikitil woreda astadadari* (deputy sub-district administrator). The *balabat* system became tighter, in which, the Baso branch of the Karrayu, for example, was administered by six successive *balabats*. With the development of hierarchical government structure, the predicament of pastoralists, who did not get the chance to be represented in such structure, became severe. Their traditional decision making system and self-sufficiency is taken over as the new structure did not involve them in such endeavors

The Monetization of tax payment subjected the Karrayu to the payment of 1 birr for each head of cattle, 0.75 birr for camel, 0.50 for donkey, mule and horse, with heavy tax on every animal sold on the market. This was called '*zalan gibir*' – 'pastoral head tax'. Mohammad Dalol (1992) documents the same process in the Ogaden where 30 birr per household was levied on the pastoralists, from 1960 to 1970. In 1978 the amount of the *gibir* grew to 100 birr. In comparison with that of the Ogden, the amount of 'nomad tax' on the Karrayu seems low. But, here, we are interested more on what the payment of tax purports to imply- for the government it is a token of ruling and administration. For the Karrayu it is a sign of submission to a new state structure.

Second, Haile Sellasie, during his time of Imperial consolidation, continued Menelik's policy of transferring land to northern settlers. Haile Sellasie's 1931 constitution promulgated that all the pastoral areas to be the state domain. This constitution heralded the legal means by which the pastoralists were alienated from their land right

(Yacob, 2000). The land proclamation of the Derg did nothing to change the *satus quo*. It only nationalized the big farms and agro-industries. The same could be said about the 1994 constitution. Eventhough it denounces the eviction of the Pastoralists from their land with out their will, practically, state-sponsored investors are taking pastoralists' land. In accordance with this, between 1940-972, Haile Sellasie granted approximately 4.8 million hectare as freehold (Cohen, 1973). According to the 1972 estimate, out of the Empire's total size of 1221 million hectares 57 million hectares of land belonged to the state and its entourages (Ibid.).

Finally, there was the granting of land concessionaires to foreign capital by the government of Haile Sellasie. The Awash Valley area along with its resident pastoralists handedover to the British, Italian and Dutch, caterpillars. The ground for land alienations by foreign capital and Ethiopian Government, was laid by the Imperial conquest and the subtle and gradual process of change in the system of land holding in Ethiopia. By the 1950s, the Karrayu had already lost their ability to make decision on their own affairs, especially issues related to land. The Ethiopian civil Code of 1960 envisaged permanent settlement and regular payment of tax as a condition for land right, which stood as a pretext to usurp pastoralists' land. Thus in the following years, 1950s and 1960s, many pastoralists were evicted form their lands on the pretext of *gibratall* (that is those who failed to pay taxes for three consecutive years (Ragassa, 1993). Thus we see, in the case of the Karrayu, continuous state intervention on the one hand, and the lack of access to political, legal and economic power in the center, on the other. This seems partially responsible for the Karrayu destitution.

As it will be shown in the following sections the indigenous pastoralists were the victims of the changing land holding system and government policies, while the landlords, the multi-national corporations and the government itself are the main beneficiaries.

2. The Establishment of a Commercial Farm:

Metahera Sugar Plantation

As the result of imperial land grants, Haile Sellassie gave Karrayyu land to two brothers of an aristocratic family, Bazabih Sileshi and Mesfin Sileshi, in 1950. The former was given 200 *goshas* (8000 hectares) form Merti (beyond the Awash River) and Metahara (on the other side of the Awash River) while the later was given 100 *gashas* (400 hectares). Ras Mesfin after using the land for some times, returned it to the government claiming that such pastoral region was not rewarding (Ragassa, 1993).

Ras Bazabih, however, changed his system of produce extraction of the region from collection of taxes to the development of an agro-industrial enterprise in partnership with four Greek investors. This enterprise came to be known as P. Sarris-Bazzabih Sileshi S.C. Ltd. It was to produce various crops, fruits, and vegetables for local markets and for export in conjunction with an establishment of distillery and sugar refinery. After the establishment of the Company with an initial capital of 1500,000 Birr, Dajazmatch Bazabih notified the government that he had changed his '*rist*' land to Metahara Plantation (Ragassa 1993). However the company faced strong resistance from the Karrayyu so that it had rarely functioned peacefully.

As mentioned previously, after World War II, the Ethiopian government's bureaucratic structures were expanding rapidly as a result of administrative and military reforms. The

size of the army was growing. The government terribly needed money to finance such robust institutions (Bahru, 1984).

With such a zeal, the government was looking for any investment activity. Moreover beginning from the Italian occupation, the entire economy of the country was rapidly entering the market economy so that any speculations could gain a reward. As a result, the Second Five Years Development Plan (1963-1968) envisaged the development of the Awash Valley through largescale commercial farming (Raggasa, 1993). For international capital like British firm, Mitchel Cotts, and Dutch company, Handles Vereening Amsterdam (HVA), such conditions were a god-sent opportunity. The former had found its sphere of action in Lower Awash Valley by grabbing crucial dry season areas from Afar pastoralists (Gamaldin, 1993). It ventured in cotton plantation under the name of Tendaho Plantation Share Company (TPSC) (Herbson 1978; Gamaldin 1993).

After its expulsion from Indonesia as a result of nationalization, the HVA was looking for a new investment venture. HVA sent its representative to Ethiopia. On June 12, 1951, a concession leasing an area of 5,000 hectares for sugar factory was signed between the HVA and the Ethiopian government. The lease was for a period of 60 years with an option of renewal for a further period of 30 years. The company was to pay a rent of ET Birr 1, per *gasha* (40 hectares). The agreement further gave the company a monopoly of sugar production within a radius of 100 miles. Besides, the company was given a five year income tax holiday, duty free imported capital goods and an annual remittance of 10% of invested capital and 51% of the profit (Bahiru, 1984). Such agreement led to the establishment of Wonji Sugar Estate, which resulted in the forceful eviction of Ille Oromo pastoralists. Within a short period of time the Sugar Estate proved to be

profitable, which, in turn, led to the establishment of another venture Metahara Sugar Estate. The HVA expanded its tentacles with a new name: HVA- Metahara.

Accordingly, a new agreement was signed between the Ethiopian government and HVA Metahara, in June 1965. The agreement granted for HVA Metahara, 10,000 hectares of Karrayu land from either side of the Awash River. 50,000,000 Birr initial capital was needed to begin the venture from which 49% was offered to Ethiopian shareholders (Ibid.). The lion's share of the Ethiopian side went to the aristocratic families and different government sectors. The interest of the local people has never been considered. The Karrayu seem to have been severely disadvantaged compared with the Afar, since, in the case of the latter, the aristocratic family of Sultan Ali Mira, at least, got shares in the cotton plantation.

According to the concession, the 10,000 hectares engulfed the land and plantation that had been registered by Metahara Plantation, P. Sarris-Bazabih Silleshi S.C. Ltd. The Government, had therefore, to buy the land and properties on it:

1. The price of the purchase of land for	
Daj. Bazabih Sillashi –	1,314,065.00 Birr
2. The price of the purchase of properties	
on the land as the result of the Plantation	1,135,349.82 Birr
3. Additional payment for Dej.Bazabih	1,500,000.00 Birr
Total payment for Daj. Bazabih	3,949,414.82 Birr*

Source :The History of Establishment of Metahara Sugar Factory, MSF, n.d written by the Scheme

Such amount of money was amassed by *Daj Bazabih* at the expense of the *Karrayu*, since, it was they who lost the land but somebody else got paid for it.

Shortly afterwards the HVA *Metahara* commenced its work by preparing the land for sugar cane production in 1965. The land was meant for cane-sells planting, establishment of a Sugar Factory and construction of residential quarters for workers. The construction of the factory was completed in 1968 (Raggassa 1993) and the production began in 1969 (The History of Establishment of *Metahara* Sugar Factory, MSF, n.d written by the Scheme). At the beginning, out of 10,000 hectares of land, 3000 hectares were put under cultivation with the factory's milling capacity of 17,000 quintals of sugar cane. In 1981/82 the plantation area grew to 8363.8 hectares and in 1999/2000 it reached 10,000 hectares (Plantation Statistics of MSP, see Appendix 1). With a single inch of expansion of the scheme, the *Karrayu* are subjected to severer land loss. Their best grazing land and watering points were gone. Moreover, the *Karrayu* lost their ritual places, which were situated along the riversides. This in turn had great repercussion on their social and cultural life.

3. Conservation Versus the Indigenous People

a) Awash National Park and Land Alienation

In the history of the establishment of national parks in Africa, Ethiopia was a late comer. But when it did so in the 1960s, it was steady with the establishment of two national parks at the same time, in 1969: the *Awash National Park* and the *Semien Mountain National Park*.

However, the establishment of the parks was preceded by the establishment of a hunting license office within the Ministry of Agriculture in 1944. An increase in land use and hunting pressure brought up a concern for the establishment of conservation section within the ministry with a view of ensuring the sustainable use of wildlife resources. Ethiopian delegates presented such concern to the UNESCO general conference held in Paris in 1962. In 1963 and 1965 two UNESCO delegates were sent to Ethiopia to offer advice on how to select areas suitable for conservation. In 1965 His Imperial Majesty, Haile Sellasei I, took up the advice by establishing Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Organization (EWCO). Thereafter, EWCO embarked on establishing national parks, wildlife reserves, sanctuaries and controlled hunting areas, the result of which the Awash National Park and Simien National Park were legally gazetted in 1969 (Nagarit Gazeta, No 54 and No. 59,1969).

Two main considerations were made for the selection of the Awash valley for the park that later came to be known as the Awash National Park. First, the largest portion of the area had already been reserved for his Majesty as a private hunting area as a result of which there was 'an abundance of game' (Jacobs and Schloeder, 1993). Second, 'from a physiographic and geological point of view it is an extraordinary area where the Rift valley fans out... and from the point of view of scenery, wildlife, and proximity to the capital, this reserve with modified boundaries...would seem eminently suitable as a national park representative of the dry and low land type (Ibid)'. As result, the Awash National Park attained the status of 'strict conservation area' which had a huge negative impact on Karrayu pastorlists. "Strict conservation area" in Ethiopia is defined as "an area which excludes all kinds of human use in that area like settlement, exploitation of

natural resources, grazing of livestock, mining, etc., except as required for the management of wildlife and conservation.” (Jacobs and Shloeder 1993, emphasis mine). Such a starting point underpins the subsequent evacuation of the pastoralists, Karrayu and Afar, from their own traditional lands, and their proposed but unfulfilled settlement along with their livestock outside the park boundaries. The park was granted 75,600 hectares of land. To effect the resettlement plan 1500 hectares of land were bought for 60,000 birr in a place called Borchata, which lies outside the traditional grazing areas of the Karrayu. Moreover, 31.3 hectares was said to have been given to the Karrayu from the private land reserve of Hiale Sillasie around the Kessemer River (Muderis, 1998). This land which was displayed as ‘compensation’ was in a sense meant to effect the planned settlement of the Karrayu. Moreover, the land is so dry without water as it is very far away from the flood plain of the Awash River. To make the matter worse the land grant exacerbated land conflict as it lies in the traditional grazing areas of other neighboring groups. From the total land claimed by the park (75,000 hectares) 70%(52,000 hectares) was important dry season grazing land. This is the area we refer to in this research as *ona bona* and *ona birra*. The remaining 30% (23,000 hectares) is wet season grazing area, which is referred to as *ona ganna*. Eventhough, the pastoralists reclaimed some of their lands in the wake of the drought of 1974/5 and 1984, the Park still holds strategic grazing areas and water points. The total land that the Park holds could maintain 30,240 TLU, which could easily support 2086 households or 13,976 people. This makes up 68% of the total current population of the area (Muderis 1998).

b) Conservation and the Interest of the Indigenous People

Development of the Pastoral areas has been viewed as a problematic process in Africa, especially in East Africa where the pastoral mode of life is predominant. But, the problem was not simply a matter of integrating the pastoralists into the national economy, since this land can be put under more 'useful' land use- the creation of reserves and national parks for wildlife. Thus the removal of the pastoralists' natural rights in favor of wildlife, brought up a more serious question about "people versus animal" in engineering African wildlife policy (Collet, 1987). To the dismay of the pastoralists, every policy and practice in Africa further disfavored them. This could be attributable to the following. Firstly, national parks and game reserves are never justified solely in terms of the economics of tourism: both the conservationists and national governments support the creation and maintenance of these areas by moral arguments based on the need to conserve wildlife and the intangible benefit that conservation confers on humanity. Second, conservation policy and practice were influenced by Europeans' attitudes towards wildlife and its "natural environment" (Ibid.). David Turton gives an important comparison between the Mursi view of nature and wildlife with that of Europeans:

These same views of nature which lies behind the western derive to conserve it also lies behind the western view to exploit it. For conservation and exploitation are both ways of dominating nature, of bringing it under human control, where as the Mursi see themselves as living **IN** nature, we see ourselves as living **over** and **above it**. We see it as our right and obligation to bend nature to our will, to 'show it who's boss" whether by economic exploitation or scientific investigation (Turton, 1991:182-3).

That conception led to the removal of the pastoralists from the imposed parks, as this presumption exclude the possibility of harmony between man and nature or wildlife. The promulgations of orders by Ethiopian authorities advised by the UNESCO team to

evacuate the Karrayu and proposal for the separate space for the Karrayu and wildlife springs from this perception. Moreover, such misrepresented image, led conservationists to disregard the right of the local people up to the denial of their very existence.

Whereas the pastoralists land is seen as an area, which is reserved for the agriculturalists to exploit to their interest when they feel it necessary, pastoralists are subjected to eviction. Such taken for granted view of the Ethiopian highlanders reinforced by their political control and alliance with European and conservationists, had been the unfettered cause for pastoralists from land rights and political representation. Any meaningful attempt to improve the life of the pastoralists should first of all combat such underlying assumptions.

The Karrayu view of nature and wildlife concurs with that of the Mursi indicated by David Turton. They assert that their cattle and the wildlife used to graze together. The number of wildlife decreased as soon as the Park came into existence. As an informant put it:

We know how to rear cattle and how to live with the wildlife. Our cattle are more familiar with the *Saala* (Oryx) than the cars of the government are to *Saala*. Our spear is less harmful than the guns of the government and the hunters. We are forbidden to live with the *Saala* while Haile Sellasie and the *faranji* (white men) are allowed to kill our *Saala* (informant, Qasaro Jilo).

4. The Development of Township and Commercialization

The development of towns in Ethiopia was largely attributed to the military campaign of Menilik of the nineteenth century and the eventual development of garrison centers. Another assumption links the development of towns to the beginning of railway line (Buli, 1992). The development of two towns Haro Adi (Addis Ketama) and Metahara towns in the Karrayu area however had a different story. It is directly related to the upsurge of

commercial farming in the area: the development of Metahara Suger Plantation. Besides this commercial farming, the development of these urban centers eventually linked the Karrayu to the wider regional, national and international capitalist economy, exacerbating their exploitation.

Metahara town is located on the railway and asphalt road that link the center of the country to Djibouti and Asab port, while Haro Adi town is situated between the Metahara town and the Scheme. Metahara town developed very recently gaining an impetus from the development of Haro Adi town. With the beginning of the railway line, Matahara station served only as ' *Dereq Tabiya*' (lit. dry station), where there was no passengers but only stops for repair and other services. When *Ato* Negash, my informant, who was a petty trader during those times and served in the *woreda* administration for long time, visited the area in 1950's, there was only two thatched huts owned by two Somali individuals, and one corrugated house which belonged to a Frenchman. These people worked in that *Dereq Tabiya*. During the same time, beyond the Awash river at a place called Merti, there was a settlement or village of workers working from Metahara Plantation and winery (owned by P. Suris-Bazabih Sillashi S.C as mentioned above). This settlement which was gradually developing into a town, had a quite number of people originating from different ethnic groups. The settlement had many social services like dispensaries, hotels, bars, shops, recreation center for the workers, etc, owned by people from the north. This settlement which came into being as a result of the scheme, was to become the first township which later developed in to Haro Adi and Metahara towns.

The system of payment by the company to the workers had good impetus for the development of a merchant class and the development of the towns. Metahara Plantation used to pay its workers in *billatto*, a credit card. The workers take the *billatto* to hotels, shops and bars to get services. The owners of these service-giving establishments collect the *billatto* overtime and take it to the scheme and exchange for cash. The system worked for the plantation to gain time until it marketed its products. For the businessmen who owned the services, the *billatto* was like a check and helps them save money. When they cash the *billatto*, they would get relatively a considerable amount of money since they have accumulated it for a longer period of time. This would reinforce the second round of investment. The system of the *billatto* tied the workers to the businessmen since the workers should expend for their living and as no one else other than the service owners would accept the *billatto* (informant, Nagash Desta).

When the Dutch company, HVA Metahara took over the scheme in 1965 and began to plant sugar cane, it transferred this developing town from its original place beyond the Awash River to the present day Haro Adi town. As the scheme expanded, the number of its employees grew more than ever, which meant increased demand for consumer goods. This gave a considerable advantage for businessmen. As a result, the town developed over time attracting businessmen and job seekers from every part of the country. Currently, Haro Adi and its tentacle, Metahara, towns harbor about 14,116 inhabitants. They serve about 31,092 workers and families of the scheme (MSP, interview with officials). These days, these towns have many shops, bars, hotels, dispensaries, churches, mosques, music shops, groceries, tea houses, two schools, etc., which are largely in the service of the townsmen. These services are owned by

non-Karrayu that flocked to the area attracted by the development of the Scheme as migrant labor, and the development of the town as businessmen.

For the Karrayu the development of the towns brought about a novel experience. Before 1960, the dominant exchange system between the Karrayu and the highlanders and among the Karrayu themselves was the bartering system. Highlanders used to bring to Karrayu villages grains on donkey back. They barter it with butter, sheep, goats and cattle. The process of commercialization, the establishment of the commercial farm and the subsequent development of the towns undermined this system of exchange and introduced a cash economy. Nowadays, the Karrayu sell their produce on the market at low prices and buy most of their daily consumption needs like sugar, clothes, beads, tobacco, sandal wood, coffee, tea, veterinary medicines, etc., at higher prices. They sell their produce, and buy their needs at unfavorable terms of trade. Abdel Ghaffar and Mustafa (1979) observed similar process in the Sudan where Radoam and Kongar towns brought the local people into the grip of cash economy. Such small towns according to Abdel Ghaffar and Mustafa Abdel Rahman, form the base line from which integration into the capitalist economy of the peasants and pastoralists began; "being the marketing centers they are points at which the contribution of African peasants to the cash crop industry crystallizes and the bond between the African hinterland and the world economy is sealed." By so doing, the development of Haro Adi and Metahara towns draw the Karrayu into an exploitive relations with the wider economy. Moreover, the Karrayu are integrated into the towns with negative terms of trade. It is clear that towns render services to both the urban and rural dwellers, but the extension of service facilitates the process of exploitation since all the service rendered clearly, in the long

run, serve the interest of the leading classes in the center (Abdel Ghaffar and Mustafa 1979: 122). On top of this, the growth of the town, usurped, as the scheme did, an extensive and important dry grazing land of the Karrayu, further limiting their freedom of movement. The ecological problems befalling the Karrayu are being partly exacerbated by population pressure due to the town. Huge amounts of vegetation cover around the town is being used for buildings and fuel consumption. From the Karrayu point of view the *duriye* (a sarcastic name for townsmen which signifies wilderness, lumpy and unruly), are responsible for such a problem. For the Karrayu, towns and townsmen represent the state authority that was responsible for the usurpation of their land. Indeed, it was from these towns that the government administration, police force and the military spring forth to quiet the Karrayu at any time they complained for the land loss. Taxation, which brought the Karrayu into the market economy, and was bitterly hated by them, is exacted on them by government authority based in town. From the point of view of the Karrayu the Scheme and the towns are the two sides of the same coin. In brief, the development of the commercial farm is the main cause for the development of the towns. The towns, in turn, besides being the center where government authority radiated, brought the Karrayu into the market economy. Besides, towns attracted large number of people to the area, contributing to overpopulation.

