

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

**INTRA-REGIONAL RESETTLEMENT AND INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS: THE
CASE OF AMHARA RESETTLERS AND THE INDIGENOUS KULSI PEOPLE IN
JAWI WOREDA, NORTH WESTERN ETHIOPIA**

BY: YOHANNIS YITBAREK

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BY
YOHANNIS YITBAREK

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

APPROVED BY BOARD OF EXAMINERS

Taddesse Beriso



ADVISOR

Kassahun Berham

SIGNATURE



EXTERNAL EXAMINER

Gebre Yntiso

SIGNATURE



INTERNAL EXAMINER

SIGNATURE

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Glossary of Local Terms

I. Amharic

<i>Abelij</i>	A god father - or god mother who enters in to relationship when a child is baptized, particularly by intending to form bonds with the child's parents (family).
<i>Gendie</i>	A cattle disease (trypanomiasis), which is transmitted by Tse -Tse fly, prevalent in lowland areas.
<i>Kebele</i>	The smallest unit of government administrative constituency.
<i>Kolla</i>	Lowlands or an area with relative high temperature.
<i>Qenja</i>	A labourer who joins a farmer household for one cropping season or more.
<i>Mezega Meret</i>	Lands of black, wet and swampy soil.
<i>Senbete</i>	A religious association among the followers of Orthodox Christians celebrated with feasts in the churches compound.
<i>Tella</i>	A locally prepared beer.
<i>Tut-Metabat</i>	A 'breast feeding' practice in which individuals agree to act as a foster parent and foster child for the sake of creating interpersonal ties.
<i>Woba</i>	A term referring to malaria, which is prevalent in lowland areas.
<i>Wodaj</i>	Clients or patrons who keep relations with each other for times of need
<i>Woreda</i>	An administrative structure higher than Kebele and below the Zone.

II. Kulsi Terms

<i>Kencha</i>	A newly cleared land for farming.
<i>Qoli</i>	a spirit which is believed to be dwelling in prominent natural objects such as rivers, mountains and trees.
<i>Shehata</i>	grazing land.

ACRONYMS

ANRS	Amhara National Regional State
AWCCO	Amhara Water Conservation and Construction organization
EPRDF	Ethiopian Peoples’ Democratic Revolutionary Front
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FSCB	Food Security Coordination Bureau
FSCO	Food Security Coordination Office
FSS	Food Security Strategy
IDPs	Internally Displaced People
IRR	Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction
Pas	Peasant Associations
RDO	Rural Development Office
RDPPC	Regional Disaster Prevention Preparedness Commission
SNNPR	Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples’ Region
UN	United Nations
VRP	Voluntary Resettlement Program

Abstract

The major objective of this thesis was to examine the process of intra-regional resettlement program and its challenges in Jawi resettlement site of Amhara Regional State. The resettlement program in the study area was launched with the objective of enabling chronically food insecure people attain food security. To realize the stated objectives and not to repeat the failure of the past resettlement programs in Ethiopia, four major pillars that include voluntarism, availability of underutilized land, consultation with the host communities, and assurance of minimum infrastructure were used. This thesis, therefore, examines the process of intra-regional resettlement against the pillars of the program and in turn explores major challenges of the resettlement from the points of view of resettler population, host communities, and the local environment. Besides, it explores the subsequent impacts of the resettlement program on the nature of inter-ethnic relations between resettlers and host community. Throughout the research study period, both primary and secondary data sources were used. Some of techniques for primary data collection include systematic observation, structured and semi-structured interviews, focus group discussion, and extended case study. Secondary data were also obtained from extensive cogitation of literatures.

The research finding argues that the intra-regional resettlement program, which is launched by the current government in Jawi Woreda, is for the most part not different from the past regime's resettlement undertakings. This is because the resettlement program is characterized by induced-volunteerism, no consultation of the host community, inconsistencies in planning, poor targeting and identification of the settlers, and poor administration. The study also argues that, the intra-regional resettlement program in the study area has resulted in an ominous impact on the physical environment and natural resource conservation of the host community. Likewise, the resettlement scheme is intra-regional mainly because of the only reason that both the resettled and the host people are from the same regional territory (Amhara Regional State). Nevertheless, it can be rather conceived as inter-regional for resettlement is made across ethno-cultural and agro-ecological boundaries. On top of this, the thesis reveals that the nature of resettlers-host interactions in the resettlement setting is characterized by both amicable and conflictual relations. The amicable aspects are manifested in the form of land renting arrangements, local market exchange, religious occasions and other socio-cultural ties. On the other hand, conflictual relations are often caused by competition over natural resources (such as, grazing land, forests, water), violation of rule of relationships notably in land renting agreements, burning of beehives, cattle rustling, and constant influx of 'illegal' settlers to the area.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Due to land degradation, population pressure, drought and other natural and manmade factors, Ethiopia has long been exposed to famine and food insecurity. In addressing these problems the Ethiopian governments have planned and implemented a number of development policies and strategies. Despite its failure stories, resettlement has been among the often practiced policy programs in the history of the country. The Imperial government implemented resettlement program that involved 20,000 households from 1960 to 1974 (SahleMariam in Feleke, 2004:211). The Socialist government of Ethiopia also launched forced inter-regional resettlement and villagization programs in mid-1980s as part of a national program to combat drought, avert famine, and increase agricultural productivity (Dessalegn, 1988; Pankhurst, 2004: 12; Feleke, 2004:211). However, both the Imperial and the Derg regimes' resettlement programs were highly criticized for inadequate planning, selecting inappropriate settler and sites, insufficient budgetary support, inexperienced staff, and enforced cooperativisation (Gebre, 2004:108; Pankhurst, 2004: 10; Wolde-Selassie, 2004:79).

Despite the failure of the past State organized large scale resettlement programs in the country, the current government of Ethiopia (EPRDF) has also launched a large-scale intra-regional resettlement program with the objective of enabling chronically food insecure people attain food security. The government has initiated a pilot resettlement scheme, with a focus on creating better access to land, during the year 2002/03. During this pilot phase, about 45,000 household (180,000 people) were reported to have been settled in Amhara, Oromiya, and Tigray National Regional States (Feleke, 2004:211). Just within six months of its implementation, the government reported the success of the pilot programs and scaled up its plan to resettle about 440,000 households (2.2 million people) over a period of three years in the above mentioned three Regional States and the Southern, Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Region, SNNPR (Ibid:211).

Amhara region as one of regional governments of Ethiopia, where food security problem has been prevailing for decades, launched intra-regional resettlement program from 2003-2008. The region is one of the drought prone areas where frequent famine occurred during the last several years. Among 109 Woredas in Amhara Region, more than 47 are classified as being

food insecure (Dessalegn, 2008:2). Therefore, since 2003, a resettlement program has been implemented in the lowlands of Metemma, Quara, Armacheho and Jawi Woredas.

Jawi Woreda, which is the study area for this thesis, is found in the extreme south west of Amhara region-750 Km from Addis Ababa. In this area settlers from East Gojjam, Waghemra Zone, and South Gondar have been resettled for four consecutive years (2004-2008). Prior to the coming of resettlers, Jawi lowland was inhabited by the indigenous Kulsi people and conflict induced resettlers of 2002. The 2002 resettlers of Jawi are sometimes called as *Bure IDPs*, people from Amhara region that settled across Abaye river in Gidda Kiremu Woreda of east Wollega Zone, and were chased away after clashes with the local Oromo population in December 2000 (Piguet and Dechassa, 2003).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Resettlement, as one of development and food security strategies is not new in Ethiopia. Many prominent researchers on resettlement (Pankhrust, 1996; Berihun, 1996; Gebre, 2001; Woldeselassie, 2002) have been fascinated by the subject and conducted extensive study on various themes. However, most of these studies concentrated on inter-regional and forced resettlement programs. This shows that there is a dearth of study on intra-regional resettlement schemes, perhaps, due to the absence of such programs during the past regimes. Likewise, except few (Assefa, 1995; Berihun, 1996; Gebre, 2001; Tesfaye, 2007; Woldeselassie, 2002 ;), resettlers-host relations are one of the least studied subjects in resettlement discourse.

Thus, this study focuses on intra-regional resettlement program and inter- ethnic relations: the case of Amhara settlers and Indigenous Kulsi people, in Jawi Woreda, North western Ethiopia. In this area, the Amhara Regional State has resettled 6001 households (10408 people) from East Gojjam, Waghemra Zone, West Gojjam, Awi Zone, and some parts of Benishangul Gumuz, to the peripheral and most dry area of Jawi – 50 km far from *Fendiqa*, headquarter of the newly established Jawi Woreda. The aim of this resettlement program was to insure food security to those suffering from lack of food due to land shortage and ecological deterioration of their home areas. Accordingly, the intra-regional resettlement program rests on four major pillars that include voluntarism, availability of under-utilized land, consultation with the host communities and provision of minimum infrastructure (Feleke, 2004:212).

Nevertheless, against the stated objectives and premises of the intra-regional approach, resettler people, host communities, and the local environment have constantly facing multifaceted problems. Though, Jawi was identified as one of the 'underutilized' sites, most of the presumed 'empty' spaces selected for resettlement are located at inhospitable marginal and inaccessible lowlands largely infested with human (malaria) and livestock (trypanosomiasis) diseases. Additionally, most basic social services, such as school, health posts, veterinary, transportation and other infrastructures are lacking and even where available the quality are too poor.

Besides, farm lands were overtaken from the indigenous people and given to state-sponsored resettlers without compensation. As the result, the host communities frequently blame the resettlement scheme for it has alienated them from their vital livelihood resources including farm land, forests for honey production, grazing land and water.

Furthermore, this resettlement site is exceptional and different from other intra-regional resettlement programs which are launched within Amhara regional state in that it incorporates two different ethnic groups (i.e. Amhara settlers and the indigenous Kushi). In other resettlement sites, such as, Metemma, Quara, and Tach Armacheho, both the resettlers and the local residents are similar in their cultural, religious, linguistic, ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds. In other words, both the resettlers and the host people are Amharas. As a result, social integration and re-establishment of traditional institutions and networks that bind communities is therefore less awkward (Abraham, 2004:560).

On the Contrary, in Jawi resettlement site, resettlers and host communities differ significantly in their socio-cultural organization, linguistic, and livelihood strategies. Most of the Amhara resettlers are predominantly agriculturalists while the Kulsies are engaged in shifting cultivation, keeping goats and sheep, honey harvesting and hunting wild animals (Tesfaye, 2007:121).

Therefore, the resettlement program in the study area has several issues that ought to have fascinating investigations and in turn triggers me to examine the resettlement process. Added to this, the freshness of the area for research focusing on intra-regional resettlement and resettlers–host relations is another reason for conducting such a study. Except for a few studies which entirely focus on conflict induced resettlers of 2001, (Getu, 2005 and Tesfaye, 2007), no research has been conducted on the intra regional resettlers and the indigenous Kulsies. Therefore, this research will fill this gap and examines the process of intra-regional

resettlement and its challenges on the one hand; and nature of resettlers-host relations on the other.

1.3 Objective of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of this study is to examine the process of intra-regional resettlement program and its challenges from the point of view of the resettler population, the host community and the local environment. It also explores the socio-cultural features of the two societies and nature of ethnic relations since their contact in 2004/2005.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of this study are the following;

- To describe and analyse the resettlement program from the point of view of planning, targeting, moving, management and administration of the settlers.
- To examine the social and economic changes brought about by the new resettlement program on the resettlers and indigenous people.
- To describe the implication of the resettlement program on the natural resource conservation and environment.
- To investigate the nature of resettlers-host relations in the resettlement setting.

1.4. Significance of the Study

This study has both academic and practical significances. In the first place, it improves our understanding of differing approaches of resettlement that have been implemented in the country. In line with this, the thesis provides an important insight regarding the overall implementation process of the newly implemented intra-regional resettlement approach and its challenges, from the Jawi case.

Since, the intra-regional resettlement program in the area is suffering from inadequate planning and detailed socio-economic study, the research will inform policy makers, planners, and other practitioners that resettlement requires a feasibility study on the socio-economic and physical planning particularly, the planning and evaluation of land on which people have to settle and make their live. Hence, this will minimize, if not avoid, the negative effect of

resettlement on the adaption of resettlers to the new environment and in turn the host's livelihood strategy.

Secondly, since the study area and the indigenous people (Kulsi) are little treated in the scholarly literature, the present study is believed to give an insight into the social, economic and physical characteristics of the study area, and fill the gap of ethnographic cross-cultural knowledge. Thirdly, this research may initiate further research and debate on resettlement as an option for development and food security strategy.

Finally, since the study also attempts to explore the nature of inter-ethnic relations between the resettlers and the host people, it can be an indispensable input for policy considerations pertaining to the relationship between the two study groups. In other words, it helps to understand the nature of potential causes of conflicts such that corrective or preventive measures can be taken. Besides, it also finds out potential integrative areas, and on the bases of that concerned bodies such as government authorities will standardize those integrative areas in to more stable and formalized tools for interethnic peace.

1.5 Research Methodology

1.5.1 Site Selection

Of the twelve peasant associations (PAs) in the study area, this research confined itself to Wemblace, Ali-Kurand, and Bambluk PAs for at least two reasons. The first reason relies on accessibility, representativeness of socio-cultural, economic and agro ecological conditions of the environment and the people, and proximity of the study areas. Secondly, in these resettlement sites heterogeneous groups of people (indigenous Kulsi, state sponsored resettlers, 'illegal settlers' or *hegawet sefarewoch*, pastoral communities from Bahrdar area, locally named, as *Zellans*, and private investors mainly in rain-fed agriculture) have been put to live together in close proximity with one another and they are putting great pressure on local resources which in turn resulted in inter-ethnic tensions.

1.5.2 Instruments of Data Collection

In this research, a combination of primary and secondary data-collection methods were employed to examine the process of implementation of the intra-regional resettlement program, its challenges and the subsequent impact of the resettlement on the nature of inter-ethnic relations. These data collection techniques include systematic observation, structured

and semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, extended case study, and review of secondary sources. Field data collection tools such as, field note-taking, tape cassette recording; and photographs were used to record various important discussions, events, occasions, issues, and ecological settings.

1.5.2.1 Primary Sources

Systematic Observations

My field work in the study area was conducted in two successive phases. The first phase was conducted between August 7 to 15 - 2010. This phase was more of preliminary observation of the study area and hence the resettlers adaption to the new resettlement site and the major challenges facing the host people were directly observed. The second phase of my fieldwork was conducted in January/February 2003. It was the most intensive one in the sense that all necessary data for the study were collected.

Therefore, in these two phases of fieldwork, systematic and purposeful observations, usually as half insider and half outsider observer of the diverse socio-cultural and economic practices of the population living in the study area were conducted. This technique was used to generate data related to major areas of interaction between resettlers and the host people, their socio-economic activities and other way of lives. Participant observation has been conducted in public gatherings like market places, religious sites such as churches, and also at *Tut-metabat* and *Abelij* formation festivities between resettlers and the host people. It was also conducted in small houses in which local drink like *Tella* and *Arekie* are prepared and sold largely by the resettler people in Wemblace and Bambluk Kebeles.

Alongside with this, several social practices and physical sites that have special relevance to the study subject were directly observed.

Interviews

Structured and semi-structured interviews were conducted with thirty two informants of different categories of people. Informants from state sponsored resettlers, indigenous Kulsi, and 'illegal settlers' were selected based on age, sex, occupation and their ethnic and socio-cultural background. Ten informants who represent state sponsored resettlers were interviewed to know how they opt for resettlement, their socio-economic condition in the new setting, and their feelings towards the new environment, as well as the kinds of relationships

they have with the local community. Selected ten informants from the indigenous Kulsies were also interviewed about their perception of the resettlement, the kind of relation they have with state sponsored resettlers and 'illegal resettlers', and major changes they have experienced due to the resettlement. On the other hand, five 'illegal resettlers' were interviewed to understand the major issues related to the ways in which they got access to land resources, and the nature of relation they have with both state sponsored resettlers and the host people. Finally, government officials at Zonal (One informant), Woreda (three informants), and Kebele (three) levels were interviewed to have a clear understanding of the planning, administration and implementation of the program.

In addition to formal interviews, informal interviews were important means of data collection from different people of the study area as formal, procedural, rigid approach do not yield satisfactory results always. Making frequent contacts, establishing good rapport, and being flexible to 'moods' of the local people were important means to obtain more and vivid information.

Focus Group discussions (FGDs)

In order to triangulate the information collected through other techniques and to obtain more information for the study, focus group discussions were held with resettlers and the host people. Besides, this technique was used because it enabled me to obtain direct evidences about similarities and differences in the participants' opinions and experiences as opposed to reaching such conclusions from separate analysis of statements from each interviewee.

FGDs were intermittently held with selected informants from both resettlers and the host people. Accordingly, six FGDs with resettlers and the host people comprising of eight participants were conducted. The participants were selected on the basis of their age, sex and ethnic group. Four FGDs with segmentation (two with resettlers and two with the host) was first made and later two homogenous focus group discussions were conducted with both resettlers and the host. The reason for using segmented groups was to ensure that the participants in each group have something to say about the topic and feel comfortable saying it to each other. Additionally, FGDs which are conducted in homogeneity facilitated my analysis in examining the differences in perspective between resettlers and the host people.

Case Studies

Personal case histories were used to elucidate some points of discussions in relation to the implementation of the resettlement program and its challenge in the context of resettlers, the host people, the local environment and inter ethnic relations. A case of individual resettlers and host life histories, their memories, and perceptions about the resettlement program and the changes made on both groups and the environment were analyzed.

Giving chances to resettlers and hosts to talk about what major problems they had been faced with the resettlement program and their relation in the new resettlement setting, enabled me to get a rich of data on the views and feelings of both groups. In this study, about seven cases were produced and analyzed with the existing finding and literature.

1.5.2.2. Secondary Data Collection Methods

Secondary source materials, such as files, archives, letters of contractual agreements conducted between and among the study people, pre-resettlement survey materials or strategy papers and reports from governmental and non- governmental organizations at various levels are referred and used. Moreover published books, articles and monographs on the concepts and practices relevant to the research subject are reviewed.

1.5.3 Method of Data Analysis

The data collected through interviews, FGDs, case study and systematic observation were triangulated and analyzed qualitatively. In analyzing the data, attempts were made to carefully review and examine from both the emic and etic point of view. Additionally, to give more elaboration and comparative understandings of the issue under discussion, the views and ideas of different scholars was mentioned in some points of the thesis.

1.6. Ethical Consideration

Sharing information about resettlement program and inter-ethnic relations can provoke sensitive issues within participants in the study. Thus, care was taken to provide a supportive, familiar environment where participants could speak freely about their experiences. The ethical precautions adopted in this research included informed consent from participants to take part in the research, assurance of confidentiality and privacy of participants, consent from the participants to present the data collected, and the option for the participants to withdraw from the research study. Furthermore for the purpose of confidentiality and privacy of my informants, I managed to use their pseudo name throughout the text.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

In order to come up with theoretical and conceptual premises for examining the research subject, an attempt has been made to review important theories and practices relevant to examine the research subject. Therefore, this part of the thesis first provides important concepts and definitions regarding resettlement and then proceeds to review its dynamic feature in worldwide context and the Ethiopian experiment in a historical perspective. Finally, it looks at the glimpse of resettlement models and their basic premises for the possible explanation of the subject under study.

2.1 Concepts and Definitions

There are various terms and concepts that have been used to explain groups of people displaced by different casual agents. Hence, resettlement, land settlement, colonisation, or transmigration are adopted by different scholars to refer to the phenomenon of population redistribution, either planned or “spontaneous”. Resettlement seems to be more appropriate to the Ethiopian context, as it suggests the deliberate moving of people to areas other than their own (Dessalegn, 2003). Hence, as defined by Chambers in Tesfaye (2007: 30), resettlement refers to “the planned and controlled transfer of people from one area to another”. Wood (1977: 154) also defined rural resettlement as a spontaneous or planned movement of people or group of people from their original home area to another area(s) to settle for a second time or subsequent time. This definition identifies resettlement from settlement in the sense that the former involves the repeated action of the settlement processes.

