



**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY  
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**AN ASSESSMENT OF RESETTLEMENT IN  
ETHIOPIA: *A case study of Gidda KIRAMU-SIRE  
Dooro Site in East Wollaga Zone***

**SHIMELIS GIZAW**

**ADDIS ABABA  
April, 2007**

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**  
**SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**AN ASSESSMENT OF RESETTLEMENT IN**  
**ETHIOPIA: *A case study of Gidda KIRAMU –Sire Dooro Site in***  
*East Wollaga Zone*

**SHIMELIS GIZAW**

02918 ✓

**AddisAbaba**  
**April, 2007**



**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**  
**SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**A Thesis presented to the school of graduate studies**  
**Addis Ababa University**

**AN ASSESSMENT OF RESETTLEMENT IN**  
**ETHIOPIA: *A case study of Gidda KIRAMU –Sire Dooro Site in***  
***East Wollaga Zone***

**SHIMELIS GIZAW**

**Addis Ababa**  
**April, 2007**

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**  
**SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**AN ASSESSMENT OF RESETTLEMENT IN**  
**ETHIOPIA: *A case study of Gidda KIRAMU –Sire Dooro Site in***  
***East Wollaga Zone***

**A Thesis presented to the school of graduate studies**  
**Addis Ababa University**

**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT**  
**FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN SOCIAL**  
**ANTHROPOLOGY**

**BY SHIMELIS GIZAW**

**Addis Ababa**

**April, 2007**

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**  
**SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**AN ASSESSMENT OF RESETTLEMENT IN**  
**ETHIOPIA: *A case study of Gidda KIRAMU –Sire Dooro Site in***  
***East Wollaga Zone***

**BY SHIMELIS GIZAW GEBREMARIAM**  
**COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES (CSS)**

**APPROVED BY BOARD OF EXAMINERS**

S.K. mohapatra

**ADVISOR**

Tesfaye Tefera

**EXAMINER**

Woldeambek Bewket

**EXAMINER**

Shimelis

**SIGNATURE**

Tesfaye

**SIGNATURE**

Shimelis

**SIGNATURE**

## Table of contents

<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	<b>i</b>
<b>List of maps and appendices</b> .....	<b>ii</b>
<b>Acronyms</b> .....	<b>iii</b>
<b>Glossary of local terms</b> .....	<b>iv</b>
<b>Abstract</b> .....	<b>vi</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE</b>	
<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
1.1 Backgr to the study .....	2
1.2 Statement of the problem .....	3
1.3 Objectives of the study .....	4
1.4 Significance of the study .....	4
1.5 Limitations of the study .....	5
1.6. Methodology .....	5
1.7 Fieldwork experience.....	7
<b>CHAPTER TWO</b>	
<b>Literature Review and Theoretical Frameworks.....</b>	<b>10</b>
2. 1 Literature Review .....	10
2.2 Theoretical frameworks .....	15
2.2.1. The Inherent complexity Approach.....	15
2.2.2. The Risk and Reconstruction Model.....	16
2.2.3. The Social Capital ; The Survival Mechanism.....	17
<b>CHAPTER THREE</b>	
<b>Description of the study area</b> .....	<b>18</b>
3.1. The study area .....	18
3.2. The people .....	19
3.3. The Language .....	20
3.4. Religion .....	21
3.5. Economic Activities .....	22
3.6. Marriage .....	22
3.7. Infrastructure .....	23

## CHAPTER FOUR

<b>From Recruitment to Early Adaptation .....</b>	<b>25</b>
4.1. The Policy.....	25
The resettlers' and the implementers' motives.....	25
Implications of the resettlement to the constitutional and other rights of the People.....	27
4.1.1. The resettlement motives.....	28
4.1.2. Deviations in practice.....	29
4.2. Preparation-----	30
4.2.1. Criteria for recruitment.....	30
4.2.2. Selection of Site, the role of the local agencies and the co-ordinating office .....	32
4.3. Resources available .....	35
4.3.1. Resettlers' experience : in farming.....	35
4.3.2. Availability of government funds.....	40
4.3.3 Provision of relief aid and other inputs .....	41
4.3.4. Agricultural inputs.....	42

## CHAPTER FIVE

<b>Problems and Survival Strategies .....</b>	<b>44</b>
5.1. The concept of social disarticulation.....	44
5.2. Problems the resettlers faced in the site.....	44
5.3. Survival strategies the resettlers adapted.....	51
5.3.1. Marriages as forms of survival strategies .....	51
5.3.1.1. Inter-ethnic marriages.....	51
5.3.1.2. Intra-ethnic marriages.....	52
5.3.1.3. Social Relations in the new Environment.....	53
5.3.2. Economic Cooperation.....	54
5.3.2.1. acquisition of additional bulls.....	57
5.3.1.2. composte Preparation.....	58
5.3.1.3. Working for longer hours.....	58
5.3.1.4. Using traditional irrigation system.....	58
5.3.1.5 Share cropping .....	59
5.3.1.6. Forming Asoociations as coping mechanisms.....	59

5.4. lack of Social Services and other inputs.....	62
<b>CHAPTER SIX.....</b>	<b>61</b>
6.1. Disputes and Conflicts in the resettlement site.....	61
6.1.1. Self Help Associations.....	62
6.2. Resource Based Conflicts.....	62
6.2.1. Conflict over Land, Water, Forest.....	62
6.2.2. Reflections in the Support the Local provide to resettlers.....	62
6.3 The political nature of the recent conflict in <i>Sire Dooro</i> .....	65
<b>Summary and Conclusions.....</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>Summary.....</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>Conclusions.....</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>Recommendations.....</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	
<b>APPENDICES</b>	

## Acknowledgments

I am grateful to those who have given me their advice and support from the time when I first began writing this thesis. Especially, my thanks go to those who have contributed to my decision to work on the subject of resettlement.

I would also like to thank my colleagues and friends Alemayehu Dogamo, Yilma Sunta, Feqadu Adugna, and Mulugeta Iyoel for their good wishes and kind contributions for my success in the study. Ato Negash Tolera is a person with special credit to me for his assistance at the time of conducting fieldwork.

I am indebted to my kids Dibora and Aron Shimelis and to their mother Freheywet Alemayehu, who remained with little attention I gave them during my study years.

I am also indebted to all my informants, the staff members of administration office of the town of *Gidda Ayyaana*, the staff of Rural Development Office of *Gidda Ayyaana* and the DAs, who have offered me their kind support, during my field work.

My greatest regard for his patience and helpfulness should also go to my supervisor S.K. Mohapatra (Ph D): He has devoted his energy and time to the work of looking in to and commenting on every part of the thesis.

I would also like to extend my thanks to Christian Michelsen Institute (CMI), Norway, for its financial support which has helped me to conduct the field work and preparation of thesis.