5. Population Pressure

The influx of human population into the Karrayu territorial domain is causing the shrinkage of the Karrayu resource base. Population influx is the major element of population growth in the area, the natural increase of Karrayu population being another

minor factor. Such external influx of population has been dictated by the political economy of the country over the past years.

To start with, Menelik army brought the Gumuz people, locally known as the Sudane from Benishangul, western Ethiopia, in the nineteenth century. They were made to settle on the northern fringe of Karrayu territory, occupying large tracts of land. They are herders like the Karrayu, causing herding competition. The influxes of the Somali dates back to the establishment of the railway station in the area when the first settlers came as employee of the railway company. Afterwards, they began to bring their relatives. But the largest influx of the Somali occurred due to the famine of the 1974 and 1984/85 when they came as a tribal group and sought refuge among the Karrayu. As a tribal group they were adopted into the Baso clan of the Karrayu. Such picture was in accordance with the *moggasa (meedhicha)* institution of the Oromo. According to this accommodative traditional practice, any non-Oromo group could be adopted to any *gosa* of the Oromo and given equal rights in resource use. As such many tribes of the Somali are allowed to enjoy such rights and even given important grazing areas like Arrolee plain. Some of them were given area adjacent to the town. Currently, these Somali groups own a considerable number of herds. The lion's share of milk selling is nowadays performed by these Somali groups. In Galcha the Somali, more than the Karrayu, own the largest proportion of herd.

The third but the largest and important group that moved into the Karrayu territory was the Itu Oromo. The largest proportion of the Itu came, beginning from the 1950s, as the result of war with the Isa over resource use and ownership in their original land, western

Hararge. After the first influx, kinship ties with their own men and marriage ties with the Karrayu brought many of the Itu to the area.

Accessibility to Karrayu resource was given for the Itu in recognition of common ethnic background as both of them are Oromos. The recognition of common identity underlies that any Oromo *gosa* is entitled to and have full right to gain protection and equal share of resource with other Oromo clan. To effect this, a ritual ceremony would be conducted along with an oath that seals the agreement. *Dhalata* is only concluded between Oromo *gosas*, and unlike the Somali, in accordance with this institution, Itus are allowed to exercise political right. Currently, the Itu have quite a large number of stocks raised in the Karrayu country. Some of them practice agriculture on the fringe of the Irrigation Scheme and compete over resource with those Karrayus who are recently taking up agriculture. There are about 8685 Itus in Karrayu territory (Muderis, 1998).

The second source of population pressure is the commercial farm and the growth of towns. Metahara Sugar Scheme has about 10,000 employees, which makes up about 31,092, people with their family (MSP Statics). Many of the workers have stocks especially milk cows, goats and sheep. In Galcha, for example, the workers' settlement at 'North Camp' have got a larger herd size than that of the Karrayu in the same place. Moreover the population of the towns also form another source of population pressure. The population of the town makes up 14,116 (Metahra Town Adiministration).

The fourth source of population pressure is the natural population growth of the Karrayu themselves. Muderis (1998) made an important calculation in the natural growth of Karrayu population within the last 30 years. According to him, with growth rate of

pastoral people of 2.5% per annum, the population size of the Karrayu before 30 years was 5665 (ibid.) which is a little more than half of the current figure, 11,993.

The Natural growth rate of the population in the arid and semi-arid lands, like in Borana and Karrayu is always lower than that of the high land region. The former being 2.5% while the latter is 3-4% (Muderis, 1998). This is an adaptive mechanism to the limited resource base of arid lands. However, the extent of population growth in Karrayu land is a function of the three process outlined above. The population influx over the past three decades is four times greater than the current number of the total population of the Karrayu taken separately. Most of these people, including the scheme workers, directly depend on the extremely shrinking resources of the area. This is inevitably shaking the pastoral adaptive strategy of keeping a balance among land, population and herd size. This eventually led the Karrayu into destitution, and sedentarization, especially at Galcha.

6. Land Encroachment

Recently, absentee farmers who have small shops in the towns and live in the town, are increasingly encroaching into Karrayu land and grazing area. A large tract of land is being put under *teff* cultivation. This is mainly on the suburbs of the towns. It is limiting herd movement as it is taking place between the towns and the Fantalle hill, blocking the narrow corridor of movement from the east to the west of the town. On the eastern flank of this farm area a large tract of land is put under the Awash Park, including the hillside, which meant further blockage of movement.

Currently, the encroachment is exacerbated due to change in local power structure, which further alienated the mass of the Karrayu from direct decision making. The institution of the *Kebele*, introduced by the EPRDF, after the downfall of *Derg* led to the further marginalization of the traditional power structure. The traditional power structure works in such a way that every individual is responsible for group interest, and group consensus is the source of power for *gosa* leaders. No exclusive individual decision making is ever contemplated. If it does so, it would never be realized or accepted by the entire group. The power vested on the *gosa* leaders, like the *damina*, inhere in and spring from the general consensus of the society. On the contrary, the *kebele* institution came into existence to serve the interest of an external force, the government. Therefore the power and authority of the *kebele* leaders is derived, not from the people, but from the government. They are responsible to effect government decisions. They function outside Karrayu norms and values that every Karrayu resent. Here the exercise of individual power is possible. This institutional change gave "land-hungers" the chance to gain more land by bribing *kebele* leaders. Nowadays Karrayu land is steadily falling in the hands of farmers who come from the highlands where land is steadily getting scarce.

The *woreda* administration, which is entirely run by people from the highland with an 'agricultural mentality' that view the pastoralists' life style as 'backward' and the land held by the them as a wastage, and hence favors these land encroachers. For these administrators, a land put under cultivation is only productive. The Amharic derogatory terms '*zelan*' (wonderers) and '*ye kabti chira yermikatau*' (those who follow the tail of their cattle)'- with their cultural connotation lingers in the minds of these administrators.

In response, the Karrayus, on their part, are fencing off a large tract of land for 'ranching' to forestall further land encroachment. Those Karrayu who even do not have a single cow are taking this action. This, in turn, creates resource competition that further leads to more shrinkage of the pastoral resource base.

7. Basaka Lake: Natural Calamity or Man Made?

The Lake is located near Metahara town adjacent to the Irrigation Scheme. It occupies a large portion of one of the traditional Karrayu grazing ground and ecological categories called *ona birra*. According to my informants there had been no lake of this size, 30 years ago, except a small pond. The pond had been created by surface flood during the wet season and spring mineral water called *hora*. They say that, this mineral water had a medicinal value for their herds, for it heals various cattle diseases. It also fattens cattle. Above all, the *hora* had strong connection with the pastoral movement among the three ecological zones mentioned. After long stay in the *ona ganna* from June up to September the herd move south to the *ona birra*. This movement was partly regulated in the bid to get the *hora*, which was believed to clean out the belly of the herds from the summer disease and strengthen them to endure the vagaries of the coming dry season. According to these informants big festivities and ritual performances accompanied the movement to the *hora*. The importance of the *hora* for camels was such that there was a type of grass called *Kiila*, which fattens them. Moreover, a type of soil called *boolee*, which was only found in this area, had been so important for camels to equilibrate their body temperature and remove insects from their body when they roll over it.

These basic resources no longer exist. The lake has already overtook them. The study made by Metahara Sugar State shows that the Basaka Lake water and its spring contains high salt and sodium concentration that makes it unfit for crop growth. Its high fluorine content also renders it unsuitable for both human and animal use. Within the last 30 years, the surface of the lake has increased ten times from 3.3- square km to 35 square km (see Appendix 3). From the Scheme's point of view such a dramatic increase in the surface of the lake was due to addition of flood from the surrounding catchments especially during rainy periods, the continuous accumulation of silt particles which increased the bed level of the lake, excess water from hot springs, etc.

However the Karrayu deny such assertion and argue that the lake surface largely increased after the beginning of the Irrigation Scheme as more water from the Awash river is brought closer to the lake that underground leakage of water from the canals created more vents of spring flow into the lake more than ever. This lake, beyond its effect on the water resources of the area, when its waterbed recesses during the dry season, the alkalinity of the water had already killed the grass that there would be no chance to graze on the water-side.

8. Change in the Pastoral Production System

a) Change in the Three Grazing Areas

The cumulative effect of the above process is change in the Karrayu pastoral movement, which inevitably affected the performance of the production system. As mentioned in Chapter Three, the Karrayu pastoral movement involved three ecologically specialized grazing zones. This was the spatial and temporal movement into *ona ganna*, *ona birra* and *ona bona*. As shown in the previous sections of this chapter, the extensive

wet and green plain that used to harbor different varieties of grass and trees, as *ona biraa* and *ona bona*, and rendered the herd with plenty of pasture and water, depending on the seasonal requirements of herd, have gone. The only grazing zone that remains is the *ona ganna*. This zone began to serve two purpose at the same time: as *bakka teessuma* (dwelling place) and *bakka dheedaa* (grazing place). Change in the terminology itself indicates change in the performance of the pastoral way of life. The former three pairs of terminologies, *ona ganna*, *ona birraa* and *ona bona* combines territorial (*ona*) and *temporal* (the three seasons, *ganna*, *birra* and *bona*) terms, which connotes from the Karrayu point of view, extensive and rich territory with culturally ritualized movement. In the latter terms, '*bakka*' indicates a 'small' and 'diminished space'. And *teessumma* implies limited movement and implicit connotation of sedentariation.

In former days most member of the family moved with its herds along the three grazing zones, which implies a nomadic type of movement. In the later case unmarried or recently married young boys and girls move, leaving the largest members of the family at *bakka teassuma* the former *ona ganna*. Many of the Karrayu households have their huts at one particular place for more than 10-15 years. Almost all the pastoral Karrayu are now obliged to live on the hillside of the long chains of Fantalle Mountain, Harrolee plain and small escarpments on the boarder of Tulama Oromo. The same area servers as wet season and dry season grazing areas, whereas in the severe dry season, they move into inaccessible and acute areas, bordering Afar, Argoba and Arsi Oromo.

Disregarding small details, the current pastoral movement of the Karrayu could be described, in accordance with the changing environment, depending on the direction and area of movement. First, the Karrayu whose *bakka teesumma* is west of the Fantalle or Metahara town around Dhibibaa, Ilala, Yayya, Dheebitii till the borders of Tulama Oromo, graze, during wet season, from June up to the middle of September, in the same place. As the dry season falls and pasture becomes exhausted and water points dry, they move northwards to Harrole plain and Bulga River which is situated on the boarder of Afar and Argoba. On these borderlands pasture and water from the Bulga River is competed over with the Afar and Argoba. Conflict with these people would leave a large tract of good grazing area unused, as either group would be scared to go into it. This further limits the possibility of movement and availability of pasture. When they could not water from the Bulga River, due to the potential conflict, they come back to the south, where they had already grazed during wet season, to Dheebitii water pump. From the borders of Afar and Bulga River the distance is about 25 km to this pump. Others trek further, almost 17 km to the area of Baska Lake for Aade spring water, which is rarely available since it is taken-over by the lake. Going back northwards, again, herds would come back over the already exhausted pasture during the wet seasons. Especially when there is stiff war among these groups the back-forth movement was so frequent, a maximum of four days interval that pastures quickly die out. At the water pump a huge size of herd wait for their turn standing at a particular place without any pasture. At the most severe moment herds have to wait up to 48 hours without water and pasture. Then they would trek back to the borders of Afar to search for pasture. That would again make another 25 km, a distance that takes almost a whole day. That means herd would get water or pasture at 2-3 days interval. The Karrayu say that every

year every household loses three to five animals. Indeed such sturdy and exhaustive movements take lives of herds every year. At this critical moment Karrayus intentionally kill newborn calves. This is because, first, the newborn calves could not afford such sturdy movements, and, second the life of the mother-cow should be saved since she cannot feed the calve when there is no grass and water. This contributes to the diminishing herd size.

Second, those groups of the Karrayu whose *bakka tessuma* is to the east of Fantale mountain graze around Gababa and Fantale Tinno up to the borders of Afar. Pasture from the bottom of the Fanatle Mountain up to the edge of the irrigation scheme and the Park exhausts during wet season grazing. Therefore climbing up the hills and moving up to the borders of Afar is mandatory. This is a trek of about 25km which takes almost a day. The first night on the border they would stay at one place to protect themselves from the Afar. The next day they graze on this border area and pass that night at the same place, with close protection against the enemy. On the third day, since there is no water on this front, they would come down the hill to get on the *haro* (pond) excavated on the verge of the Irrigation canal. They stay around the pond for half a day without pasture after which they again go back to the boarder region for pasture. In general, herds stay without water for more than two days and one day without pasture. As it is true to the former group mentioned above, movement takes place on the already overgrazed *ona tessuma*. The *haro* at Galcha was excavated by the plantation scheme. It was not originally meant for the Karrayu herds, but to divert excess water from the canal that there is frequent conflict between the Karrayu and the scheme as the former tries to use and the latter forbids. It is extremely dirty, stinky and polluted, bringing waste

materials and chemicals from the factory. Karrayu claim that they lost many cattle drinking this polluted water. The same pond is used for human consumption.

b) Digging of Haro (ponds) By the Government and The Scheme

In response to the Karrayus continuous resistance against the loss of Awash River, the government constructed six ponds. Though these ponds were constructed as a gesture to compensate for the lost water points, in reality, it was intended to distance the Karrayu from the Scheme and the Park. The ponds were dug in the former *ona ganna*, the current *bakka tessuma* and *bakka dheeda*, without taking into considerations the natural distribution of pasture and water and the dynamics of movement. They are excavated at points where there are good pastures in the wet season. During this season the Karrayu do not need ponds so much since they could get water from wet season springs and surface waters. Moreover, such ponds are short lived as they could only serve as long as there is rain and for a very short time after the rainy season ends. It rather created overgrazing on this wet season grazing area, thereby limited or shortened the time the herd should stay on the wet season grazing area as pasture deplete quickly. The repercussion is that the construction of ponds further disturbed Karrayu traditional grazing systems. The traditional grazing division between Ona Dallacha and Ona Baso, which regulated equitable and even distribution of herds ceased as the diminishing grazing land could not allow the functioning of this division any longer.

c) Diminishing Herd Size and Productivity

The cumulative effect of the dramatic cut in the size of grazing ground and loss of strategic pasture and water areas undoubtedly led to decrease in the size of individual household herd holdings. Karrayu informants assert that 30 years ago the richest household had more than 100-150 head of cattle while the poorest had 15-20 head of cattle. However, these days the richest household has 40-50 heads of cattle while the poorest has 0-4 heads of cattle. This may be for two reasons. First, there is high degree of animal death every year due to lack of pasture and water. Many households claim that they lose 1-3 heads of cattle every year. Secondly, animal reproduction depends on the existing pasture. Thus, due to the sparse pasture and the distance between pasture and water, livestock are highly over driven and exhausted. This hampers the rate of livestock reproduction. Almagor emphasized the importance of such a factor in the pastoral Dessanech where the availability of pasture permit high reproduction rate (mentioned in Turton, 1991). The Karrayu have the traditional practice of limiting the number of their cattle during severe drought. They kill newborn calves in order to save the life of the mother-cows, lest they lose both the mother-cows and the calves.

All of my informants affirm the fact of decrease in livestock productivity in terms of milk and meat. They say that 30 years ago a single milk-cow would feed a large family while this day milk from one milk-cow would not suffice to feed a baby. Karrayu households have a display of a *cocoo*, milking gourd, that they had before and now. That of the former was big enough to accommodate abundant milk. For them, change in the size of the gourd represents their past and current life. In former days, the Karrayu assert, a

meat from a single bull, would suffice a large crowd for a wedding while these days it does not suffice for much smaller crowd.

9. Conflict Over Resources with Neighboring Peoples

a) Type and nature of Conflict Before and After Displacement

The types and nature of conflict between the Karrayu and their neighboring groups have virtually exhibited an evolution. Before displacement, 30 years ago, war and conflict was not merely and exclusively on resources. According to my informants, that war was highly instigated by cultural values like a search for collective or individual fame and display of brevity. It involved huge mobilization of resources, material and manpower. Any group who wanted to instigate such a war sends a message of an imminent combat, the date and place of combat. According to the shared tradition and experience of the belligerent parties, the messenger is expected not to be hurted or offended when he carries such a message to the other party. He is given a warm reception and due hospitality. Before the actual combat commences, each party involves in boosting the war emotions of its warriors by war songs that emphasizes past experience of heroes. After the war, the victorious party goes home with dignity and fame displaying war booties. In some instances important war booties and men's genitals were requirement for men to marry. War was in most cases carried out without the involvement of herding men but by well-bodied ones who want to exploit fame. Since this war involved considerable human lives and huge resources, war was very rare those days. The Karrayu count only 12 such wars with the Afar in the past hundred years, fewer with Argoba and no such wars with the Arsi. Since the Karrayu and the Arsi are from the

same ethnic group, they do not consider each other as enemy. In this case killing one another does not have cultural values like with other groups, for example the Afar.

After displacement and shrinkage of resources, the style and aim of the war changed. Each group fights to control or have access to a particular resource base like pasture, water or livestock. Clashes could easily occur on daily basis between individuals, groups, or a larger ethnic entity from either side. War and war only assures access to certain resources such that it became a means of survival rather than some kind of cultural performance. It is herding groups that now fight, while moving and exploiting resources on the borderlands. Preparation for all round wars and sending a messenger for such an activity has now ceased. Karrayu tell uncountable number of such war with the Afar, Argoba and even the Arsi.