De Wet (1998) in Tesfaye (2007:30) also describes resettlement as “the movement of communities from one environment to the other and changes or modifies the physical and social environment in which the resettlers find themselves and adopt”. Other authors (Dessalegn, 1988; Pankhurst, 2004) remarked that resettlement schemes are proposed in response to a combination of situations that arise due to natural disasters, man-made adversities, poverty, unemployment and the carrying out of development programs.

According to Chambers (1969:11), “resettlement is characterised by two main features: A movement of population; and an element of planning and control”. In its broader definition, people may be involved in resettlement either on their own initiative or under external circumstances which force them to do so. When people resettle to a new place under their

own initiative, this may be called 'spontaneous resettlement'. If the resettlement is imposed on people by an external agent in a planned and controlled manner, it may be called 'planned resettlement' (ibid). The case discussed in this paper may be described as 'planned and controlled population movement under state control.

Resettlement could be proposed for several objectives that the specific country intended to achieve. According to Oberai (1988: 71-81), the prominently experienced objectives include relieving of population pressure, to develop under developed areas, increased agricultural outputs, considerations of national security, provision of land to the landless or displaced people and promotion of regional development. In line with the above objectives, experiences of different countries of the world show that resettlement has been practiced to attain one or a mix of country specific objectives.

Success and failure in resettlement schemes depend on a combination of factors. Proper planning based on adequate pre-investment surveys of the physical and human resources and the social setting are key elements in implementing resettlement schemes, where as inadequate planning and implementation of resettlement schemes create series difficulties and costly readjustments (Woldeselassie, 2002: 39). The three important actors in any resettlement process are the resettlers, the host population and the physical environment. In this case if resettlement is poorly designed and implemented, the settlers will undergo psychological, social and physiological stresses. Similarly, the host population will also be forced to share the stresses. In both cases, environmental damage will, in one way or another, be exhibited.

Generally, the success or failure of resettlement programs depends on how the settlers can best adapt to their new environment, the degree of social bond they build with the host population and the pace at which they become self-sufficient (Tesfaye, 2007:30-31).

2.2 Resettlement: An Overview of International and National Experience

2.2.1 International Experience

Resettlement is a worldwide rural development policy practice, particularly in developing countries, each undertaking the program under the specific motives of its own. Many countries in the world have pursued government-sponsored land settlement policies during the last half-century or more. The common aim for undertaking the resettlement in most countries, is to raise income and living standard of the rural population, which each country

may seek to attain the goal under its own specific approach. However, most resettlement schemes in the world are noted for their bad success stories (De Wet, 2004:50).

A survey done for the UN, for instance, found that “very few resettlement programs have achieved the stated objectives” (Oberai in Cliffe, 2004: 197). Similarly, a study by World Bank used a strict measure, but still came to the pessimistic conclusion that: “.....typically, evaluation of settlement projects three or five years after the start of implementation shows economic rates return at least 50% below those in project appraisal documents” (Ibid).

A study conducted primarily on Latin American experience concluded with the observation that “ few spheres of economic development have a history of, or reputation for, failure to match that of government-sponsored colonization in the humid tropics” (Nelson in Cliffe, 2004: 197).

In reviewing the resettlement experiences of many African countries, Cliffe also said:

State sponsored settlement schemes had proved popular in many African countries in the immediate post-colonial period, and have continued in the decades since in countries including Nigeria, Tanzania, Somalia, Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Sudan. Similarly in Mozambique and Vietnam have caused huge environmental and social catastrophe. Settlement schemes elsewhere experienced similar constraints..... The only exceptions to this dismal record in Zambia had been some of the schemes implemented under Family Farms Limited in Southern Province, which were characterized by a totally different and much more participant management style. Development Authority's Program in Malaysia, and (partially) the resettlement in Zimbabwe in the 1980s also enjoyed some successes (Cliffe, 2004: 200).

According to Chambers in Cliffe (2004:200), almost all countries resettlement schemes have been criticized for failure to achieve their social and economic objectives, and their absorption of scarce resources, which might have been put to better use.

Similarly, by surveying the African experiment, Shipton (1994) citing Cliffe (2004: 200) has concluded that "no kind of development intervention has more consistently caused major cultural and psychological disruption than has forced resettlement". These all experiences show the little success stories of planned resettlement projects in the world. Still, however, there is an on-going practice of the program in some countries, including in Ethiopia.

2.2.2 Resettlement in Ethiopia: Historical Perspectives

In Ethiopia, resettlement has been carried out both on a 'self-initiated' or spontaneous and on organised basis. The former occurred with the individual initiatives without any central co-ordination, whereas the latter tended to be massively implemented through centrally co-ordinated government policy (Woldeselassie 2002). The Ethiopian experience shows that spontaneous settlements/resettlements have been taking place in the last few decades and state-sponsored resettlement programs have been implemented by successive governments since the 1960s (Kassa, 2004: 225). This sub-section of the thesis therefore explores the past experiences and the current practices of resettlement in Ethiopia, by categorizing the time frame into three. That is, pre- 1974, during the Dergue (1974–1991) and post-1991. This classification was made just for better understanding of the phenomenon.

2.2.2.1. The Pre-1974 Resettlement Practice in Ethiopia

Starting from 1960s different localized resettlement initiatives were promoted by governors, missions, and aid agencies. Resettlement became part of government policies in 1966, with the establishment of the ministry of Land Reform and Administration and the Third Five Year Development Plan published in 1968 (Pankhurst and Piguet, 2004:10). Nevertheless, it was the self-initiated resettlement undertaking by individuals and small groups of people that characterized most of the period prior to the 1974 (Kasahun in Dessalgn, 2005:19). Only 7000 household units were accommodated under planned resettlement schemes. Although it had been recognised by the end of the 1960s that settlements run by individual peasants were relatively more successful than large-scale ones, both government and non government agencies tended to promote high cost, large scale schemes. During the time 1974 revolution some 10,000 households, representing less than 0.2 percent of rural households, had been resettled at the very high cost of eight million US dollars, with some irrigated schemes costing 15,000 Ethiopian dollars per family (Pankhurst and Piguet, 2004:10).

The underlying causes for such a population mobility and resettlement in the pre 1974 Ethiopia were: limited employment opportunities of the urban areas, high population pressure, the traditional land tenure system-the major bottleneck to increased peasant production and intensified land use, limited extension and marketing systems (Wood in Dessalegn, 2005: 19). Less than 10 percent of the total population of the country had been urban residents with little industrialization and existence of diversified employment opportunities both in the urban and rural areas (Ibid). As the result, the growing labour force was little absorbed in the urban

employment sector and hence the wider chance of remaining in the rural areas. These have increased pressure on the rural land in turn enhancing the demand for migration and resettlement (Ibid).

Likewise, in the late 1960s, there was a worldwide movement that emphasized the role of agriculture in the development strategy of the third world countries (Staatz and Eicher in Dessalegn, 2005: 20). This movement, including in Ethiopia, has demanded land reform, the absence of which was argued as the long-standing bottleneck to enhance the productivity of the peasant farm in particular and the national economy in general (Ibid). The then (1960s) international advisory group to the Emperor (Harvard Advisory group) also directly advocated the abrogation of the land grant system and proposed a comprehensive planned utilization of government land through appropriate resettlement policy, particularly of planned low-cost resettlement program (Ibid). Perhaps, this has also put an impetus to the already existing resettlement practices.

However, the results were generally poor, the schemes tended to fail, and most settlers left the projects. Hence, the late imperial period (1965-1973) resettlement schemes were criticized for inadequate planning of programs, inappropriate settler selection, inadequate budgetary support, and inexperienced staff. The problems were deep rooted and resulting from questionable assumptions about available land and potential settler's motivations (Pankhurst and Piguet, 2004:10). A multitude of mistakes were committed at all stages, from the design to the implementation of projects.

2.2.2.2. Resettlement Planning and Practice During the Derg

Relocation of people from the degraded and famine prone areas to relatively more fertile areas was continued as one of the top priority issue in rural development policy of the Derg regime. In contrast to the self-organized resettlement, planned resettlement project became the top priority agenda of the government during the Derg. Hence, during the first decade of the Derg regime (1974-1983), the establishment of institutions and repeated incidence of drought resulted in an increase in the pace of resettlement (Pankhurst and Piguet, 2004:11). In early 1980s, the number of resettlement sites reached 88 and the number of settlers were estimated at 150,000 (Pankhurst in Gebre, 2004:93).

The rationale behind the growing importance of planned resettlement program as a rural development option of the Derg was multi dimensional. These include economic, social,

ecological and political agendas (Gebre 2004, Woldeeslassie, 2002; Pankhurst, 2004). From ecological point of view, relocating people from densely populated to the sparsely populated lowlands as well as to the South Western highland was seen as a measure to relieve the problem of population-resource imbalance in the former area (Alemneh in Dessalegn, 2005:22).

From economic point of view, relocating people to "under-utilized" areas was argued to bring about "efficient utilization" of resources, particularly land and attain food security. The social rationale was tied with the land Proclamation act of the 1975, which called for accessing landless peasants to land. There are two divergent arguments as to the Derg's political motive of the resettlement undertaking in Ethiopia. Depopulating areas of support for the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) in the northwest and creating garrison buffers against the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) in the West were argued as the covert motives of the program (Alemneh in Dessalegn, 2005:22).

Similarly, planned resettlement of pastoral nomads, particularly in the South Eastern part of the country was designed for double purposes: i.e., to introduce improved animal husbandry techniques and implicitly also to serve as a strategic response to insurgency by the Somali pastorals of Ogaden (Wood, 1983:157)

Whatever the overt and covert motives of the Derg resettlement, the overall verdict is that the experiment was a clear disaster in political, economic, social, cultural and environmental terms (Pankhurst and Piguet, 2004:13) . Politically resettlement was unpopular, enforced, and driven by cadres often against more pragmatic and cautious approaches suggested by technical experts. It resulted in power abuse and series conflict between settlers and the local people, fuelling opposition to the government. In terms of human rights for the resettlers, the process involved coercion and series infringements of personal choice, loss of freedom of movement and religious practice, and alienation of household labour for collective purposes(Wood, 1983:14).

For the host communities it involved coerced labour in preparing for the settlers arrival, forced expropriation of land and other key resources without consultation let alone compensation, displacement, marginalization and consequent enforced changes in livelihood. Economically, the program was not cost effective and aggravated the mounting crisis in the country. Environmentally, the program has led to massive deforestation and enhanced further degradations both in the area of origin and destination. More than 370,000 hectare of dense

forest in the western part of the country was bulldozed and converted into farmland (Alemneh in Dessalegn, 2005:24).

Generally, the resettlement program of the Derg had involved considerable environmental damage and failed to recognize the rights of the host population, hasty in planning and practices, characterized by low productivity, devoid of international political support and failed in most of its multifaceted objectives including environmental, social, economic and political aspects (Dessalegn 2003, Gebre 2004, Alula 1990).

2.2.2.3. The Policy Context of Resettlement in Ethiopia under the EPRDF

Despite the fears associated with resettlement and its little success stories in the past, the current government of Ethiopia (EPDRF), has recently changed its mind pro-of launching planned resettlement schemes in the country, particularly, in the after-math of the fourteen million people hard-hit by, and vulnerability to food insecurity (Feleke, 2004:211). Therefore, the government had first conducted a pilot resettlement scheme and around 45,000 households (180,000 people) were resettled with a focus on creating better access to land, during the year 2002/2003. Having trusted the pilot resettlement scheme, the government has also quickly scaled up its plan to resettle about 440,000 households (2.2 million people) in four regional governments from 2003-2005. The break down for the four regional states is 200,000 household heads in Amhara, 100,000 household heads in Oromya, 100,000 household heads in SNNPR and 40,000 house heads in Tigray (Feleke, 2004:211).

To minimize the possible hard-pressing impacts of the problems, Western and South-Western parts of the country were selected as the areas of destination, arguing that these areas are 'sparsely populated' and "underutilized". Thus, resettlement is identified by the government as one of the key and quickest ways to achieve food security in the country within a relatively short period of time.

The design of the current resettlement program is put to be different from the design in the last two regimes in that: (a) it rested on the voluntary option of the potential settlers. In other words, the resettlement has to be voluntary for farmers who are expected to fully involved. They have to believe that the program is an opportunity for a better life and be willing to fight for their independence from food relief. (b) the resettlement has to be effectuated with in regional boundaries, in order not to deplete the regions from its social assets and not to repeat the mistakes of the Derg, which created social unrest and human suffering (c) the settlers

would retain their land use right and other immovable properties at their area of origin up to three years of their initial relocation. (d) and, the settlers are optionally given the right to return to their area of origin whenever they get change of mind (Tranquilli, 2004: 597).

The initiation of the current resettlement program also rested on four pillars: the availability of 'underutilized land', voluntary option by potential settlers, consultation of the host community and proper preparation (Feleke, 2004: 212).

The population mostly targeted for resettlement are those situated in the highlands, which are generally more populated than the lowlands. The lowlands are under-populated with harsh climatic conditions: hot and humid; they are generally malaria-endemic locations; furthermore, they are characterised by poor infrastructures (Tranquilli, 2004: 597). For that reason, the programme will establish basic infrastructure (health services, water supply, primary schools, roads, etc.) in and around the resettlement sites to assure provision of social services meeting at least minimum standards.

Food Security Coordination Bureau (FSCB) coordinates the programme at the federal level. At the regional level, Food Security Coordination Offices (FSCO) are responsible for direct implementation and management in collaboration with the Regional Resettlement Task Forces (which include representatives of line bureaus and regional councils). At the Woreda level, Rural Development Offices (RDO) manage the resettlement programme in collaboration with Resettlement Task Forces by identifying productive land, creating awareness on the resettlement issues and making necessary arrangements for storing and distributing entitlements, provision of social services, etc. A Kebele Resettlement Task Force and technical personnel assigned at every resettlement site provide technical assistance and monitor conditions (FDRE, 2004:1).

2.3. Conceptual Framework

2.3.1. A Glimpse at Resettlement Models

In studying human resettlements caused by natural or man-made factors, many scholars have proposed and formulated several conceptual frameworks which can explain and analyze the impacts of the program in a new context. However, these different figures on the subject have looked at the impacts of population resettlement in different dimensions. Some scholars have emphasised the socio-economic dimension of the resettlement while others have given due attention to the behavioural (socio-cultural or psychological) aspects of the impacts of the

programme. Likewise, some other scholars have given greater emphasis to the temporal and spatial dimensions of the involuntary resettlement (Tesfaye, 2007:31).

Thus, each of the theoretical models formulated by these eminent scholars have their own strengths and weaknesses for the explanation and analysis of population resettlements that have taken place in different contexts.

Nevertheless, what is indispensable is that in order to minimise, if not avoid, the risks associated with the displacement of people, one requires theories which are capable of explaining how displacement may lead to social and economic impoverishment. Hence, the framework utilized in this study begins by questioning “why do things so often go wrong in resettlement projects”, viewing all from the resettled people, host population, and the affected parties by a resettlement project. In order to react the stated question and contextualize the research subject, three theoretical models are used in this thesis. The first theoretical model is Scudder and Colson’s ‘processual analysis of resettlement as a sequence of stages’ and the other two are: the ‘inadequate inputs’ approach and the ‘inherent complexity’ approach (De Wet, 2004: 51).

2.3.1.1. Processual Analysis of Resettlement as a Sequence of Stages

Scudder and Colson (1982) have formulated a four-stage resettlement conceptual framework dividing the relocation process into successive stages, namely, 1) The recruitment stage, 2) the transition stage 3) the stage of potential development, and 4) the handing over/incorporation stage.

The recruitment stage deals with the decision-making of the government and executing agencies to move a given population and about where they shall go and how the move shall take place. It is a stage in which the initiators of relocation think about the socio-cultural characteristics of the population to be moved and how these will affect their response to relocation and to the new environment. Decisions taken at this stage will influence the length and stressfulness of the transition stage (Scudder and Colson, 1982:274).

The transition stage is characterized by the struggle to adjust to loss of homeland and to new surroundings. This stage is characterized by multidimensional stress, higher morbidity and mortality rates, anxiety about loss of home and what the future may bring, and temporary or permanent loss of cultural inventory, including indigenous knowledge, customs, and institutions Scudder and Colson in Woldeselassie, 2002:45). This stage, the adjustment and

coping stage, usually continues for a minimum of two years following removal (Scudder and Colson in Asfaw, 2006:17).

The stage of potential economic and social development is characterized by: economic development where households increasingly pursue dynamic investment strategies initially, begin shifting from a reliance on consumption crops to higher value cashes crops, diversify production, engage in livestock management and small-scale non- farm enterprises. Places of worship, funeral and other social welfare associations are established. Institutional developments continue throughout stage three which is characterized by a resurgence of cultural symbols, almost a renaissance, as community members reaffirm control over their lives (Scudder and Colson in Woldeselassie, 2002:46).

According to Scudder, stage three development must be sustainable in to the next generation for a resettlement project to be considered successful. Sustainability here refers to institutional sustainability as well as to environmental and economic sustainability. However, Scudder notes, relatively few resettlement projects reach stage three . the majority of people in many resettlement areas never arrive at stage three. which must be reached if the potential of resettlement process is to be realised (Ibid)

The stage of handing over and incorporation is also characterized by the devolution of management responsibilities from specialized settlement agencies to the community of settlers and various line ministries. Scudder and Colson's resettlement theory has been criticized for its being a "stress centred model" (Cernea, 2000:9) and for its high level of generalization which obscures the importance of societal and environmental variation how people behave during the various stages its formulation to explain the similarities rather than the differences in people's reactions to involuntary relocation (Cernea, 2000:9) confirms the importance Scudder and Colson model at the recruitment and transition stage, which are the most stressful stages of relocation.

2.3.1.2. The Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model (IRR)

The 'inadequate inputs' approach, also called the impoverishment risk and reconstruction (IRR) model, was developed by Michael Cernea, and it is largely associated with the initiatives and policies of the world Bank (De Wet, 2004:52). The IRR model has been formulated and developed relatively recently, during the 1990s, in a series of studies. A preliminary version was first applied on a wide scale in the resettlement review of almost 200 projects carried out by the World Bank in 1993-1994 (World Bank 1994). The origin of this

model is both empirical and theoretical. Empirically, it is derived from the extraordinary accumulation of factual findings during the last quarter century, reported by resettlement studies in many countries. Theoretically, it benefits from the new state-of-the-art achieved by resettlement research during the same period.

According to Cernea (2000:19), the IRR model focuses on the social and economic contexts of forced displacement and re-establishment. By doing so, the IRR model tries to capture the processes by anchoring periods spanning from the destitution of displacement to recovery in resettlement. The model has, therefore, two main functions. First, to explain what happens when massive forced displacement take place- a task very important in itself. Second, it helps to create a theoretical and safeguarding tool capable of guiding policy planning and actual development programs to counteract these adverse effects (Cernea, 2000:19).

The approach argues that resettlement goes wrong, principally because of lack of the proper inputs: national legal frameworks and policies, political will, funding, pre-resettlement surveys, planning, consultation of host communities, careful implementation, and monitoring. According to Michael Cernea lack of these inputs gives rise to eight principal 'impoverishment risks': landlessness; joblessness; homelessness; marginalization; food insecurity; increased morbidity; loss of access to common property resources; and common disarticulation (Cernea in De Wet, 2004:52).

The 'inadequate inputs' approach embodies a fundamentally optimistic view of planned resettlement. In this regard Cernea argued that proper policy, political will and provision (particularly funding) can overcome the problem of inadequate inputs, and the impoverishment risks can then be turned into opportunities for reconstruction, such that resettlement becomes with development, leaving the resettled people better-off than before (Cernea 2000 in De Wet 2004). However some criticise this approach for being focused exclusively on economic and technical factors (Koenig 2001 in De Wet 2004).