## LIST OF FIGURES

Map ; The map for the study area

Table for informants' bio-data (checklist0

Plates of some of the resettlement activities (numbered 1-7,appendix)

## ACRONYMS

- AAU – Addis Ababa University
- CSA – Central Statistical Authority
- CSO – Central Statistical office
- DA – Development Assistant
- DPPB– Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Bureau of Oromia
- E.C.– Ethiopian Calendar
- EHRS – Ethiopian Highlands Reclamation Study
- EPRDF – Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front
- FA – Farmers’ Association
- FDRE – The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
- FSS – Food Security Strategy
- IRR – Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction Model
- MOI – Ministry of Information
- OPDO – Oromo People’s Democratic Organization
- PA – Peasant Association
- RRC – Relief and Rehabilitation Commission
- SNNPR – Southern Nation Nationalities and People’s Region
- SODECO – Social Development Consultants
- TPLF – Tigray People’s Liberation Front

## GLOSSARY

- Arfaasa – short rainy season that lasts from mid March to mid May (Afaan Oromo)
- Ashu Kusaye – the village where the North Shoan resettlers were settled to in the 2002 resettlement program
- Badda – Highland (Afaan Oromo)
- Badda Daree – Temprate Land (Afaan Oromo)
- Birra – Short rainy season lasting from September to mid November (Afaan Oromo)
- Bona – Dry season (mid December to mid March) (Afaan Oromo)
- Daboo – Mutual help association formed among friends and relatives in times of shortage of labor (Afaan Oromo)
- Dubbuq – The village where resettlers from Harrarghe were resettled at Sire Dooro resettlement site
- Gammoojji – Lowland (Afaan Oromo)
- Gidda – The wereda administration capital of the study area
- Ganna – The major rainy season (mid June to mid September) (Afaan Oromo)
- Harar – The sub-region from which most of the resettlers came to Sire Dooro (Afaan Oromo)
- Hojale – goat milk consumed by the harar resettlers during work on the farm field and on occasions like house building
- Kiramu – a small town lying along the road between Nekemte and Bure
- Leeqa – Dynasty (Afaan Oromo)
- Moofara – The heavy wooden tool that holds the yoke to the plough
- Nuugi – The second most important oil seed in the resettlement site
- Qambara – The yoke of the oxen
- Qotto – Digging tool made of branched wood with its cutting blade on the shoter arm of the wood (Afaan Oromo)

Salale – north Shoan resettlers who were resettled in Sire Dooro

Salit' – the most important oil crop in the resettlement village of Dubbuq in the site of *Sire Dooro*

Sire Dooro – The site of resettlement in the present study

Wereda – (Amharic) the term used for the lower administrative level in the hierarchy of the present system in Ethiopia (Amharic)

Zone – The level of administration between *Killil* and *wereda*

## Abstract

The major objective of this study is evaluating the 2002/03 resettlement program in Ethiopia. The program was also examined for the presence of individual motives other than food security. Investigation was made in terms of the experience of resettlers as farmers, its policy, and implementation procedures in *Sire Dooro* site of East Wollaga zonal administration in The Regional State of Oromia.

The method followed to meet the objectives included qualitative analysis and interpretation of data collected by in-depth interviewing, observation, etc., and by investigation of secondary sources of data such as the 1994 constitution, the policy (guide line) of resettlement, etc and other works in the area of my study. A total of 56 informants were interviewed out of which data obtained from 21 key informants of all ranges of age, sex, education, and experience as farmers were incorporated in this thesis. Moreover, the *Cultural Consensus Model* was employed to bring out variety of information about the background of resettlers when the other methods fail to do so in the study.

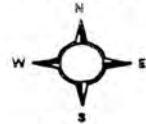
Comparison of features of previous resettlement programs with the present ones was made to illuminate differences and similarities as part of the research design in the study. The role and nature of conflict in the area was assessed critically. Unlike previous studies on the subject of resettlement, the present study considered how the capacity of implementers, and the experience of resettlers as farmers were affecting the program in general.

The major findings of the present study include; the observation that the conventional evaluation of conflicts which affect the success of the program was not ethnic based and that they were rather resource based. Despite its spontaneity at initial stage, the current resettlement was being carried out under conditions of availability of a huge amount of money made available by the Regional State of Oromia. My observation allowed me to see that the program was being implemented according to the policy except in a few instances regarding its preparation. The social services like schools, clinics, the dry weather road, and small market were being shared by the local population as well. Lack of compatibility of the resettlement program with the constitutional rights and with the traditional land tenure system was identified by investigation. There were indications that the experience of resettlers as farmers had affected their productivity in the program. It was also revealed in the present study that the conventional alliance between all Amhara occupants had shifted to an alliance between a portion of the Amharas with the Oromo community in the locality. The fact that the ethnic line that opposing groups seemed to follow had played only symbolic role was evidenced in the observation of the present study. There were even more evidences to this like the presence of armed *Amhara* militias in Oromo farmers' association in the site of my study. The establishment of marriages between the Amhara and Oromo communities in the locality indicated that there are no sanctions that prohibit the formation of such social relations and that the possibility for ethnic

based conflict was unlikely to occur in the site at least immediately after implementation of the program.

The study has a considerable significance for policy makers and implementers of agricultural projects such as that being carried out in Ethiopia, where a large proportion of the population suffers from famine each year. It can also contribute to the effort to bridge the gap of knowledge in understanding different forms of resettlement in Ethiopia. Generally, the study will have a critical role in determining the strategy for implementation of resettlement programs, in policy formulation, site selection, and recruitment of resettlers.

Gida Kiremu Wereda

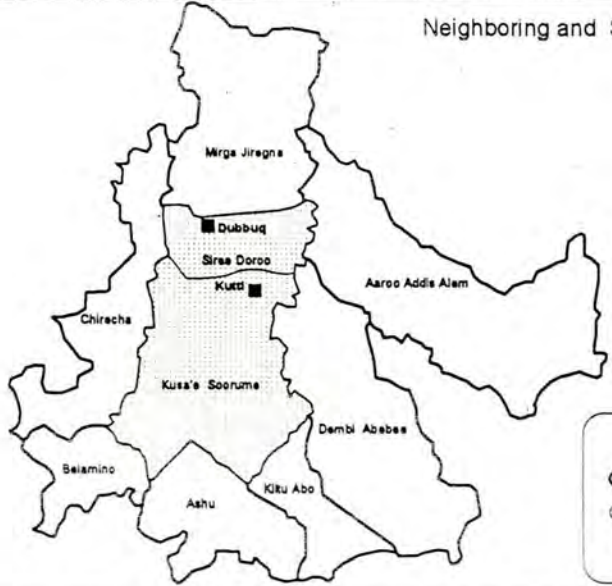


**Legend**

- Wereda Boundary
- Road
- River
- Town

0 700000 1400000 Kilometers

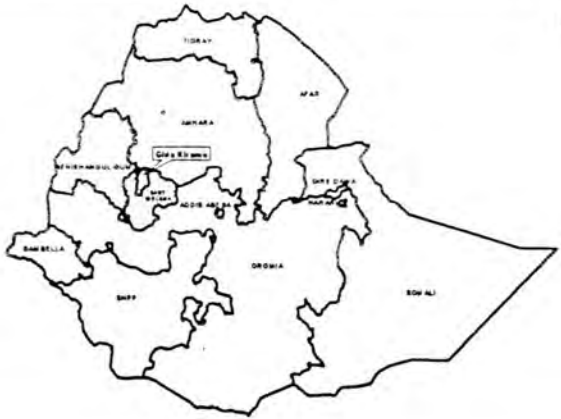
Neighboring and Study Peasant Associations.