But this should not be construed as an attempt to establish a dividing line between the past and current conflict and war experience of these groups. It should be understood that it is the emphasis that is shifting, in which cultural values had a great role to play in the past on the one hand, and practical life experience-the need to have access to resources, gained eminence nowadays, on the other. There was inevitably resource conflict in those days and the role of cultural values in the conflict these days too. Nonetheless, with varying degrees.

c) Karrayu Vis-à-vis Argoba, Afar and Arsi

The Argoba are a sedentary and agricultural group of people who also raise a considerable number of stocks. Before the Karrayu were pushed into their borders, they had been the sole users of the pasture on the vast and undulated escarpments along

the Bulga River. Though Argoba are traditional enemies of the Karrayu, war and conflict between them was largely driven, before Karrayu displacement, by cultural values mentioned above. But after displacement, conflict was largely over pasture and water resources. The digging of one of the ponds mentioned above, called *haroo Leedi Rooba* by the government intensified the conflict as each group tries to control it. As a result a large-scale war in which both sides suffered severely for the first time occurred in 1975 in Harolee plain, near this pond at a place called Qobbo. The battle was still remembered as Lola Qobbo (the Battle of Qobbo). On top of this, land grant of 60 *gasha* along the Bulga River to the Karrayu by the government in that fraudulent gesture of compensation for the lost resources brought them in fierce animosity to one another than ever. Cattle raid also became the order of the day to replenish the decreasing herds.

Afar are pastoralists like the Karrayu. Their nomadic type of movement and, like the Karrayu, the loss of their best grazing areas and water points, due to cotton plantations, brings them to the borders of the Karrayu (Gamaldin, 1993). Moreover, the pond that was dug on the borderlands became a source of conflict as either group competed to control it. In 1976, on Lola Sofi (the Battle of Safi) the two parties waged a large-scale war. The war claimed many lives of the Karrayu and Afar herders.

With the Arsi, the Karrayu share the same linguistic, ethnic and cultural identity, as both of them are Oromos. The two considers one another as brothers', son of their epithetic father Barentuma. The traditional animosity that existed between the Karrayu, on the one hand, and Afar and Argoba, on the other, did not exist between the Arsi and Karrayu. According to my Karrayu informants, killing other fellow Oromo, especially

through purposeful campaign is strictly forbidden by the *seera*. This means that the culturally driven conflict did not exist between the Karrayu and the Arsi. Moreover, before land alienation, the two groups amicably shared pasturelands on the Merti, Nura Hira, Abadir and the water of Awash River. The grant to the Karrayu of 200 *gashas* of land around Nura Hira, which used to be a common grazing ground for the Arsi and Karrayu, by Haile Sellasie lit the flame of war between these kinsmen. War began between the two. The first war of its kind termed as Lola Nuraa, devastated the two, in 1975. This was also the year when war began between Karrayu and Afar, on the one hand and Karrayu and Argoba on the other. With the intervention of an external force, the State, the traditional conflict management of the Karrayu pastoralists and their neighbors became inefficient. Lane describes a similar situation in Tanzania:

Historically, pastoral groups have managed conflicts through tried and tested traditional systems. However, with tenure reforms and alienation of pastoralists from their lands, customary methods of negotiations, arbitration and adjudication are breaking down in competition with more omnipotent forces (Lane, 1991).

Thus in the 1970s and 1980s, the Karrayu did not only lose their land but also entered into conflict and protracted war with their neighbors. This further led to shrinkage in their resource base, as pasture land and water points on the conflict areas remain unused by either side. This further caused the alteration of pastoral production and herd loss and eventual destitution. A life story of a Karrayu informant depicts the predicament of the Karrayu during this time.

During Derg times, we were completely surrounded by enemies, Argoba and Afar. Even our old friend, the Arsi began to fight us. Day after day war became prevalent. The war commenced when we lost our land and began to search browse for our camels as far as Shashamane and other highland areas. That time even the Tulama, our kinsmen, fought us. We were tired of fighting everyday. Our livestock ultimately found nowhere to go. In the war and the raid that followed I lost about

20 camels, most of them taken by the Argoba and Adal (Afar). Some of them died when we could not take to the highland browse due to the war. It was at this time that I bought this gun [he was carrying a gun]. Firstly, it was meant to protect my life from the ever-tense war; secondly, it was to save something by selling camels whose death was inevitable. By that time the government supported the Amhara (Argoba). If we were attacked and our men were killed and we reacted to protect ourselves, the government automatically brings its army and raids us. We had no one to appeal to. Afterwards, I could not revive from these problems, as there was no condition to do so. All Karrayus suffered like I did (informant, Hawas Fantale).

By way of conclusion, the conquest of the Karrayu pastoralists by an external force has set in motion two important processes. First, it undermined the political autonomy of the Karrayu pastoralists. As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, diffused political authority, absence of hierarchy and virtual autonomy of herd managing unit characterize pastoral political organization. This is one form of the pastoral adaptive strategy since this kind of social organization guarantees a form of adaptability and flexibility against the ever changing and unpredictable external situations. With the superimposition of the Ethiopian State structure, this form of adaptability lost its ground. Second, the loss of political autonomy prepared a fertile ground for the loss of land rights and transformation of land ownership to the state and its entourage. The transformation of land right of the Karrayu, formed the base of land alienation by the Park and the Scheme. The development of the towns as a result of the Scheme further marginalised the Karrayu as these towns form the baseline for integrating them into the wider market economy and facilitated exploitation. Population pressure in the area due to labor migration to the Scheme, the growth of towns, movement of other pastoral groups into Karrayu territory, coupled with the loss of grazing land and water point have negatively altered Karrayu pastoral production. The intensification of conflict with neighboring peoples further

altered the system mentioned, left large pastureland unused. Furthermore, the development of towns beyond taking up more Karrayu land and attracting large number of people to the area brought the Karrayu into the market economy through negative terms of trade. When the drought came, the Karrayu became an easy prey. Many households became destitute and vulnerable. Drought by itself, however, is not the cause of Karrayu destitution. But it is the way they were integrated in to the larger political and economic system that makes them vulnerable in the face of famine. The transformation of land and land rights, the loss of autonomy and self-reliance in terms of decision making lies in the center of Karrayu marginalisation and eventual destitution.

Chapter Five

Karrayu Responses to the Process of Marginalization

In the last chapter I tried to show how the Karrayu were relegated from the mainstream political participation and were incapacitated from making their own decisions in respect to local resource use, tenure and management. In this chapter we will try to see how the Karrayu responded to the changing situation. Karrayu responses proved to be multifaceted which began with a violent resistance and later involved integration into the plantation as wage laborers. Here we will try to demonstrate the fact that attachment to wage labor, which was dictated by the loss of herds and destitution, further drew labor from the pastoral production which eventually led to sedentarization. Sedentarization and the meager reward from wage employment led to the practice of agriculture, as an attempt to diversify household income though it finally tied the Karrayu to a market economy as the practice of agriculture was meant for selling the product and buying consumer goods. As plots of land are leased out, the practice of agriculture further placed them in the grip of exploitation by townsmen. An attempt is made to see the dynamics of response from the Karrayu point of view in the main and from their counterpart, the State and the Scheme. The Karrayu view of their own position as wage laborers is also outlined. Finally, scrutiny is made of how the Karrayu responded differently.

1. Resistance: Peaceful and Non –Peaceful

The first and immediate response of the Karayu towards land alienation was resistance, which involved direct confrontation. According to Karrayu informants the process of

alienation did not only usurp their land but also claimed their lives. Many informants tell an outsider of these physical encounters and what happened afterwards. The agony of human death, suffering and loss of dignity looms out in every day Karrayu conversations. Such stories are countless, so that we can not present all of them. Let us quote the last incident that is presented by one informant who was one of the victims of repression, now aged 68 and currently employed as guard to the Scheme:

One day, while we were looking after our stocks, we observed many people (workers of the Plantation) ruthlessly cutting down our trees that used to give us shade, piercing our land and destroying our grass, diverting our water from its natural course. We watched them showing their muscles to the resources that kept our lives for years and displaying themselves as masters of the land once our forefathers held, prayed on and lived on. We felt angry; we could not control ourselves. We rushed into them. Emphatically told them to quit from our country. They mocked at us saying, "nomads have no country". We beat them to the ground. We lashed them. We tied them on a tree. Because it was our land and we have to show them that it was only ours. One *farajji* (a foreigner, Dutchman, who was in charge of HVA) lost his ears in the conflict. We knew that we would suffer more at the hands of government military the following day. As we expected, one-day afternoon, armed government troops overwhelmed our village. They burnt our houses, took all men and women to a military camp. They severely beat our elders, a pregnant woman lost her fetus. They shaved off our hair, including the long and beautiful hairs of our Qallu and put thousands of us in the burning sun. In our culture the Qallu does not shave his hair. If he does, there would be a curse. Putting us in the sun, they denied us food and water. People defecated in the camp, as they could not move. Destroying our settlement camps they further forced us from our territory, in which, beginning from that time, we are limited to the edges of the Fantalle Mountain. When the Park came, to make the matter worse, we lost even those rugged mountainsides. From then on our conditions are getting worse and worse.

According to informants, when they learned that they could not face the huge army of the government and realized that the physical confrontation would not change their position, the Karrayu opted for a different form of resistance. They began to appeal to different government officials up to the monarch— Haile Sellasie. To effect this, the Karrayu elected known elders from all over their country as their representatives and

sent them to government officials. They collected money for the living expenses of the elders while they were pursuing their cause at different government offices in Nazareth and Addis Ababa and to bribe the officials. However this form of resistance did not bear them fruit either. Haji Gada Hullo, one of the elders who represented the Karrayu, explained it:

We thought there was justice at Addis Ababa. We expected Haile Sellasie would hear our cause and persuade his officials in our favor. But the thing was different. No one considered us as human beings. Let alone sympathizing with our cause. They asked as “why do you follow the tails of your cattle, why don’t you quit this activity?” We made a countless trek to Addis Ababa, and finished our assets to no avail.”

Another elder who took part in one of these appeals had a similar but more sensational experience:

...We went to the office of *Ras Mesfin Sllashi* (he was a landowner and at the same time high government official). His office was on the tip of one of the big towers in Addis Ababa. In his office he ordered the police to surround us. The police were armed, had whips at their hands. When we began to tell our cause to the *Ras*, the *Ras* became furious and ordered his police men to kick us out of his office. The policemen chased us down the stairs, beating us by sticks, lashing us by their whips and spitting at us. They warned us not to come again to the *Ras*' office (informant, Boru Rukessa).

At the end, the government and the Scheme made some promises for the Karrayu. These promises were: first, the Scheme would build a school for the Karrayu children so that in the long run, after they received the necessary skills, the Karrayu would take the administration and ownership of the scheme and the factory. Second, the Karrayu would get employment opportunity so that ‘they would quit following their animals’ tails’ and learn how to plow. Third, sugar ‘the product of their own land’ would be distributed to every individual Karrayu and *balabat* so that every Karrayu would profit from the production. Fourth, grazing land would be established through irrigation projects for the Karrayu cattle. Last, water points would be dug for both human and animal use.

Such were vague promises for they have never been realized. It was only made verbally to calm down Karrayu resistance. One Informant added , "we have repeatedly asked them to put these promises into reality. But they betrayed us saying 'the Scheme has never made such promises'. The promise was in words. We believe in words. They intentionally did this. But we did not know the trick since in our tradition promise is always in such a way and it is always kept. Until the promise become a reality, I do not think there would be peace between the Karrayu and the Scheme" (informant Booru Rukessa).

The resistance of the Karrayu against the Park was also the same. After a protracted appeal of the elders to the officials, Haile Sellasie sent a team of three men to the area to make an agreement with the Karrayu. But the agreement again ended in a fraudulent act on the part of the government. Haji Qasaro says:

Haile Sellasie sent his ministers. They asked us whether we agree to the establishment of the Park or not. Their question was not genuine, since they had already taken all the land without consulting us. It was intended to produce a pretext to arrest us as usual. We told them that we do not give all of our land since we have no other place but part of it. We, then, agreed out of fear, obviously, to give the land east of Fantale Mountain for the park. They agreed to give us land west of the Fantale Mountain. We accepted since we could not do any more. When they prepared a map of the Park and began to protect the land, the thing was different. They reversed the agreement: The map of the park included areas west of Fantale mountain, which they previously agreed to give us. They then began to evict us. They built a camp in our settlement areas. We repeatedly asked the government and the park to respect our joint agreement but no one listened to us. Still they prevent us from developing water points in the area they claim to be within the park's territory.

After the coming to power of the Derg, Karrayu resistance shifted to less overt reactions (physical confrontation and appealing to and persuasion of the officials), to more covert oppositions. The Derg, with its proclamation of "*land to the tiller*" and socialist land policy

that allows 'every individual to live and work wherever he likes' overshadowed the cause of the pastoralists in favor of the 'land tillers' in general and discredited Karrayu claims for their land in particular. With the fall of the Derg and the coming to power of the EPRDF, the Karrayu resumed their direct physical and military confrontation. In June 1991 armed Karrayu warriors staged a campaign against the Scheme, surrounded the Factory, for a day or two, threatened to burn it down and evict the workers. The Transitional Government sent a huge army to the area to rescue the Factory in which a major battle took place and, according to my Karrayu informants, about 11 government soldiers died, many wounded. Three Karrayus died and two were wounded.

The covert opposition has had many forms. Taking stocks into the Scheme's or the Park's territory and grazing stealthily during nighttime or when the guards are not on duty, is one form of such opposition. However the Scheme has developed a severe measure against such act. A stock caught grazing in the Scheme's territory is liable to fines. For cattle, a herder is liable to pay 10 birr for each head, for camel 15, for goat and sheep 5 birr. If an individual's 10 heads of cattle is caught, he should pay about 100 birr that he is obliged to sell one of his small stocks- sheep or goat. Such occurrence was so frequent that it is another way by which Karrayu stock loss is aggravated.

Karrayu opposition, on the part of the government and the scheme, is interpreted not as a response due to the loss of their own land, pasture and water points. One of the Scheme employees who is on the managerial position told me that "We face a great problem as the Karrayu kill our workers and scare them. They do this due to their low level of consciousness and ignorance. They are lazy people who do not like to work

rather than following the tail of their animals. We intended to teach them how to farm but they did not accept. That is why they come in conflict with us.”

2. Integration into the Scheme

The second major response of the Karrayu to the changing conditions is integration into the Scheme as wage or daily laborers. Such a reaction was reinforced by different factors. To start with, Karrayu elders who had been appealing to the government and the Scheme officials came to realize that the government was not in a position to give them back their grazing land and water points. They came to understand that the government is using different bureaucratic systems, fraudulent agreements and vague promises. Still, for some of the Karrayu, informants note, integration and accepting government decisions was taken as a policy of appeasing the Scheme and the government so that the promise would be kept. Second, due to the loss of best grazing grounds and water points, the ability of Karrayu production system to resist the vagaries of rainfall was crippled. The drought of 1974 and 1984/5 bitterly hit and many of them turned destitute. Karrayu informants claim that they have lost almost all of their herds due to the drought that many households were left with little to survive on. They also add that drought is not new for them, it had been there throughout the generations. But those days they resisted it easily and recovered from since they had full access to their pasture and water. As a result the first employee happened to be an elder who had been very active confronting the government. In due course, more and more Karrayu sought employment in the factory on daily basis. However working condition for the Karrayu seems to be unfavorable.

a) Employment and Working Conditions.

The Scheme has three systems of employing workers. The first one is employment on a permanent basis in which workers work 26 days of the month and are paid on monthly basis. They are relatively educated ones and work in administrative posts or technical duties that require professional skills. They constitute about 2652 workers. They are known by the Scheme as staff and regular employees. The second type of employment is called PPL (permanent piece rate laborers). Workers in this group are also entitled to the rights the first group enjoys as permanent workers in terms of security on job. But this group is paid in accordance with the amount and duration of the work they performed. The third type is the SPL (Seasonal Piece Rate Laborers). Workers who are employed as SPL are seasonal workers who do not have the opportunity to be permanent employees and are expected to renew their term of employment in every three, six, or nine months. They do not have job security due to the fact that the Scheme would fire them at any time. They are paid on daily basis or on the amount of the work they perform. They are the least paid of all, and, on top of that, do not have right to claim pensions. The majority of the Karrayu belong to this group. According to my informants, promotion is virtually impossible for the Karrayu since requirements for promotions to the second level (PPL) disfavor them: one is education and the other is the ability to perform hard labor like digging, forking cutting cane and piling it. For the Karrayu such requirements are disadvantageous since they are neither literate nor accustomed to perform agricultural labor due to their pastoral way of adaptation, which simply requires movement with very occasional labor. Karrayu tendency not to perform hard physical labor is interpreted by the Scheme's management as laziness, indolence and backwardness. An attempt to understand them is not there. An informant (I opted to

keep him anonymous) who is serving as a guard, describes working conditions as follows:

Five years ago we were paid only 2 birr per day. I worked with this payment for more than 8 years. Now I am paid about 150 birr per month. If a member of my family or myself get sick, I should pay for a medical bill so that the remaining part of my salary would not suffice household consumption. We work in shifts whereby each one should work for eight hours. But I have to walk four hours to and from my work place since it is far away from my house. That four hours is wastage since it is not considered as working time and paid for accordingly. During malaria epidemic my family suffers a lot, as I am away from them for more than 12 hours and could not take care of them. When I come home I always find them lying sick. I could not take them to clinic since my salary does not suffice, and above all could not do since I have little time as the time gap between the shifts is wasted on my way home. Neither can I hope to get promotion to the PPL since they regard us as lazy people or illiterate. I have worked for ten years as contract worker and there is no change in my life. I have no milking cow to support me. I have two children and a mother. My wife died two years ago and it is only me who should look after them. I am losing every thing. I am neither a pastoralist, a farmer, nor a waged worker. Life is losing its meaning. We have no water to drink, except that stinky one that brings waste material from the factory and our children are suffering from diseases. We are planning to educate our children, since we have no stock for them to inherit as our fathers did to their children, thinking that they may find some job for themselves and help us in the future. But this plan is stifled since our salary does not suffice for buying books and pens for them let alone for our daily survival. Pension is allowed only for those workers who have a chance to be promoted to the PPL status, but we Karryus could not have that a chance. The management says that any one could get promotion from SPL to PPL after serving 10 years. But practically there are many Karryus who worked for more than 20 years without any promotion. If some one is employed at 30 years of age, he could definitely stay as contract worker for 20 years. Do you see any advantage if this person get promotion at 50 years of age? At this age he would get older and retire without benefiting from the promotion. The Scheme purposefully makes us suffer.

Survival on a salary is highly insecure. A large family could not sustain the hardship of market price to live on grain. Grain market skyrockets during dry season. As many families in Galcha have small or no animals, they could not augment their consumption. During dry season every household suffer.