Nevertheless, Cernea's impoverishment risks and reconstruction model also suggests that involuntary resettlement has some potential risks to the host population. In this regard, Cernea in Getu (2004:27) emphasised that 'risks to host are not identical with the risks to resettlers , in substance, intensity, but are related to them and may result in impoverishment implications'. However, in most cases, the effects of resettlers induction on the host population are often not given due consideration in planning process.

Past findings from different cases indicate that inadequately planned population resettlement imposes diverse risks on the host population by alienating them from their vital productive resources including farmland, forest land, grazing land and water resources (Woldeselassie, 2004:41; Geber, 2004). In this regard, one of the major research findings in the Ethiopian context as noted by *Gebre*, that ‘the IRR model can be used to describe the implications of resettlement for hosts’. The major risks of the resettlement for the host population include land dispossession, decline of economic activities, conflict, loss of life and home destruction (Gebre in Getu, 2004:27).

2.3.1.3. The ‘Inherently Complex’ Approach

Further developments on the conceptual approaches in the analysis of population resettlement were undertaken by De Wet. After investigating empirical cases in south Africa, he developed a ‘physical-social-spatial approach’. In elaborating his approach, he stated that people would be affected differently, both across and within communities, depending on the change in the spatial setting of the context in which they find themselves and, hence, respond differently to their new contexts (De Wet in Tesfaye, 2007: 32).

In contrary to the ‘inadequate inputs’, the ‘inherently complex’ approach, views resettlement as a complex and problematic undertaking by its very nature. The frequent failure of planned resettlement essentially originates from the unique characteristics of involuntary resettlement as a development policy. Involuntary resettlement has five characteristics. First, it involves imposed social change which has cultural, social, political and economic implications. Second, it usually involves a change in the pattern of peoples’ access to resources. Third, resettled people find themselves in larger and more heterogeneous settlements than before. Fourth, it involves people in wider social and economic structures. And fifth, it involves accelerated socio-economic change which may be beyond the capacity of people to cope with. De Wet (2004) further argues that, due to the combination of these factors, resettlement tends to lessen people’s material well being, limit their choices, reduce their control over their circumstances and increases the levels of social tension and conflict within new settlements.

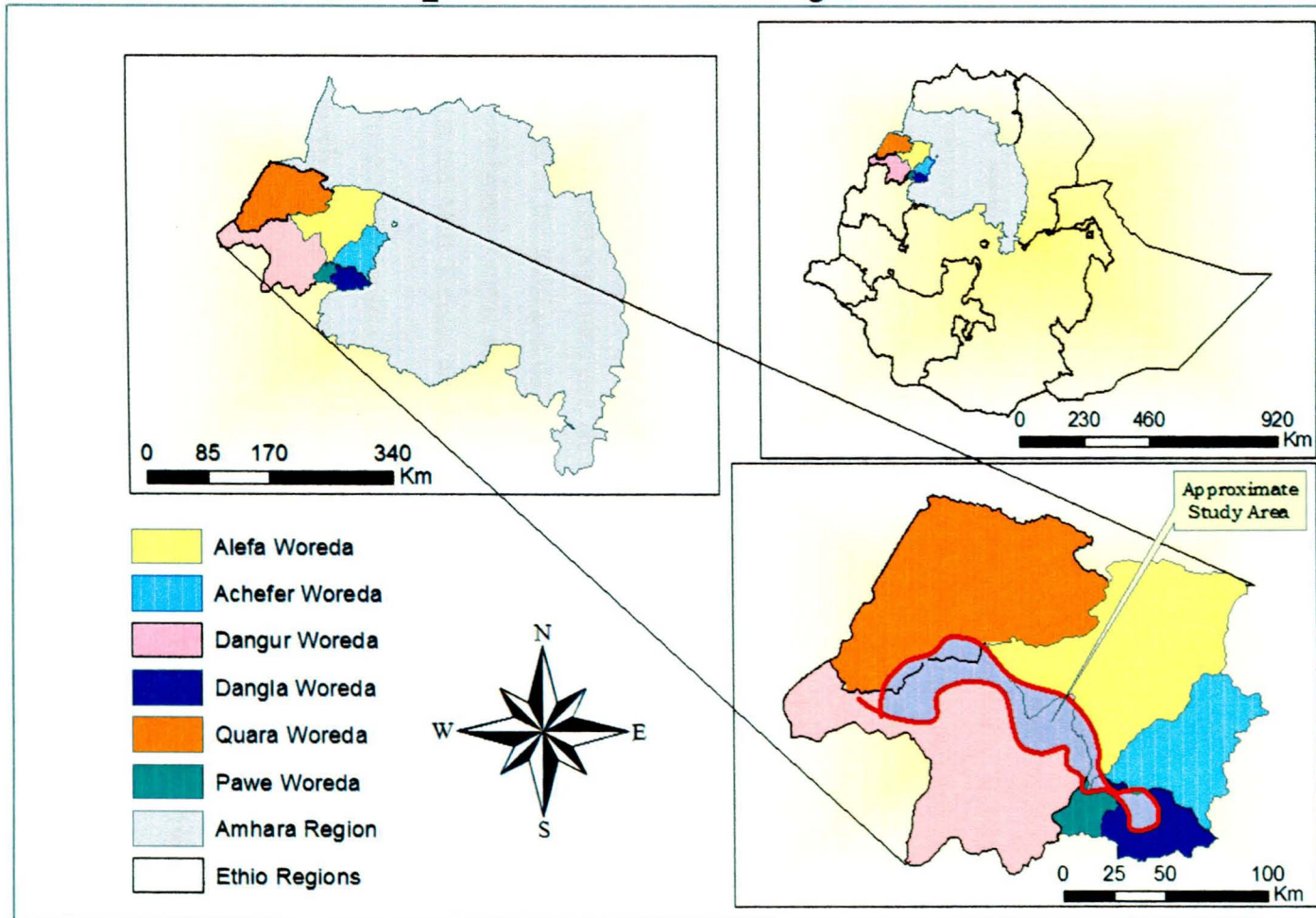
Resettlement often imposes forces and conditions on people that may completely transform their lives, evoking profound changes in environment, productive activities, social organisation and interaction, in leadership and political structure, and in world-view and ideology (Ibid). The various actors involved in the schemes with their different interests and

motives, the varied circumstances under which resettlement takes place, the relation between various stakeholders- these and other factors contribute to the complex nature of resettlement.

According to De Wet, therefore, the 'technical fix' nature of the 'inadequate inputs' approach is incapable of preventing all the threats associated with resettlement. It is not simply a matter of getting better legal frameworks, policies, planning, etc. Complexity requires us to start from open-endedness, and flexibility, rather than from the boundedness of frameworks and procedure that are dictated by policy (De Wet, 2004: 66).

In general, it is apparent that different resettlement models have their own strength and weakness and are not mutually exclusive. Therefore one should take all models into account when planning and assessing the success of any resettlement project.

Map of the Study Area



Source: CSA, 2009

CHAPTER THREE

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY AREA AND THE PEOPLE

In this chapter, an attempt is made to depict the physical characteristics and the socio-economic profile of the study area and the people. In doing so, the chapter tries to look into the general characteristics of Jawi lowland including its location, climate, topography, and vegetation coverage. Besides, the chapter will also provide readers with the socio-economic overview of the indigenous people and the resettler population.

3.1. Physical Characteristics

Jawi Woreda is located in Awi Zone of Amhara National Regional State. It is found in the Beles River Valley in North Western lowlands, stretching from the North West along a narrow strip leading to the Ethio-Sudanese border. Latitudinally and longitudinally the Woreda is located between 11° 25'-12° 03' North latitude and 36° 65'- 36° 42' East longitude. Jawi Woreda is bordered by Alefa Taqussa to the North, Pawi resettlement site to the South, Dangila Woreda and South Achefer Woreda to the East, and Benishangul Gumuz and Beles Valley to the West. According to the 2007 Population and Housing Census, the total population of Jawi Woreda is estimated to be 79,076, of which 41397 are male and 37679 female (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Population Census Commission, 2007: 64).

From the above population size of Jawi Woreda, the indigenous people of the area (i.e. the Kushi) took the largest population size. Nevertheless, it is very difficult to judge over the exact population size of the Kushi and this is due to the population distribution of the Kushi in the areas of Benishangul Gumuz such as in Dangur Woreda and partly in Amhara Regional States, Quara and Alefa-Taqussa Woredas.

Administratively, Jawi became a self administrative Woreda in 2006. Before 1991, it was administratively attached to Alefa Taqussa Woreda of South Gondar. However with the change of government in Ethiopia in 1991, it has been made part of Dangila Woreda of Awi Zone. Since then the regional and Zonal authorities refer to the area as Jawi *Ketena*, an administrative unit below Woreda and above Kebele level (Tesfaye, 2007:119).

In 2001, Jawi lowland became a resettlement site, when conflict induced Amhara displacees from Gidda Kiremu Woreda of East Wollega Zone resettled in the area. Hence, the 2001 conflict induced displacees resettled in three peasant associations, namely, Arega Abbo, Adis

Weyne, and Ayma Gebriel. In addition to these resettlers, the Amhara National Regional State (ANRS) has resettled 6001 households, a total of 10408 people, from 2004-2008 in 12 resettlement sites. However, due to the largeness of the resettlement site, size of population, and inaccessible administration of the area, Jawi become a self administrative Woreda in 2006 under Awi Administrative Zone.

Agro-ecologically, Jawi resettlement area is identified to be *Kolla* with annual average temperature of 38.5 degree centigrade. The lowest temperature is recorded immediately after the rainy season, whereas, the highest temperature occurs from February to the end of April. Likewise, the area has rainy and dry seasons, with the former occurring between the months of May and September and the latter in the remaining months of the year. The average annual rainfall is between 1200-1300mm (Jawi Woreda Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Office, 2002:3).

Vast rolling hills and plateaus with elevations ranging from 840 to 1200 meters above sea level characterize Jawi. The current proper area, that is, the Jawi Woreda, makes 515,000 hectares of land, of which 99.5% is plain, 0.4% mountainous, and 0.1% hilly. Of this, 93.2% is cultivated, 0.4% uncultivable, and 6.4% covered by forest. The area is also endowed with many seasonal and perennial rivers. The major rivers include the two Beles rivers, Abat Beles (father beles) and Gilegel beles (child beles), which are a tributary of *Abbay* (Blue Nile), Ayma , Senel, Zengel rivers etc. There are no major mountains in the area with the exception of smaller ones like Mosebit, Berawi, Agazen-Mebacha, Bagusa mountains and Tiklie hills (Getu, 2004:35).

According to the pre-resettlement assessment study, Jawi is largely covered with three major types of soils – black (vertisols), red (netosols), and red-brown (leptosols) soils (RDPPC in Getu, 2004:36). The classification of these soil types is based on the texture and color of the soils in the area. The same study also noted that, 60% of the total area of the Jawi resettlement site is covered with Vertisols, while the remaining 40% comprises the other types of soil. It is known that black soil is difficult for cultivation and even not suitable for crop-farming. It is a water-logged soil of which traditionally the local people call *Mezega-Meret*, whereas, red and red-brown types of soils are mostly found on hill sides and identified to be easily cultivable and favorable for crop cultivation.

Regarding forest coverage, Jawi is endowed with diverse types of natural vegetation. The dominant tree species found in the area include: Bamboo tree, commonly referred to as Yebereha Shimel), Acacia (*Girar*)...

3.2. Population: The Host and resettlers

3.2.1. The Kulsi Ethno-History

The Kulsi who are usually referred to as Kunfel, *Qollegna Agaw* (Kulsi in the Awngi version), and Agaw are the indigenous people of Jawi lowland. According to some secondary sources, these people are one of the few categories of Agaw people (Getu, 2004: 38; Simoons, 1961:43; Cowley,1971:99). In this regard, most of the literature at hand, argues that the Agaw speaking people are presently living in different isolated areas of Northern parts of Ethiopia. Areas like Quara and Chilga in Gondar; Belaya Mountain in Benishangul Gumuz Regional State, Awi and Waghemra zone in Amhara Regional State are inhabited by Agaw speaking people.

According to Getu (2004), there are various ethnic designations used to refer to the different Agaw groups in Amhara and Benishangul Gumuz Regional Sate (Hertzorn in Getu, 2004:38). For instance, the Agaws of Belaya and Tumha area are referred to as *Gagressa-Agaws* (Getu, 2004: 38). The Agaws of Awi Zone have the tradition that their ancestors - seven 'brothers' - came from Lasta/Seqota to constitute what are known as the 'Seven House Agaw'. The seven 'houses' are called after the seven 'brothers': Banja, Ankasha, Kwakwra, Chara, Metekkel, Zigem and Azena (Tadesse, 1988:11). Moreover, the Agaw speaking people inhabiting in parts of the Beles Valley areas are referred to as Kunfel people (Simoons, 1960:43).

Nevertheless, there are some variations in the designation of the Kunfel ethno-name (Desalegn, 2010:6). The different names given to them can be seen from two perspectives (Getu, 2004:38). From the outsiders perspective (foreign and Ethiopian writers as well as from neighboring people), these people are referred to as Kunfel People (Simoons, 1960: 43; Cowley, 1971: 99; Olson, 1980: ;Taddese, 1988: 195). In line with this idea Olson (1996:) described the Kunfel people as follows:

The Kurfels are an ethnic group living today in Ethiopia. They speak a central Cushitic language and are closely related to the Agaw peoples. The Kurfels are concentrated west of lake Tana near the Sudanese border in Western Ethiopia..... Most of these people are small farmers and cattle raisers who remain loyal to their traditional religious believes. Some Kurfels are loyal to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, a christen organization.

In addition to Olson's portrayal of the Kunfel people, the earliest historical account on the origin and settlement of the Kunfel people in the study area is given by Simoons (1960:43), who described them in the following manner:

The Kunfel are a small Christian Agaw-speaking group occupies villages at elevation from 3000 to 6000 feet in the dry forest country along the Dinder river at the edge of Begemider and Semeyen (later Gondar). According to their traditions the Kunfel came from the Achefer and Kumbil (the derivation of the word Kunfel) districts of Gojjam province a century ago at the invitation of king Theodere. Amhara of the high land of Kuwara nearby claim on the other hand that the Kunfel are descended from slaves set free by Theodere and allowed to settle along the Dinder. Because they believe the Kunfel to have been slaves, the Amhara are very contemptuous of them regard them as only a little more acceptable as the Wayito fisher men of lake Tana.

The other historical account given by Cowley (1971:99) also indicates that "the Kunfel people lived south of Quara (Gondar) and north of Dinder River". Although, there is lack of comprehensive work on the origin and settlement of the people under study, currently Jawi lowland is predominantly inhabited by these groups of people who are referred by outsiders as Kunfels.

From the natives point of view, however, the word Kunfel for many of my informants has become a pejorative term for reasons they could not explain properly. Given the pejorative connotation of the word Kunfel, the Agaws prefer to call themselves either Kulsi (*Qollegnoch*) meaning lowlanders or simply Agaws. While the name Kulsi refers to the physical geography of the area, Agaw designate the cultural and linguistic similarities to the Agaws of other areas.

Likewise, there are many ambiguities whether the Kunfels are one group of the proper Agaw or not. As far as their language is concerned, they have their own language called *Kunfel*. This language is in fact a dialectical blending of the Awngi. In this regard, Cowley (1971:101) who describes the *Kunfel* language in comparison with the Agaw languages using 100 basic vocabularies, numerals, prepositions, and other linguistic items finds this language to relate 78% with the Awngi, 40% with Qemant, 31% with Bilen, and 38% with Xamta.

However, for some of my informants, particularly for the elders, the language they speak at present is not the original Kunfel language. For these elderly people the original language of *Kunfel* is forgotten due to the long ethnic integration and interaction with the neighboring people. According to Jawi Woreda Culture and Tourism office, there are only about ten to

fifteen people who are able to speak this original Kunfel language currently. Cowley (1971:99) has also reported the knowledge of the people that the original language of the Kunfel people is in part forgotten.

Nonetheless, as far as the controversy in the ethno-name designation is concerned, I will be forced to use both the terms, Kunfel and Kulsi, in this research paper. This is because there are divergent views over the use of Kunfel and Kulsi among the indigenous people of the area. While some people notably, the elderly, want to be called by the ethno-name of Kunfel, for its identical language, and even distinct cultural pattern, on the other hand some others consider the term as very contempt and pejorative.

Modes of Livelihood: The vital livelihood system of Kulsi people depends upon several sources of subsistence. However, they are more dependent on agro ecological activities. Honey harvesting and hunting forms a major source of livelihood. In addition, several other important components of activities are undertaken as a supplementary means of sustaining livelihood. These include Shifting cultivation, livestock raising (mainly goat and sheep) and gathering wild forest foods. With regard to honey harvesting, Woldelessie (2004:247) said “Kunfels are locally well known for their traditional honey production. Their honey production culture has been rooted in the long tradition where trees with numerous local beehives are known under family names and inherited by descendants in the lineage through generations”. Since these people are engaged in honey production, parts of their livelihood is dependent on the forest resources.

Furthermore, Simoons (1960:44) who is known for his historical account of the origin and settlement of the Kunfel people in Jawi low land also said:

The Kunfel country contains an abundance of wild and semi-domesticated bees, and the traveler knows when approaching a Kunfel village by the presence of cylindrical beehives tied high in the branches of trees, some as far away as five or six miles from village. Honey is an important trade item for the Kunfel today and when they first settled in the Dinder Valley, they even paid their taxes in honey.

In addition, the Kunfels are engaged in hunting wild animals. Hunting for the Kunfels, particularly for males, is carried out for food and asserting ones manliness. In relation to the hunting tradition of the Kunfels, Cowley (1971:100) said “the Kunfels shoot game, mostly of the antelope type, using mauser (albin rifle) and Wetterly (wetchefo). They buy bullets from markets and after a bullet has been used once they retrieve it, pack the case with match heads

and fire it again.....They also kill elephants and lions, but more as a demonstration of manliness than as a provision of food”.

Besides honey harvesting and hunting, the Kunfel people also engaged in shifting types of agriculture using simple agricultural techniques. The major crops grown in the area are sorghum, maize, sesame, pepper, and finger millet. They keep goats and sheep but do not keep many cattle.

3.2.2. The Resettlers

Beside the indigenous people of the area, Jawi lowland has currently accommodated newly resettled people from Amhara National Regional State. These resettlers in the area can be categorized as state sponsored and spontaneous resettlers. The resettlement program of state-sponsored resettlers in Jawi lowland was started in 2001, when conflict induced resettlers from Gidda Kiremu Woreda of East Wollega Zone resettled in the area. The other state-sponsored resettlement program in the area was launched between 2004 and 2008. This program is characterized by its intra-regional approach and voluntary type of resettlement. Hence, the resettlers came from different Zones of Amhara Regional State, namely East Gojjam, Waghemra Zone, West Gojjam, and Awi Zone.

In the following table, I have shown settler sending Woredas (original homeland of resettlers), resettlement villages, and year of resettlement.

Table 1. Distribution of resettlers by their original home, resettlement villages, and year of resettlement.

Place of origin	Resettlement site in Jawi Woreda	Year of resettlement(E.C)	No- of households	No- of family	total
Sekela, Dega Damot and Koriet	Wenblace	1996	801	1565	2366
Waghemra, Banja, and sekela	Bambluk and Swatamp	1997 and 1998	1280	2823	4103
Ayu	Kezkazit	1997	409	856	1265
Ayu	Elala-sendo	1997	140	700	840
Waghemra and Wollega	Selien-weha and Zenzen	1997 and 1998	323	989	1312
Sekela, Degadamot, and Koriet	Filfil	1997	474	873	1347
Mota, Gonta, Degadamot, and Koriet	Gonge	1997	417	1185	1592
Sekela and Waghemra	Shemele-Eger	1997	204	316	520
Estia	Mariam-Weha	1997 and 2000	106	96	202
Waghemra, Sekela, Gonche Sesio Enesia	Zehin-Gebaya	1997 and 1998	168	190	358
Total			4,312	9,593	13, 905

Source: Jawi Woreda Government Communication Affairs Office: 2003

In the context of the study area, thousands of people have migrated at different times from different Zones of Amhara region. Accordingly, the most drought prone areas such as, Waghemra, Sekela, and Dega-Damot have produced the largest share of the resettlers. On the other hand, there are Amhara resettlers who came from Wollega and resettled in Jawi Woreda. These settlers are people who originally migrated from West Gojjam areas of Amhara region to Wollega and some parts of Benishangul Gumuz Region (Kemashe Zone of Belewganfoi Woreda). Informants stated that there were frequent conflicts with the indigenous Oromo people in Wollega and Belewganfoi Woreda. As a result they were made to resettle in Jawi Woreda by the Amhara Regional government.