**Legend**

- Neighbouring Peasant Association
- Study Peasant Association
- Resettlement Site (Study Area)

ETHIOPIA



# Chapter One

## 1. Introduction

The main purpose of this study is to assess the resettlement program of 2002/2003 in terms of policy, preparation, and implementation. Resettlers' experiences as farmers and the capacity of implementers have also been considered in the investigation, since they can influence the success of the program the country has adopted as a strategy for food security. The introductory chapter contains background to resettlement, research problem, objectives, methodology and field work experiences. It also highlights the limitations of the study and organization of the thesis.

### 1.1. Background to the Study

Almost all resettlements in Ethiopia were carried out in response to recurrent problems. Some of the problems include, degradation of the environment due to repeated use of land for farming and the resulting soil erosion, drought, population pressure, and the policy of integration by the different governments in the country. Nevertheless, a considerable proportion of the views about the resettlement moves in the country is that all the resettlement programs had the motive of assimilating the people and incorporating the regions by this means in addition to other mechanisms (Alula, 1992). What seems evident is that incorporation of the populous regions might have been carried out while the governments were actually trying to minimize the existing problems of hunger and tensions of overpopulation in their regions. A more frustrating view about resettlement programs all over the world is that only a small proportion of the schemes were successful (Dessalegn, 2003). This is particularly true in Ethiopia, because almost all the resettlement programs failed to achieve the "official" objectives of the movement of the population in both the imperial and the *Dergue* regimes.

Resettlement has been the feature of government policy during both the *Dergue* (Jansson, 1990) and the *EPRDF* periods. (Dessalegn, 2004) during both regimes, resettlement became a response to the emergency situation in the drought affected areas (Wolde Sillassie, 2003, Dessalegn, 2003). It has been suggested by the same authors that launching resettlement programs without adequate preparation can lead to ecological and humanitarian damages (Ibid).

I have taken a special interest in *Sire Dooro* resettlement site in *Gidda KIRAMU wereda* for analyzing the characteristics of the current resettlement program. Besides, as there are *Amhara* migrants who came from *Gojjam*, *Gondor*, and *Wollo* during the previous governments, the ethnographic data about the social relations among resettlers in the previous programs can be of considerable importance to determine their current relations. The place is known as a resettlement site for people from *Gojjam and Shoa* in the previous system and it is also a site of resettlement for people from *Shoa* and *Hararghe* in the present scheme. The host community is composed of mainly *Oromos* of the *Mecca* branch. It is reflected in the work of different authors that the region had been occupied by the settlers even before king *Menelik*'s control of that corner of the region (*Oljira*, 1994, *Terefe*, 1968, *Getahun*, 1974, *Tesema* 1980, *Triulzi*, 1975, *Gaulk*, 1975, cited in *Assefa*, 1999). The area is, hence, ideal for observation of various forms of resettlement ranging from spontaneous small-scale to the planned government sponsored schemes.

Incorporating the Southern regions to the North was also a strategy the imperial regime pursued (*Kassahun*, 2000; *Alula*, 1992). The most common causes of the failure in the resettlement program was assumed to be the scarcity of inputs and the incomprehensiveness or complexity of the programs to speak about it, in the broadest sense. That is, the lack of resources for implementation and the difficulty in understanding the problems that were involved in resettling a large mass of population were the major causes of the failure to meet the resettlement objectives.

As a background to the sites of *Wallaga*, it can be said that *mechanization* of agriculture was the aim since hundreds of tractors were to be used for farming in this scheme especially during the *Dergue* era (*Ibid*). The outcome, however, was again a failure due to inadequate study of the soil quality. The types of resettlement in the region vary from one area to another in terms of suitability of the soil for agriculture, size, and the ratio of family to oxen (*Alula*, 1992). *Gidda KIRAMU*, however, had little of this. The district had received thousands of resettlers from the *Amhara* of *Wollo* starting from the 1960s. The people were also brought to the *wereda* from *Gojjam* region of *Amhara* (*Chernet*, 1988, in *Assefa*, 1999) for the purpose of resettlement

Recently, however, resettlers have come to the site from different zones of the state of *Oromia* (*Harar* and *Shoa*). The difference in the schemes of resettlement programs in Ethiopia was not a marked one, except in the present resettlement, whose unique feature can be identified by its *intra-regionality*. This difference and the others (that the program is voluntary and government sponsored, and that the resettlers are free to move to places of origin, etc.) do affect

the program in some way. Therefore, this is a point of controversy and that resettlement is a subject that was dealt with to determine the prospect of the current resettlement program in which there was a move to reconstruct 2.2m people in a move in the whole country.

## **1.2. Statement of the problem**

Debates about the relevance of resettlement to the problem of food insecurity range from those who advocate more organized resettlement to those who recommend spontaneous resettlement and migration to the bigger cities like Addis Ababa (*Dessalegn, 2003*). Still others associate resettlement schemes with political motives on the part of governments and assert that it has disruptive aspects to the society's accumulation of cultural values. Although the focus of much of the literature is on the means and methods of implementation, there is also an emerging category of discourse that highlights that there is little record of success of resettlement programs at global level (*Ibid*). Therefore, formulation of the hypothesis that there could be motives other than the control of drought caused famine is also an aspect for consideration in this study.

In a country where 85% of the population relies on agriculture for subsistence, it is not questionable that social science research should focus on development issues related to the field such as agricultural resettlement. In some of the situations in which settlement was carried out in Ethiopia, collective or co-operative farming and mechanized farming were a few of the systems attempted to resettle and rehabilitate the drought victims in the new sites. Currently, however, there is no sign of relocating people in mechanized farm areas and the schemes are designed to relocate people on small individual plots of land (a few hectares in most cases) which they would have to use for farming and house construction (*Pankhurst, 1992, Wolde Sillasie, 2001*). The present aim of the National Food Security Strategy (FSS) is *to ensure that each household is self-sufficient through agricultural development at family level*. The National Economic Development Strategy seems to have agricultural development (mechanization of agriculture) and industrialization in its long term plan and through this it claims economic change can be achieved at national level (*FDRE, 2002*).

The trend in most of the literature so far reviewed is to focus on the technical aspects of the resettlement schemes and to have no heed for social aspects of the programs, which are often the causes of failure for many of the resettlement schemes (*Pankhurst, 2004*). It follows that assessment of the social factors related to the issue of relocation together with environmental issues is as important as the economic and the other technical aspects of the schemes of resettlement in Ethiopia.

Generally speaking, there is a tendency to give more emphasis to one or the other aspect of resettlement. Still other tendencies include those which totally neglect one aspect and emphasize the other. The focus in the present study is, therefore, to see how factors like capacity of implementers, the policies, conflicts, the experience of resettlers, etc. are affecting the program in general.

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

#### ***1.3.1 general objectives***

The general objective of this study is to make an assessment of the resettlement programme of 2002/2003 based on major factors like policy, preparation, and resources of the Program. The study will also look in to the capacity of the implementers and the agricultural expertise of the resettlers as farmers in their respective places of origin.