Moreover the Karrayu are facing labor competition from migrant laborers that come from the highland. These migrant laborers are more skilled than the Karrayu. They are also

acquainted with agricultural practices and physical hardships that all forms of agricultural activity requires. As such the Karrayu are relegated to the status of guardship. As the main concern of the scheme is largely profit-making and does not care for the share of the local people in the benefit of development, the existence of excess supply labor especially from the highland disfavors the Karrayu. Moreover, the excess labor and the potential migrant labor that has already been created by the seasonal need of labor helps the Scheme to keep wage low. That incapacitates the Karrayu to bargain for improved wage payment as the possibility of being fired out and replacement by cheap laborers from the highland also scares them.

Besides, the introduction of wage labor undermined the traditional ways of collective work. Now, labor, which is the basis of subsistence and of social relations, became an individual's business. As rewards from employment are offered on individual basis, collective work that had a social reward no longer exists. According to Abdel Ghaffar and Mustafa (1979) in such a condition, the redistribution mechanism in-built in collective work ceases to exist, giving way to a system of accumulation on an individual basis. This is the inevitable result of the sale of labor and its individual reward. Now social labor is transformed into commodity. Labor that has been important in pastoral production is withdrawn to augment a different system of production, which no longer contributes to the sustenance of the pastoral household and production system, creating labor vacuum in the pastoral sector. The transformation of labor inevitably led to change in Karrayus' self-perception.

b)Karrayu Perception of their own Status as Wage Laborers

Before looking into the Karrayu perception of their own current status, it seems worthwhile to see the perception and policies of their adversaries: the state and the Scheme, in integrating the Karrayu into the Scheme as wage laborers. One of my informants who holds a managerial position in the Scheme states that:

Since the area is frequently struck by drought, *zalans* who follow *the tail of their animals* very often encroach into our territory and graze on our plantation. Our workers in the bid to prevent them from entering the plantation, frequently clashed with them and many lives were lost. Due to their *low level of consciousness*, they do not want to see this development scheme to flourish here. For this reason the plantation scheme is trying to bring them into the realm of *productive* activities by telling them to quit wondering recklessly with their cattle.

The above quotation shows that state bureaucrats and Scheme managers perceive pastoralism as an unproductive economic activity and its practitioners, the pastoralists, as irrational thinkers in terms of their economic behavior, conservative, backward who are devoid of natural knowledge such that they should be brought into the 'mainstream' of life: the practice of agriculture and its life style. The Amharic word *zalan* and the statement *yekabit chira yemikatalu* (those who follow the tail of their cattle) connotes, this view. Second, employing the pastoralists is not meant to improve their life, and compensate them for the lost resources, and involve them in the benefit of development but to quieten them so that the Scheme would function properly.

For the Karrayu selling one's own labor is a sign of destitution, subordination and deviation from the socially dignified practice of herding animals. An elder, Boru Ambacha, referred to those Karrayus who live on wage labor as "*tike shonkoraa*" - 'herders of cane'. From the Karrayu point of view herding stocks is the only culturally accepted way of life; and it is herding which constitutes a dignified personality. For them

herding is not only an economic activity but it is a way of life and mode of perception. It is the source of self-reliance and independence. Such a mockery implies the elder's dissatisfaction with the status of the Karrayu who now look after things which 'have no life', "cannot sustain life' and 'do not belong to them' but which serves others. It is a symbolic representation of domination and losing of self-reliance. As wage laborers, the Karrayu perceive themselves as 'selling out oneself': '*of-gruguruu*' as they say it. A Karrayu household head as a wage laborer is no longer a manager of his own assets- livestock and family which give him a place in a wider social spectrum, in a *gosa* or in a larger Karrayu society but he is " slave for the other", as they put it:

He who does not herd and has no herd;
 He who does not farm and has no plot to weed; is the same as
 He who has no wife and family to manage.

In this proverb, a wage laborer is compared, implicitly of course, with a man who has no herd and wife. In many Karrayu songs and daily rhetoric wife and herd are considered as the basis of life and a household.

Comparison between their own status as wage laborers and destitutes on the one hand, and that of the Scheme workers on the other, is a source of inferiority, anguish and agony for the Karrayu. As informant acclaimed " look! they have taken our lands, we are the original inhabitants but it is them who live in fancy villas, have electricity that all night is a day light for them; they have good accessibility to hospital, school and all comforts of life. But, we, the *abba biyya* (the indigenous ones), look after (he is referring to Karrayus' status as guards) them so that they will not be disturbed from this comfort of life. Do you understand this miracle?"He then reiterated a captivating statement:

Galagalcha waaqayoo
 Qotiyyon citaa dheeddee
 Sareen buddeena nyaattee

A miracle of God
 An ox eat grass while
 A dog eat bread.

A draught animal, oxen, which farms and is responsible to produce '*buddeena*' (bread) for human being to dwell on eats grass without forfeiting from the *buddena*, while a dog which has no contribution in producing food for human being, enjoys the comfort of eating *buddeena*. It is to point out that Karrayyu ought to benefit from the scheme on which they are made to serve as guards while the alien, as they call it, the scheme workers, enjoy good comfort of life.

3. Sedentarization

More than twenty years have elapsed since many of the household at Galcha abandoned their pastoral nomadic movement and began to settle permanently. Almost all of the households claim to have settled here as wage laborers due to herd loss and concomitant destitution. The loss of pastureland and important water points, coupled with famine, bitterly struck the Karrayu. According to informants, they lost almost all of their stocks when the famine of 1973/4 and 1983/4 hit them. The life history of a certain informant, Boru Ambacha, who was a victim of the process and now retired, depicts how the Karrayu were pauperized, sought wage labor and finally obliged to settle:

Before 30 years when I was still young and a newly married man, I had a lot of cattle, camels, sheep and goats. During the time of our fathers, animals could resist any incident of drought as they had plenty of pasture in the plains of Awash and Merti and Awash River water. When drought came 20 years ago (by this time the land and Awash River had already gone) everything became dry, we did not have a place to take our cattle. When the drought got severe, I brought my stocks to this area (Galcha) to have some water from the irrigation canals. But the Scheme workers forbade me. As a result I lost many cattle, most of them died due to the drought, some of them died drinking water from Basaka Lake when they could not get water. Afterwards I was left barren hand. Then I went to the Scheme and asked for a job. After many complaints they employed me as a guard to keep the cane from the stocks of my own fellow Karrayus. When I got the job, I had to be near by the Scheme to be on duty on time. I built a house at Galcha where I still live. Almost all of the people at Galcha settled in the same way.

Thus it seems that the exclusive attachment of the Karrayu to the Scheme as wage laborers led to the eventual sedentarization. Sedentarization denied them the opportunity to make any movement to save their small remaining herds in the face of drought and famine, as other nomads do. The Obbu Borana, during the 1983/4 droughts, for example, resumed nomadism, after having been settled for decades, in order to save their livestock (Gufu Oba, 1990). For the Karrayu such strategy is impossible since withdrawal from job would lead to the loss of jobs once and for all. Indeed some of them entrust the herding of the few herds they have to kinsmen, friends who live a bit far away and practice pastoralism but that does not preclude sedentarization.

Comparative data is available in many pastoral areas, where the pastoralists, as a result of the loss of pastoral resources and the consequent herd loss are obliged to settle down. In northern Kenya the *shifita* war in the 1960s and early 1970s devastated the economies of all the peoples of Kenya's arid lands (Hogg, 1981). According to Gufu Oba the consequence was highly devastating for the Obbu of northern Kenya in which they lost a bout 30,000 cattle between 1965 and 1975, displaced from the Golbo lowlands where they had traditionally used wet season grazing areas, and forced to concentrate along the foot slope of Badha escarpment, an area where they previously used for dry season grazing. This led to severe environmental deterioration and made livestock more vulnerable to climatic forces than ever before. This resulted, according to Gufu Oba, in the destitution of many of the households which in turn initiated the process of sedentarization (Gufu Oba, 1990). The difference between the Karrayu and of the Obbu Borana is that, in the Karrayu case, there is an intervention of the system of wage labor,

which exclusively tied them to the Scheme and eventually led to sedentarization. In Asia, employment into the growing oil industry benefited, in economic terms, the Harasiis pastoralists of Oman, in which even poorer households managed to buy trucks which further helped them to fetch water and pasture for their herds from previously inaccessible distant areas. As a result Harasiis' herd boosted more than ever (Catty, 1990).

4. Farming

As we have seen, living solely on the income earned through wage labor is insufficient to support a household. Above all it is insecure, as the very terms of employment do not safeguard unnoticed redundancy. A household therefore should create another supplementary source of reliance. Farming involves two systems in the Karrayu area: the majority of them lease out their plot of land to townsmen while very few of them do the farming by themselves.

As can be seen from Map 2, *Ganda Galcha* is located near the Scheme. The largest portion of the *Ganda Galcha* households make their living as wage laborers in the Scheme. On the southern fringe of the *Ganda Galcha*, there is the canal of the irrigation farm that runs from west to east. It is meant to irrigate cane plantation and also carries off waste material from the Factory. Along this canal, at some intervals there are ditches that regulate the amount of water that should irrigate the cane plantation, and sometimes is released out into the open land so that the water would not overflow cane plantation. Two of these ditches release water into *Ganda Galcha*. *Karrayus* who live in this *Ganda* therefore use the water to irrigate small plots of land shared among them. However the use of this water brought another conflict between the *Karrayu* and the

Scheme, as the later forbids the former to use this water saying that it would drain more water out of the irrigation canal. The Karrayu however perceive this as the Scheme's hidden agenda to keep them destitute through denying them accessibility to individual private farming so that they would be a source of cheap labor. Indeed, if there is a will from the part of the management of the scheme to help the Karrayu, more water could be drained into the canal so that they could use along with the scheme to generate more income through farming. Backed by the government army, the Scheme tried to block the ditch. The Karrayu took up arms to defend their position such that the use of the ditches, this time, depends on the Karrayus' determination to defend their position. Originally the strip of land was divided among a few individual Karrayus who first found job employment and eventually settled around Galcha. With the passage of time, however, as more people become destitute through loss of herd and are absorbed into the wage labor, the original settlers began to share with these latecomers. Nowadays, the land is getting scarce.

The paradox is that even though they own land, almost all of the Karrayu do not do the farming by themselves. They lease it out to the townsmen. The lease has two forms: the first one is that the Karrayu landholders claim some amount of money from the townsmen for the latter's use of the plot over a year or so. The townsman usually plants onion, cabbages and *habab* (watermelon). But currently onion is widely planted for its growing market demand. A townsman uses that plot of land, three times a year, while he pays only for the first season of the year. The second form of the lease is a kind of sharecropping. Let us say 'A' is a townsman without land but who has money and draught animal for farming and 'B' is a Karrayu landowner that has neither money nor

oxen but only land. The agreement goes that the two share the cash proceeds after the crop is sold on the market. Accordingly, they agree to share the cost of inputs, which includes seeds, pesticides, and payment for labor and draught animals. B has no money so that he can not pay for the expenses immediately and therefore A covers all the cost of inputs and B owes A at the end when they share after they sell the product on the market. Furthermore, A can have more than one sharecroppers or partners. He can work on three or four plots at the same time, let say, on the plots of C, D and E.

Here is where the Karrayu enter into another form of exploitation. This time into the grip of townsmen through fraudulent acts and ownership of capital. As mentioned above, A buys fertilizers and pesticides for the plot he is working on but B, C, D and E pay inputs cost to A when they sell the final product in the market. Fraudulently A uses the same amount of pesticide and fertilizer he had already bought for the plot of B for all plots of C, D and E but make them pay separately. For example, let A buys pesticide for 70 birr and fertilizer for 90 birr. A and B share this expense at the end when they sell the total product. Since B has no money to contribute at the beginning, the 80 birr ($70+90=160/2=80$) would be claimed by A from the final share of B. Plot of B requires only one fourth of the pesticide already bought. A therefore uses the rest of the fertilizer and pesticide ($3/4$ of it) for the plots of his other partner C, D and E. But he makes them pay 80 birr each or subtracts from their own share of the end result, which amounts to $80 \times 4 = 320$ birr. Out of this, his actual expenditure is only 160 birr and the rest, which is 160 birr, is obtained through cheating the Karrayu sharecroppers.

Moreover A also pays for labor. On plot of B he may use 20 people for transplanting small paddy to farming plot for one day paying each of them 6 birr per day; and 20

people for weeding, paying each of them 8 birr for 3 consecutive days, which adds up to 600birr. But at the end, since B cannot follow and record how many people worked for how many days and for how much daily payments (because B is always at his work on the Scheme and cannot follow up; or he is illiterate to keep ledger, or else he trusts his partner, or again his partner, A, does not want to be under everyday scrutiny), A always could ask for extra amount of expenses from the final share than what he had actually expended. For example he can claim to have used 40 laborers for weeding and 40 laborers for transplanting the seedling or he can increase the number of days spent on working. A can claim the same amount from his other partners C, D and E. Thus, farming exposes the Karrayu to more exploitation than it would benefit them.

A case in point is the experience of Boru Nagasa. Boru Nagassa is a Karrayu plot holder who leased his plot to a certain man called Dagife Aberra (not actual name) from the town. They sold the final product for 6,000 birr. The shareholder, Dagife, claimed to have expended 4000 birr for fertilizer, labor and pesticide. There only remains 2000 birr for both of them to share as profit after covering the expenditure in which only 1000 birr goes to each of them. Many of my informants estimated the total expenditure of Dagife to be less than 2000 birr which means that he gains about 2000 birr (4000, total expenditure fraudulently claimed by Dagife minus estimated actual expenditure, 2000 birr) by cheating Boru Nagasa. Moreover he gets 1000 birr from the dividend which takes the total gain of Dagife after expenditure to 3000 while that of Boru Nagasa is only 1000 birr. The 2000 birr are obtained through sheer cheating.

Another plot holder, Fantalle Roba leased his plot to a man called Seyoum Abate(not actual name) from a town. Abate paid 600 birr for Fantalle Roba for using the land

throughout the year. Seyoum sowed onion and reaped twice a year. On the first round he sold the total product for 4,000 birr and for the second round he sold for 3000 birr, a total of 7000 birr gain within a year. This sum could be compared with what a Karrayu, Fantalle Roba, gained from the lease arrangement.

Such exploitative relationships developed as a result of two processes: First the destitution of the Karrayu and the eventual herd loss forced them to seek employment as wage laborers. Herd loss, besides its other aspects of economic problems, in this particular case, bereft the Karrayu of draft animals which incapacitated them in a point of time they are trying to adopt agriculture. The absence of draught animals for farming is one basic reason the Karrayu lease out their plots of land to townsmen. Second their subjection to minimal wage payment and inability to finance agricultural packages forced them to enter into such inequitable relationships.

Very recently other groups of the Karrayu, who are evidently losing herds and could no more totally rely on pastoralism and at the same time could not find employment, are taking up agriculture based on summer rains. Such activity is being conducted in areas where the irrigation canal does not reach. It is between the northern fringes of the Ganda Galcha and the bottom of Fantalle Mountain. Taking up agriculture by this group of people has a double aim: to forestall land encroachers from taking more of Karrayu lands; and second, to diversify their means of subsistence. The latter effort seems precarious since agriculture in an arid land without irrigation is difficult if not impossible, especially with crops like maize whose cropping period is four up to five months. During my field work in the month of August when rain is supposed to be available, I observed

maize crop over a large tract of land but which did not seem to bear fruit as its leaves are getting dry due to shortages of rain.

The practice of cultivation has an inevitable effect on the rules and regulations of resource exploitation, which is now given a different emphasis. In Karrayu, land, pasture and water points are commonly owned. Every individual and group have accessibility to every form of resource. No single individual is entitled to have exclusive rights on any plot of land and no one has the right to exclude others from using it. Regulation and management of these communal resources is vested in the authority of *gosa* leaders and the society at large. This is also so among the Boran (Gufu Oba, 1990). To act against this custom is to violate the *seera* and *heera* of the Karrayu. Farming brought about changes in the concept of property rights in communal land. As land is an immovable property, right to its ownership must be established. The old communal land is now being partitioned among private owners that each plot is fenced out by individual owners. Private ownership in certain plots of land is established by individual action in which one who wants to farm surveys a suitable land and marks *daangaa* (boundary) by fencing it using thorny branches of trees. A limit to individual's claim for land depends on his capacity to farm. But in most cases individuals fence out a big tract of land beyond their capacity, to hedge against similar land claimants. This situation is creating an opportunity for politicians and few rich individuals as they could amass large tracts of communal land.

A shift to cultivation does not only involve changes in economic activity. It also underpins changes in cultural values. Among the Karrayu there had been (it is still so among those Karrayus who are alien to farming practice) a sort of filial reverence to the Earth

which is deemed too sacred to be pierced by hoe or the plough. The taboo is stricter for men than for women to dig a ground. In Dheebiti where there is no agricultural practice and the people live on pastoralism, I saw men who labor on digging a garden of a certain School, hiding themselves from the sight of their women folk as they fear to be scolded for having performed a 'womanish work'. In Galcha this has already changed, as most people are taking up farming and others aspire to do so.

Farming in many pastoral societies directly creates another source of food grain in addition to what they can procure through the sale of their stocks. Among the Obu of northern Kenya, according to Gufu Oba (1990) for example farming creates another opportunity for grain need such that families that grow their own food would not sell their livestock to buy grain. This would lead to fewer sales of livestock and allow the remaining stock to increase. However, among the Karrayu, farming doesn't directly produce grain food. Farming here is meant for commercial purpose through leasing the plots to the townsmen and gaining some cash at the end. The cash they gain is limited, about 600- 800 birr per year. Thus it is not sufficient to cover consumption expenses for one month for a big family in a society where a household has large family size. Rather it tied them negatively to the wider market economy. Reliance on the market is insecure because the prices of what they sell and what they buy are not proportional. Grain prices become higher and higher especially during drought time. The price of their stocks and the buying power of money (real wage) on the other hand get lower. The traditional consumption pattern of unmarketable dairy products is more reliable as long as a household has a herd sufficient enough to maintain a pastoral way of life.

The exclusive attachment of the Karrayu to the Scheme as wage laborers and the eventual sedentarization denied them an opportunity to make any movement as other nomads do, to save their herds in the face of drought and famine. The Obu Borana, during the 1983/84 drought, for example, resumed nomadism after having been settled for nearly two decades in order to save their livestock (Gufu Oba, 1990).

5. Change in the Composition of Herds

a) Composition of Household Herd.