All resettlers from among the different Zones of Amhara Regional State have left their original home land for various reasons. The different factors which urged resettlers in favor of resettlement in Jawi Woreda include, land degradation, small farm size, recurrent drought and frequent famine, and high population pressure. In explaining the push factors, most

informants said that those cardinal causes for resettlement were highly awful in the year 2003/2004.

The other group of settlers who inhabited the study area before the influx of state sponsored resettlers and after the resettlement are spontaneous settlers. Most of these spontaneous settlers originally came from the highland areas of Amhara Regional state. In this regard, the available empirical literature on spontaneous resettlement in the study area and its migration pattern shows that there is frequent movement of people from highland to lowland areas (Berihun, 1996; Gebre, 2003; Woldeselassie, 2002).

A number of 'push' and 'pull' factors could be mentioned for regular migration of these people from highland areas of the region to Jawi lowland. Among others, the 'push' factors are, land scarcity, lack of grazing land, environmental degradation and population pressure. Although the centripetal forces that attract potential migrants to the recipient area varied, there are some common pull factors for spontaneous settlers in Jawi lowland. These 'pull' factors include, availability of 'vacant' land, peer and kin pressure, and geographical proximity or ease access to the destination area. In the study area, there are two categories of spontaneous settlers. These are 'illegal' settlers and nomads, who are widely referred to by the neighbouring people as *Zellans*.

'Illegal' Settlers: The coming of 'illegal' settlers to Jawi lowland is a recent historical phenomena, largely induced by the commencement of state sponsored resettlement in the area (Getu, 2004:43). This means that the free encroachment of state sponsored resettlers in Jawi lowland and the subsequent news about the existence of 'abundant' land in the area has urged 'illegal' settlers to migrate either seasonally or permanently to Jawi. Hence, these 'illegal' settlers, which I call them as *Resettlement Induced Resettlers*, are usually come to the area in search of cultivable land and or otherwise to be employed as a labour force to the community. According to my informants, these people often obtain land through land renting /leasing arrangements with the local people. Thus, since they are named as 'illegal settlers', they are tactic-full to bargain with the indigenous people using different persuading mechanisms such as, giving more money for land renting than state sponsored resettlers and giving gifts.

Nomads ('Zellans'): The second group of spontaneous resettlers in Jawi lowland are nomadic people, who are largely referred by the locals as *Zellans*. These groups of people are also found in the adjacent areas of Jawi lowland such as Pawi, Mentahua, and Deke. Most of the nomadic people in the area moved mainly from Bahrdar and its environs. Additionally,

these people came to the area together with their livestock resources for which they are known in the surrounding area.

Most of my informants told me that they are named by the other group of people as 'Zellan' which literally mean nomads, because of the reason that they have larger number of cattle than other neighbouring people. Otherwise, it is difficult to presume that these category of people in the area are exclusively dependant on cattle. Rather they are also engaged in cultivation of crops and even produce and collect honey like the local people and houses in which they live permanently.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM: POLICY AND PRACTICES

4.1. The Resettlement Planning, Administration and Access to Social and Infrastructural Services

In this section, an attempt is made to look at planning and administration issues of the resettlement program with particular emphasis on how the resettlement site was identified, consent of the indigenous people obtained, potential settlers were targeted, identified and moved to the area of destination. Additionally, other administrative issues including land allocation, access to social and infrastructural services, and other socio-economic issues are discussed. Moreover, the chapter examines impact of the resettlement program on the resettlers, host community and the environment.

4.1.1. The Resettlement Planning

A resettlement program which is planned carefully and executed in a very prudent and gradual manner could be one of the potential solutions to the problem of recurrent drought/famine and land scarcity. In this regard, Cernea (1994:7) strongly suggests that the worst resettlement outcomes and impoverishment risks could be minimized or avoided through proper resettlement planning and policy reform. In concomitant with this, the Rural Development Strategy (2002) and the resettlement plan outline (2003) of FDRE, also gives due emphasis for proper planning, by exemplifying the experience of different countries in the world. The document also highlights the failure of the past resettlement programs in Ethiopia.

Hence, in order not to repeat the past failure stories, the government has put “volunteerism”, the availability of underutilized land, consultation with the host communities, and proper preparation as the four pillars of the program. In most regions of Ethiopia, planning for resettlement began in 2001/2002. However the first large scale resettlement was carried out between January and April 2003 in Amhara, Oromiya, Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples and Tigray Regions.

In Amhara Region, plans for the 2003 resettlement began soon after the 2002 harvest. According to one of my informants from Sekela Woreda of West Gojjam, there were frequent conferences on rural development agenda in their respective Kebeles since 2001 and by having this opportunity, most of the community members discussed on the possible solutions

of land scarcity, recurrent drought, and land degradation. Of the solutions which were raised by the local communities and government officials resettlement was the one.

In the context of Amhara Region, three regional subcommittees were formed to oversee different aspects of the resettlement program. The Information and Capacity Building Committee was responsible for carrying out information campaigns in potential sending areas. The Logistics Subcommittee prepared the transport operation and the positioning of relief supplies at transit centers and resettlement areas, and the Resettlement and Development Committee oversaw the process of site selection, land identification and allocation (Hammond and Bezaeit, 2004:623).

4.1.1.1. Identification of the “Under Utilized Land”

The primary purpose of the resettlement program, as indicated earlier and also stated in the official document of FDRE (2002), was to resettle the drought victims in fertile, underutilized and/or sparsely populated parts of the country. In view of that, the Western and South-Western lowlands of Ethiopia are conceived to address the demographic and economic problem of the country (FDRE, 2002:148). The demographic aspect, which is the triggering factor for the economic problem, concerns with relieving of population pressure, particularly from highland areas through possible migration and resettlement into the Western and South-Western lowlands of the country (FDRE, 2002:148). Thus, the resettlement program aimed to utilize the ‘untapped’ and ‘abundant’ natural resources of lowland areas for the possible progress of the country as a whole.

In line with this, the Rural Development Strategy of Ethiopia (FDRE, 2002: 148-151), stated as follows:

The first thing to be emphasized is that it is expected that these areas [the Western low lands that spread from North to South] will be and should be converted into Growth Centers... The next point to be underlined is that the major problem for achieving rapid and sustainable development in this area is lack of development of infrastructure services and sufficient labour supply... The third point to be underlined is that it is possible to highly develop these areas by settling farmers and encouraging private investors to build large modern farms and agro-industries, which both things should be done simultaneously. When we widely settle in this area, we will be able to solve the problem of infrastructure development in an area where there are not enough users. It is possible to build infrastructure that will be used tangibly by the settlers... The Settled farmers may serve as daily labourers on part-time and there-by solve the problem of labour in these areas. It is also possible to assume that following settlers, the labour supply in the

area will soon be improved substantially. Eventually, through conducting [re] settlement and private investment simultaneously, it is possible to reliably solve the problem of infrastructure and labour...Therefore, the work should be started as soon as possible, and then we should capitalize on the experiences gained.

Therefore, in the process of resettlement planning, the first step undertaken in Amhara region was the identification of “underutilized land”. In November 2001, the European Union, together with the Amhara Regional Food Security Office, has conducted a joint pilot assessment of potential resettlement sites in different Zones of Amhara Region. The report recommended constructing two new settlements and one integrated resettlement village, each with a capacity of no more than 150 households (Hammond and Bezait, 2004:626).

Nevertheless, the Amhara Regional Government has identified four resettlement sites in North Gondar and one resettlement site in Awi Zone. These resettlement sites are: Quara, Metemma, West Armacheho, Tegedia, in North Gondar, and Jawi resettlement site in Awi Zone. Resettlement sites of North Gondar have started to accommodate resettlers in 2003, whereas, Jawi resettlement site was started in 2004.

Table 2: Number of resettled people from 2003 to 2008 in different Woredas of the Amhara Regional state

No	Woreda	No- of resettlement site	No- of resettled people			No- of resettlers who are currently found in the resettlement sites			Comparison in %		
			No- of household	No- of family size	total	No- of household	No- of family size	total	No- of household	No- of family size	total
1	Quara	16	27925	29904	57829	9457	15193	24650	33.9	50.8	42.6
2	Metema	14	13413	13249	26662	8759	8999	17758	65.3	67.9	66.6
3	W/Arma- cheho	9	22493	14913	37406	5598	8243	13841	24.9	55.3	37
4	Tegedia	4	3496	4386	7882	2398	3110	5508	68.6	70.9	69.9
5	Jawi	6	6001	10408	16409	4480	9469	13949	74.7	91	85
Total		49	73328	72860	146188	30692	45014	75706	41.9	61.8	51.8

Source: Jawi Woreda Government Communication Affairs Office: 2003

In fact, as it was described in chapter three, Jawi resettlement site was started in 2001 with the coming of conflict induced Amhara resettlers from Wollega. After three years, however, the

regional government has decided to add new resettlement villages. Thus, 12 resettlement villages were identified to accommodate 6001 households (10408 people) in four consecutive years (2004-2008). The major justification for this new resettlement program in Jawi lowland was “availability of underutilized land”. In line with this idea, Ato Ephraim, expert of food security office in Jawi Woreda stated that:

Most of the areas selected for resettlement in Jawi Woreda are ‘virgin lands’ with abundant potential for farming and agricultural investment. The indigenous people who inhabited the area, i.e. the Kulsi people, are small in number and they could not cultivate the land, and even not adequately practice rain-feeding agriculture. It was therefore very imperative to resettle people from poverty stricken areas to Jawi Woreda.

However, according to the Kulsi informants, most of the presumed ‘virgin’ spaces selected for resettlement are already used by themselves as places of shifting cultivation, hunting-gathering areas, grazing land, and honey collection field. In light of all this viable dependence of the host community on these vital resources, they were made to abandon their territories for resettlement sites. In some resettlement Kebeles, particularly in Ali-Kurand, the Kulsies were instructed to abandon all their claims to the use of natural resources to the resettlement areas. Hence, most informants from the indigenous people have negative attitude to the resettlement program. This is due to the fact that the resettlement program took away important resources from the indigenous people to the point that their traditional livelihoods, their economy and habitat are endangered.

Hence, there is a visible contradiction between the assumption of the government about the ‘virgin’ Jawi lowlands and the voice of the indigenous people. Similarly, Pankhurst and Piguet (2004:165), have critically noted the overambitious mentality of ‘abundant’ or ‘uninhabited lands’ in the current intra-regional resettlement program as follows:

The myth of vast fertile and uninhabited areas is still believed in despite the weight of substantial studies to the contrary, and resettlement thinking still privileges the technical fix approach concentrated on the settlers, which ignores or abuses local peoples’ rights particularly those of marginalized minorities on the peripheries of the state where most resettlement is planned.

On the other hand, like other lowland areas in Ethiopia, Jawi is known for the prevalence of different lowland diseases. Most of the selected areas for resettlement in this area are located at remote and marginal lowlands infested with malaria, which affects the people and

trypanosomiasis, which affects the livestock. Despite the prevalence of these deadly diseases, however, the resettlement sites are identified for the execution of the program.

4.1.1.2. Consultation with the Host Community

In the context of site identification, consultation with the host community was never made except with the higher officials. And it is true that the main objective of consultation with the host community is to fully share the information about the resettlement program, the needs of the affected people, the reaction to proposed project and to ensure transparency in all activities related to land acquisition and compensation. However, government officials from Awi Zone and Dangila Woreda (before the establishment of Jawi self administrative Woreda) had only made a discussion with Kebele officials over the possible ways of implementing the proposed resettlement program.

Conversely, some Kebele officials with whom I conducted focus group discussion confirmed me that the place over which they were discussed for the resettlement program were areas far from the indigenous people and their small scale agricultural land. However, without the knowledge of the host community and against the consultative forums, higher government officials have resettled the Amhara on the lands of the local community.

Thus, all decisions regarding the resettlement project are made by government authorities without seeking the consent of the people. In other words, the proposed program is imposed on the people and the expectations were that the local community would accept the resettlement plan. Not surprisingly, the largest category of the local community have no any prior knowledge about the resettlement program. All informants and focus group participants stated that they come to know about the resettlement program during the house building and land measurement time of the resettlers. In this regard, one of the Kunfel informant said:

Before the beginning of house building and other preparations, I have never known about how this resettlement site identified. However, two months before the coming of resettlers, Kebele officials told us to build houses and measure land for resettlers. And at the time when we heard the higher officials, everything was strange. I and some community members have asked the government officials about where the resettlers are going to be resettled. Initially, they told us that the resettlers will be settled in the area of Warka-Jeku (an open forest region adjacent to the current resettlement area).

In due course of time, however, the area of Warka-jeku has been replaced with our vicinity, and, as a result, we happened to lose our Shehata (grazing land) and crop land for the massive resettlement. We have

repeatedly asked the government authorities about the problem of grazing land and other related issues. But they respond by saying: why do you worry about the cattle in the situations where people could not find residential place?

In the meantime, the government officials recruited some influential personalities from the indigenous people for the overall implementation of the resettlement program. The objective of recruiting these high-ranking individuals from the local community was to make the host community friendly to the resettlement program. Very surprisingly, there were local individuals who had been served as surveyor and planner of the resettlement sites. Of the influential community members who helped the resettlement program, Abera Tebekew, who is locally named as 'Engineer' Abera, of Ali-Kurand Kebele, is regarded as the founding traditional survivor of all resettlement villages.

According to one of my Kulsi informant, 'Engineer' Abera is a traditional knowledgeable person about the overall areas of Jawi lowland. Thus, most of the tasks of site identification and guidance were conducted by him and some local Kebele officials.

In due process, however, there was sharp divergence between the recruited individuals and Kebele officials on one hand and the indigenous people on the other. Most indigenous people in the study area accused their elites (Kebele officials) for surrendering their fundamental resource use rights and the consequent socio-economic marginalization.

To give more impetus for the issue, case study was conducted with one of the Kulsi informant and documented as follows:

Case One

My name is Belay Wedaju. I was born and grew up here in Jawi Woreda in Ali-kurand Kebele. I am now 47 years old. I do have eight children- a total of ten household members altogether with my wife and me. Before seven years, all the land that you observe here was our shifting cultivation area, grazing land, as well as wild honey collection field. However, with the commencement of the resettlement program, the field was cleared, bulldozed, and converted into crop field.

On the eve of the inauguration of the resettlement program, government officials from Dangila Woreda had consulted some individuals from our Kebele about the program. Those individuals who had been attending the consultative forums had obviously made an agreement with higher officials. And it is true that these individuals had been paid by government officials 30 birr per day for more than a month. Therefore, having accepted the resettlement project, our Kebele officials together with some

influential community members had asked us, questions like: 'do you want education, health centre, road and other infrastructures?' We answered yes. And they said, 'for all these advantages to take place we should have to support the resettlement program'.

It is in this way that our land holding and resource use rights came to be deprived of. Furthermore, due to the expansion of the resettlement villages and the constant influx of 'illegal' settlers in the area, the local community and I faced growing encroachments in to the remaining lands. As a result, most of our people is being resorted to the more marginal and peripheral areas of Jawi lowland.

In the final analysis, I argue that there is lack of genuine participation and full inclusion of the host community in the resettlement program. And like most of the resettlement programs in the past, the main objective of the current resettlement program concentrates on settler population. In fact, the host community members are considered, in some instances, but they are incorporated as secondary target groups and their inclusion is often considered as tools of resettlement execution. This is because, there is a visible bias in consulting local communities who are the direct receptive of the negative consequence of the resettlement project and Kebele officials whose major task is to execute government policies.

Generally, Tranquilli (2004:598) summarized the process of resettlement planning in Ethiopia saying: "the program [the resettlement planning] was largely a top-down approach, in which, the regions [in this case Amhara] receive directives from the federal government and transmit them to Zones, which are again in charge of informing the Woredas and the latter passes to the Kebeles"

4.1.2. The Resettlement Administration

4.1.2.1. Recruitment of Potential Resettlers

Another very important factor that needs due consideration in understanding the administration of the resettlement program is the selection of the prospective resettlers. In this respect, it was claimed that the intra-regional program was done on voluntary basis. Hence, the Voluntary Resettlement Program (VRP) targets those chronically food insecure (or chronically poor) households with the productive labour capacity to build a livelihood in their new home areas. The Ethiopian Government *Resettlement (Access to improved Land) Program Document*, also elucidates that the eligible areas of origin that qualify for resettling people are those Woredas, listed already under chronically food insecure areas of origin (Coalition for food Security in Feleke, 2004:212).

Therefore, resettlers in Jawi lowland are from chronically food insecure areas that depend on regular relief support. In the study area, resettlers confirmed that they were gathered in large public meetings and told by Woreda and Zonal officials about the voluntary resettlement program. They also stated that they had voluntarily chosen to participate in the resettlement program. While this is taken as a positive sign, it is also necessary to carefully consider what is meant by voluntary versus involuntary movement. As Gebre, cited in Hammond and Bezaeit (2004:630) has pointed out, voluntary migration “implies the power to make informed and free migration decisions and the willingness of migrants to leave their original place”. Decisions to migrate are often influenced not only by official statements or treatment, but also by official or unofficial promises of assistance or improved conditions at the destinations, social and family pressure (forms of ‘induced volunteerism’), and unsustainable economic conditions in the place of origin (sometimes referred to as “compulsory Volunteerism” (Hammond and Bezaeit, 2004:630).

Most of the settlers with whom I conducted in-depth interview and focus group discussion indicated that there were different promises and inducing mechanisms for people to resettle. They had been told by officials in sending Woredas that they would receive two hectares of land, food aid until the first harvest, seeds, and have free access to health, education and other infrastructures in the resettlement areas.

In order to give more insight to the issue, case study is presented as follows:

Case Two

My name is Getnet Alemu, 44 years old. I was born and grew up in Dega-Damot Woreda of West Gojjam. I get married when I was 17 years old, and currently I have seven children. When I was in Dega-Damot Woreda, i.e. my place of origin, I had about three hectares of land, which I had inherited from my parents. My family and I used to subsist on this farm land.

After some years, however, land degradation, loose of fertility of the land and recurrent drought has made my family to exposed to frequent food insecurity. In 2004, our Woreda officials together with the Kebele representatives have called us for meeting. During the time of the assembly, we were told that the government is planning to resettle people who chronically suffer from land degradation and food insecurity. All the participants of the meeting were told that, there is ‘abundant land’, and an individual settler is promised to be given to two hectares of land. Additionally, we were told that we would be given furnished houses. The supply of ration and other agricultural inputs were also promised to be

provided for three consecutive years. We were also told that one's land holding at the area of origin would remain in our hand for three years after one's relocation from the area of origin.

Having heard all the information about the resettlement program, I have registered as a potential settler. The Kebele officials registered my land holding and family members on the way recognizing me as one of resettlers. Two week after the registration, I was told to get ready to go to the new resettlement village. In this situation, I and other potential resettlers who had been registered for the resettlement program, have no any prior knowledge about where we are going to resettle. On 18, Feb. 1996 E.C, we left for Dega-Damot and arrived in Jawi district on 19, Feb. 1996.

On my arrival to the resettlement site, things were not as promised as in the meeting held in our home origin. I found the environment very hostile. The area that you observed here is infested with human and animal diseases. Moreover, most of the promises which were told in Dega-Damot are not real ones. Here, I owned only one hectare of land and there are frequent disputes with the indigenous people and 'illegal' settlers over land related issues.