#### ***1.3.2 specific objectives***

- 1.3.2.1 to examine the specific conditions under which people are being recruited and resettled ;
- 1.3.2.2 to assess whether the settlers are drawn from drought affected areas and if they Have been moved to the site voluntarily;
- 1.3.2.3 to enquire if any other reason aside from food insecurity is considered in the present resettlement,;
- 1.3.2.4 to predict the prospect of the present resettlement program .

**The following are some of the research questions this study aims to answer.**

1. Are the resources (financial and capable personnel) available for the resettlement program?
- 2.. Are the implementation activities, (selection of sites, recruitment of resettlers & preparation of other inputs) according to the policy?
3. What are the implications of the current resettlement programs to the local people, the environment, and to the social organization of resettlers?
4. Are there motives for resettlement, programs other than the 'official' one, i.e., food security?

## 1.4. Significance of the study

The present study will draw some ethnographic insights from the social mechanisms highlighting the adaptability of resettlers and the local population operating in same the environment. It also attempts to focus on the extent to which the resettlement program has benefited the people, the locality and the nation as a whole in terms of food security and economic development. Moreover, the findings could be helpful to policy makers and implementers for carrying out future resettlement programs in the country.

## 1.5. Limitations of the Study

Since this is a time and resource bound project, it could not be extended to other localities and more informants could not be interviewed to get a full picture. Although the utmost emphasis in the study was given to the investigation of the experiences of the resettlers, policy document and its implementation, it couldn't go to the extent of predicting the prospect of the recent resettlement program due to constraint of time.

## 1.6. Methodology

The techniques employed in data collection are the following:-

**Participant Observation:-** I took part on the occasions of plowing, irrigation canal building, and house building, meetings of the social court, church services,\* a feast at a family where a wedding ceremony was to take place, Tea and *T'alla* sale houses, (where I took part as customer) market where bulls, goats and sheep, grains and other articles are sold, other short meetings of arbitration by elders. Own observations testifying that the *harar* resettlers come very late to the farms, there is a potential for irrigation and resettlers are making efforts to use the streams for traditional irrigation system (they are building canals in the two villages), that they are renewing their cottages, the social court is dealing with disputes like divorce and disputes over plots of land, conferences of the protestant church organized at the time of my arrival did not include the incoming population, a feast at a wedding ceremony included only *Amhara* neighbours at *kutti*\*\*

\*one protestant conference and one Orthodox church service at the beginning of the fasting month

\*\*I was available on the day before the actual wedding and witnessed that the gathering for consultation with neighbours did not include the *Oromos*

Tea and coffee ceremonies are celebrated by all present without discrimination and the *Talla* houses entertain both ethnic groups and arbitrations are done by elders without discrimination among ethnic groups-elders from both groups participate in arbitration of disputes.

**Photographing and audio - recording:** when ever conditions permitted, pictures of settings and occasions were taken. The pocket tape recorder I was carrying was busy almost all the time recording information.

**Case study-** It helped me to gain knowledge about a particular incident by conducting long hours of interview. I benefited not only by getting data but also by the process and sequences of events that happened in a particular case.

**Cultural Consensus Model;** this model was used to reveal the experience or the competence of informants. I was convinced to use it because the techniques I used first failed to show the real cause of the failure of some resettlers in productive activities. The crop failure was blamed by the resettlers' (were made to come late to the site). In addition, lack of oxen, toughness of the land, destruction of crops by hailstones and wild animals, shortage of tools, and the difficulty in clearing the bushes were identified as problems. The same causes had been revealed in the in-depth interview conducted with others about their experience in agricultural activities. Some of the resettlers were not sure how many months it takes for weeding and harvesting sorghum and maize. Others didn't know the need for thorough plowing before planting certain crops like bean, maize or sorghum begins. The harvest was destroyed by wild animals like wild pigs, monkey, 'Karkarro' and others.

**Interviews:** The interviews I conducted included informal and unstructured ones. For one thing on many of the occasions, I didn't need to wait for a formal meeting among resettlers or informants to tell me about their experience. At times, the informants' experiences were even concealed when it has to be expressed in a formal situation. Individually, most informants are encouraged to say what they would fear to say or have doubts about. Control were made by requesting others to respond to the same questions on another occasion. I used the open questions in the in- depth interview to control omission of some aspects of responses to the questions that had allowed a rapid rapport development, which in turn encouraged free communication between informants and the researcher (Bernard, 1994).

**Focus-Group Discussion;-** The Focus Group Discussions were made to know the level of understanding about the resettlement policy and availability of provisions for food security. I have organised three such discussions consisting of members of different social groups. The data

from secondary sources included books and journals, reports of related programs, allied documents, the 1994 constitution of FDRE.

**The pilot study** was done in November 2004. The task of the researcher during the pilot study was to look for information about the site where the resettlement program was being carried out, its distance from the main road to *Gojjam*, the size of the population of the resettlers in the current program, and about facilities of transportation, residence for camping, social services etc. It was decided during the trip to *Kiramu* for pilot study that I would be conducting field work in the site selected some 10 months before when I was out for site selection with a team of fellow graduate students and senior instructors in the department of Sociology and Social Anthropology at Addis Ababa University.

**Purposive sampling** was the specific technique I employed as it was difficult to interview the whole population during the given time limit. The informants were selected purposively on the recommendation of the resettlers but while carrying out the interview I have found out that all of them were not equally competent for my purpose. Hence I had to select 21 of them based on their experience, expressiveness, social status etc. as my key informants. I conducted in-depth interview with these 21 key informants in addition to other informants approached at the time of necessity for cross checking.

## **1. 7. Fieldwork experience**

One of the biggest problems I faced in the field work was the distance of the resettlement site from centres of social services like hotels, telecommunication services, clinics, roads, photocopy and computer services, transportation facilities, and the like. The site I had to travel to was about 40 kms away from the main all weather road. That had made the access difficult and I had to hire a mule and a guide to reach the resettlement site. The effort I made to solve the problem through the wereda administration was not successful. The following day I was on a mule's back for seven hours. At 3pm on the same day I reached *Sire Dooro* the PA market centre and a village- where I settled.

The next challenge was to find a place to camp. The two villages of the resettlement site were (Dubbuq and Ashu Kusaye) that are situated about 7 kms away from each other and it was difficult to reach both villages each day. Therefore, I had to request the PA chair person to assign me a place to settle. As a result I was given a small room which I shared with the DAs who were to stay with me for the following 40 days. I decided to settle in the market area for it was at an

equal distance from each site. Facilities for washing were among the serious problems I faced while I was in the resettlement site. I had to, however, survive with whatever was available.

The informants' suspicion that I was a journalist or some government official was one of the challenges I faced while doing the field work. The suspicion of course, did not affect my progress in the data collection since informants have later proved for themselves that I was not a journalist. The only problem I faced for being taken as a journalist was to be asked to present their problems to government officials. This has interrupted my interview seriously.

The coffee ceremony, on which I first met them was the beginning of my observation and selection of informants. On many occasions, I had to go to the villages on foot except on a few market days on which the informants came to my camp which could save me the few day's travel to the villages. On most of the other days, of course, I had to go and observe the villages and resettlement activities.