As indicted in Chapter Three, before land alienation, Karrayu stocks consisted more of cattle than any of the other species. Camels and small stocks like sheep and goats constituted smaller proportions in the total animal population of the Karrayu. My informants claim that the majority of the households during that time did not rear sheep and goats as they could easily manage to live on the products of cattle. It was also cattle that had a high cultural reputations in the Karrayu tradition. However, with the on-set of herd loss, the Karrayu began to change the compositions of their herd in favor of sheep and goats mainly due to the following reasons. First, as the grazing space and the availability of pasture decreased due to the loss of land and the resultant overgrazing, rearing cattle, which requires relatively longer movement and wider space, became impractical. Small stocks however do not require such bigger niches as cattle do. Second, drought, which very often recurs, has a more serious effect on cattle population, and cattle could not resist it in the face of diminishing pasture. Third, rehabilitating cattle through restocking is more problematic for households as it requires more capital than restocking small stocks. Fourth, the withdrawal of more labor from pastoral production due to attachment to wage labor and schooling of young children

requires changes in herd composition in favor of small stocks. Small stocks could be kept by women and children under-school-age. Fifth, sedentarization also overrules the possibility of rearing bigger stocks in areas where pasture and water are only accessed through movement. Finally, change in the consumption pattern of the Karrayu dictates such change. In those days when the Karrayu had plenty of cattle for meat and milk, they could live on cattle only. As the number of cattle drastically decreased and productivity diminished, the Karrayu had to look for alternative food supply –for grain crops. They do not produce grain crops but buy it. To buy grain they have to sell either type of their animals. The market off-take of cattle is very low, partly because, as there is no more sufficient pasture, cattle got thinner and thinner so that demand on the market is very low. Sheep and goats, however, have relatively more demand. Moreover, for smaller consumption, selling sheep and goat is more appropriate economically as well as technically than selling cattle. The Karrayu say that 'sheep and goat are like money in a pocket'. It is obvious that cattle fetch much more money than smaller stocks but selling them for household's smaller cash needs is not economically viable.

Moreover, the number of donkeys in the general composition of herd is increasing. Almost all households in Galcha have one or more donkey in their generally dwindling herds. This shows the growing importance of donkeys in the subsistence life of the Karrayu. According to my informants, 30 years ago, there was no or only one donkey in the total herd of approximately 10 *gandas*. Informants claim that during those days people 'did not like' to rear donkeys or there was no need to do so. Nowadays, the donkey is a very important pack animals. Before land alienation the Karrayu had the chance of having water nearby their camps as they could move freely. Therefore they

did not need to travel long distances to procure water for animals and human needs. Nowadays, as they are settling down and this settlement is far away from the few water points, they desperately need donkeys to fetch water to the village. Moreover, with the growing reliance on grain food, the Karrayu are obliged to travel long distances to buy large quantities of grain and transport it to the village, which obviously requires a pack animal. More importantly, with the halting of movement, many of the stocks, milk cows, if any, and small stocks stay around the settlement so that they need to be supplied with forage. Such forage is obtained from the Plantation Scheme's green-tops after canes are cut. These green-tops are the only source of forage for animal during the dry season. That is why donkeys are increasing in the total number of herds as well as in the individual household herd.

In Galcha there is virtually no or very few camels. The camel population is seriously undermined by the loss of browse due to land alienations, drought, and inability to take up camel herding due to wage labor attachments. Those who are relatively engaged in pastoralism around Dheebiti and Harrole Plain could take their camels herd to distant areas as far as Shashamane. Karrayus at Galcha cannot do this. Even though very few households, who have few camels, do not benefit from the products of their camels due to herding problem: friends who are engaged in nomadic pastoralism herd camels.

b) Herding and Stock Alliance

The sedentarized Karrayus at Galcha have a problem in herding their small remaining stocks due to the limited grazing space and wage labor attachment, which takes out labor from herding. Therefore their herds are divided in two. A Few of the households, who have cattle and camels, place them with their friends who have a relatively better

chance of movement in the areas mentioned above. Some of these households have married brothers, sisters or close friends at these places so that they can entrust the herding of their stock to them. When their milk cows give birth to a calf, they bring them to their villages and graze around their houses feeding off green-tops of the cane plant. The second group of herd is small stocks like sheep and goats, and donkeys, which stay around the village throughout the year. These are kept by women and children. During the wet season, stocks in village graze around the villages and the surrounding hills and drink the stinky water from the irrigation canal which is polluted by chemicals from the factory. During the dry season, they are fed with green tops from the cane brought by women on the backs of donkeys. However those few households who have camels could not benefit from the camels' milk. A man who is relatively rich in the village told me that he sees his camels only once a year while the rest of the year they stay out in far areas with his friend's stock. This is because, unlike cattle, lactating camels could not be kept around the villages due to the complete lack of browse and grazing space. According to my informants, a single lactating camel could give more milk than five cows in normal condition. But camel milk is lost to the camel herders in nomadic camps throughout the year. Moreover most of the households have one or two lactating cows to keep around the village so that milk scarcity is dearly felt. Therefore households largely rely on grain crops. This has a terrible negative impact on their diet. Adult men and women have no chance to consume milk and I observed children drinking water and milk mixed together. In former days mixing water and milk was culturally repugnant. Even if a household manages to have some camels and cattle it hardly benefits from their products due to herding problem.

6. Involvement in the Market Economy.

Involvement in the market as a response to the changing conditions began with employment as wage laborers. Selling one's own labor earns cash rewards, which in turn ties a household to the market for purchasing its consumption needs. With the loss of herd and by-products like milk, butter and meat and the incoming of cash in return for labor, Karrayu consumption patterns shifted to grain which they do not produce but buy from the market. They buy tobacco, coffee, *ashara* (straws of coffee bean), *balo* (leaves of coffee used as tea), tea, sugar, clothes, *chat*, etc. from the market. More than any other places in Karrayu country, people at Galcha consume more *chat*. More reliance on market tied them to urban merchant through credit. Once they began to become involved in credit, chains of credit would be formed, as they could not pay off their debt at subsequent month. I heard many Karrayus, some of them were my informants, being scolded by merchants in the town for not paying their debt.

Karrayus are also taking up petty trading. There is no one who has shops in the town. Many of these engaged in such petty trading are women. Their merchandises are tobacco, coffee, *baalo* and *qorasuma*. These commodities are largely sought by the Karrayu themselves rather than the townsmen. Karrayu women buy these things wholesale in Metahara town and retail them at market place in Haro Adi. They use the profit to augment their household consumption. Karrayu petty traders are continuously facing competition from those in town who are more competitive in the business. Men are involved in trading *chat*. They buy it from Metahara town and sell it on the various camps of workers of the plantation Scheme. Those women who trade are those whose husbands do not have job in the Plantation or those who were recently fired from their

job. Men traders are also those who do not have cattle and at the same time do not have another source of income.

Many Karrayus are also engaged in burning and selling charcoal. According to informants, charcoal selling is the most looked down on activity and hated by every one. Previously, informants assert, "when we had a country and when our country had trees, if we heard or saw any one cutting a tree or piercing a ground for no good cause, we would tell to the *damina* and the *damina* would call every body to punish the perpetrator. Charcoal burning and selling was unknown to us. It was introduced to our country by the *duriye* from the town". Nonetheless, an increasing number of the Karrayu are taking it up now. Due to this lingering cultural reason and lack of knowledge in burning charcoal, the Karrayu bring people from the towns and make them burn the charcoal. They share the end result and each party sell his own share on the roadside or in the town. The townsmen could not burn charcoal in the countryside without permission from the Karrayu. Therefore they need a Karrayu individual who would give them protection when they cut a tree and burn it. Still, some of the able-bodied and those who do not want to share out, do the burning by themselves. In most cases, the man burns the charcoal with the town's gang or by himself while the wife sells it.

The involvement of the Karrayu in the business of charcoal burning and selling, above all, their entrance into a kind of share contract with the townsmen in doing so, is causing environmental degradation at an alarming rate in the region. The old traditional conservation practice of the Karrayu that forbade the irrational cutting of trees is no longer reinforced. Through entering in to alliance with the Karrayu who are now seeking a livelihood out of it, people from the town are getting rights of access to the resources.

In the face of the ever-growing population of the town and Plantation Scheme, as indicated in the previous chapter, the change of such rights has got a tremendous effect on the natural resource of the area. According to my informants, 15 years ago, Karrayu country had more trees than today. In Galcha, the land is progressively getting bare. Trees are being cut down for charcoal burning, building houses, firewood, etc.

One may expect the Karrayu to have adopted milk selling as an adaptive mechanism, as this is a common practice in many pastoral areas. Gufu Oba reports that among the Obu Boran milk is now considered as an item of exchange and a source of petty cash needed by women to meet their household's daily requirements and is sold at the local market or by contract (Obu, 1990). Among the Karrayu in Galcha milk selling is a repugnant cultural practice. Asked why they do not sell milk, they assertively state that 'we do not like selling milk. Our *aadaa* forbids'. Those who do have relatively more lactating cows themselves hold this view and refrain from selling milk. The Somali and Itu groups supply the largest portion of milk to the town and Plantation workers. I observed many young Karrayu buying milk from their Somali neighbors for their own consumption.

7. Change in Consumption Pattern

a) Household Consumption Pattern

Before land alienation and subsequent destitution, the Karrayus confirm, they had plenty of cattle and their daily consumption was the dairy products of their animals. Meals are lavishly served. Every member of the household had *oolchaa*, in most case, milk served in a special container, *cooco*, which is 'tagged' after the name of the individual for whom it is reserved. For a housewife who gives birth to a baby, a bull would be slaughtered, a

special dance called *kino* would be performed throughout the days of the month at her house to initiate her to eat and drink. After a month, she would completely be revived to engage herself in the tedious pastoral activity. In those days, grains were rarely consumed. If so there had been an opportunity to change among them, like eating porridge made of sorghum for one day or from wheat or barley the other day. But, nowadays, the Karrayu largely rely on eating porridge from maize as a staple food. The exclusive reliance on maize is due to the fact that porridge from other types of grain could not be eaten without mixing them with butter or milk and other forms of dairy products. Many households do not have milk cows to rely on.

Dairy products have double purpose: they could be consumed as food substances in their own right or used to sweeten or soften other solid foods like porridge and bread. In the absence or shortage of these, Karrayu are increasingly relying on drinking *ashara* for every meal to replace those dairy products. The nutritional content of this *ashara* is much less. Moreover ingredients that are needed to make *ashara* are all purchased which further tied the Karrayu to the market. For them using *ashara* is a sign of destitution. Besides, preparing *biden* (*injera*) is becoming prevalent, which indicates more reliance on grain food and abandonment of animal products.

b) Commensalism

In any pastoral society, strong social relations are among the cultural response to an arid environment and pastoral economic imperatives. Social relations are manifested in many ways, among which food sharing is one. *Dufna* is one form of such institutions in Karrayu society. According to my informants, when an individual buys grain, he shares it

with all his neighbors. Nowadays there is no *dufna*. Every household consumes what it has by itself. An informant puts it as follows:

Those days whenever you visited a certain village, every resident of the village begs you to pass the night with him, every body longs to have a guest at his house to entertain lavishly. We had everything at home and we were happy when a guest visited us. Nowaday there is no such a thing. Those days, people hated you when you do not visit them. These days people hate you when you visit them. In those days we invite guests to share butter with us. Nowadays we hate them for sharing dry porridge (which has no butter or milk due to shortage) with us. As the saying goes 'the rich share butter while the poor nags sharing thin milk'. Nowadays we can only survive if we eat what we have for no one gives you when you exhaust yours (informant, Boru Ambacha).

It is inevitable that social relations involved in commensality also doomed.

8. Education as a form of Response

Currently children at Galcha are joining school in a growing rate. Families are very eager to educate their children. It is the only place in Karrayu country where girls are promptly joining school. The aims seem to be clear: to have employment opportunity in government institutions, and, at the second, level to be 'literate'. A schoolgirl says:

I am 16 years old and in grade nine. I am convinced that I have to go to school and follow my lessons very carefully because it is the only way out from the problem we are facing. In the past, as my family told me, my elder sister got a lot of cattle as a bridewealth on her marriage, and my family and friends benefited from it. Her husband had a lot of livestock and she lived nicely. Nowadays this is impossible since many people do not have herd. The money my father gets from wage employment is also insufficient to support me and the rest of my family members. Therefore I have to be strong in my education to get a job afterwards. On top of that I have to be educated to know things.

It is clear that schooling is becoming one form of Karrayu response especially among the young. Indeed the parents are also hoping to get incomes in the future when their children get educated and find jobs. But it could not be only destitution, which is pushing the Karrayu to seek education. The expansion of towns and agitation of the government

for education and other similar factors related to the modernization process might have their impact. But from the Karrayu perspective, those points mentioned above are very important. However, there are few people who could educate their children. Those men who had relatively good wage payment due to early employment (see section 9 below) can only afford to educate their children.

When seen in temporal perspective the effect of education on the Karrayu life is directly related to the Scheme. As will be shown in section 9 below, the first batch of Karrayu boys got educational opportunity in the late 1960s and 1970s. That time, the Scheme managers, as a means to appease the Karrayu, took some Karrayu boys to their care to educate them. Most of these students were successful and are well-employed in government offices. This was when the Karrayu could strongly resist the Scheme. In the late 1970s and 1980s there was no or a few Karrayu students whoever went to school or succeeded in school. This was the time when Karrayu resistance was so weak and the Scheme managers did not need to appease. The 1990s are when the Karrayu children are getting into school more than ever. This is the time when the Karrayu, it seems, took up education as an adaptive mechanism to the changing condition up on their own initiatives.

9. Differential Response

It would seem malign to see the Karrayu as constituting undifferentiated whole in which groups and individual have had equal opportunities in their responses to the changing environment. Eventhough we can persuasively argue that the Karrayu in general are destitute and lost their basic means of production, there are undoubtedly differential responses at the societal as well as individual level.

To start with, there are broadly speaking, two groups of Karrayus: First, there are those who are obliged to abandon that form of life, which maintains regular nomadic movement due to the loss of herd and sought wage labor in the Scheme, engage in farming as supplementary economic activity and eventually settled down around the Scheme. This group is more commercialized as they earn wages in cash and sell their agricultural produce and largely live on purchased grain and also has more contact with the town. The group at Galcha which this research took as its main focus belongs to this group. Second group are those Karrayus who still live on some sort of pastoralism, more mobile than the first group, have relatively more stocks and perceive themselves as pastoralists. This group largely graze in areas far away from the Scheme. They view the first group as destitute, and sometimes as a group of deviants from the traditional ways of "real Karrayu", who embraced an alien religion, Islam. They also contempt them for having much contact and affiliation with the *duriyee*- abandoned Karrayu traditional dress and general life style. Among the first group, there are differences of perception towards the second group. The elderly view them as 'real Karrayus' who still retain pastoralism and Karrayu culture. The young view them as illiterate, not exposed to modern life style but also recognize them as economically stronger than themselves. Thus it seems that the process of marginalization has produced differentiations among originally somewhat homogenous group.

But broadly speaking, the two forms are different ways of adaptation, which ultimately comes out as a single entity in face of issues that involve the entire Karrayu. In issues like conflict resolutions and paying war indemnities with people like the Afar, an incident that I had an opportunity to witness in September 2000, this fact becomes evident. The

first group contributes cash and very small number of small stocks- goats and sheep while the second group contributes bigger stocks like camel and cattle. In most cases matters that involve cash are handled by the first group while that involve animals are covered by the second group. Some of the relatively well-to-do members of the first group lend cash to friends in pastoralism, while the latter very often lend milk cows to their friends in the first group. Moreover, some of the individuals from Galcha also keep their cattle or camel with their friends in pastoral areas so that the later would herd those stocks along with theirs. When a cow gives birth they bring her to their places at Galcha to use the milk. But as many of the households at Galcha are those who lost thier herds, they could not benefit from this stock alliance. This form of response is observed when the Karrayu are seen as a larger group.

At an individual level, the differential impacts of the marginalization process in terms of wealth differentiations seem to be difficult to characterise, since the time spans of the onset of displacement blurs accurate wealth measurement among individuals. It is very hard to exactly identify the rich and the poor household before displacement forty years ago and see how they responded to the changing situation. But it is possible to state that those households who had relatively larger numbers of stocks and could withstand the changing conditions did not go to seek wage labor but continued to be pastoralists. However those who had originally less stock and could not resist the effect of resource alienation, were transformed into wage laborers.

The most important factor that marked a point of differentiation among the Karrayu is individual's social status and roles in the traditional *gosa* structure and leadership in the resistance that ensued. As mentioned above, Karrayu response had strong element of

résistance both in terms of peaceful and violent means. In these instants of resistance traditional *gosa* leaders, the *damina*, played a major role against the Scheme and the State. They bitterly confronted the state bureaucracies beginning from the local up to the national level. When, in the end, a final agreement was reached between this traditional leadership and the State and the Scheme on the basis of that fraudulent promises mentioned above, the latter gave priority to those leaders in employing them with relatively good salaries. The Scheme managers took some of the children of these leaders to their care 'to offer them educational opportunity'. Obviously such measures were to calm down Karrayu oppositions by bribing the leaders. Some Karrayus resent this opportunistic action of their leaders saying that they 'betrayed us'. The life history of one traditional leader of the Karrayu named Hawas Fantalle(not actual name) depicts this fact.

After our protracted confrontation with the State and the Scheme, they gave some employment to our people. I was employed in 1968 as *campo* of guards and a liaison officer between the Scheme and the Karrayu and it was a relatively good payment at the time. In the subsequent year my daily payment grew to 1.25 birr per day. After three years I became permanent worker and began to earn on a monthly basis. This time my salary became 200 birr per month. A man, who had important position in the Scheme management during that time, took my son to help him in the school. My son had a good opportunity for education. He successfully completed his high school and joined the university and graduated in engineering and now works in one of the government's big industries. Now he supports the whole family and myself in every aspect. When I get sick, he comes here and takes me to a big hospital in Addis Ababa. The government gave him a car and he is also well paid. My daughter is educated and married to a man who is paid good salary by one NGO. I am also paid a pension now.

Among the Karrayu, there are very few educated individuals. Those who had the opportunity had it in the same way.

Second, timing of employment also seems to have differential impact on individual Karrayus. Those who had employment opportunities as early as possible had gained relatively. The life story of another informant goes like this:

As soon as I lost my herd, 30 years ago, I went for employment. With the money I got I was sure that I couldnot buy cattle and go to *tikfattee* (pastorism) again. Rather I began to send my children to school. During that time everything was not as expensive as today and I could easily buy pens and books for my children. Today a Karrayu employee could not do that. First, you can not easily get a job due to competition, and second, even if you get a job by chance, your salary does not suffice for subsistence that you can not pay school expenses for your children. But I was lucky in this respect. I managed to educate my children. Now one works in an NGO and the other works in a government office. They support me very much. I am also paid a pension by the Scheme.

Those Karrayus who had the opportunity to educate their children this way are having extra source of income through the salary of their children. In this respect education has become one form of response mechanism and adaptation to the changing conditions. Also acces to education in this sense could be seen as a new mechanism of social differentiation.

Moreover, those Karryus who had employment opportunities due to their social positions as *gosa* leaders or as early employees had also another advantage over the rest of the Karrayus. As they were first to get employment opportunities they were also the pioneers of settled life around the Scheme. This gave them an opportunity to hold more plots of land on the ditches that go into the village. Indeed, these early settlers claim that they were the pioneers to divert the water from the main canal of the Plantation and use the land for agriculture. It is now these individuals who have a prior ownership over the land and new 'land-hungry' individuals are given land by them. Parceling out land for these newcomers are entirely based on kinship ties and some kind of alliance.