Thus, the above case history clearly elicits that there were overambitious promises from the side of the government to the resettlers. This shows that the resettlement program was characterized by 'induced volunteerism'. Due to the exaggeration of the information campaign, many resettlers who wanted to register for resettlement were reportedly clashed with the Kebele officials. In line with this, one of my key informants said:

In 1996 E.C, I was a deputy chairman of my home origin Kebele. The year (1996) was coincided with the massive resettlement program of the government. As a Kebele official, I and my colleagues were told by the Woreda authorities, i.e. Sekela Woreda, to take the assignment of delivering the information about the resettlement program to the local community. Apparently, the whole community who had attended the public meeting was fascinated by the program and rushed for registration. The number of people who aspire for registration had exceeded the quota given from the Woreda. As a result many people were disappointed for not being included in the registration and complained for partiality which is made up on them.

Ideally, those targeted resettlers were landless, food insecure, healthy, young adults, and peasant farmers capable of producing enough economic production in the new resettlement sites. However it is difficult to argue that all the targeted individuals in the study area are landless and food insecure households. This is because, there are some individuals who have reported that they were incorporated in the resettlement program because they were told by government officials that their homeland property including land will be guaranteed for three

consecutive years. To date (six years after the establishment of the resettlement) there are many individuals who earn a twofold benefit from their original homeland on one hand and the new resettlement village on the other. This shows that all the targeted resettlers are not entirely landless or impoverished peasants and some resettlers used the opportunity to play in between two homes, i.e. place of origin and the new resettlement site.

4.1.2.2. Movement and Arrival of Resettlers in the new Resettlement Site

The other step in the resettlement administration was the movement of potential resettlers to the newly identified resettlement sites. However, before the massive movement started, it was said that the community representatives had to visit the climate, land quality, and general infrastructure of the proposed resettlement sites. But one limitation of this provision, according to my informants, was that the overall cost of the first visit of the resettlement sites had to be covered by the community at large. Hence, only a few Kebeles sent their representatives and even those representatives were returned from Woreda towns to their home for being unable to cover the transportation cost. One of my informant from Wemblace Kebele, who was community representative at that time, consolidates this idea as follows:

Before we (all resettlers) moved to the resettlement site, five community members from among the resettlers were recruited to visit and check the convenience of Jawi resettlement site. I was one of the community representatives who was recruited to visit Jawi lowland. We were told that the community had to cover the transport and other related costs. Having received the transport fee we started our journey and arrived at Dangila Woreda (a Woreda where Jawi resettlement site is located). Up on our arrival, the Woreda officials told us that Jawi is found about 200 k.m far from Dangila Woreda and we heard that access to transportation to Jawi is only possible from Pawi. After three days of trouble in Dangila town, we reported to the Woreda officials that we better go to our home origin. And we returned without reaching the exact site of the resettlement.

Indeed, the promised site visit by the community representatives was not successful. All the informants from West Gojjam, East Gojjam, Waghemra Zone and Awi zone confirmed that none of their representatives had visited Jawi resettlement site. Hence, resettlers had only relied on the information delivered to them by government officials.

Regarding the transportation of resettlers to Jawi resettlement site, informants said that they were transported using bus, and all the transport operation was sponsored by the Amhara Regional Government. Settlers were not allowed to move their properties together with themselves. The justification behind is that the regional government has no adequate fund to

pay for transport of both people and their belongings. Nevertheless, informants and focus group participants said that they were provided food aid and meningitis vaccination at transit centers.

Despite this, however, settlers have well remembered the different problems they faced during the transportation. One informant from Bambluk Kebele recounts his memories as follows:

Case Three

My name is Zeleke Taddesse, 34 years old. I came from Dega-Damot Woreda of West Gojjam with four of my household members including myself. The overall situation of our movement from our home origin to Jawi resettlement site was hard to believe. We started the journey on Feb. 20, 1997. Except for our move from the town of our Woreda, we know nothing about where Jawi is found. Even I remember that there was misunderstanding of the exact place of the resettlement site: some people say we go to Pawi (a resettlement site which is established during the Derg regime) and others to Jawi. When we arrive at Pawi, officials told us that we were left with about 150 K.m to reach Jawi. The temperature was very high and several people were unable to withstand the weather condition. Particularly, many children and women have suffered a lot from the journey.

After our arrival at Jawi town on Feb. 21, 1997, officials told us that we have not yet arrived at the resettlement site. Now, the worst problem had come to the scene. The up and down journey to the most lowland and driest areas of Jawi was soon started. Most people were pessimistic about their movement further from Jawi town. This was because, no infrastructure was ready for us; and we went through dense forest by crossing large rivers without any bridges.

Similar to the above case, Scudder and Colson (1982) have noted that the transition stage is characterized by multidimensional stress, higher morbidity and mortality rates, anxiety about loss of home and what the future may bring, and temporary or permanent loss of cultural inventory, including indigenous knowledge, customs, and institutions.

Later, after their arrival in the resettlement site, resettlers were sheltered in temporary tents. In this regard, the very impressive promises of the government to provide them with furnished houses and other necessities in the new resettlement sites remained nightmares. Hence, in the absence of readymade houses, 30 to 50 people were forced to live in a single tent.

Bitterly memorizing the occasion, one informant said: "up on our arrival, there was nothing to live on, about 50 people were sheltered in a single tent. I remember that there was great suffocation; and there was widespread prevalence of epidemic diseases." According to many

informants, the hot and inhospitable weather, together with the outbreak of epidemic diseases (malaria, Typhoid, and diarrhea) had resulted in the death of many resettlers. Concomitant to this, Cernea (1993) noted that during resettlement in a new environment, the resettlers could experience increased morbidity and mortality. Hence, the causalities which had happened in the early days of their resettlement were too great and informants stated that there were occasions when by about 3-5 five people have died per day due to malaria and other disease.

Due to the complexities of the problem in the new site, informants and focus group participants in Wemblace Keble, confirmed that from 4500 resettlers, 700 deserted the area and returned to their respective home Woredas. The reason for their desertion is mainly due to the inhospitality of the environment and unmet expectations raised during selection, which are not found at the new sites.

4.1.2.3. Acquisition of Farmland

Another key issue in the resettlement administration is the process of land allocation. In the Resettlement Plan Outline (FDRE, 2003:9), it is argued that the "benefit packages to the settlers including land are calculated per a household-base". Similarly, during the resettlement campaign, settlers stated that they were told to access land on the basis of their family size. Practically, however, one hectare of land is allocated per household-base and as a result, the land allocation process has failed to address equity among the settlers household because of two reasons. First, the size of each settler household is quite different from each other. Therefore a household of both larger and small family size was allocated the same amount of land, i.e. one hectare of land. In this case, a household with the larger family size remains with small per capita land holding. Secondly, in the study area, there are unmarried young people (aged 18 years and above) who are claiming land, but did not get one. The failure to provide land for this category of people is another problem which is principally observed in the implementation process.

Another related problem with the land allocation process was the quality of land and provision of farming equipments. In the resettlement plan outline, it is stated that: "allotments of lower than standard quality land, less desirable topography, or more distance from access roads will be larger to compensate for [the] lower real value" (FDRE, 2003:10). In practice, however, farmers who complained for less quality of land were remained the same with the others. According to some informants, the land which is allotted to them are largely covered

with vertisols- black soil, which is also known as, *Mezega Meret*, and it is very difficult for the resettlers to easily cultivate and earn more production.

Regarding the provision of farming equipments, settlers acknowledged that they were provided with some agricultural tools including an ox, and other materials, such as, plough, shovels, forks, sickles, and bush knives. However the problem lies on the distribution and consistency of the provision. Informants complained that there was lack of sufficient provision and as a result many settlers were excluded from having those agricultural tools.

Generally, it is quite possible to argue that there is a wide gap between the administration principles put on paper and the actual practices in the site. As to my understanding, these all problems are emanated from the unequalled weight of the resettlement principles on one hand and the relative realities in the locality on the other. Moreover the problem is accompanied with improper planning and superficial understanding of resettlement issues.

4.1.3. Access to Social and Infrastructural Services

According to Chris de Wet (2004), resettlement often goes wrong principally due to lack of proper inputs and hence lack of social services will give rise to the inevitable impoverishment risks leaving resettlers worse-off than before. In this regard, one of the preconditions for successful resettlement program is the availability of social services such as education, health, road, water, etc in the resettlement sites before relocating people. Therefore, provision of minimum infrastructure is one of the key principles and approaches in the current resettlement planning. In the resettlement plan outline, it was stated as:

Minimum service standards and infrastructures should be established at least similar to [the settlers'] original area based on the principle that settlers should not experience a deterioration in service delivery and that the relocation does not result in a deterioration in service delivery [among] host communities. Local host should be able to take advantage of new infrastructures on a fee-paying basis. This will help to avoid generation of conflict [in the resettlement site] (FDRE, 2003:7).

In the resettlement plan outline there is a visible ambiguity about the exact measurement of what minimum service would be, and its mechanism of delivery to the resettlers. In other words, the standard of service delivery and the possible measurement of the service were not mentioned. Nevertheless, what is indisputable is that there are inadequate social services and infrastructural development at the study area. In the following section I will present the major

problems associated with the delivery of social services and infrastructural development in the study area.

4.1.3.1. Health Centers

Based on my field observation and discussion held with Jawi Woreda Health officers and resettlers, there are inadequate health centers in all resettlement villages. In the 12 villages, only two health centers were built in Elala-Sendo and Wemblace Kebeles. These health posts have only two rooms and two health worker each with no basic provisions. The health workers in both health posts are all at certificate level (which are called health extension) and they are expected to cover all works at the clinic. The remaining resettlement villages have no even such limited health service access. In the face of this problem, resettlers have to travel some 80-100 km to get access to health service at Jawi town and or Pawi hospital. Even in Jawi town the possibility of getting adequate medication is low. As a result, most resettlers are forced to go to private pharmacies and clinics, for which they should have to sell their house utensils. One resettlers case with whom I conducted interview in private pharmacy support this fact as follows:

Case-Four

My name is Aschalew Yirega, 35 years old. My original homeland is Sekela Woreda. I'm currently living in a resettlement site called, Wemblace Kebele. Starting from my arrival to Wemblace, I and my family have suffered from repeated illness.

You know, Jawi is a home of different diseases; but woba(malaria) and typhoid are the most dominant ones. Before our move to this site, the government had promised to provide us any health related service. But now there is only one small building with no qualified health worker and adequate provision of medication. You find me in this private pharmacy, you know why? It is due to the problem which I face from lack of medicine in our Keble health post.

Resettlers said that even in private pharmacies, there are no proper medication and hence they are always suffering from inadequate health service. Regarding this problem, one of the Woreda health officers have said that “the problem is not confined to our Woreda, it is a regional issue, and as well a nationwide problem. We are working hard on how to prevent the overspread of different diseases, on the way looking for solution from the regional and federal government”.

The health officer of the Woreda has confirmed to me that there are two additional health centers which are currently under construction in Bambluk and Swatamp Kebeles. Added to this, there are two health extensions that are currently deployed in each resettlement villages. On the whole, however, it is possible to generalize that there is inadequate health service and medication in all resettlement sites in general and in the study areas in particular.

4.1.3.2. Education

According to Jawi Woreda Education Bureau, there are about 10 primary schools in 10 new resettlement sites. The other resettlers who are found in two resettlement sites have no any educational institution and hence they are forced to send their children to the nearby school of another Kebele. The numbers of total students in the whole resettlement villages have currently reached 3355 of which, 1863 are male and 1493 are female. Nevertheless, those primary schools are built by the joint participation of both the resettlers and the host community. In this case, it is true that educational facilities were not constructed ahead of the resettlers arrival in the new resettlement sites. Hence, due to the absence of well furnished educational classrooms in the resettlement sites, informants and focus group participants recounted that their children, particularly in 2004, were forced to attend classes under the shed of trees and in open air.

To date, those primary schools are found with no appropriate facilities and provision of sufficient educational inputs. For example, in Wemblace Keble, there is a problem of classrooms, chairs, tables, library and books. Added to these problems, there is lack of sufficient teachers in the school. Furthermore, due to the absence of secondary school in the Kebele, students who are above grade seven are forced to go to Jawi town, which in turn results in additional expanses for house rent, transport, and food.

4.1.3.3. Water

Overall, there are 41 water pipes and two spring waters in all resettlement villages of Jawi Woreda. But, according to my informants, the number of these water points are not more than serving the number itself (meaning for the sake of saying there are this amount water wells and springs). In other words, most of the water reservoirs are not fully functional and this is due to the problem of hasty construction and lack of concern on the side of the public. Beside this, there is a problem of safe drinking and potable water.

In the context of Wemblace and Bambluk Kebeles, for instance, settlers highly suffered from shortage of water. But this does not mean that there are no seasonal and perennial rivers in the area, nor to say there are no government sponsored water wells and spring waters. In line with this, a health worker in Wemblace Kebele said:

The problem of water in the study area is not the problem of quantity but absence of safe drinking water, as most springs are not protected. Immediately, with the coming of the resettlers, there were some attempts to protect the sanitation of the water pipes and springs through the provision of chlorine. Currently, however, the supply of chlorine is terminated and as a result most people are used to drink water using Weha-Agar.

Another problem related to water provision is distance of water centers from the resettler community. In Wemblace and Bambluk Kebeles, I observed women who went long distance from their place of residence to fetching centers.

4.1.3.4. Road and Communication Infrastructures

Another very essential component of social and infrastructural service in any development project is the availability of road and communication infrastructures. In other words, the provision of socio-economic and infrastructural service to a given society cannot be realized unless there are well-connecting roads and communication services.

In the context of the study area, transport and communication infrastructures required for the settlers have not been adequately constructed. Most resettlement sites in Jawi Woreda can only be accessible during the dry season. This means that accessibility of resettlement sites during the rainy season is very cumbersome.

Even during the dry season, there is a problem of regular transport system that links settlement sites to the nearby towns (Jawi, Pawi, and Manbuk). The only means of transportation which is used for settlers and other professionals, such as, teachers, health workers, Agricultural Agents, Police, etc. during the dry season are trucks which are usually referred to by the community as, *Kolkolea*. According to my informants, even transportation by *Kolkoleas* will start during December and then ends on May of each year. This shows that, resettlement sites are only accessible for six months.

Hence, the resettlement sites are unreachable except through swimming, locally named as *Wanna*, for the remaining six months (i.e. from June to November) and they are isolated from the Woreda town and other areas. The problem of this isolation has many negative consequences on the settler and in turn on the indigenous community. In the first place, as

sites need regular delivery of market items, drug, and other necessities, inaccessibility during the rainy season is of big challenge. In response to the problem of importing basic supplies during the rainy season, most informants stated that they will buy and transport their major necessities before the month of May.

In doing so, however, most resettlers have still suffered from shortage of supplies and basic provisions. Of the worst problems encountering the resettlers during the rainy season is the widespread problem of malaria and in turn the absence of medication. Secondly, communication between the settlers and their families in their home origin is not possible. In line with the issue under discussion, one of my informants case strengthens the above idea:

Case Five

My name is Belachew Tefera, 51 years old. I was born and grew up in Gonche-Sonesie Woreda of East Gojjam. I came to Jawi with all my family member in 2005. During my arrival my arrival with other resettlers in Jawi resettlement site, no road construction was conducted. Consequently, we were made to enter to the new resettlement sites at the time when forests were bulldozed and cleared for our transportation. The truck by which we entered in to our destination sites, had crossed a number of large rivers and several vast rolling hills; and on the whole our journey was full of trouble. Since our arrival in the area, we have had a problem of connecting roads and means of transportation among resettlement villages and the nearby towns. The only possibility for us to go to Jawi is by Kolkolea, (cargo car). We know that using Kolkolea as a means of transportation is very susceptible to accidental dangers but we have no opportunity other than using Kolkoleas or to walk on foot.

Regarding road related problems in the resettlement sites, the Woreda Agriculture and rural development officer has said that there will be better opportunity of road construction in the coming three years. Added to this the officer said “we cannot deny the very problem of connecting roads among resettlement sites and to Jawi town. But we hope all the problems will be resolved with the recent road construction by the Amhara Water Conservation and Construction Organization (AWCCO)”. As to my observation of the area, there is a new attempt of constructing roads from Jawi town to the resettlement sites. However, the new initiations in constructing roads are still time consuming and very complex in terms of the geographical landscape of the area (there are large rivers and hills which might suspend the road construction work).

4.1.3.5. Provision of Agricultural Inputs

Provision of agricultural inputs for rural households is one of the vital components of rural development programs in Ethiopia. In the research area, a satellite rural development office is available which facilitates agricultural extensions to local farmers. According to Jawi Woreda Agriculture and rural development officer, three agricultural agents/professionals are found in each resettlement Kebeles. These agricultural agents are grouped in the respective resettlement Kebeles based on their professional background. Hence, the three agricultural agents are from the disciplines of animal science, plant science, and natural resource conservation and management. Therefore, the assumption is that these agricultural agents will provide their expertise to the local farmers in areas of livestock raising and medication, crop productivity and natural resource conservation and management.

However, against the idea of the Woreda Agriculture and rural Development officer, many informants at the grass root level confirmed me that there are no three agricultural agents in their respective Kebeles. For instance in Wemblace and Bambluk Kebeles I personally found one agricultural agent; and in Ali-Kurand Keble (over which the indigenous people inhabited) no agricultural agent is found and as a result they are out of the regular provision of agricultural extension programs.

With regard to the provision of agricultural inputs, informants elucidated that there are limited supplies of fertilizer, seeds, and veterinary services etc... The provision of fertilizer and seeds are distributed by Kebele cooperatives through credit scheme. But one of the drawback for such mode of provision is that there is inadequate supply of inputs in the respective Kebele cooperatives. Likewise, inaccessibility of resettlement sites (particularly during summer season) for transportation and regular supervision by Woreda officials and other agricultural experts made the problem to be worsen. Despite the prevalence of cattle diseases, veterinary service are also absent in many of the resettlement sites. As a result many informants confirmed me that they are forced to go to Jawi town or otherwise to use their own traditional medication.

4.2. Intra-Regional Resettlement in the Context of Differing Socio-Cultural and Agro-Ecological Setting

The 1980s resettlement program, which is launched by the Derg regime, was strongly criticized for its forced and inter-regional resettlement approaches (Zelalem, 2004: 75).

Furthermore, the resettlement program seems to be ineffective, unsuccessful, and considered to be a potential cause of inter-ethnic conflicts between the resettled people and the hosts (Pankhrust and Piguet, 2004:13). In spite of the past experiences, the EPRDF government had envisaged a new resettlement program, i.e. Intra-regional resettlement program from 2003-2008. In this new program, it was intended to attain food security for many people who suffer from food self sufficiency.

One of the major issues which received huge propaganda by the government media was that the resettlement program is purely intra-regional. In this case, the resettlement initiative was said to be a way of moving people from the same ethnic, linguistic, and cultural background. In addition to this, the government has strongly argued that the new resettlement program has something to do with the upholding of the socio-cultural fabric of the resettlers and the host and in turn to minimize inter-ethnic conflicts. There is no doubt that a resettlement program which is launched with in a relatively similar agro ecological environment and socio-cultural fabric of both the sending and receiving areas are very conducive for the success of the resettlement program.

By taking all the arguments of the intra- regional resettlement discourse, the Amhara Regional Government had embarked on the resettlement program within its regional territory. The case in point is the area over which this study was conducted (Jawi resettlement site). As already described in the preceding chapters, both the resettlers and the host community are from the same region i.e. Amhara Region. Nevertheless, except the regional belongingness of the two groups to the same region, they are different in many ways.

The first point of disparity between the two communities lies on their ethno-cultural background. There is no doubt that both are different in their identity markers. Both the resettlers and the host communities are from culturally, linguistically, and climatically different areas. Similarly, both the resettlers and the host communities have got different form of long established social institutions, which were diminished in the new resettlement context. Moreover, both communities have different customs, traditions, belief systems and sense of spiritual ties.