### **Selection of study area**

I have taken special interest in the *Sire Dooro* resettlement site in *Gidda KIRAMU wereda* for its representation of the current resettlement program. Besides, as there are *Amhara* migrants who came from *Gojjam*, *Gondor*, and *Wollo* during the previous governments, the ethnographic data about the social relations among resettlers in the previous programs was of considerable importance to determine their current relations. The host community is composed of mainly *Oromos* of the *Mecca* branch. It is reflected in the literature that the region had been occupied by the settlers even before King *Menelik*'s control of that corner of the region ( cf. *Assefa*, 1999). The area hence became ideal for observation of various forms of resettlement ranging from spontaneous small-scale to the planned government sponsored schemes. More over, I speak the languages of both communities which is an added advantage.

### **Organisation of thesis**

The first chapter of the thesis is introduction and its subsections were discussed in the beginning . Chapter two of the thesis presents a brief review of relevant literature and the theoretical framework.. Disparities in conceptualization of resettlement, the conditions under which resettlement programs were carried out in Ethiopia, the problems that resulted from the manner of implementation, the contributions of previous resettlement programs to the growth of the national economy, etc., are some of the points that have been incorporated in this section. Chapter three gives a description of the study area and the people. It includes the social

institutions, beliefs and practices, and infrastructural facilities among other things. In chapter four, preparation for resettlement and the availability of resources as per the policy and the manner of implementation have been dealt with. Chapter five is composed of the description of problems and survival strategies adopted in the program by resettlers. Relationship between the previous occupants and the present resettlers has been discussed in chapter six. Chapter seven deals with the conclusions based on the findings .

## **Chapter Two**

### **Review of Related Literature, and Theoretical Frameworks.**

#### **2.1. Literature Review**

##### **Conceptual Controversies**

The concept “Resettlement” is understood by many to be the movement of population from locations where livelihoods are seriously affected to places where there are relatively better conditions (Pankhurst, 1992, cited in Kassahun,2000: 41). The other understanding of resettlement includes the concept that people move to places where the use of the land is not so exhaustive that the land still has some potential for agriculture (World Bank,1978, cited in Kassahun,2000).

Since large scale government planned moves of this type involve the participation of many organizations a standing policy and an allotment of funds as part of its economic policy, resettlement schemes have never escaped the suspicion of being a political agenda. There is very little report of success in resettlement globally (*Dessaegn, 2003*) and what is reflected in the scholarly conversations is how schemes of resettlement failed and as to how this is associated with government policies. It is true that people are moved in resettlement programs when there are problems like population pressure and the resulting scarcity of land, land degradation, famine and drought, conflicts, unemployment, etc and the schemes cover a broad range of the community in question. The people’s intention in accepting the moves is, thus, to be better off by improvement of the livelihoods.

The spatial change or movement of people from places of origin to a new environment is a common feature to all resettlement schemes. What seems to vary with each type of movement of people in African countries in particular is the condition under which people are made to move, the manner of implementation of such programs, and the capacity of implementers, and the resources needed (Chris de Wit,2004:89).

The various senses in which “Resettlement” is understood by scholars are the results of endeavours made by the respective governments in Ethiopia and by their motives, which the policies are intended to bear. The policies of resettlement in Ethiopia have always had hidden motives. The official policies do not often spell out the hidden motives and there lies a discrepancy among the ways the ordinary public looks at them.

The reactions of the public to the schemes of resettlement sometimes took a form of forced willingness because refusal to obey government policies could often result in punishment

(Dawit,1989). some resettlers would therefore escape while being moved and in this way tried to avoid imprisonment or even shooting if found running away from camps.

In terms of availability of resources for the implementation of the program, almost all the schemes in Ethiopia were carried out under similar conditions; there are a few exceptions in the South- West regions. Conditions of the resettled people during the time of resettlement were worse off since the livelihoods are destroyed in most of the cases- Except in the cases of “Spontaneous Resettlement” moves by individuals or groups, which sometimes take place when they have the potential for reconstruction in the new areas. Resettlers are often reluctant to follow government schemes in Ethiopia because they could never be sure about what would happen after leaving places of origin and the frequent news about such moves is that of disaster due to hunger, malaria, ethnic conflict over resources, malnutrition, etc. Human and animal diseases, and malnutrition are sometimes so serious that death rates in resettlement sites reached 110 per thousand (Alex de Was, 1991: 225 cited in Gebre,2003). Because of the ill-preparedness of the agencies, and due to lack of provisions to the policies, and scarcity of inputs, people have always felt insecure to accept the programs and they leave part of the house hold in the places of origin; separation of family becomes an additional factor for the psychological tension and failure to invest the physical and mental labor for the productive activities. Government (especially the *derg*) reacted violently to such behaviour of resettlers (Dawit,1989).

It is as well not uncommon to fulfill such objectives as incorporating less populous regions in to others, as in the Ethiopian case during the era of both *Menelik* and *Hailesillassie*. Depriving opposition groups of the popular support was also another motive during the *derg* time. The tradition of moving people for purposes of assimilation and expansion seems to me irrelevant to the present program since all resettlement programs are being carried out intra- regionally in most regions.

The negligible contribution of resettlement to the national economy, has also affirmed that resettlement in Ethiopia could never bear objectives other than political ones. Things have always gone wrong with the government planned resettlement schemes while self-settled groups in Ethiopia are better in terms of productivity and self-sufficiency compared to those who were resettled in the government schemes (Schudder,1985, cited in Kassahun,2003:2). Therefore, it is possible to conclude that resettlement programs in Ethiopia have been defined to be popular moves to other places just to fulfill political objectives. There is,however, reason to accept that people are moved in resettlement programs to fulfill the objective of food security and to minimize the

problems of land degradation, population pressure, in the respective areas from where resettlers moved.

The present description is based mainly on previous works by (Alula Pankhurst, 1992, Assefa Tolera, 1999, *Wolde Sillasie Abbute*, 2003, Richard Pankhurst, 1986, and on *Hizikiel Gebbisa* and *Alula P.*, 1986-b, *Dessaiegn Rahmato*, 2003, *Kassahun Berhanu*, 2000, etc). According to those studies by the authors mentioned, the two major types of resettlement carried out in Ethiopia include (a) Spontaneous resettlement and (b) planned resettlement schemes (*Alula P.*, 1992). Spontaneous resettlement began as part of the political system's practice to extend the control over the various regions in the country after the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Planned resettlement, on the other hand, started as a consequence of the *push* and *pull* factors (Ibid). Availability of free and fertile land and market has attracted the northern migrants, which had the *pull* effect on the resettlers. The *push* factor – (population density, soil erosion, drought and famine), had the effect described in the *northern regions* of the country.

After the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, resettlement was also considered as part of *agricultural development* and was carried out by officials in the respective regions (Alula P., 1992). Hence, it was implemented partly, as a scheme to settle those who lead the life of mobile cattle herders. There was assumed to be a move of about 100,000 people in the schemes (Ibid). Later, after establishment of strong ties with the eastern socialist bloc, the USSR in particular, a move to 20 settlement sites was planned by the Ethiopian government. But in those schemes, *input was too much compared to the contribution it had to the country's economic development* (Ibid). It was thus, justifiable to relocate people from areas where there was shortage of land for cultivation in this scheme, which was not successful either, but had some indications of productivity. The following reasons may be cited as causes (1) low -cost settlement didn't contribute to the economy (2) the big ones involved too much input and (3) though not perfectly successful, the move of the land hungry farmers had some signs of usefulness.