The gender dimension of differential response is also worth noting. The general working conditions in which the Karrayu found themselves favor the men folk rather than the women. Those Karrayu men who got employment opportunity serve as guards in the plantation, in which women had no opportunities. There is no job opportunity from the Scheme that attracts or gives equal access to Karrayu women. They engage themselves, rather, in routine household work. For those households which are headed by women, the condition is so bitter. A life story of a woman called Waage Birro depicts this fact:

My husband died long ago. I have four children by my husband. After his death, I had to care for these children. I do not have livestock to support them. I cannot find a job from the scheme since I cannot qualify as a woman for the position of guard. There is no job, which fits the women. Therefore, my family has to live on charcoal burning and selling. My two boys burn the charcoal and I would sell it on the market. For the women to live around the scheme, it is more severe than that of the men. My children could not go to school since they expend much of their time on charcoal burning. Even if they have time, I could not buy them things they need for schooling.

Thus Karrayu responses involved a variety of forms. However, each form of response made them more vulnerable to external forces. The system of wage labor, with its pitfalls, tied them to the market economy and further detached them from the pastoral way of life, in which case they were obliged to settle and take up farming. Farming also tied them to townsmen's exorbitant sharecropping arrangements and change in the traditional tenure system. In general Karrayu traditional subsistence no longer functioned as it used to be.

Chapter Six

The Socio-Cultural Change

So far, I have tried to show that change in Karrayu pastoral production and subsistence entailed differential responses. The cumulative effect is further alteration in the social and cultural life. In this chapter I will try to show how Karrayu religious system and the concomitant values are being transformed. As the logical outgrowth of this process, I would also argue that an important aspect of Karrayu social organization, the gada system, exhibits some signs of 'weakness', to use the words of my informants. Moreover, I will try to show that alteration in herd holding constricted the form and amount of bridewealth payment and gifts, which narrowed the array of social relations. However as time and space do not permit, I limited myself to a few aspects of Karrayu social and cultural life.

1. Forms of Karrayu Traditional Religion,

Holy Grounds, and Rituals.

In Chapter Three I tried to show that ritual performance along the Awash River, beyond its religious importance, had been one form of Karrayu adaptive mechanism to their environment, which regulate their seasonal pastoral movement. In Chapter Four I showed that, with land alienation and loss of these sacred grounds, the ritual performance no more fully functioned as an adaptive mechanism, since the ritual places no longer exists. In this section I will try to show how Karrayus religious behavior, beliefs and values are affected by the loss of these "sacred grounds".

Oromo religious philosophy upholds the interconnectedness of human, spiritual and physical worlds, in which the *Waqa* (God), their creator, regulates their very existence and interaction (Asafa, 1993; Bartels, 1990). A concise and vivid description of the main tenets of *Waqeffanna** is provided by Bartels as follows:

--- to the Oromo, traditional divinity is both one and at the same time also many. The super being, whom they call ' *Waqa*' (sky/God) is the creator of all things and source of all lives, starting with water and rocks going on through the vegetables and animal world to man *Waqa* has appointed to every being its own place in cosmic order. *Waqa*'s creative and ordering activity manifests in the specific characteristics of man in general, of every species of plants and every species of animal. It is manifested also in the individual characteristics of every man, of each plant and each animal taken singly. In this particularized, feared and at times multiplicity, each one is seen ultimately as manifestation of the one divinity. This view of the world is expressed in wealth of rituals (Bartels.1990:14).

In accordance with this, the Karrayu perceive that there are five mysterious beings or wonders (*raajji*) of God's creation, which are accorded "*ayana*" by *Waqa*. The invocation of their *ayana* in common or in particularized conditions forms the basis of ritual performance. These beings are Water, Earth (land), Vegetables, Man and Cattle.

Water is a wonder in some sense because ' it moves without some one to derive it' - '*bishan oficha male yaa'u*' that it symbolizes God's creative power. Moreover, water is a symbol of purity and sometimes equated with the color of *Waqa*. *Waqa* (God) in Oromo view is black. And pure water is also referred to as '*bishaan gurraacha*'- (black water). *Bishan Guraacha* is the symbolic expression of the wisdom of 'Black God'. According to the Karrayu, this is why they pray besides the water body. Awash River constitutes such a symbolic meaning for the Karrayu. Earth (land) and *Waqa* (sky) in most cases are juxtaposed in Karrayu daily rhetoric. Land is a wonder because "land or the earth is stretched without someone (human being) to stretch it and it is the biggest of all the

* It is a term that refers to the traditional Oromo religion, which roughly means 'worshipping *Waqa*'.

creatures, which harbors all the creation of God". The Sky is also a wonder because ' it stands without a pillar '. According to my informants, Vegetable are the sources of life for it gives live for their cattle. Vegetables are represented by the two ritually important species –*Oda* (sycamore tree) and *Choqorsa* (cyndon dactylon). *Choqorsa* is a typical representation of life, fertility, survival and peace in many rituals while the *Oda* tree is a symbol of traditional law, which stipulate equality. It is also a symbol of *Waqqa's* presence among men as such also called "*muka waqa*"- the tree of God (Bartels, 1990). A cow is believed to have come down from the sky with the first Qallu, the ritual leader, who is believed to be "the eldest and the purest ".

On the ritual ceremonies that used to be carried out on the sacred grounds located along the Awash River all these " 'wonders', which manifest the wisdom of God, come together and form a single whole in which God, seeing at them, is prepared to accept the thanks giving and prayers" of the ritual. On these rituals, according to my informants, all the 'wonders' are represented. Water is represented by the Awash River or the *Melkas*, the Earth, by mountains and 'Karrayu land'; Vegetables, by the *Oda* tree standing on the Awash River side and *Coqorsa*, held at the right hand by every attendants or the Malka; Man by the Karrayu and their Qallu, and Cattle by the sacrificial bull. Bartels recorded the same view and combination of these things among the Oromo of the west, in Wollega:

Mao Mountain ---was the highest point in the country closest to heaven. It was in their common ceremonies and rituals on the slope of this mountain 'nearest to *Waqqa*', that the clan of the area found close unity here every eight year, they proclaimed anew their common law and brought common sacrifices. These common laws seen as reflection of the law once proclaimed, according to oral tradition by *Waqqa* under an *Oda* tree. Hence the *gada* laws too were proclaimed anew under a big tree on the slope of that mountain (Bartels, 1990:85).

According to the Karrayu, they do not pray to these things but these things help them pray. Metcha Oromo also hold the same view: 'we do not pray to these things themselves: we pray to God. But these things help us to pray' (Ibid.). On one of the best known ritual prayer among the Oromo, which is held every year in late September at Bishoftu (Deberziet), at the ritual place of Hora Arsadi, I recorded the same story. Informant Gadisa Jimo says:

---we are here at the edge of the Hora Arsadi and under the shade of the Oda tree, near Mountain Erer, holding the Choqorsa because we believe that the source of all lives is water and the tree is an example of a living being. These things are the result of the wisdom of *Waqa*. By coming here (I interviewed them at the ritual place) we are glorifying His art. We pray to him by saying ' as You created these pure water purify us from bad things. "We never worship water, Oda, the Mountain or any creature, we worship the *Waqa* who created them.

Thus these sacred grounds are important elements in Oromo traditional religion. In the following pages, I will try to show how the alteration of these natural configurations affected Karrayu religion.

2. Conversion into Islam.

Social and cultural change could not be ascribed to a single factor. Nor does social change unilinear. But there could be factors that play a pivotal role at certain point in time and space. In the case of the Karrayu, I would argue that factors like the loss of sacred grounds, sedentarization, population influx, conflict and marriage contributed to the process of conversion into Islam. But, it seems that the first two factors, which are directly related to the marginalization process, are more important than the others. In the following pages, I will try to elaborate on these factors.

a) The Loss of Sacred Grounds

It is evident then that the Karrayu physical environment is not only a source of their livelihoods but also an integral part of their religious philosophy, perception, and values. With the alteration of these entities, it seems that their perceptions also change. This may be clearer from the following statement of a ritual leader named Hawas Qullo:

After the loss of our land, the *safu* is also lost. During those days, when we pray for the rain, it rains. When we pray for *gandi* (cattle disease) it disappears. We get everything for which we pray, the *Waqqa* responds quickly. Now as the Awash River (he is also referring to the ritual places) become far away from us (because it is taken away from them), *Waqqa* also become far away from us. That is why many of us become Muslims. We can not move as far the Awash River as our fathers did and pray along that sacred area. We cannot do what our fathers used to do. Now we are missing in which direction the sun rises and in which direction it sets.

The loss of holly grounds altered Karrayu perception and religious performance, which exposed them to Muslim religious preachers.

b) Sedentarization

As indicated earlier, the attachment of the Karrayu to the Plantation as wage laborers eventually drew them out of the pastoral way of life and their subsequent settlement around the Plantation Scheme. Almost all the Karrayu who are settled around the Scheme are now converted to Islam. It seems that sedentarization facilitated the process of islamization as it simplified the task of proselytization by Muslim religious preachers. Earlier, these preachers used to come from agricultural and sedentary Oromos from Harar. They were not accustomed to the nomadic movement so that they did not take the risk to move with Karrayu herders. My informants remember the incident in which the Imams quitted teaching, when they could not accustom themselves to the constant movement of the Karrayu before sedentarization. As they began to settle, more Imams began to come from Harar. It seems implausible to argue that sedentarization

necessarily leads to religious change everywhere, but in this particular case of the Karrayu, it created a conducive environment for teachers, in contrast to the mobile mode of life inherent in the Karrayu pastoralism before displacement. Sedentarization has produced a setting. Karrayu neighbors, Oromos in Harar and Arsi and the Afars had long been converted to Islam. Conversely, the conversion of the Karrayu to Islam began after displacement. This may indicate the existence of some connection between the ongoing process of land alienation, wage labor and the concomitant sedentization, which may justify the above argument.

c) Population Influx

As indicated in Chapter Four demographic changes in the area were among the important dynamic processes in the last 40 years. The Itu Oromo and the Somali clans who were allowed to settle among the Karrayu or allowed access to Karrayu resources are all Muslims. They had religious teachers among themselves and were enthusiastic to convert their host people to their own faith. This is evidenced by the fact that the Dullacha clan of the Karrayu, with whom both the Somali and the Itu had no or little contact, still practices the traditional *Waqeffnna* religion. Converting the Karrayu to Islam is one means of fomenting more close social relations that would further guarantee them using Karrayu resources. Now the more ardent Muslim believers of the Karrayu had fomented closer ties with the Itus than their fellow Karrayus who are still practicing the traditional religion.

d) Association of Christianity with the State and the Scheme.

As soon as the plantation began and conflicts commenced between the Karrayu on the one hand and the Plantation and the State on the other, the later embarked on the policy

of converting the Karrayu into Christianity. The insistence of the Karrayu for the return of their holy grounds through their representatives was discarded, to their dismay, by the establishment of a Christian Orthodox Church in the area by the State. *Medihenelem* (Holy Saviour) Church was built at Metahara town by the order of the Emperor and few of the *balabates* from the Karrayu were converted to Orthodox Christianity. For the rest of the populace forceful conversion was ensued. On the inauguration day of the Church all the Karrayu were made to gather at Metahara town. On this ceremony the wife of Haile Sellasie, *Itege Menen* and the godfather of Haile Sellasie came. Men and women were made to stand separately in left and right. Men were bestowed, by the name of Woldemichael and women were christened by the Christian name of *Itege Menen* (woletemariam?). The Qallu, the honored Karrayu traditional religious leader shaved his hair and was forced to accept Christianity. Karrayus were advised to fast on Wednesdays, Fridays and Lent. They were told to bury their dead friends around the Church. The Karrayu resented this on the spot and asked the godfather of Haile Sellasie how they could fast when they have only milk and meat as their staple food. It is still remembered by the Karrayu that the man told them "I just want your acceptance of the faith. For the fasting, I will fast for you." For the government, a matter of great importance was not the religiosity of the Karrayu, but their acceptance of Orthodox Christianity, which was a state ideology, by which, if they were made to accept it, they would be integrated in to the Ethiopian polity. This would curb, according to the view of the statesmen, Karrayu resistance against the Scheme, the Park and the State. Karrayus were well aware of this. "Afterwards", says my informant Jiloo Gobbu, "we acted like Christians in the town but like *Waqeffata* in our village. We were *Waqefatas* at

our heart.” An incident led the Karrayu to formally defy the government and Christianity.

The informant continues:

After we were named *Woldemichael* and *Woletemichael*, we were forced to bury dead bodies of our men around the Church. It was only people whom the government officials know that we buried there. The officials seemed to believe that we were Christians at heart. But that was a pain for us. They deprived us our holy lands. One day a Karrayu died at Malka Jilo a place, which is very far away from the Church. We had to bring the corpse to the Church. We put it on the camel back, since no one could carry it all along this distance. On the way, the corpse fell down on the ground. We felt sorrow for this was due to the loss of freedom to bury even our dead body where our tradition requires. Afterwards our elders gathered and told everybody not to listen to what the government says concerning the faith. We formally told the government that we were no longer Christians. Afterwards, everybody, in his heart, began to search for a faith that have prestige in the government's eye. We cannot continue with ours since we now understood that the government does not want it.

Christianity is, thus seen as state ideology and the faith of those people who usurped the Karrayu of their land. The traditional religion is losing its important ritual places and is not accepted by the government as well. Therefore, the Karrayu are looking for another faith to preempt being overwhelmed by Christianity. Thus conversion into Islam is one form of cultural response to their deteriorating position and powerlessness vis-a-vis the Plantation Scheme, the Park and the State. The system of wage labor, sedentarization and eventual influx of population created a fertile ground for the already upcoming conversion.

Many scholars recorded the same story. Oromos in Bale, Arsi, and Illu Abba Bor. accepted Islam as a rejection to Orthodox Christianity (Asma Giorgis, n.d.; Abbas Haji, 1982; Asaffa Jalata, 1993).

e) Contribution of Conflict to the Spread of Islam

As shown above, with the shrinkage of pasture and water due to land alienation, conflict among pastoral groups in the Valley become more prevalent. Conflict involved small

skirmishes and also large-scale war that involved modern rifles. The Itu who are Muslims are alleged to have traditional medicine as a bulletproof and a magical way to foretell the fate of any belligerent group. For unknown reason the practice is related to Islam by the Itus. Informants claim that some of the Karrayus especially the young ones who are very often engaged in this war were converted to obtain such medicine from the Itu. But this should be confirmed by further study, since, though my informants keep telling me, I could not support it with an individual's life history.

f) Marriage

Marriage alliance among Itu, Arsi and Karrayu and between the early convertees and the non-Muslims within the Karrayu is also playing a pivotal role in the spread of Islam. Upon marriage arrangement between Waqeffata and Muslim Karrayu woman or man, the former is required to change his /her faith to Islam. But the vis-versa is not true. There is no incident of marriage in which a Muslim woman or man marries a *waqeffata* man or woman and converted to *waqqeffata*. Thus marriage is contributing to culture change.

3. Change in the Roles of Religious Leaders.

Change in faith also involves change in worldview, ritual practice and daily etiquette. With the establishment of the mosque in Galcha, prayers in traditional sacred areas are replaced by prayers at the mosque. People began to label the traditional religious practice as 'backward' and something which 'contradict the commandments of Allah'. Friday prayers and everyday *solat* are replacing the different kinds of traditional prayers and rituals that used to be carried out along the Awash River on those sacred places. In the traditional ways, prayers are held for rain, fertility and wellbeing of cattle and man,

for the aversion of undesirable happenings like disease and war, for the peaceful performance of the family and the society in particular time at a particular place (at one of the sacred grounds). They are ordained by the *raaga* (fortuneteller) to be held by a group of concerned people, a family, a clan or the general community, either on a mountain, riverside, or under a tree. On such occasions prayers are led by the renowned *Qallu* of the entire Karrayu and the *Ayanttu*. *Qallu*, *raaga*, and *ayyanttu* are the cornerstones of the traditional religious prayers and its overall performance. Now imams and sheiks replace these people. In August 2000, when the rain stopped abruptly, I observed people carrying milk to a mosque for *sheiks*. Asked why they do this they replied "the sheikes pray for rain on our behalf". Some of the convertees are displaying themselves as having divine power in healing the sick and praying for rain. Moreover, these individuals lead such religious prayers during nighttime. Along this, the demands of consuming narcotics like chat and beverages like coffee and tea as stimulant during prayer are coming into the scene.

4. The 'Weakening' of the Gada System.

During my fieldwork in September 2000, I observed the initiation rites of the first *gada* class into the first *gada* grades of the system. The rites embedded an elaborate system of ritual practice and symbolic domain. But we limit our selves to those few parts that are pertinent to our discussion.

The two major *gosa* -Dullacha, the 'elder' *gosa* and the Baso, the 'younger' one had separate *gada* councils and perform most of their ritual separately, though at some higher level they come together. According to tradition, the elder *gosa*, Dullacha, starts this initiation rites a week before the 'younger' *gosa*, the Baso, starts. This gave me an

opportunity to observe the two rites separately and compare them. There is no basic and inherent difference between the *gada* ritual and performance of the two. But in some of the ritual aspects of the Baso there is some indication of change. The Baso *gosa* is more destitute than the Dullacha in terms of herd holding. The sheer majority of the Karrayu who are integrated into the plantation constitute the Baso *gosa*, and settled around the Scheme, have more contact with the town, and relatively more exposure to primary education for their children, and, more importantly, they are more islamised than the Dullacha *gosa*. Almost all the resident of Galcha constituted the Baso *gosa*. Some of the points that are ascribed here as 'weakness of the *gada* system' are suggested to me by my informants, especially by the *abba gada* of the Dullacha and some informants from the Baso *gosa*.

On my first observation of the ritual performance of the Dullacha clan everything was performed 'according to the *seera* and *aada*, of the Karrayu'. Everything was elaborate. The rite began on scheduled time of the day, at noon. The initiates are individuals from different age and *gosa* affiliation within the bigger Dullach *gosa*. The steps and procedures of the rite, according to my informants, are consistent. On that of the Baso *gosa*, which I observed after a week, 'there are many deviation from the tradition'. The initiates who are referred to as 'sons' and those who had already finished their cycle of the *gada* grades called 'fathers' did not appear in the scheduled time and place. Time of the day has especial symbolic meaning in any Karrayu ritual, and every ritual ought to be performed in accordance with these meanings. Place has also the same significance. The rite is held in a particular village and particular individual's courtyard: that of the *abba gada* of that *gosa*. But on this particular initiation, the ritual began in the

late afternoon, and everything was performed hastily. My informants from the Dullacha *gosa* was annoyed by this, accusing the Baso *gosa* for 'destroying the *seera* of the Karrayu, and acclaimed hopelessly, that ' they are doing it for the sake of doing, not in accordance with our tradition'.