Having all these ethno-cultural differences, both resettlers and the host people confirmed that their interaction in social and economic spheres of their life is very difficult. In some cases, these ethno- cultural differences are also considered as the major sources of conflicts between the two groups. Particularly, at the initial period of their contact, both community informants

elucidated that there was a fragile form of relationships between the resettled people and the host community. Strengthening this idea, one of the local informants said:

Upon the arrival of resettlers in our vicinity, we have the problem of integration with their way of life. Even I remember that both the resettled people and the indigenous community had difficulty over many common issues such as, building of public service centers. I also well remember that we had a problem of utilizing these common public services setting together and there were frequent misunderstandings of each other under different circumstances. The major reasons which seems to have contributed for our uncertainties are I think: we (resettlers and the indigenous people) are different in the languages we speak, the dietary habit we have, the subsistence activity we practice and in many other ways.

Secondly, the ways in which the resettler people were made to resettle in Jawi resettlement site seems paradoxical. This is simply because part of the rationale for resettlement was to create socio-economic integration with the local people. However, the ways by which the resettled people and the local communities are administered at the local levels seem to have created separate identities. The local communities are administered separately from the resettlers. This in turn, provided the context for the construction of boundaries between two groups of people in the area. Self-identification and stereotyping were developed through their separate administrative units in the area. As a result they did not have strong and proper community village institutions and lack both religious and secular mutual associations.

The third major variation which is very explicit in the study area is the agro-ecological differences that exist between the sending and receiving areas. The difference between the ecological environments of the areas of origin of resettlers and the resettlement areas has created major challenges for resettlers adaption and in turn the host populations livelihood strategy. The resettlement scheme in the area has brought resettlers from highland to completely different location, the lowland. Hence, Jawi lowland is less hospitable and making the highlanders adaption to the new area more difficult. Concomitant to this, one of my informant, Ato Yimer Aragaw whose place of origin is from Sekela Woreda has bitterly said: “mekomyachen essat, mekemechachen essat, megnetachen essat yehonebet bota lay amteto askemtona”. Literarily translated as “we are living in the area where our setting, standing, and sleeping places are fire”. Therefore resettlers encountered physical and mental difficulties in adapting to the new lowland environment.

On the whole I can argue that the resettlement program in Jawi low land is merely intra-regional because of the only reason that both the resettled and the host people are from the same regional territory (Amhara Regional State). In reality, the program is not different from the inter-regional resettlement approach in integrating different people with different ethno-cultural and agro-ecological environment.

4.3. Implications of the Resettlement Program to the Resettlers

4.3.1. Adopting to the New Environment and Modes of Livelihood

Despite the largely prevailing challenges, faced the resettlers are currently adapting to the socio-economic and physical environment of the area, on the way showing great interest in controlling key natural resources such as land and cash income economy. In the current Jawi lowland context, resettlers livelihoods are based on both agricultural and non-agricultural income generating activities. The dominant agricultural activity in the area is crop production and there is little interest in animal husbandry. This is mainly because of the prevalence of animal diseases. Likewise, due to lack of any kind of irrigation scheme, no farmer reported to have been involve in irrigation activities. To have a better understanding of the activities performed by the resettler people in the area, I will discuss each economic activity as follows.

4.3.1.1. Crop production

In the area, farmers grow both food and cash crops. The main food crops are sorghum, finger millet, maize, where as cash crops produced mainly for exchange include sesame, groundnut, and niger-seed. In this case, the livelihood of the settler farmers depends up on the crops they produce both for consumption and exchange. Settler farmers who have better access to different agricultural inputs and labour force have strongly enhanced their household production and in turn diversified their annual produce. The produce of such farmers is also abundant so that they use it both for consumption and for generation of on-farm income that will be used for further improvement of their livelihood.

Settlers cultivate diverse crops in their fields. In their cultivation more attention is given to food crops basically for home consumption in order to avoid the risk of purchasing food crops from the market.

4.3.1.2. Livestock Rearing

Livestock rearing is one of the most important means of livelihood and income generating activities in the study area. However, except the provision of one ox per household during their arrival to the new resettlement site, settlers have confirmed that they could not bring their livestock from their home origin nor able to have many cattle in Jawi lowland.

The major reason mentioned by informants for not coming with their cattle to the resettlement site and not to have currently more cattle in the area is due to the distance of the resettlement site from their home origin and the prevalence of animal diseases respectively.

However, resettler farmers though they are suffering from lowland animal diseases such as trypanosomiasis, they are currently owning some oxen, donkey, cows and goats. There is no doubt that the livestock sub-sector in the area determines the living condition of the settler farmers because it provides them with draught power, food, cash, transportation and dung. In addition to this, animals are kept as saving and insurance assets to be used in the event of hard times and occurrence of unexpected disaster. However, many settlers have no adequate number of livestock population, which could presumably be caused by the prevalence of animal diseases and lack of veterinary services in the area.

Due to the spread of cattle diseases, lack of grazing land and changes in ecological environment, many informants are changing the way they used to plough in their home origin. During the time when they were in their origin, almost all resettler farmers were plow cultivators mainly using pair of oxen. But now they are innovative enough to use donkey for ploughing, which are less prone to *trypanosomiasis* attack, locally named as *gendie*, in comparison to oxen and provide multiple services to the households. In explaining the use and multiple functions of donkey, one of my key informants said that:

Before we come to this dry and hot area, we are not yet accustomed to donkey driven ploughing. However, because of the prevalence of animal disease and lack of grazing land in the area, we happened to use donkey as a basic asset of our farming household. Using donkey for our farming household has enabled us to obtain several functions. Firstly, it is more resistant to gendie (trypanosomiasis disease), and can plow longer hour than oxen. Secondly, we use it not only for ploughing purpose but also serve as pack animal and used for trading and other related purposes. Finally, donkey demand lesser care and fodder than oxen.

4.3.1.3. Petty Trade

Settlers have also began to practice petty trade. In this regard, the markets of crops have key role in the farmer's livelihood. Since Jawi lowland is favourable for growing cash crops such as groundnut, sesame and niger-seed, many farmers have began to engage in the production and selling of this items. Some others have also produce and sale home-made fast foods such as biscuits and some collect and sale firewood to the nearby villagers on the main road.

Likewise, some have small and multipurpose shops where both home-made and industrial outputs such as, sugar, edible oil, soap and salt are sold. Others have also began operating cottage industries, some make or repair clothes, some others began to perform even long distance trading as far as the headquarter of the Woreda, Jawi. Parallel to these activities there are also wide interests in the establishment of small towns and flourishing of business centers such as small shops, coffee houses and private clinics. However one of the pressing challenges facing the resettlers as well as the local people in practicing this trading activity is absence of appropriate transportation service and access to market centers.

Overall, many settler informants stated that they are currently engaging in different income generating activities and so that they are striving for ensuring their food security status. Similarly, the Woreda Food Security Office (FSO) also revealed that the number of resettled farmers who are showing food security status for the last six years has shown grater increment. According to one of the expert of the office, the usual standard of measurement for food security and graduation of resettler farmers is the capacity of a farmer to earn 4200 birr per year. However, food security is a broad and flexible concept, encompassing issues related to access, quantity, quality and sustainability of food supply. Thus increasing food production, supply and sufficiency at broader levels does not necessarily ensure that each and every individual is food secured.

4.3.2. Challenges Faced by the Resettler People

Cernea (1993) noted that during resettlement in a new environment, the displaced could experience increased morbidity and mortality. Similarly, Mathur in Tesfaye (2007:125) also stressed, "involuntary resettlement no doubt happens to be the immediate cause of the hardships to the affected people, but much suffering goes to the displaced people in the new environment." In this case, the change in environment and immediate relocation of settlers in new places can exposed them to several challenges and predicaments.

Therefore, the intra-regional resettlement program in Jawi lowland has resulted in several challenges to the resettled people. Primarily, Jawi is a low lowland area and it is much hotter than the temperate highlands where many of resettlers originated. According to my informants, the unfavourable climatic conditions in the lowland have resulted in excessive mortality due to health problems and malnutrition. Many resettlers with whom I conducted focus group discussion and in-depth interview have bitterly complained about the inhospitality of the environment. Due to the high temperature of the area, houses are built using round grass roofs with the wide open walls. In strengthening this idea Cowley (1971:99) said "Houses in Jawi lowland are round with grass roofs. Because of the heat the walls are very open, and not usually mudded. They have no eucalyptus wood, and *wambala* and *Wayra* trees are used for house building". And this shows that resettlers are living in poorly constructed houses in relation to their house in homeland.

Secondly, the gradual decline in the fertility of the land had created feelings of insecurity among the resettled population. According to my interviewees and focus group participants, the expectations they have from what they were told and the reality in the resettlement site were quite different. They also stressed that had they know about the type of land earlier, they would not have come to Jawi. According to my observation in Wemblace and Bambluk Kebeles, most of the land that the resettlers had been allotted is under constant degradation and erosion. Basically, the decline in the fertility of the land related to the problem of identification of the resettlement site. This is because the resettlement sites of the study area are enormously covered by vertisols- black soil, which the local people call *Mezega meret*. And it is known that black soil is very susceptible for degradation and gradual cracking. Likewise, this type of soil is very difficult to cultivate and unsuitable for farming.

Thirdly, the rate of morbidity and mortality among the resettled people and their livestock was very high. In line with this, Tesfaye (2007:126) has noted that "Jawi low land is known for the prevalence of two major diseases, *Gendi* (Trypanosomiasis), which affects the livestock and *Woba* (malaria), which affects the people". It is therefore very hard for the resettled people to withstand these dual problems, i.e. human and livestock diseases. Despite these problem resettlers have no appropriate health service in their respective Kebeles. As a result they are usually forced to go about 50 to 100 Km distance to find both human and animal health centers.

Fourthly, resettlers have severely experienced series social disruption (Cernea, 2000). Because resettlement takes place in the context of 'imposed spatial change' that involves people having to move from one settlement area to another and involves adaption to new land and new communities that requires people to develop new sets of relationships.

Finally, since the intra-regional program is designed to favor some category of the society, i.e. the young, it has brought about the break-down of families. As indicated in the resettlement administration, those targeted resettlers for the resettlement program are landless, food insecure, healthy, young adults, and peasant farmers capable of producing enough economic production in the new resettlement sites. On the top of this, most of the 2004 resettlers in the study area were male although some women heads participated. As a result there are many people, such as elders, women household heads, and unhealthy individuals who left behind the resettlement program. In this case, Michael Cernea's (2000:30) concept of 'social disarticulation' is a key concept for the explanation of the issue under discussion. According to Cernea, "forced displacement tears apart the existing social fabric. It disappears and fragments communities, dismantles patterns of social organization and interpersonal ties, kinship groups become scattered as well". Therefore, the resettlement program in the study area has affected the very family and social organization of the resettled people.

4.4. Implications of the Resettlement Program to the Host Community

4.4.1. Increasing Pressure on the Livelihood Resources of the Kulsi

The national resettlement policy recognizes that the indigenous people shall not be kept outside the main stream of the resettlement activities. In this regard, full consultation, participation, and consent of the indigenous people for the resettlement program was considered as important as the resettlement undertaking itself. Therefore any resettlement program which is launched for the possible remedy of the socio-economic problem of a given society should have to consider the possible development or benefit of the receiving area and in turn the indigenous community. With regard to this idea, Wood (177:40) has also argued that a given host community should benefit from resettlement programs in various ways such as, from the social services extended for the resettlers and other infrastructural developments.

However, there are abundant bad resettlement experiences in Ethiopia and elsewhere in the world which causes indigenous people to live in socio-economic marginalization. In his research among the Pawi resettlers and the host people, i.e. the Gumuz, Gebre cited in

Zelalem (2004:128) has earnestly referred the host people as “unnoticed losers ” with the following statements:

First, in comparison with the settlers, hosts may be characterized as invisible victims because the dynamics of the latter's displacement does not involve spectacular mass migration and fails to attract media and public attention. Second, during the selection of resettlement sites, the general tendency has been to perceive the new areas as sufficiently abundant in resources to accommodate additional population. Thus, resettlement authorities and donors have remained unwilling to acknowledge that resettlement can incur risks to the local people. Third, for practical reasons, many researches gravitate to easily funded projects and widely recognized problems.

In the research area context, there are several immediate and long-term effects of the resettlement program on the livelihood base of the indigenous Kulsī people. As is already mentioned earlier, the resettlement sites in which the resettler people were made to resettle is confined to twelve Kebeles. What is impressing here is that the two resettlement Kebeles (Wemblace and Bambluk), for example, are already inhabited by the Kulsī people. In this case, the land resources of these two Kebeles, which are currently inhabited by the resettler people, were served as the livelihood base of the host community. However, due to lack of proper participation and full consultation of the host community, large numbers of indigenous people find themselves suddenly deprived of their resources base.

The history of land appropriation of the host community in Jawi lowland was occurred in three consecutive periods. The first two periods of land appropriation of the indigenous people by the Amhara Regional Government was mentioned by Tesfaye (2007:127-129).

The first round of direct land appropriation took place in 1997, when the Al-Mesh commercial farm took 3000 hectares of land from the local people. According to local informants, whose lands were taken away by the Al-Mesh, nobody was given compensation for the lost land..... The second round of land appropriation took place in conjunction with the resettlement of the displaced people from East Wollega zone of Gidda Kiremu Woreda to the area in April 2001.....The ANRS also failed to compensate for cultivated land expropriated from the local people. As such, the resource rights and entitlements of the local people were violated.

The third and probably the biggest land appropriation of the local people occurred between 2004-2008, when the Amhara Regional Government has resettled 6001 households in Jawi lowland. Therefore, continues encroachment and land appropriation has been causing adverse effects by increasing the pressure on land resources of the Kulsī. In due process, the

indigenous people have been facing severe stress in trying to maintain their land resources and system of natural resource management based on their indigenous knowledge.

The resettled people have different farming and tenure systems. They are plow cultivators and need clear field plots suitable for the plowing with oxen or oxen. Their field plots are prepared clean by cutting and uprooting the tree stumps for smooth plowing. On the other hand, the farming and tenure system of the Kulsi are shifting cultivation which is different from that of the resettlers. Hence, the constant cutting and destruction of forests by resettlers for plowing has series consequences on the Kulsi. The honey collection field and big trees which they used for beehives, hunting-gathering areas, and other common lands and resources have been severely affected. The pressure on the forest also caused shortage of wood for construction of houses and fences, household use, and medicinal and ritual plants.

Generally, both gradual and rapid encroachment pressure on the land resources of the Kulsi has increasingly continued unabated even today by several interest groups of neighbouring highlanders, investors, immigrant farmers, and others searching for opportunities. At present, land resources in Jawi are leased to investors without genuine participation of the communities as well as without detailed socio-cultural, economic, agronomic and environmental studies. This allocation of land resources to investors without thorough investigation has been causing series consequences on the environment and the livelihood of the indigenous people.

4.4.2. Internal Dynamics of the Host People

Resettlement involves spatial change, in which, this in turn involves change in the pattern of peoples' access to resources, involvement in larger and more heterogeneous resettlements as well as into the wider structure (De Wet 2004:55-56). In such context, resettlement is often accompanied with changes in land use and land tenure, problem of competition over resources (access having been altered and often diminished), and negotiation of political leadership all demanding people to develop a new set of relationship (Ibid).

In the case of Jawi resettlement site the host people found themselves in places that are quite different from pre-resettlement period and have to adapt to new social, economic, and natural environments. This situation challenges beliefs, values, knowledge, technology, exchange systems, and many other aspects of their lives, including their recognition and use of natural resources.

In almost all areas which experience encroachment pressure, a tremendous change has been occurring in the shifting cultivation, honey collection, hunting-gathering and other ways of their livelihood. The Kulsi in this contexts are forced to be restricted to very small habitats and small plots of land.

In order to cope up with the decline of their former livelihood, many of the Kulsi have begun making renting land arrangements with the resettlers. Before the arrival of state sponsored resettlers in the area land renting arrangement was not as such observed in a vigorous manner. In other words, there were rare experiences of land renting agreements between the local people and spontaneous resettlers. However, the influx of the resettled people in the area from 2004-2008 has been identified to be a dramatic episode in the ways by which the people in the area shared and exchanged the productive resources, notably cultivable land. According to my key informants, an estimated one hectare of land is rented- out in kind or cash for one cropping season in exchange for 500-800 *birr*. However the terms of arrangement vary from one area to the other.

The pressure on land resources has introduced changing perceptions in the ownership of land from a type of fully communal to an individually oriented tenure system. This type of transformation is manifested in two ways. The first one is through land rental arrangements. Before the coming of resettler farmers to the area, the Kulsi had never practice land rental arrangements and so that they used their land for their small scale agricultural practice through communal ownership. But recently with the coming of resettlers to the area they began to lease their land and hence they started to bargain with resettlers at individual base. Such bargaining for land rental agreements over years has resulted in a sort of individual based ownership of land. The second sign of transformation in the land tenure system of the Kulsi can be expressed through disputes over land. In other words, the increasing pressure over land and other resources, made the Kulsi to confront with resettlers and even among themselves. Hence, such form of confrontation over land has gave rise to a sort of land possession at individual base.

Furthermore, the constant influx of 'illegal' settlers together with state sponsored resettlers had adversely affected the other components of their livelihood, such as honey collection, gathering and hunting. Kulsi informants in Ali-Kurand Kebele explained that due to the population pressure on the forest resources, the availability of honey to collect become scarce. In the past, the Kulsies had collected a good amount of honey from the wild beehives twice a

year often in October and March. Wild honey was not only their source of subsistence but it was also their main source of cash for exchanging other items.

Similarly, the seasonal hunting and gathering activity by the local people is diminishing from time to time. As it was described in the preceding chapters, the indigenous people are known for their hunting and gathering activity. In this regard the forests were the cardinal sources of food. Various types of antelopes, buffalos etc. were some of the game animals used for food by the Kulsi in Jawi. They also use gathered plants for various purposes. The roots, leaves and fruits of wild plants were used as food, medicine, and for beautification.

Nevertheless, it is very inevitable to see some of the positive changes or internal dynamics which have happened to the indigenous people. In this regard, the findings in this paper did not conclude that all the internal dynamics which have happened to the indigenous people is uniformly negative. There were several positive outcomes for the receiving localities as a result of the initiation of the resettlement scheme in the year 2004-2008. First, the Kulsi take their interaction with resettlers as opportunity to learn and share many important lessons, particularly farming. They feel that they have learned many things from the resettlers.

According to these informants, they have learned techniques of farming and many other things. In the preceding chapters, it is discussed that hunting-gathering and shifting cultivation were traditionally predominant mechanisms of subsistence. But now there is a gradual change in adopting new ways of subsistence mechanism and hence some Kulsies are becoming intensive farmers and produce more crop both for food and cash crop. Added to this, agricultural extension workers give them constant counseling on how to wisely use their produce for subsistence and overcome seasonal food shortage.

Second, as a result of the involvement of the government to provide the required services for the resettlers, the previously neglected lowland areas of Jawi and the Kulsi people managed to attract increased focus and attention of the government. This was accompanied by resource flows into the area, although these were primarily aimed at benefiting the resettlers. Third, the host people made use of the new social, physical and public services that came with the resettlement. Fourth, resettlement also facilitates the process of urbanization as a result of the development of trade and market. For instance, Wemblace and Bambluk were first settlement sites but through time they emerged in to service towns and many indigenous people and settlers are now obtain some important items in these emerging towns.

4.5. Impact of the Resettlement Program on the Environment and Resource Conservation

The impact of resettlement on environment and natural resource conservation has been vigorously discussed by different scholars at different times. For example, Scudder in Woldeselassie (2004:170), explains the adverse effects of resettlement on the environment based on his long-term socio-anthropological research on the Kariba resettlement scheme in Zambia Valley as follows:

My own research highlights the speed with which development-induced resettlement can cause environmental degradation when population densities exceed the carrying capacity of the land under existing systems of land and water use....Today, what was formerly a well-vegetated savannah woodland looks like a degraded Sahelian habitat on the edge of the Sahara. Occurring within a single generation, this transformation was the worst-case of environmental degradation.