While 'spontaneous' resettlement was partly a non-government planned scheme and had no organization and budget for its implementation as such, planned resettlement on the other hand, had the official objectives of food security, of minimizing population pressure and environmental degradation and had budget and agency for its implementation. The establishment of Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, RRC, was a major strategy for food security in the country. The involvement, however, of the political motive that the mass movement would deprive opposition movements of their popular support blended by the untimeliness of the occasions on which the programs were implemented, becomes obvious; sometimes, even the availability of resources

and the capacity of implementers were not assessed adequately before launching the resettlement programs; lack of consultation with the society concerned and requests to volunteer in the implementation of the programs is also absent. As a result, the hugest of all the endeavors made to resettle masses of the population from drought-affected regions of the country have failed dramatically. The resettlement programs have failed to achieve the official objective of 'self-sustainability' in particular. According to these authors, resettlers have become totally dependent on the food rations provided by government (Dawit, 1989, cited in Gebre,2003). The major cause of the failure according to certain critics is the incorporation of the hidden motive of suppression of political movements by depriving them of the popular support on which the organizations relied (Clay and Holcomb, 1986: 29; Colchester and Luling, 1987:5; Dawit, 1989: 289, 298; Keller, 1993:233, cited in Gebre, 2003).

The scholarly discourses have sufficient indications of the conflict that was to break out at any moment in their assessment of the scheme of migration and the power relations, Knutsson (1964) describes this process as '*Ethiopianization/ Amhararization*. The realities after the overthrow of the '*Dergue*' seem to have offered a great deal of evidence for this. The PA, in which the present study has been conducted witnessed the outcome of those power relations. A large number of *Amhara* settlers were displaced from the area in the conflict with the indigenous *Oromos* and a considerable proportion of them has not returned.

The history of resettlement and the conflict between the settlers and the host community could therefore, provide evidences that the 'good' intention of resettlement by the different governments in Ethiopia have always had the hidden motive of politics. This has been made clear in the refusal of the host community to accept marriage proposals by the settlers (Assefa 1999), which would be assumed to be a form of alliance with or acceptance of opposing groups.

Recently, reports of the schemes of resettlement in different regions of Ethiopia have been carried out. The major differences between the present and the past schemes included that the present resettlement is voluntary and that it is intra regional where as all the mass movements of the past resettlement (Government sponsored ones) schemes were inter regional (North to South and South West). Population pressure, scarcity of land, famine and drought, and degradation of the land were the major 'official' reasons for the programs in both the '*Dergue*' and the imperial regimes of Ethiopia. The official purpose of the current resettlement program by EPRDF, on the other hand was *food security* that was to be achieved in three years; about 2.2 million people were to be moved in the program and 2/3 of the task must have been completed by the time had been there.

Observations made by researchers indicate that the current program as well was not free from political motives of maintaining the power relation between resettlers and the ruling party. Many resettlers and the ruling party's (TPLF) ex - soldiers and returnees from refugee camps in the Sudan have been incorporated in the scheme by EPRDF (Kassahun 2000). Resettlement has ever been the feature of the process of state formation in Ethiopia and the present case of resettlement of ex-refugees in *Humera* provides a single example that it had a major but *unofficial* political objective (of maintaining the system) other than the rehabilitation of returnees (Kassahun, 2000:46).

Seeing the issue of resettlement from this angle cannot reveal the real motive of the program in all the systems of government in Ethiopia since such mass movement of the population in the programs has always involved a break in the social network of the moving population. The resulting disconnections to the social ties are very likely to be interpreted as violations to the people's rights to social organizations. Systems of traditional administration and politics, the ties of kinship, etc are broken in this way and it is possible that movements in resettlement could have meanings as political motives by observers.

I made observations and investigated that there are about 12 cases in which interethnic marriages were possible between *Amharas* and Oromo in the Oromo zone of East Wollaga in Sire Dooro in particular. According to my observations *Wollo* and *Gojjame* women were married and produced children with *Oromo* men and the vice versa.

This type of generalization, however, isolates resettlement from its primary agenda, which is an issue of development with possible impact on the ways people are organized in a given locality.

Concerning the relations between settlers and the host population,"the competition for resources and the equal access to services and public utilities were potential causes of conflict in resettlement areas. These may be influenced positively according to authors by providing the local population with services that come as a result of carrying out the resettlement program in the area (Kassahun, 2000:171). The assumptions, therefore, that conflicts often occurred as a result of amalgamation of a given ethnic group against another seems not to be working in this context at least.

## 2.2. Theoretical Frameworks

### 2.2.1 *The inherent complexity approach*

This is the view that owing to its nature, 'involuntary resettlement' is characterized by a complexity, which causes a variety of problems that are less difficult to solve and which require more than the provision of inputs (de wet, 2003:52)

This approach bases the analysis on the spatial change which has various implications to the social, economic, and political life of the resettlers' disruptions to these aspects of life are inevitable once resettlers have moved from places of origin to other places,( which are often very far /800Kms/ in the case of Sudanese Nubians)(Cernea cited in de wet, 2003). Some of the patterns of life that result from the spatial change of resettlers are patterns of the change in the access to resources like land, water, wood and the social services they are accustomed to in their places of origin.

What de wet observes also includes heterogeneity of the host community causes competition over resources and leadership. The involuntary resettlers in *Wollaga Qeto* found themselves in a competing relation with each other for they had to share a burial place for both Christians and Muslims (Ibid p 56).

The pattern of access to the means of subsistence is altered in resettlement and the local people find themselves in close connection with wider political and administrative structures (de wet, 2003:57).

Resettlement projects are 'problematic institutional processes' because *the objectives of the resettlement project fail to be 'realized'* and the people/resettlers often become socio-economically' worse off. In connection with this, *Alan Rew*, cited in *de Wet*, 2003 explains that the policy and its implementation should not be considered as two separate phases but as part of one process (Ibid, p.57). *Rew* further explains that policy is *transformed considerably in the process of implementation*. It is so because problems of institutional processes of resettlement and rehabilitation are reflected in the policy outcome- ***a policy is composed of a negotiated outcome that has to accommodate the concerns of various interest groups and it tends to be general and even embodies contradictory elements*** (Ibid). A policy is implemented in situations where there is no adequate infrastructure, co-ordination and personnel and where there are scarcities of basic necessities and implementers and local officials are often compelled to operate according to rooms available in the routine activities and resources available in order to cope with the demands. "*Eventually resettlement policy becomes what the local officials make of it on the ground*".

Resettlement projects are often carried out in the face of critical shortages in terms of infrastructure, personnel (with the skills and concern for the cause) and other resources. Studies show that most projects in Africa often start with 10% of the over all budget (Ibid p. 58) Resettlement is, therefore, considered subordinate and very little resource is allowed for its implementation in most of the situations.