Songs are important components of the procedure as well as meaning of the ritual. Every action is accompanied by its specific and 'appropriate ' set of songs, rhythm, melody and wordings. Here, on the Baso rites, according to Gada Hawas, the *abba gada* of the Dullacha *gosa*, who knows the procedures of the ritual, there are many steps that are jumped over and songs constricted. The *abba gada*, who is expected to lead the ritual in orderly manner, did not discharge his responsibility accordingly. He did not prepare an 'appropriate' bull to be slaughtered and did not keep the bull under ' *gaddissa*' (shade of a tree) to wait for the initiates so that they could see 'their sacrificial bull' when on a parade to the ritual place. Even the bull was lost and could not be brought on the specified time and place (the homestead and kraal of the *abba gada*). The *gada* council had to make a talk on how they could get the lost bull. It was after a long delay that a small, 'inappropriate ' bull was brought to the kraal. According to my informants from the Dullacha *gosa*, this is a sign of reluctance and indifference from the part of the Baso *gosa*.

Absenteeism from the *gada* ritual, which once used to be repugnant and unthinkable, is also becoming evident. Every male member of the Karrayu whose age associates and class ought to perform a certain predestined set of ritual, according to the rule of the *gada* system, must be present during the ritual and perform what is expected of him. Failing to do so is understood as 'spoiling or destroying the Karrayu *seera*'. On that

particular ritual many of the initiates did not participate. Many of the absentees are wageworkers. The initiates, called the *rubbisa*, are expected, beginning from the first day of the initiation, to roam from one village to another for a month and slaughter a bull, on each day, which is given to them by their 'fathers'. Wage laborers could not afford to abandon their job for such a long time. This means that many of the Karrayus wage laborers are in effect out of the *gada* cycle though they nominally claim to be so. As indicated, the *rubbisa*, are expected to be outdoor for one month, or till the rain stops beginning from the first day of the initiation rite. On the first day, the *abba gada* and the *gada* council instruct them not to sleep in the house and not to have sexual intercourse. They are also instructed to refrain from eating food grain but only meat and milk. Each day, they visit the homestead of the 'fathers'. The 'fathers' are expected to slaughter a bull and lavishly serve them with milk and butter. The *rubbisa* dance, sing and smear their hair with butter on each occasion of bull slaughtering at each homestead of the 'fathers'. The butter flows over their head down to their clothes (*bulloko*) that at the end of the day the *bulloko* gets darker which symbolizes opulence and abundance of butter, and hence of herds in the entire Karrayu land. At the end of the ceremony, after almost a month, the same ritual, like that of the first day, would be performed. On this day I heard many people asking one another what the *rubbisa* clothes looks like: black (dark) or white. The former symbolizes opulence and the latter poverty. On this day of the ritual, the clothes of the *rubbisa* of the Basso *gosa* remained white while that of the Dullacha was very dark or black. It was dismay for the Baso, as it was due to their poverty that the clothes of their *rubbisa* remained white. The member of the Baso clan do not have herds, and hence milk cows to provide their *rubbisa* opulently with milk and smear them sufficiently with butter.

In violation of the tradition, the *rubbisa* of the Baso completed and closed their initiation ceremony before the *rubbisa* of the Dullacha. The Baso clan was expected to carry out the closing ceremony a week after the Dullacha *rubbisa* had closed. This act was bitterly resented by the Dullacha who claimed to have performed the ritual in accordance with the tradition. But the Baso could not help. The Baso 'fathers' could not slaughter more bulls and serve the *rubbisa* with milk and butter any longer till the closing day of that of the Dullach, who could afford much better than them. At the end of the closing day of the *rubbisa* of the two *gosas*, I heard that the Dullacha 'fathers' slaughtered 45 bull for their 'sons' while that of the Baso slaughtered only 25 bulls. Many of the Baso 'fathers' were too destitute to slaughter bulls while some of them refused to do so by asserting that this is not in accordance with the *sharia* law.

According to the tradition, *rubbisa*, during their initiation time, which almost lasts for a month, are allowed or expected to 'misbehave' in such a way that they indulge in stealing stored milk from any household. Such act is a widely accepted behavior and no one would ever try to scold the *rubbisa*. However, among the destitute and settled group of the Karrayu, like those in Galcha, this action of the *rubbisa* are resented and discouraged, and the *rubbisa* do not so often indulge themselves in stealing. Such an act is accepted by the Karrayus who still have more cattle and engage in pastoralism. Plaguing a poor household of what it has would leave it empty. Women now began to hide what they have from the plunder of the *rubbisa*. Previously, hiding or forbidding the *rubbisa* from such act is unacceptable. Moreover, this settled group of the Karrayu is resenting the *rubbisa* songs and dance, which form the emotional base of the rite and

conveys procedural as well as behavioral instructions. They argue that 'dancing and singing in the traditional way contradict our Islamic-faith '.

Another element of a considerable importance related to religious change and the role of religious leaders is the fact that the functioning of the *gada* system is directly related to the existence of traditional religion. The *Qallu*, the religious leader and ritual expert, who is considered the 'elder' and the 'purest' in the society, is the protector of the wellbeing and orderly functioning of the system. Whenever conflict arises within the *gada* leaders, the *Qallu* take a leading role in resolving the conflict. On every transition rites of a *gada* class from one *gada* grade to another, the *Qallu* endorses the 'lawfulness' of the transfer by blessing both the outgoing and the incoming class. Instructions of the *Qallu* on the behavior of the initiates, *rubbisa*, mentioned above, were taken as final rule. Curse and excommunication of the wrong doers in the *gada* system by the *Qallu* is final. In general, the *Qallu* is not only a religious leader and ritual expert but also the protector of the *gada* system. Currently however the roles of this paramount person is changing as mentioned above. This would in the long run, inevitably weakens the *gada* system.

5. Bride Wealth and Cattle Gift

a) Bridewealth

As they are part and parcel of the larger Oromo nation, who all belongs to a huge patrilineage, the *Karrayu* reckon their descent through male line. Marriage among lineages is exogamous and virilocal. In such kind of a society, marriage plays a key role in forming alliance between exogamous descent groups (Kottack, 1991). Among the *Karrayu* one marries not just an individual but an entire kin group. It is often more of a relationship between group than one between individuals. People do not just take a

spouse; they assume obligations to a group of in-laws. As residence is virilocal, a woman must leave a community where she was born. She faces the prospects of spending the rest of her life in her husband's village with his relatives. She may even have to transfer her allegiance from her own groups to that of her husband's. If there are disputes between her group and her husband's she may side with him. Marriage converts strangers into friends and creates strong group and personal alliances. The term ' *warra sodda*' in Karrayu conception encompasses a wider social group than an individual bride or groom. It connotes the allegiance, respect and emotional bond between groups. Bridewealth is the sign and the seal of these relations.

Therefore people enter marriage not alone but with the help of descent groups. Members of the descent group have to contribute to bridewealth. Such a practice among the Karrayu is termed as *buusaa* (lit. contribution). Every individual groom has the right to claim *buusaa*, which is very often in cattle from his kin. A kin has a reciprocal mandate to fulfill this obligation. According to *seera ulee labbaa* (a traditional customary law pertaining to marriage and bridewealth payment), earlier on, before the loss of herd, a groom is expected to pay up to fifteen head of cattle to the family and kin group of the bride. Each of the family members of the bride and kin members obtains a head of cattle. Cattle contributed by the father, mother, brother, mother's brother, and father's brother of the groom goes to the respective family and kin members of the bride. The rest of the kin groups are provided with the remaining cattle based on their kin proximity and their past contribution to bridewealth of any married male member of the bride's family or immediate kin. This bridewealth creates webs of social relations.

Consider a marriage arrangement between Hawas as a groom and Rado as a bride from descent groups A and B, respectively. Hawas' descent group contributes as much as 15 cattle, which goes to the family of Rado and her descent group B. Again, brothers of Rado use the same cattle or the progeny of the same cattle as bridewealth to marry a woman from a descent group C. The other male kin of Rado from descent group B also do the same thing when they marry from descent group D. Hawas also obtain cattle to pay bridewealth from his mother' descent group as a token of the continuation of relationships that began with the marriage of his father and mother with bridewealth payment.

A system of marriage and bridewealth payment of such a kind has two main implications. First, the larger the number of cattle, the more number of people and groups are involved and the wider are the social bonds. Moreover, cattle obtained through bridewealth by the family of the bride are a symbol of pride for the family and the decent group. Usually a cow obtained from a bridewealth is nicknamed after the name of the bride as an expression of farewell towards the in-laws. If the cow produced a lot of calves and contributed to the wealth of the family and kin of the bride, the marriage would be interpreted as a successful one and relation between the descent groups would be smooth. Unsuccessful marriage in many instances creates tension between groups, as each side stand in favor of its mates on such conflicts. With the involvement of cash payment, that symbolic function of cattle is transformed. Second, as the value of the bridewealth increases, marriage becomes more stable. In principal divorce involves a return of bridewealth. But since the bridewealth is contributed by a large number of people from the groom's side and received by a similar number of

people from the bride's side, pulling these lots of cattle together for a return is practically impossible. Moreover, it is symbolically so malign to the relation already established. Therefore groups from either side would put a moral pressure on the couples not to divorce and smooth their relations.

Recently, the type and amount of bridewealth payment have changed. The number of cattle has been reduced to two or three heads. The mother's brother, father's brother, and anyone, who, not necessarily related kin, but has livestock, can contribute. These cattle go to the father, mother and mother's brother of the bride only. Now fewer people from the groom's side contribute very few heads of cattle and fewer people from the bride's side receive few cattle. Moreover, the form /type of the payment is also changed to cash. The groom is expected to pay up to 1000 birr by himself without contribution from the descent group. This new type of bridewealth payment also assumed a new term called *dandeessa* (lit. self-reliance) which means a groom should rely on his own wealth. It connotes the individualization of bridewealth payment, which transformed the traditional contribution of cattle bridewealth by descent groups. As a result the role of marriage in creating social bonds among exogamous descent groups have been severely changed.

Moreover, many of the convertees and the sheiks are ardently opposing the tradition of bridewealth payment by arguing that it tantamounts to 'selling' the bride according to the *sharia* law. I witnessed a Muslim religious teacher who refused to pay bridewealth, but who managed to marry the woman.

b) Gift

The Karrayu have some forms of gift-giving traditions on some important occasions in an individual's life cycle or any other change in personal status. Some of these are locally termed as *argaa*, *guutuu buusaa*, *hadhura*, *badhasa* and *kennaa*. All of these are made in cattle and some times in goats. *Argaa* is a gift given for a newly married bride on the next day of the wedding as a gesture of welcome and good wish. Any member of the kin group of the groom is supposed to give this kind of gift. It is a symbol of closeness to the groom and a token of appreciation for the forthcoming relations. The newly married couple is expected to reciprocate in the future. A cattle gift from a mother of the groom to the bride is nicknamed *aayyee* (derived from the term *aayoo*, which means 'mother'). The bride is expected to treat the cow 'as if she is her mother', which symbolizes the relationship between bride and her mother-in-law. For example beating or 'insulting' this cow by the bride tantamounts to beating or insulting her mother-in-law. Moreover, the character of the bride is evaluated by the way she 'treats' this cow. The same holds true to the cow given by the father of the groom which is named as *aabbee* (derived from *aabba* which means 'father'), and other kin.

Handhura (lit. umbilical cord) is again a gift given at childbirth for the newborn baby. The term symbolizes an exclusive right of the child over the gift for the future ownership right and use. *Guutu buusaa* is a gift given when a child's hair is shaved off for the first time. In most cases this gift form the basis and the initial wealth for the child when she/he grows up. Children of rich families and kin groups have more benefit from this type of gift. A gift given on individual's achievement of some act of social importance, like killing an enemy or a big and dangerous beast is called *badhasaa* (prize).

Gift giving is a human activity, of fundamental importance and social significance. It functions as a concrete symbolic representation of mutual interdependence among the members of a society, enhancing social solidarity and effecting redistribution of economic goods (Hoebel, 1966). In short, the basis of gift giving is the reciprocity underlying all social relations. These days among the Karrayu gifts are now getting rarer. The main reason for this is the fact that many households are destitute that they do not have stocks to give*. This has a strong impact on the social relations that it purports to convey.

Thus change in Karrayu social and cultural life, seen holistically, is the outgrowth of change in their mode of subsistence. The loss of land, beyond its economic effect, led to the loss of sacred grounds, which contributed to change in their religious beliefs. Change in religion and roles of religious leaders further affected other social organization, for example, the *gada* system. This is because the existence of the former is an important component for the functioning of the later. Herd loss and the introduction of cash economy and Islamic religious values concerning bridewealth are affecting the social relations created through the system of bridewealth and gift-giving.

* See Baxter (1990) for issues related to the social relations established through cattle ownership and herding.

Chapter Seven

Summary and Conclusion

This research was aimed to see the effects of development projects on the social and economic life of the Karrayu. Attempt is made to scrutinize the basic implication of developments in terms of the local people, for whom it was not intended to bring material and spiritual benefit, and how they experienced the process of development in its material as well as cultural aspect.

Before land alienation Karrayu enjoyed full rights of ownership and management of their land, pasture and water resources. They used to make free choice of movement depending on the existing ecologically differentiated pasture zones, Ona gannaa, Ona bonaa and Ona birra. These ecological zone were differentiated by three basic components; the spatial and temporal movement of herds and men, rainfall regime and pasture and water availability. Movement along these zones, was the basic characteristic of Karrayu pastoralism. It used to regulate the interrelation between men, livestock, and pasture resources. The sacred grounds along the Awash River, beyond their religious importance, had also been another regulatory factor of this pastoral movement. However, the subsequent process of marginalization seriously affected this adaptive mechanism.

The process of marginalization, which began with conquest by the Ethiopian State, has set in motion two important processes. First, it undermined the political autonomy of Karrayu pastoralists. As indicated earlier, defused authority, absence of hierarchy and virtual autonomy of herd managing unit characterizes pastoral political organization. This

is one form of the pastoral adaptive strategy since this kind of social organization guarantees a form of adaptability and flexibility against the ever changing and unpredictable external situation. With the superimposition of the Ethiopian State structure, this form of adaptability lost its ground. The loss of political autonomy was exacerbated by the unfavorable outlook of the Ethiopian policy makers against pastoralists and the resultant suspicious outlook of the pastoralists towards the state. As Richard Hogg accurately puts it:

The general attitude of Ethiopian policy towards these areas has been ambivalent at best; they have generally been regarded as trouble some boarder areas inhabited by primitive nomadic tribes who have little contribution to the national economy. The defining characteristics of relationships have been extractive and authoritative. It is hardly surprising that the general attitude of pastoralists to the centre is one of suspicion and hostility. They tend to view government as alien and unrepresentative of their interest and concerns (quoted by Melaku, 2000:86).

Such presumption partly underlies, the government's bid to alienate the Karrayu from their land.

Second, the loss of political autonomy prepared a fertile ground for the loss of land and land rights and transformation of land ownership to the state and its entourages. This again affected the traditional and most suitable system of Karrayu land tenure and management. Pastoralists land tenure is most sustainable. As Charles, Lane (1991:1) has put it.

Land belongs to a group of family that is linked by descent or cultural affiliation. It is not owned in the sense that users enjoy unlimited rights to exploit and dispose of it at will. It is held in trust by the living for future generations. To ensure that they inherit land currently enjoyed by the living, levels of use are limited by the right of usufruct - the right to enjoy the product of land only in so far as it does not cause damage and reduce its future productive capacity (emphasis mine)

The transformation of land rights by the state formed the base of land alienation by the Park and the Scheme, which individualized land ownership. Individualization gave a full right for the scheme to use it without limit and to dispose of it at will. Furthermore, land alienation dramatically curtailed grazing space and affected pastoral movement. The gradual curtailment of spontaneous movement disrupted the natural process of adjustment that maintained the balance between people, land and livestock (see Baxter, 1990). This was to have a precarious effect on the fragile lowland ecology and Karrayu economy. Their mobility is restricted, a process that led to the relative over-population of the fertile areas to which they had to move with consequent overgrazing and livestock starvation followed by diminishing herds and malnutrition. The herd size and growth rate declined. The loss of herd and impoverishment led some of the Karrayus to seek employment, and consequent settlement, which signifies sedentarization and abandonment of the pastoral way of life, the breakdown of the traditional framework of day-to-day social relations, and subjugation of the Karrayu to external political and economic interests. This process has only accelerated their negative transformation, i.e. destitution and disruption.

The Development of towns as a result of the scheme further marginalized the Karrayu as these towns form the baseline for integrating them into the wider market economy and facilitated exploitation. The expansion of market and decline of subsistence economy further destroyed the amicable relationship that existed between the environment and pastoralists. Population pressure in the area due to labor migration to the Scheme, growth of towns, movement of other pastoral groups in to Karrayu territory, coupled with the loss of grazing land and water points have negatively altered Karrayu

pastoral production system. Moreover, change in tenure system and shrinkage of pastoral resources aggravated conflict with neighboring pastoral groups. With intervention of an external force, the state, the traditional conflict management of the Karrayu pastoralists and their neighbors lost its efficacy.

When the drought came, the Karrayu became an easy prey. Many households became destitute and vulnerable. Drought by itself however, is not the cause of Karrayu destitution. But it is the way they were integrated into the larger political and economic system that made them vulnerable in the face of famine. The transformation of land right, the loss of autonomy and self-reliance in terms of decision making lies in the center of Karrayu marginalization and eventual destitution.

Karrayu response to land alienation and their changing conditions began with resistance: peaceful and non-peaceful. This further debilitated their conditions as the government and the Scheme and the Park responded back more irresponsibly. The response was foiled through forceful repression and fraudulent promises, which had never been realized. The suffering through repression and betrayal by the government made them pessimists about their future and antagonized them with the state, the Scheme and the park. Integration of the Karrayu as wage laborers, due to herd loss further debilitated Karrayu pastoralism as it with drew labor from pastoralism. The working conditions bitterly disfavors them since they are subjected to low wage payment with less opportunity for security on job, pension, and competition from migrant labor. Now labor ceased to be what it used to be; it is no more social but an individual affair. As wage laborers, the Karrayu perceive themselves as "slaves" rather than as herders who manage their affairs by themselves, proud and self-reliant. The exclusive

attachment to wage labor eventually led to sedentarization, further loss of herd and abandonment of nomadic pastoralism.

Living solely on the income earned from wage labour is insufficient to support a household. Above all, it is insecure as the very terms of employment does not safeguard against unnotified redundancy. A household therefore should create another source of income, this time, farming. Farming brought the Karrayu into the grip of exploitation by the townsmen through sharecropping. This relationship is enforced by two factors: the loss of herd which also means absence of draught animals for farming, and subjection to minimal wage payment and inability to finance agricultural input packages. This forced them to enter into such inequitable relationships. Farming also involved shift in the idea and practice of property right and cultural values. Farming was accompanied by individualization of communal lands and the collapse of resource management institution of the Karrayu. In general Karrayu subsistence economy seems to have gone through radical processes of change.