Similar to Scudder's experience in Kariba, Woldeselassie (2002:172-175) in his research in Metekel, also explains the adverse effects of the 1980s resettlement on the environment as follows:

.....the increased population density both by the resettlers and the influx of immigrants has dramatically increased pressure on the natural resource base in the Beles Valley resettlement scheme area. In addition to the increased competition for natural resources, the different rivaling farming system of the highland resettlers (plow cultivation) against that of the autochthonous Gumuz (integral shifting cultivation), aggravated the damaging environmental consequence. Large areas of forests have been indiscriminately cleared, accelerating soil erosion, extinguishing the flora and fauna and creating an imbalance on the ecosystem of the area, which was originally covered with a dense forest of bamboo and other tree species.

In line with the facts presented in Scudder's and Woldeselassie's argument, the intra regional resettlement scheme which is largely accompanied with increased population density both by the resettlers and 'illegal' settlers has dramatically increased pressure on the natural resource base of Jawi lowland. As discussed earlier, resettlement under the EPRDF is part of the rural development policy, poverty reduction and Food Security Strategy (FSS). However, no serious concern has been given about the impact of resettlement on the environment and resource conservation.

In the area, my informants told me that there was untapped natural forest coverage which had never been cleared before the commencement of the resettlement program. Additionally, the untapped natural forest and land resources were protected by the indigenous people using their traditional ecological knowledge. For instance, fallowing is the main strategy of land use practice and used for centuries by the Kulsi and is the most widely adopted fertility building techniques traditionally practiced by the people. The practice of farming for the indigenous people is slash and burn coupled with continual shifting to new plots when the land is infested with weeds and the fertility of the soil declined forcing the Kulsi to move in to another place in search of virgin or recovered fertile grounds.

The first step which is used to establish new plot of land for farming is to cut down the big trees of the field during the dry season. The process is called *Kenche* or *Kancha*, which means a cleared new plot of land in the Awngi language. In the forthcoming rainy season grasses grow over the cleared plot of land. Some trees which are believed to be important species are left undisturbed, as they have no under-growth effect for crops. Since the soil is so fragile that needs time for recovery, the land use practice in the study area is based on a fallow system through the process of preparing new *Kanchas*.

Generally, such type of ecological knowledge which is also prevalent among the neighboring Gumuz community is adaptive to the ecology of the arid areas and its environs. However, due to the resettlement program and massive population pressure in the area, the indigenous ecological knowledge of the host people and their indigenous system of land use is severely disturbed. In other words, the constant population increment in Jawi lowland has resulted in reduced land holding size of the people and in return made the farmers to practice intensive farming without fallowing.

Therefore, as is frequently argued by different researchers, government interventions/so called development policies/ are among the serious factors adversely affecting the local resource-use rules or management systems. It could be observed that such an intervention and encroachment has detrimental effects on the local and indigenous resource management systems of the people.

Besides the tradition of slash and burn activity, the Kulsi have a number of other mechanisms which they used to regulate their environment. These mechanisms usually blended with a variety of traditional belief system and local based regulatory terms led by community elders. Like different societies in the world, the Kulsi practice their traditional religion in a wide and

largely reserved forest regions. For instance, *Qoli*, which is a certain spirit vested with the power of veneration and dwelling in prominent natural objects such as rivers, mountains, trees, and other prominent natural objects, has the power not only for worshiping but also for natural resource conservation. The festivity of *Qoli*, is celebrated both at individual and community levels. For instance, when there is lack of rain, outbreak of epidemic disease or any other natural hazard, the people may prepare a special event in big trees and forest areas, rivers or in mountainous areas which they considered are holy and respected. At this time, all the problem which is happened in the society is believed to have been caused by not imploring the *Quoli*. Likewise, individuals come to these areas to make certain vows, if they had some personal problems such as ill health and other things. In all these traditional practices one can notice the friendly importance of the various veneration on the conservation of the natural environment and its resources.

However with the coming of state sponsored resettlers and the constant influx of 'illegal' settlers in the area, the valuable forest areas, grazing lands and other habitats are under constant threat and gradually vanishing. One of the major reasons for the constant depletion of natural resources relies on the disparity of the land tenure system of the resettlers and the host people. As mentioned earlier, the utmost technique that the local people used to maintain their eco-system and improve productivity is through fallow periods. On the other hand, the encroaching highlanders are plow cultivators and need to clear field plots suitable for plowing with oxen. Therefore, to get large tracts of land for farming, resettlers in the area are constantly engaged in deforestation activity. According to my Kulsi informants, both state sponsored and 'illegal' settlers do not falter to destroy big trees and set fire to any field or forest. In line with this idea one of the Kulsi informant said:

The destruction of forests and the gradual decline of crop productivity in our area is coming with resettlers. Before the coming of resettlers to this area, there was thick forest and several other indigenous trees with wild animals and edible fruits. Moreover, we used big trees for honey production and it is true that we were known by the production of honey. However, after six years we happened to lose all the natural resources and this really caused by the merciless destruction of the forests by the resettled people in the area.

Therefore, it is apparent that the resettlement scheme which is conducted in the study area has contributed to the loss of biodiversity through deforestation, extinction of some edible wild plants, disappearance of wild life, and decline in wild honey collection. Currently, the forests and woodlands of the area are shrinking alarmingly. The cutting of trees and clearing of

forests has been taking place for purpose of getting more land for agriculture, fuel wood, charcoal and for construction. Therefore, no attention was paid to the protection of forests and there is no organised attempt to promote reforestation. As to my observation in the area, both state sponsored and illegal settlers are busy in cutting and chopping trees to expand their farm lands and for construction of houses.

Hence, the agglomeration of all these natural resource depletion in the area has resulted in land degradation, soil exhaustion, and decline of crop productivity.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESETTLER-HOST RELATIONS

In studying the nature of resettlers-host relations in the new resettlement setting, there are several factors which compel for the interaction of both groups. Among other things, resource utilization and the search for livelihood enhancement is one of the cause for the interaction of two groups. In this regard, Barth (1969: 34), has identified three possible factors which urge two or more ethnic groups into interactions. In the first place, each ethnic group may occupy separate niche and be engaged in minimum competition, and thus relations would be mainly, for instance in trade. Second, they may maintain common niche and could be in mutual competition for resources. Thirdly, they may occupy distinct niche but in mutual cooperation. Generally, the underlying factors which are pinpointed by Barth are likely to relate to resource related interaction.

Nevertheless, demographic factors also play a great role in the interaction of the two communities. Movement of people, either spontaneously or in organized and planned manner towards new settlement sites, in this case Jawi lowland, have resulted in gradual development of mixed settlement that yield to different ethnic composition. Furthermore, religious and other areas of social services have contributed a lot for the integration of resettlers and the host community. Therefore, both groups who are living in adjacent or similar settlements of Jawi lowland have the chance to share government services such as health posts, schools, courts, and other necessary state services. Therefore, the following part of the thesis mainly explores the nature of resettler-host relation since their contact in the new resettlement setting.

5.1. The Nature of Resettler-Host Relations

The nature of inter-ethnic relation between any two groups is unlikely to be an ideal type, either ideally harmonious or completely chaotic (Desalegn, 2010). In this regard, two features of relations are likely to exist between two ethnic groups i.e. amicable and conflictual relationship. In the case of Jawi resettlement site, particularly in areas of frequent contacts between the Kunfel and state-sponsored resettlers, both groups have developed both amicable and conflictual relationships. Hence, in this sub section of the paper an attempt was made to describe both the amicable and conflictual relationships of state sponsored resettlers and the host community

5.1.1. Dimensions of Inter-Ethnic Integration and Coexistence

Since their contact in the resettlement setting, both state-sponsored resettlers and the indigenous people of the area have established various forms of relationships and tradition of co-existence. Directly or indirectly, one can also find out several local institutions in the social and cultural milieu of the area, whose major function are to serve as a bridge for the interaction of the two social groups. In general, the amicable interaction of the two social groups can be seen at two levels, individual and communal.

The individual relations are formed between two persons, a Kulsi and resettler. Such relationships which are created at individual level are initiated by the motives of the persons under relationship and their commitment for mutual support and cooperation in their social and economic life. Special individual bonds in the area are created in the form of *Wodaj*, *Abelij* (Godparent relation), *Tut-Metabat*, and other forms of relations (see the details of it under socio-cultural ties).

The second level of relation between the Kulsi and settlers is managed at communal level, and such forms of relationships are manifested in communal neighborhood, and any other inter-group communal intermingling. The various forms of communal relations in the study area are identified in coffee ceremony, religious festivities, social service areas, and other places.

Generally, the amicable ethnic interaction of the two communities is often manifested in the areas of local institutional networks of relationship through which important experiences are shared and exchanged. These contexts of ethnic interactions and mutual relations include land renting, local market centers, religious occasions, and other socio-cultural ties.

Land renting: Land renting arrangements between the Kulsi and state-sponsored resettlers is one of the major expressions of frequent interaction of the two groups. In the context of study area, most resettlers have suffered from lack of cultivable land and as a result they are pursuing to secure this land from the local communities through different contractual arrangements. The contractual arrangements are made through personal negotiations between the resettled farmers and the local people.

In the process of making rental land arrangements, the indigenous people and resettlers first agree on the details of the terms of exchange. Such contractual arrangements can be made either in cash or in kind. The terms of contract both in cash and in kind are strictly written down on paper. The duration of contract usually ranges from 4-10 years. The final approval

and verdict are made in the presence of some recruited elders from both parties. Most of these contractual arrangements are made informally without the recognition of government bodies. Consequently, there are possible mistrusts and sources of deceiving terms from both sides and hence conflicts may arise soon. Most settler informants complain about the Kulsies frequent failure in respecting the terms of agreement and unfaithful character.

Local Market Exchange: Exchange of different items in the local markets is an important expression of the resettlers and the host people integration. There are market centers both within contiguous territories of mixed settlement and across border. Some of market centers in adjoining settlements are found within Wemblace and Bambluk settlement villages. The nearby Kulsi people of Ali-Kurand usually went to Wemblace where as Kulsies of Bagusa and Swatamp involve in Bambluk market center.

These market exchange centers are places where mixed ethnic groups participation and ordinary relationship are manifested. Besides, exchange of local products in these local markets is an important component of the livelihood systems of both resettlers and the host community. Most of the Kulsies in the study area brought honey, goat and sheep and chicken to the local markets. In return the resettlers come up with their crop produces such as millet, sorghum, maize and other items of trade. Hence, both ethnic groups will exchange their respective products with one another.

On top of this, there are market centers which are found across different settlement borders and attract both resettlers and Kulsi for exchange of different products. The best example for such type of market center is found in Fendiqa town. Therefore, both ethnic groups involve in such type of market centers so as to bring different industrial out puts such as sugar, salt, oil, and other items to their household families.

Senbete and Mahber: *Senbete* is a religious holyday usually celebrated on Sunday of the fourth weeks of each month. In this religious festivity, everyone is expected to take membership, but usually clergy, elders, and others who can afford for the feasts make active participation. The major explicit function of *Senbete* is to commemorate the day of Sabbath. However, it has also several other functions for the interaction and co-existence of Kulsi and resettlers. Firstly, it facilitates the integration of the two ethnic groups by creating sense of spiritual ties and belongingness to the same religion (i.e. Orthodox Christianity). Therefore, members of this religious institution are usually guided by the principle of the Orthodox church and preached to adhere the necessity of peaceful relation and mutual cooperation in

different spheres of life. Members of *Senbete* who disputed over different interests are urged to settle their quarrel with the involvement of priests and respected elders.

Secondly, it serves as a way of extending economic and social services among the members themselves. Members of *Senbete* encourage and motivate mutual cooperation among themselves, they visit the weak and disabled, console the family of the deceased and perform other vital social services.

In addition to *Senbete*, the commemoration of eminent saints and events are notable sphere of life between resettlers and Kuls. In this case, *Mahber* which is a mutual religious festive association has paramount significance. Unlike *Senbete* which is celebrated in the church compound, members of *Mahber* meet once in a month in each other's houses, rotating in the name of selected saint and enjoy food and drinks at the same time performing prayers for their spiritual gratification. Generally, both *Senbete* and *Mahber* are formed across ethnic boundaries, and mutual support is extended to members as demanded both on good and bad occasions.

Nonetheless, Kulsies involvement in *Senbete* and *Mahber* is more of a recent phenomena which comes with the resettlers to the area. In fact, since the Kulsies were long attached to the neighboring Amharas, they were partly followers of orthodox Christianity. Currently, the Kulsies have been influenced in differing degrees of Orthodox Christianity religion. For instance, those Kulsie neighboring the dominantly orthodox Christian settlers have been considerably influenced by the religion. Hence their involvement in different religious occasions is very high. On the other hand, the Kulsie of Bagusa and the area of Keftela are said to have been still loyal to their 'traditional' belief system.

Other Socio-cultural ties:

Abelij (Godparent relations): In the Orthodox Christianity tradition, there are two sets of parenthood relation. These are biological and spiritual parents. God parenthood is the practice by which a person, usually an adult, of the respective sex takes a personal interest to act as a Godparent of new born baby of the same sex (Dessalegn, 2010:47). The prospective Godparent attends a baptismal ceremony and takes a symbolic oath by softly dragging the baby's forefinger at baptism. At this moment, the parent accepts to take responsibility for the future behavior of the child. He educates the child about religious morals and educates him way of setting up his life according to Christian codes. In this regard, Abelij or God parent

relation is created at individual level between the biological parent of the child and the Godparent. In most cases, most Kulsi informants, confirmed to me that the desire for such relationships usually comes from the side of resettlers. The possible justification behind is that resettlers need to use the relationship as a mechanism of getting economic benefits, such as securing farm lands from the indigenous people.

In the God parent relationships, not only the God parent become responsible for the child but also maintains close and strong relation with the biological parents of the child. In this case such institution can serve as an important mechanism of mutual support and cooperation. The parties entering in to such relationships extend support to each other in any relative capacity. Usually, the resettlers get access to farm land either in gift or in lease. However, there are also situations where such relations do not grant access of free land for resettlers. Similarly, resettlers also extend their support through giving grains and cash money at times of hardship to the Kulsi. In this case, those Kulsi individuals who are in need of loans of cash and grain get ease access through their parenthood relation

Wodaj: is a personal friendship established between two or more persons. Such form of relationships is formed between the Kulsi and the resettlers due to their frequent contact in different sphere of life. *Wodaj* formation can be made within and across different ethnic and religious groups. Individuals in any place of contact may come to know each other and describe their acquaintance as *Wodaj*. Resettler informants in the area confirmed that *Wodaj* relationship with the indigenous Kulsi helps them to share and gain different things such as land leasing opportunities.

Tut-Metabat: is a common cultural practice between the resettled people in Jawi lowland and the Kulsi people. The Kulsi people call such form of relationship in their language as '*Angusa-Awiya*'. Such relationship is first built on frequent contacts and acquaintance between the two persons. When there is good acquaintance between two persons (the resettler and the Kulsi) one or both may ask each other to form tut-metabat relationship.

Nevertheless, what is important in this context is that the resettled people who were failing in risky and stressful situations are eager to enter tut-metabat arrangements with the Kulsi. Therefore, tut-metabat provides the economically weak person with a strong protection. Resettler informants stated that they are seeking the protection of the important person either because of his land, usually large cultivable land or local political power or religious figure

among the local people. Therefore the relationship provides the landless people with some assistance and protection.

Tut-metabat arrangement needs the preparation of feasts to initiate the arrangement. The one whose protection is sought prepares *tella* and slaughter sheep or goat in the presumed ye-tut Abbat home to officiate the arrangement. At this moment both parties will enter in to strong moral and social commitment to help each other. The one who become ye-tut abbat provides his ye-tut leij with something which he thought could benefit in any circumstance and in return the tut-leij will do the same thing to his ye-tut abbat.

Marriage: Inter-marriage between the Kunfel and settlers is not yet prevalent. But there are some instances of marriage relation between the Kunfel men and settler women. However, the Kulsi women are rarely observed and reported inter-marrying with settler men.

5.1.2. Conflictual relations

There are conflictual relationships between state sponsored resettlers and the host people. These conflicts are usually caused by competition over natural resources such as, grazing land, forests, water resources and other land use dynamics and violation of ethics of relationships.

5.1.2.1. Competition over Natural Resources

Conflicting access rights to resources, particularly land is the major cause of conflicts between the two communities. As indicated in the foregoing chapters, the host community is denied access to farmland, grazing land, and common pool resources. Hence, competition over forest resource is one of the areas where the on-going disruption of Local Resource Management Institutions is observed in the locality. Currently, these forest resources are under threat because of the growing competition between the settlers and the host community. The local people complained that the settlers had indiscriminately cut trees to clear land for farming. The local people are resentful of such acts for, as they said, it affected their economic life and dietary diversifications. Not only were their beehives destroyed when trees were cut down but they were also left with fewer trees on which to hang beehives to produce honey.

5.1.2.2. Violating of Contractual Agreements Over Land

There were many cases of violation of contract agreements over land between the indigenous people and resettlers. Such breaches of contractual agreements are usually noticed in terms of agreements which are signed for more than four years. For instance, after the Kulsis rented out the land to the resettlers for some years, they will refuse to recognise and respect the agreements and took the case to the courts in Jawi Woreda. Such violations of contractual agreements happened through time usually after one or two years. According to my Kulsis informants, they are obliged to breach the agreements when they feel consciousness of the disadvantageous of terms of the agreements. The following case strengthens the above idea:

Case 6

My name is Bantigegn Bekele, 48 years old. I was born and grew up here in Ali-Kurand Keble. I have about five hectare of land. Before the coming of the resettler people, I used to cultivate the land using my family labour and through cooperative work with my neighbours. However, with the arrival of the resettler people, I began to rent out at least two hectares of land to the resettler people.

However, despite the benefits I could obtain from the contractual agreements, there are also unfair treatments and benefit-centred attitudes from the side of the resettler people. The case in point for such occurrences can be shown from my own experiences. Before two years, I rented out one hectares of land for 250 birr to one resettler. After a year I saw the kind of produce which the resettler obtain from the land and noticed the unfair agreement between us. Therefore, I talked to the resettler as I obliged to violate our agreement unless he added some money. The amount of money I requested from the resettler was 1500 birr. But the resettler refused to do so and made his reference to the agreements which we signed in front of the community elders.

Though the elderly people tried to negotiate us, the final state of affairs was ended up with open clash. Hence, one day when I visit my land (the land which was rented out for the resettler) the resettler had unhurriedly followed me and beaten ruthlessly. Consequently, this case had triggered the eruption of hostility between my ethnic group (Kulsi) and the resettlers. However, due to the intervention of Kebele Officials and Jawi Woreda court, the dispute was resolved and hence the resettler farmer had returned the land to me together with 1000 birr compensation.

5.1.2.3. Burning of Beehives and Cattle Rustling

The indigenous people accuse the resettler people for deliberately burning their beehives which are hanged over big trees. According to these informants, the reason for the resettler people engagement in such activity is for the sake of getting farm land and to enlarge their farm size. As a result, the wide spread practice of bush fire and forest destruction is a common phenomena in the area. Bush fire is set alight by the settler in the area accelerated

the burning of beehives that were not tolerated by the local people. The settlers acknowledged the felling of trees to clear the land for cultivation but said they did so selectively, leaving bigger trees untouched. In whatever cases it seems to me that the short term exploitative approach of the settlers created a rift between the two communities.

Moreover, cattle rustling are another cause of conflict in the area. Particularly, informants from both resettler and the host people confirmed that such activity is accelerated since the last two or three years. According to Kushi informants, before the resettler came to the area, they claim there was no theft in their community. The livestock was left for free pasture in the bush in all seasons. But now there is mistrust between the resettlers and the host people and they are always blaming each other.