### **2. 2. 2 *The Risk and Reconstruction Model***

*Michael Cernea's* principle (Risks and Reconstruction Model) can be extended to '*Comparable processes*', that concern relocated people. His theory is basically applicable to situations where people are displaced as a result of efforts made to carry out development programs such as road construction, dam building, irrigation canals, hospitals, schools, etc. Displacement is taken in the sense that it is a socially caused disruption, not a natural disaster, and its adverse effects can and must be counter -balanced.

Cernea's focus in his study is on peoples, who have been forcibly displaced which could also be called involuntary displacees because there is always a 'push' factor such as dam building or others for their displacement.

The theory, therefore, seems more applicable to involuntary resettlement rather than 'voluntary resettlement'. Nevertheless, aversion of the inherent problems in all types of development projects are essential elements of interventions in 'voluntary' resettlement as well. The 'risks' *Cernea* mentions, landlessness, homelessness, marginalization, social disarticulation, etc are features of ill planned development projects. Therefore, the examination (diagnosis) of all stages, the anticipation or (prediction) of possible risks, and the 'resolution of the anticipated problems are the essential functions that must be incorporated in the policy. Policy makers and planners are criticized in the other perspective I have considered in the previous section, for making no provisions of this kind in resettlement projects and thus their plans have been inadequate. The current resettlement program and its guiding principles do not include examination, prediction, and the resolution of aspects of the routine activities of the implementation. In addition to financial scarcities, which the projects in Africa suffer from, inadequacies of this type are assumed to be the major factor for the failure of many of the resettlement projects (de wet, 1997).

In order to examine a resettlement program, therefore, anthropological studies need that way of looking into the interventions in terms of their diagnostic, predictive, and prescriptive'

dimensions. That is because these are the aspects lacking in the policies of previous resettlement programs mentioned.

According to Cernea, the model predicts future results of development projects based on the outcome of the previous data and he asserts if warnings are not considered, the risk will turn to be real.

### **Social capital : The survival mechanism**

Social capital theory, according to Bordieu and Coleman, can be defined broadly as network of social relations which are characterised by norms of trust and reciprocity and which lead to mutually beneficial outcomes( cf.Hunter,2003). The study conducted by Putnam says social capital is incorporated in the trust of people feel vis-a vis each other and the social, economic and political systems in which they are involved. can develop if people often meet and can do things together.Through all interactions, the citizens will learn to trust each other. They become interdependent in the sense that “If I do what I am supposed to do for you, you will also do for me what is expected from” a kind of balanced reciprocity.when it goes on for a long time – may be over generations that the trust develops (Putnam,2003)

Clearly, social capital is a multifaceted concept that opens the possibility of understanding social problems and rationalizing policy action at a number of levels.It also arises from social networks which has been classified in to three types namely: bonding,bridging, and linking.It also said to coexist in dense or closed networks and helps people to get by in life on a daily basis.linking social capital is a concept that involves social relationships with those in authority or positions of power, which is also useful for securing resource(Woolcock and Narayan,2000).

Social capital can be analysed from two perspectives ie. Structural in which connections or networks are included and cultural which is defined in terms of norms, manners and customs related to the structural aspects.(Hunter,2003).Some also argue in different tone but agree with the basic definition ie. Human capital resides in the individual where as social capital resides in relationships(ibid).

What ever way the terms might be used, it can be argued that social relationship is the building block for the survival of individuals in the society. The human beings create, and modify the existing relationships to overcome the unforeseen danger in the life situations. The social capital is emphasized and used as the primary model for the present piece of work .

## Chapter Three

### Description of the study area

#### 3.1.1. The area

The two villages *Dubbuq* and *Ashu-Kusaye'* are located at a distance of 5-7 km from each other. Due to the difference in the religion, culture, place of origin of the resettlers, purposive samples had to be taken from both villages. Therefore, I decided to settle between the two villages at *Sire Dooro*. *Sire Dooro* is the center of the PA, Rural Development office, Market, Farmer's co-operative, school and clinic are located in this centre. The store for grains of food ration is also in this centre.

It was about 1:30 hours walk to each village from where I preferred to camp. Some of the resettlers came to the centre to buy things and sale grains. Their children go to school through the center. I spent much of my time walking to the villages except on market days when resettlers came to the center.

The larger village, *Dubbu,q* has about 1,600 resettlers while the smaller one is composed of about 400 resettlers from North *Shoa*. A total 2000 resettlers are living in the site of the present study.

Therefore, in order to cover and define the type of informants I would be talking to, I had to have more time at *Dubbuq* than in *Ashu kusaye*. I took a total of 56 informants, who differ from each other in experience as farmers, in age, sex, in success in the agricultural activities of the harvest year (1997Ec.), and in other backgrounds. There are 6 female house- hold heads in *Dubbuq* with their own plots of land (2 ha each), a goat and an ox. There are 3 female family head resettlers at *Ashu Kusaye*.

I have taken resettlers from all ranges of age, sex and other backgrounds. Twenty nine of the informants were resettlers of these ranges. Seventeen of the total are from the local people, FA members, co-operative chair person, returnees from migration, drivers (who brought commercial fertilizers to the PA) and 'wereda' officials and DAs - rural development workers.

The study was conducted in *Sire Dooro* PA in '*Gidda KIRAMU*' wereda of East *Wallaga*. What is now called East *Wallaga Zone* includes the town of *Naqamte* and it extends to the *Abbay* valley in the North West and to *Shoa* in the North. According to descriptions made by authors, *Wallaga* was divided in to three main administrative areas during the imperial era (Teshome, 1999).

There are three agro-ecological zones in *Wallaga: Badda* (high land) 2000-3000 m above sea-level, *Badda daree* (temperate land) 1400-2000s above sea-level, and the *Gammojji* (I bid). The rain fall covers mid March to November with variations depending on the altitude of areas over which it falls. The heavy rainfall season *Ganna* extends from Mid June to September. *Birra* extends from mid June to mid September. *Arfaasa* is the light rains season. *Bona* is the driest season and it extends from December to March. The region is, therefore suitable for crop production and cattle rearing in most of its districts.

According to the divisions of the region in to the agro-ecological zones, the area of the present study is in *badda-daree* zone, which has an average of 16 -20d egress centigrade of temperature. Therefore, it is suitable for crops like 'teff', maize, sorghum, varieties of potato, and for plantation of oil crops. While fruit plants like mango, banana, avocado etc. are available many people also keep bees and cattle as additional economic activities. Although the neighboring valley is a hostile environment for both animals and human beings, the area around *Sire Dooro* is suitable for many crops. There is a big river *Qarsa*, from which water was diverted for use in farms at *Dubbuq* by the traditional irrigation system. There is a smaller river in the *Salale* village at *Ashu Kasaye* which was being used for the same purpose. There were also smaller streams that could be used for smaller traditional irrigations for the production of sugar-cane and banana.

### 3.1.2. The people

*Wollaga* Oromo according to oral traditions and written records is one of the main branches of *Borana* that made its settlement in what is now called Jimma, *Ilu-Abbaa bora* and *wollaga* itself (Teshome).