Moreover responding to the drastically diminishing pasture sources and the curtailment of movement, the Karrayu began to rear small stocks, which are more conducive to the diminishing grazing area, and also have more market-off-take. Involvement in the market economy began with wage employment as selling ones' own labor earns cash rewards. The cash earned this way is spent on buying consumer goods. But many households are tied to urban businessmen through a credit system. Petty trading and burning and selling charcoal are also some of the Karrayu responses. Charcoal selling, brought up and exacerbated by development of the towns, is causing environmental degradation and ecological problems. In response to the general fall of herd and the loss

of dairy products, the Karrayu are shifting their consumption from dairy products to grain consumption. As grain is obtained through purchase, more reliance on grain is further tying them to the market economy. Moreover they are made vulnerable to the ever-changing grain price on the market.

The loss of physically existing resources including the holy grounds also affected their symbolic values embedded in groups' collective identity: the sacred grounds were not merely an expression of common values - religion. It rather facilitated conversion to Islam. The values that are embedded in the traditional religion and roles of traditional religious leaders had been one important element for the proper functioning of the other social organizations - such as the gada system. Change in religious values therefore affected the smooth functioning of this social organization. The loss of herd and destitution seriously affected bridewealth payment and gift-giving so that the social bond and the social relations that accompanied them are also constricted.

The wrap and the woof of the argument of this thesis go like that: the imposition of external political organization affected the flexibility and autonomy of the Karrayu social and political organization, which was one form of pastoral adaptation. The loss of autonomy led to the loss of land and land rights. The development of the Commercial Farm and the Park was part of but important aspect of the process of marginalization that started earlier. The loss of physical resources led to the transformation of forms of subsistence, which resulted in wage labor employment. Each form of response progressively made the Karrayu to be more vulnerable to external forces. The loss of physical resources did not only change Karrayu traditional forms of subsistence but also

affected their social organization and their values, group identity and the symbolic elements embedded in their physical environment.

The predicament that befell Karrayu pastoralism is among hundreds of examples of unforeseen and unfortunate consequences of poorly planned and socially insensible economic development projects. The development schemes in Karrayu country was not primarily meant for the Karrayu, such that in planning and implementing it no one considered their right, interest and consent. To forestall such a predicament in pastoral areas one may suggest that policy makers need to **understand** and **accept** pastoralism. Pastoralism should be understood as a viable and alternative way of life and should be accepted as having equal justification by its own right as other economic activity; and its practitioners as having an inalienable right to claim what is theirs. The preconceived and often stereotypical view that pastoralism is a 'constraint to development' should be discarded. It is only when pastoralism is well understood and accepted that socially and economically resounding policy towards pastoralism is formulated. As indicated, pastoralists' self-sufficiency and efficiency, in terms of local decision and resource management was curtailed through externally initiated state structures. This disabled them to make decisions on their own resources, manage their own affairs through their own traditional mechanisms. Thus, policies that recognize local leadership must be formulated and implemented. Moreover, pastoralists should be represented in regional and local government structures so that they can voice their interests, and problems. Besides, in Ethiopia, pastoralists' land rights have been constricted through legal means that followed the conquest, the former legalizing the later. The successive Ethiopian constitutions, including the 1994 constitution, did nothing to establish pastoralists' land

right. It is therefore unquestionable that land rights of the pastoralists should be re-established through legal means.

Be this as it may, this thesis by no means claims to have exhausted the issues that ought to be considered. First, I feel that some normative statements and generalizations I have made through my observation in the field need to have been augmented by more case materials. However, the shortage of resources did not allow me to go with the collection of more case materials in detail. Second the socio-cultural changes that have been induced into the Karrayu social life have not been exposed as one might expect. Rather attempts have been made to take some important points. Thirdly, this thesis seems to portray the fact that changes in the Karrayu socio-economic life have been induced by external forces only. But it should be mentioned that internal conditions within the Karrayu socio-economic structure had their own role to play. The absence of analytical tools and the limited scope of the papers (taking the development projects as a point of emphasis) deters me to delve in to this issue in more detail. I hope that these lacunas would be filled by further research.

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Production Statistics - 66-67

Camp.	Total Area (Ha.)	Harvest. Area(ha.)	Area Cut(%)	Age (m.)	Cane/Ha (Qt.)	Cane/ha. /M.(Qt.)	F.Sugar/ Ha. (Qt.)	F.Sugar/Ha. /M.(Qt.)	Field Yield	Sugar Produced/Ca.
69/70	1724.01	1497.7	86.9	20.0	2061	103	223.6	11.2	12.35	310,836.73
70/71	2874.34	2420.2	84.2	16.2	1627	100	175.2	10.8	10.77	362,235.28
71/72	3097.24	2729.2	88.1	15.2	1544	102	165.8	10.9	10.73	441,161.41
72/73	3516.81	3311.0	94.1	15.7	1627	104	177.4	11.3	10.90	585,566.58
73/74	3780.6	3043.4	80.5	16.6	1430	86	158.7	9.6	11.10	487,430.94
74/75	4643.3	3335.6	71.8	16.6	1525	92	167.7	10.1	11.02	558,613.32
75/76	5066.4	2938.3	58.0	17.5	1647	94	190.6	10.9	11.57	526,524.54
76/77	5489.5	2626.9	47.9	22.3	1904	86	202.2	9.1	11.21	531,171.83
77/78	5653.3	3406.1	60.2	21.6	1923	89	223.5	10.3	11.62	702,956.50
78/79	5874.9	4395.2	74.8	16.8	1624	97	183.7	10.9	11.37	743,759.28
79/80	6892.8	5020.4	72.8	14.1	1397	99	151.6	10.8	10.85	703,974.93
80/81	7509.8	4617.4	61.5	15.7	1561	99	164.3	10.5	10.53	708,246.00
81/82	7951.6	3796.6	47.7	20.0	1738	87	189.8	9.5	10.92	649,014.00
82/83	8363.8	4639.0	55.5	20.9	1992	95	226.3	10.8	11.36	981,537.00
83/84	8754.0	5747.0	65.6	18.2	1651	91	197.5	10.9	11.96	1,058,708.00
84/85	8831.8	6966.5	78.9	15.3	1395	91	161.9	10.8	11.61	1,066,534.00
85/86	8868.6	7332.5	82.7	14.4	1307	91	151.1	10.4	11.56	1,068,420.00
86/87	8890.09	6842.7	77.0	13.9	1249	90	139.9	10.1	11.21	914,169.00
87/88	8979.84	6174.9	68.8	15.2	1483	98	163.3	10.8	11.01	957,054.00
88/89	9572.8	6690.3	69.9	15.5	1330	86	152.0	9.8	11.44	965,657.00
89/90	9701.0	6379.9	65.8	17.3	1433	87	168.3	9.8	11.27	973,731.00
90/91	9701.0	5955.8	61.4	16.1	1196	74	136.4	8.5	11.38	759,096.00
91/92	9701.0	6837.8	70.5	16.4	1175	72	132.6	8.1	11.39	853,169.00
92/93	9702.5	7294.3	75.2	15.6	1053	67	117.6	7.6	11.17	792,473.00
93/94	9895.6	6399.8	64.7	13.9	1106	79	122.8	8.8	11.10	733,103.00
94/95	9895.6	5503.7	55.6	15.9	1354	85	153.9	9.6	11.30	812,079.00
95/96	9895.6	5856.8	59.2	19.4	1612	83	185.6	9.6	11.52	1,010,483.00
96/97	9895.6	5997.7	60.6	19.5	1610	83	184.0	9.4	11.43	1,105,833.00
97/98	9863.3	6284.2	63.7	18.3	1634	89	179.6	9.9	11.00	1,107,023.00
98/99	9911.5	6274.0	63.3	18.0	1641	91	184.4	10.2	11.23	1,116,515.00
99/2000	9911.5	6566.0	66.3	17.6	1526	87	175.5	10.5	11.63	1,153,796.00
Average			66.8	17.1	1528	90	171.2	10.0	11.27	798,157.17
Exclud. Cp. 90/91 to 93/94			68.9	17.3	1586	92	177.7	10.3	11.28	600,186.71

Including nurseries, canals, roads, the factory and living quarters, the total area covered by the end of 1970 will be roughly 5,000 hectares.

The Metahara plain being a high plain of nature, cannot support any but the most sparse cultivation under normal circumstances. But, for a large project such as this, only a major network of irrigation canals can provide sufficient water supplies to permit intensive cultivation. With the construction of the irrigation scheme nearing its completion, the water of the Awash river will be carried to all places earmarked for cane cultivation. The total canal length, included in this scheme, will be about 200 kilometres, the major part of which is already completed.

An extensive road construction programme covering some 200 kilometres of metalled roads within the estate's boundaries is well under way. A railway line was built along the 8 kilometre access-road linking Metahara Station with Metahara Sugar Estate. Accessroad and railway make a joint use of a company-built 42 meter long bridge crossing the Awash river.

Marketing

Metahara sugar will be marketed through the same channels as those already in use for the sales of the Wonji sugar and Desta Confectionery products.

Finance

The new company is affiliated with H.V.A.-Ethiopia S.C. The share capital of H.V.A.-Metahara S.C. has been fixed at Eth. \$ 32,000,000.- in which H.V.A.-Ethiopia and other members of the group of H.V.A.-Companies will hold a 51% interest. The other shares are taken up by the Imperial Ethiopian Government, various national financial institutions and the International Finance Corporation, Washington D.C. Also Eth. \$5,000,000.- worth of shares of Eth. \$50.- each has been offered to private investors through the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia.

September 1969.



Appendix 2



"H.V.A. - METAHARA

Producers of

Wonji Sugar and Desta Confectionery

from unproductive
plain to economic
development



AWASHA NATIONAL PARK

ETHIOPIA

Among the major species to be seen here include Ostrich, Grevy's Zebra, Soemmerring's Gazelle, Gerenuk, and Oryx.

Please remember nine points

- Drive slowly.
- Driving is permitted from 6 a.m. to 7 p.m.
- Keep to the authorized track.
- Camping is only at approved campsites.
- Feeding wild animals is prohibited.
- Do not disturb wild animals.
- Do not cut, remove or take any part of plants.
- Do not leave litter in the area.
- Game scouts must accompany tourists. The scout can be obtained at the Main Gate or the Headquarters.

For further information:

- * Awash National Park Museum at Gotu (Park Headquarters)
- * Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Organisation (EWCO) P. O. Box 386, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia Tel: 251-1-153619 / 505231 Fax: 251-1-514190
- * Awash National Park P. O. Box 30, Awash Station, Ethiopia

When to visit

The Park can be visited at all times of the year. Most of the roads in the southern part are accessible to all vehicles, except after a heavy rain. A four-wheel drive vehicle is recommended for going to The Hot Springs, and obligatory if one wishes to climb to Mt. Fantale.

Visitor accommodations

- Kereyu lodge This is a series of caravans, along with a restaurant and bar overlooking the spectacular Awash Gorge.
- Camping is available at Gotu (riverside) and The Hot Springs.

These are very quiet places surrounded by riverine forest (Gotu) and Palm oasis (The Hot Springs). Camping visitors must be self-contained.

Alledoghi Wildlife Reserve

Alledoghi Wildlife Reserve is approximately 50km to the north east of Awash National Park on the way to Gewane.

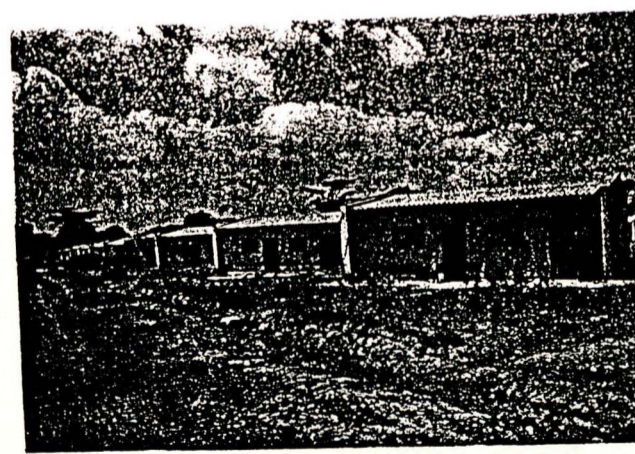
Although the population of the Metahara plains until 1965 was negligible there is now a thriving community of many hundred inhabitants. The majority is earning regular incomes from employment in the sugar cane fields (cultivation, planting and irrigation), construction work, road and irrigation canal development schemes and land clearance programmes.

An Elementary School for well over 200 children of company employees opened its doors at a time when the construction of the sugar factory was only half-way. Since then, an expansion of the building is carried out in accordance with the requirements of the growing workers community.

Cane growing and its eventual processing requires the most careful planning. For example, in order to provide seed cane for cultivation on a commercial scale, the preparation of nurseries began as far back as 1966. Similarly, on the processing side, after extensive research, machinery orders were placed with reputable manufacturers in Europe, to make the factory one of the most modern in Africa.

The wheels of the mill will start to turn in November 1969 and to feed them, 1,600 hectares of cane were planted by September, 1968. The area will provide enough raw material to produce 29,000 tons of white sugar during the first milling season 1969/70.

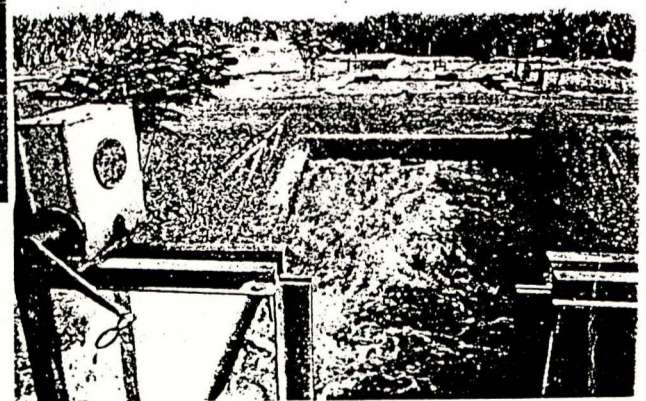
Additionally, another 1,000 hectares of land are being planted to bring the total output of Metahara to 47,000 tons of sugar per year as from the second year of milling.



On a large industrial estate, a healthy and happy community of workers is as much of importance as other activities, and to achieve such an atmosphere the company is providing a variety of well planned facilities for its employees.

By the end of 1969, about 600 houses will become available for all grades of employees at Metahara estate's headquarters; amenities such as shops, a sports field, an open air cinema etc. are already operational. For the proper housing of plantation labourers, three villages are constructed in the plantation area.

A large polyclinic with a full time physician and an assistant medical officer is already in service, providing medical attention to the people of the area. When necessary, the more serious cases of hospitalisation are transferred to the company's modern hospital at Wonji.



Animals

Big herds of *Beta Oryx* and *Soemmerring's Gazelle* can be seen on the Saba Plains. Around the complex at Gotu, along the river, you will have the opportunity of seeing *Leopard Kudu*, *Antelope Baboon*, *Grevy's monkey* and *Defassa Waterbuck*.

Leopard Kudu, *Marburg and Saby's Duikers* are found

Hot Springs

In the northern part of park are the hot springs (fil-waha in Amharic), where one can relax and visit the sparkling blue-green pools and rivers. The pools are pleasant to swim in. Along the escarpment, one can overlook the Down Palm forest.

The Hot Springs

In the northern part of park are the hot springs (fil-waha in Amharic), where one can relax and visit the sparkling blue-green pools and rivers. The pools are pleasant to swim in. Along the escarpment, one can overlook the Down Palm forest.

Secretary Birds

Yellow-billed secretary birds, endemic to Ethiopia, is seen along the rim of Mt. Fantale.

Greater Kudu

can be seen in the Kudu Valley and occasionally along the Awash River Gorge.

Predators including Lion, Leopard, Caracal, Hyena, Black-backed Jackal and Common Jackal are seen mostly in the open plains of the Park. Most of the mammals are active in the early mornings and late afternoons.

Bird species: 453

The Park can modelly be described as an Ornithologist's paradise. Various species of *hastards, chats, sunbirds, storks, and birds of prey* can be seen throughout the Park.

The Awash River

The Awash River is about 1,200km long (the second longest river within the country). The river has its origins in the highlands near Ginchigirki west of Addis Ababa. It ends in the heart of the Afar Depression in Lake Abe from which there is no surface outlet.

There is beautiful scenery along the Awash River in the park. The Waterfalls is located near the headquarters. The Awash River Gorge, which is as deep as about 150m, starts below the Waterfalls and has riverine forest along it. Rafting is also possible and very enjoyable here. One may occasionally catch a glimpse of the Parks resident *Crocodile, Hippopotamus* and variety of *aquatic birds*.

Mt. Fantale

The crater of Mt. Fantale is the dominant geologic feature in the park. Its height is 2007m above sea level. The crater is as deep as 350m and the diameter is about 3.5km.

Occasionally, in the dormant crater, active steam vents are visible in the early mornings and late afternoons with *Mountain Reebuck* and *Kilpinginger* which live along the steep slopes of the crater.

The name Metahara may mean little to many people in Ethiopia. This area is situated along the borders of the Awash river, about 200 Kilometres from Addis Ababa on the Nazareth-Dire Dawa road.

But for H.V.A.-Ethiopia, the parent company of H.V.A.-Metahara, the name had acquired some significance as far back as 1951. The company's experts had surveyed that area already during that period for future agricultural development.

With a view to the increasing sugar consumption in Ethiopia and due to the fact that no further expansion of the Wonji and Shoa Sugar Estate in the Vonji plain could be envisaged, the plans to extend the industry to the Metahara plain became topical in 1964.

In July, 1965 an agreement was signed with the Imperial Ethiopian Government, under which H.V.A.-Ethiopia acquired a concession of 11,000 hectares of land for cultivation.

Complimentary to this agreement, H.V.A.-Ethiopia undertook to establish a new company of Ethiopian nationality, named H.V.A.-Metahara S.C. to which all rights and obligations under the Metahara agreement were transferred.

Upon the establishment of H.V.A.-Metahara a direct start was made with an extensive survey and thorough soil investigation, while experimental sugar cane fields were planted. These trials fully justified the huge capital investment required to open the way for large scale development of the area.

Today, economically the new sugar development scheme falls into the government's plans to build up the Awash Valley into a concentrated agricultural and industrial complex under a specially appointed body known as the Awash Valley Authority.

Thus, in a relatively short period of three years the story of Metahara's development has moved rapidly. The region is on the point of becoming one of the most productive agricultural areas in Ethiopia contributing greatly to the country's economy as a whole.

DECLARATION

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

Name: Bekir Ejeta
 Signature: [Handwritten Signature]
 Place and Date of Submission : A.A.U
June 2001