To give more impetus to the issue one case study of settler informant is documented as follows:

Case seven

My name is Belachew Aragea. I came from Koriet Woreda of West Gojjam. Since my arrival in this area I had tried to accumulate some amount of wealth. Like others, I have some cattle but on February 20, 2010 I lost two of my oxen. The theft was made on the night and I and some of my neighbours have tried to search the footprints of the oxen and traced their whereabouts. Soon we found the area under which the theft is conducted. I reported the issue to the Kebele officials and informed them of the rustling and, more importantly, the whereabouts of the oxen. For reasons that I could not understand, the Kebele officials failed to help me.

With a strong desire to get back my oxen, I consulted the community elders to help me to intervene in the issue. They asked the community of the suspected Kebele but no one was volunteer to surrender the rustler. Now it is more than a year, but there is nothing new and hence I'm searching not my oxen but the identity of the rustler. I am worried not for my oxen but for the future of my family's life.

5.1.2.4. Constant Influx of Migrants to the Area

According to Jawi Woreda administrative office, the frequent migration of spontaneous settlers in the area has become a series and probably cardinal cause for emerging conflicts in Jawi lowland. Officials and the indigenous people in Jawi Woreda abhorred the fact that each settler was attracting more migrants to the area. According to this informants the post state-sponsored resettlement period was unprecedented in terms of the pace of 'illegal' settlers migration to the area.

The coming of these illegal settlers to the area can be seen in two ways. The first way of intrusion to the area is through a system of habitation known as *Qenja* by which the migrant would first housed with a settler family and then disperse in different directions in search of land. The second way of intrusion is manifested in the form of forceful encroachment to the land resources of the area. Such migrants came to the area without the permission of the local as well as the Woreda officials and in turn the consent the local community. These categories of migrant settlers came to Jawi usually in the months of April and occupy dense forest regions which they will set fire on and destroy the surrounding environs. Therefore, with such 'illegal' settlers there are always disputes from the side of state-sponsored resettlers and the Kulsi.

In fact the dispute is tougher with state-sponsored resettlers than with the host people. This is mainly because of the relative economic power of the 'illegal' settlers and the consequent alliance with the host people. Though the 'illegal' settlers occupy large tracts of land without the consent of the host people they will usually negotiate over the benefit of the Kulsi. For one thing, 'illegal' settlers are muted without the support of the host people as a result they will give more money to the Kulsi than they were given by state sponsored resettlers in land related agreements.

In this regard, available empirical literature on spontaneous resettlement programs in Ethiopia also shows that spontaneous settlers are often negotiate for land and other resources with the host population. Nevertheless, the 'illegal' settlers relation with the host people rarely seem to be sympathetic and their basic interest lies in the exploitation of the Kulsi resources. Although it is perceived with lower degree, the relations of Kulsi and 'illegal' settlers is also said to be troubled with tensions of conflicting and uncomfortable co-existence. The Kulsi still consider 'illegal' settlers with suspicion, pointing out the latter' similarity and strong association with the state-sponsored resettlers. However, unlike state-sponsored resettlers, no case of any severe conflicting relations between the two groups ('illegal' settlers and the host) was registered.

Nonetheless, according to many of my informants from the indigenous Kulsi, state sponsored and 'illegal' resettlers, these conflictual relations are often mediated and resolved by the involvement of both formal and informal conflict management mechanisms. Hence, the formal conflict management mechanism is executed through the Keble administration, Woreda court and police force. Accordingly, there is conflict preventing committee in each

resettlement Keble and assumed to hear any compliance which might happen due to resource use disputes or any other related conflict triggering factor. But one of the major weaknesses of this committee is that it is found in a single and similar population residing Kebeles without representing the other Kebeles. In other words, since the administration structure of the resettlers and the indigenous people is different (each administered in their own respective Kebeles) there is a problem of commonly forwarding their compliance and getting collaborative solutions. In such situations the possibility of forwarding the issue to Jawi Woreda court and Justice Office is very high.

The informal conflict management mechanism is conducted through community elders of both the Kulsi and resettler people. One very important thing in both societies is that despite some differences of ritual between resettlers and the Kulsi they are similar in using traditional conflict resolving institution called *Shemgellena*. According to my informants from resettlers and the Kulsi, there is a recent development of forming councils of elders from both ethnic groups which facilitate the interaction and integration of resettlers and the indigenous people. Such efforts are also regularly facilitated and monitored by the Keble officials. Once the elders managed to reach agreements from all parties to resolve the conflict peacefully, then it is rare to go further to formal courts and government officials. Therefore, the role of informal institutions, particularly community elder is significant in resolving the conflicts and in reducing the tensions in the locality.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

Voluntary resettlement of people from drought-prone and severely degraded areas to areas of sufficient rainfall and land could be one of the potential solutions to the problems of recurrent drought/famine and land scarcity.

Hence, either on a 'self-organized' or government sponsored bases, resettlement has been used as one of the alternative development strategies in Ethiopian history. The Imperial and Derg governments had implemented resettlement programs in view of reducing population pressure, environmental degradation, land fragmentation, poverty and chronic food insecurity in the highlands. However, both resettlement practices of the two successive regimes were characterized by enhanced environmental degradation, community disarticulation, resource alienation from the host communities and, were a hot bed for host-settler community conflict than integration.

Albeit these problems, EPDRF has recently embarked on intra-regional resettlement practices in Ethiopia, particularly, in larger regions including Oromiya, Amhara, Tigray and Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Regions. In this program, "Enabling the chronically food insecure households attain food security through improved access to land" was the bold objective.

Accordingly, between the Years 2004 and 2008, about 6001 households with the total population of 10408 people have been settled in Jawi resettlement site of Amhara Regional State, on which this study has focused. Since, the major objective of this thesis was to examine the process of intra-regional resettlement program, its challenge and nature of resettlers-host relations in Jawi resettlement site, the following conclusions can be drawn:

Regarding the resettlement program in the specific site, the findings of this thesis reveal that while condemning the resettlement practices and processes of the past governments, the current government (EPRDF) has had its bath in the same, but different pond. Planning is one of the major areas where the last failure story is repeated in the current resettlement practice. First, the resettlement is characterized by poor identification of potential lands. The areas selected for resettlement in Jawi are located at remote and marginal lowland areas infested with malaria and trypanosomiasis. No consultation with the host community and prior

resource inventory was made in the host area. As the result, the resettlement was practiced at the expense of the host community.

The resettlement administration is also another area where the common failure story is repeated. The move is characterized by induced-volunteerism. That is, the decision to move for the resettlement by the target population was reached based on the misinformation by local cadres. Poor targeting of the potential settlers and unfair assignments of land holding are problem to be mentioned. The allocation of land in the new site was made with little regard to the differences in land quality, accessibility, the size and composition of the resettle households. Besides, there were no prior prepared infrastructural facilities and other services required in the resettlement site. Even, currently, social and infrastructural services such as health, education, clean water, road and agricultural extension services are poorly available.

The manner of the resettlement program-the so called intra-regional, in Jawi is also not different from inter-regional resettlement in integrating different people with different ethno-cultural and agro-ecological environment.

Regarding the adaption of resettlers to the new resettlement setting, the thesis elicits that resettlers are currently adapting to the socio-economic and physical environment of the area. However, there are series limitations which are noted in the adaption of resettlers to the area. The unfavourable climatic conditions in the lowland, the gradual decline in the fertility of the land, increased morbidity and mortality of resettlers and their livestock, social disruption and breaking of families are some of the major challenges faced by state sponsored resettlers in Jawi resettlement setting.

The resettlement practice has also exerted greater feelings of insecurity from the side of the host community. The indigenous people have been facing severe stress in trying to maintain their land resources and system of natural resource management based on their indigenous knowledge. As a result they lost their farmland, grazing land and other common pool resources including forests and bush-land. Competition rather than cooperative management of resources characterized the area.

The ecology of the new resettlement area is also adversely affected by the scheme. The population pressure which has been witnessed both by the state-sponsored and 'illegal' settlers to the area has increased greater pressure on the environment and the hosts traditional system of resource use. Constant clearing of forests for farming fields, settlements,

construction, and fuel wood has been also noted as a major threat to the environment of Jawi resettlement site.

With regard to resettlers-host relations, the finding of the thesis puts two types of characterization. The first characterization of resettlers relation with the host community can be manifested in the form of amicable relation which in turn expressed through land renting arrangements, local market exchange, religious occasions and other socio-cultural ties. The second nature of relation which is clearly observable between the two ethnic groups was conflictual relation which was caused by several factors. Of which, competition over natural resources (such as grazing land, forests, water), violation of ethics of relationships notably in land renting agreements, burning of beehives and cattle rustling and constant influx of 'illegal' settlers to the area are some.

In conclusion, narrating the challenges and unfortunate situations of resettlers, host community, the environment, and revealing the relations of resettlers and the host community are not ends in themselves. Instead, searching for remedial actions and possible solutions to the challenges, and improving the opportunities which are at least in our disposal are an essential part of resettlement discourse. One should, therefore, learn from the past and present and devise mechanisms to deter the re-emergency of unsuccessful resettlement projects. Given the fact that the Amhara Regional Government has planned to resettle food insecure people in the coming 2012/13 year to the lowland areas of Jawi, there are possibilities for similar problems to occur again. Therefore, in light of the research findings in the Jawi context, the following major remarks can be made:

- Resettlement is a complex and time demanding venture. It should be carried carefully and with comprehensive feasibility studies. Land use and socio-economic studies should be carried out in the receiving areas. Availability of adequate and reliable rainfall, fertile soil for production purposes, adequate unoccupied land, sufficient water for human and animal consumption and accessibility of the site should also be studied. Suitability of the new site for human and animal habitation (there should not be marked climatic difference between the abandoned site and the new one) and the selection of the resettlement sites should be done by competent and experienced people on purely professional ground.

- Once sites are selected, basic infrastructures including roads, health posts, schools, and in some cases houses, should be put in place before transportation of people is undertaken and; improve the qualities and quantity after the program is implemented.
- The willingness of the indigenous population to cohabit with the incoming settlers and the linguistic, religious, socio cultural and other differences as well as similarities between the local people and the settlers should be carefully studied.
- Resettlement must not be executed at the expense of the host people. The negative impacts of the resettlement program should be minimized through careful identification and planning and also through compensations for the lost productive resources. It can also be minimized by safeguarding and guaranting their access to benefits and services available to the resettlers.
- Environmental impact should be carefully taken into consideration when settling large numbers of people in a given location where natural resources are still for the most part intact. Environmental protection and rehabilitation programmes should go along with resettlement programmes.
- Resettlers-host relations should be delicately managed so as to prevent the eruption of possible tensions and conflicts based on socio-cultural differences and competition over resources. Unless there is effective system of managing and promoting peaceful relation between the two groups, their relation would obviously be affected. Therefore, there is a need for effective institutional support. There has to be responsible body of state that provides institutionalization, perpetuity, and creation of positive inter-ethnic institutions. The role played by informal institutions of the two societies such as in traditional conflict resolution mechanisms through community elders are very significant in resolving the conflicts and reducing the tensions in the locality. Therefore, the role of informal institutions in prompting peaceful relations between resettlers and the host people has to get due emphasis.

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Plate 1. Focus group discussion at Wemblace Kebele

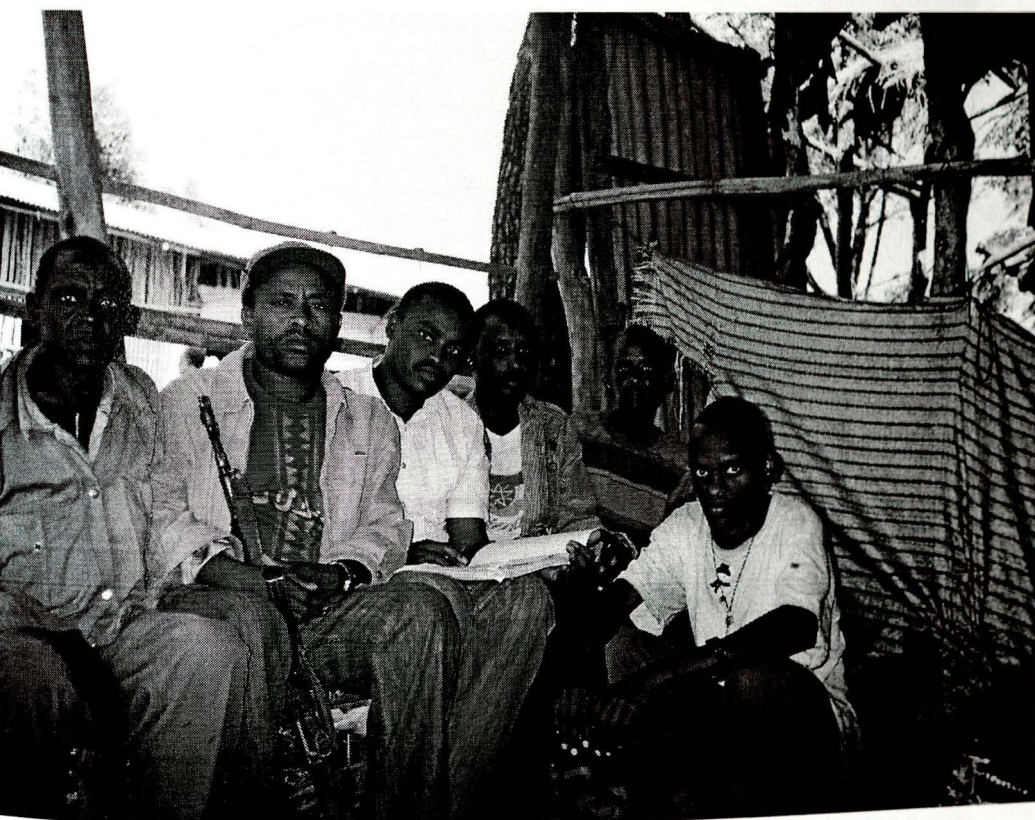
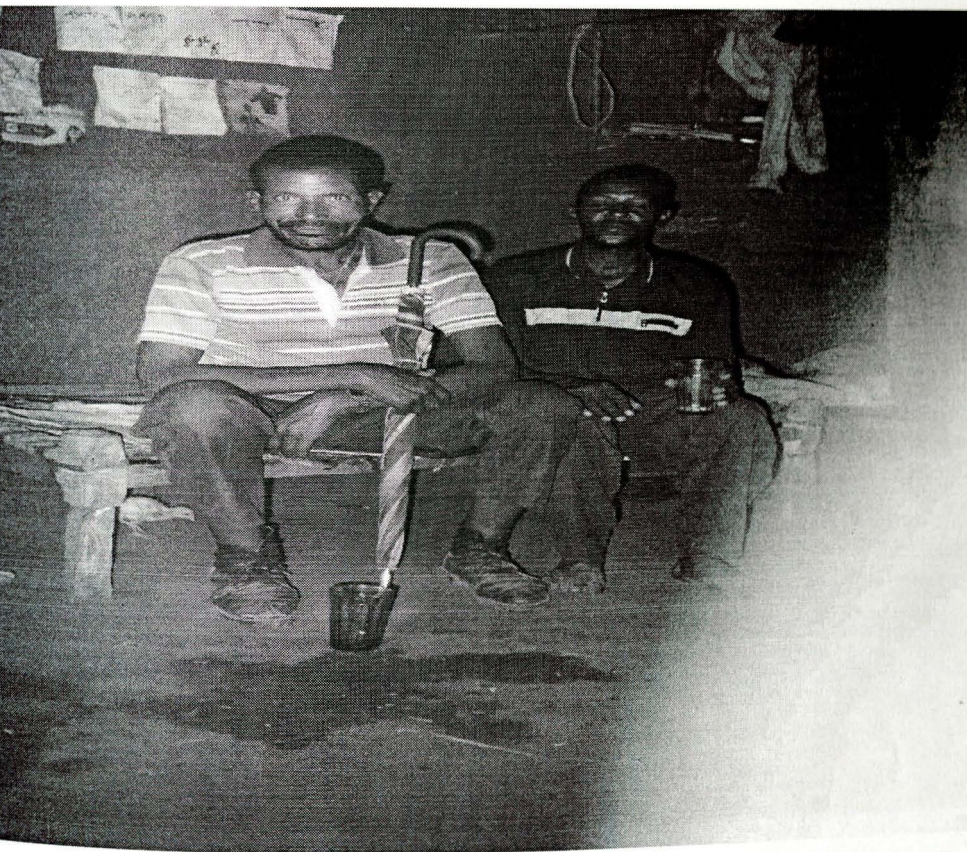


Plate 2. Some of informants among the Kulsi people



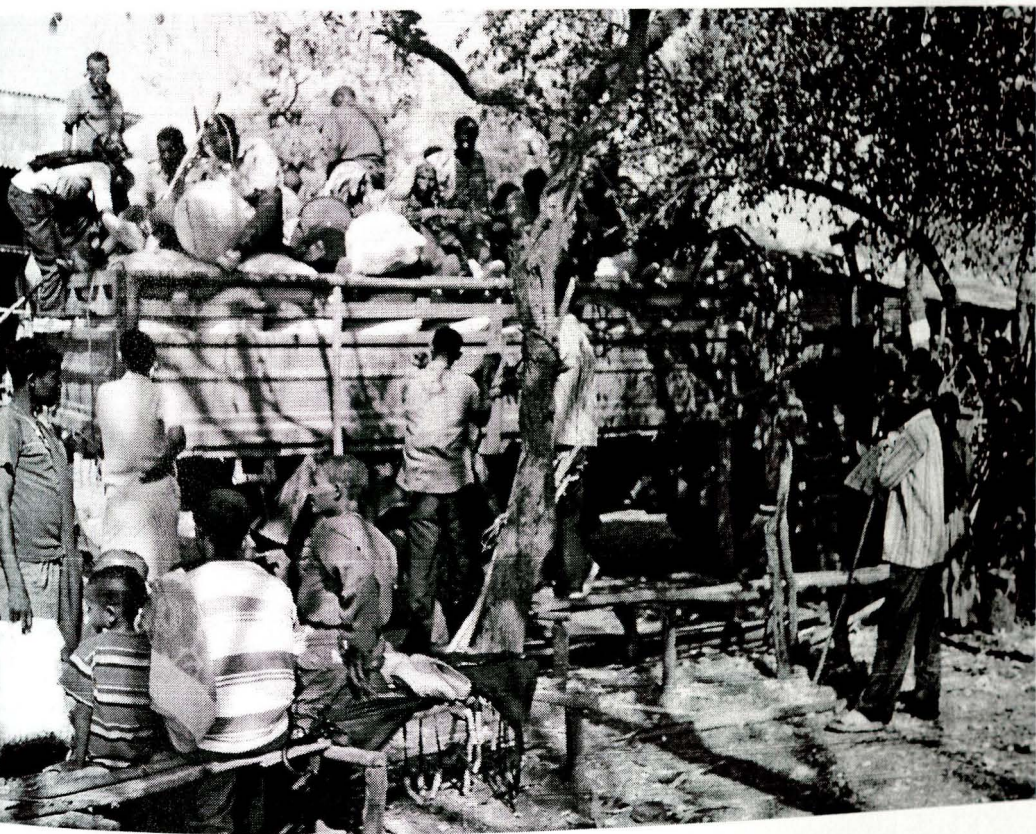
late. 3 Resettlers and Kushi people celebrating S.t George annual festivity at Bambluk
 ebele



ate 4. A resettler farmer and Kushi person, discussing about land renting arrangements.



ate. 5. Resettlers waiting transport at Jawi Town



ate. 6. A Tedious transportation to resettlement villages.



e. 7. A car seized by mud, on the way to Resettlement villages



Plate. 8. Traditional beehive of Kulsi, hanging over big trees .



Plate 9. Forests set on fire.



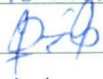
Plate 10. Some parts the resettlement village at Bambluk *Kebele*



Plate. 11. Primary School, at Wemblace Kebele

Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my work and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name Yohannis Yitbarek
Signature 
Date of Submission 27/06/2011

This thesis has been submitted for the school of Graduate Studies with my approval as University advisor.

Name Taddese Beriso
Signature 
Date 27/06/2011