The land holding system of the Oromo of this locality (*gabiyyee*) has allowed the right to hold land on generational hierarchy. In that system of holding the land, the elder families are allowed to remain on the family's land. The younger family, on the other hand, are expected to extend land if shortage of land compels them to do so. This system of land holding was disrupted later by the violation to the *gada* system and by the introduction of Amhara rulers to the region during Menelik's reign (Tesema Ta'a,1980). The introduction of the Amhara rulers resulted in the dispossession and displacement of the Indigenous Oromos from their land according to the author. The integration of the region and the people has resulted in a complete change in the land holding and in the traditional administrative system. The extended Oromo collective land holding system thus gave way to the feudal land holding institution "yeqinyi ager" meaning

colonized land. The *Amharas* were provided with a considerable amount of land while the Oromos were dispossessed. Together with the introduction of the Orthodox Christianity, the indigenous Oromo socio-cultural and administrative systems were considered to have been disfunctional. The resulting relations among the communities were those of oppressor and the oppressed, Since the local Oromos were not benefiting from the change.

Later under the system of Emperor Hailesilassie, settlement of Amharas of other regions took place and the newcomers possessed not only the land but the people themselves as well. Hence, the local people didn't benefit from the later political administration either. The Christian missionaries and the Italian invaders have rather brought improvement with them to the region in the form of schools, health care institutions, roads, from which the local population benefited a great deal. The land reform of the Dergue era didn't have any benefit for the peasants either due to irregularities in the system of land distribution. The distribution system had encouraged inequality in the amount of holding or land among the oromo peasants as well. On the other hand, and infrastructure and other social services were lacking in the rarea. The great amount of resources invested in the resettlement, villagization, and collectivization programs during the Dergue era, have affected the local peasants' economic and socio-cultural potential needed for development.

### **3.1.3. The Language**

The people of East Wollaga are speakers of *Afaan Oromo* , a language with many dialects and whose map extends from North Ethiopia to the pockets in Kenya and Tanzania in East Africa. It belongs to the low land Cushitic family and to the Afro-asiatic Proto family. Several languages in Ethiopia and outside Ethiopia belong to this family including *Afar*, *Somaly*, *Saho*, *Awii*, *Qimant*, and so on. Although the existence of several dialects of the Oromo language is evident, all the speakers, however, understand each other perfectly.

Afaan Oromo is a language with its own writing system and with a large body of literature. It is used as medium of instruction in higher education institutions and now there is a Masters degree program in AAU in *Oromo*. Before the introduction of the recent alphabet, Afaan Oromo was using Amharic and Sabeian scripts. Several books have also been written in the language including history, proverbs, literature, grammar, and dictionaries.

### 3.1.4. Religion

It would be relevant to indicate what type of religion or traditional belief the population follows. This is I think important in the studies of development because, people's social and economic activities and their behavior and attitude towards the implementation of development projects such as agricultural resettlement is greatly influenced by religious indoctrination. The practices and activities of a given development project and the religion and cultures of the incoming population or of resettlers are either accepted or rejected by the local population depending on what they are made to accept or reject in the belief system or religion.

Recent studies show that there are

1. Traditional Oromo belief system or religion that is, the belief in *waaqa*
2. Islam, and
3. Christianity

The belief in *waaqa* is assumed to be the indigenous belief of the Oromo society. Most of the society members in the sub-region are, however, supposed to be followers of Christianity. A smaller section of the population still is *waqeeffata* and or Muslims. There is still a considerable proportion of the population that practices what is in the traditional belief system even while belonging to the religions mentioned. According to the belief the supreme being leads and governs every aspect of life and solves any problem. The *ayyaana*, according to the belief inhabits objects. The people worship *waaqa* through the *ayyaana* inhabiting these objects. They do not worship the objects. The *ayyaanas* do not give orders but do communicate the orders of the *waaqa*. Practices like prayers and sacrifices are considered to be communicated through the *ayyaanas* to the *waaqa*.

The local belief is that there exists an ancestral spirit called *Boorantichcha*, which is much more respected than father's or mother's *ayyaanas*. According to this belief, every human being has dual nature: the real or physical being and its *ayyaana*. There is also life after death according to the belief. But there is no suffering after death for what wrongs done in life. Wrong doing is punished while the person is in life. The offerings and prayers are made in the belief that goals of better health, wealth, leadership, rain, good harvest, large number of children, fertility, peace, etc are achieved.

People following the traditional religion make prayers and offer sacrifices not as reference to spirits but to their supreme being-*waaqa*. *Waaqa* guards them and orders spirits not to harm them. It indicates that *waaqa* withdraws his guardianship if the individual violates His commands or rules. Lying, stealing, offending elders, eliciting sexuality, etc., are supposed to be

violations to the waaqa's rules. Everything and everyone is supposed to have ayyaana according to this belief. The ayyaana of the *qaallu* help to maintain effective relationship between people and their waaqa. Such persons are ritual experts like priests or Imam in their respective religions.

### **3.1.5. Economic activities**

The people of the study area are agriculturalists with some what mixed activities of life. Cattle raising is an activity of some while they are still engaged in agriculture. The source of labor for agricultural activities is the household. Activities like ploughing, sowing, weeding, house building, harvesting, making farm tools, cooking, childrearing, fetching water and firewood, etc. are done by household members. There are tasks which require the participation of large number of households. House building, covering the roof with thatch, ploughing a large plot of land, and harvesting, etc are some of the activities that need the participation of a large number of households. There is minimal specialization in the activities of farming and everyone does many things in which no one's specialization is needed in particular. Tool making, house building, ploughing, and harvesting and many other activities are skills in which most farmers are endowed with through practice.

Division of labor is mainly based on age and sex. Able men are expected to perform heavy duties like ploughing, clearing, house building, harvesting, threshing, smithing, tanning, weaving, woodworking. Political role is mainly supposed to be the male's responsibility. Fetching water, cooking, child rearing, cleaning, are some of the female's activities. Children are expected to care for smaller children, and tending cattle. Elders take part in activities of farming as far as their strength allows them. Usually, however, elders are consulted and they give guidelines for activities of farming and others. In addition to human labor, oxen are used for threshing and for pulling objects for building.

### **3.1.6. Marriage**

As marriage is an institution that controls kinship and society, it is given an important place in the Oromo society. It is a mechanism through which conflict is resolved by forming alliance with the families of the marrying couple and with the larger group. The group accepted for marriage is supposed to be equal in status and refusal on the other hand suggests rejection of forming alliance with it, which therefore indicates potential enmity.

Marriage is a social organization that ties together by complementary economic needs moral codes, and integrative force of the whole social organization. Marriage among oromo functions mainly as an alliance between two *halagaa* (non-kin) groups. Among the Oromo, marriage between the two large groups never breaks even after the death of either one because the deceased person's spouse is made to marry another from the same family. In this way, the relation is maintained by systems called *dhaala* (marriage between the wife and the deceased husband's brother, *hirpha* (marriage between the husband and the deceased wife's sister) in Oromo. Divorce is socially condemned and there is a saying in Oromo tradition "hiikkaa malee duuti firooma hin kutu" meaning, 'divorce but not death dissolves marital relation (Teshome,1999:38).

Therefore, marriage in Oromo is not only an individual affair but also an affair of the wider group or society. Elders and parents play great roles in Oromo. Traditionally, small amount of money was payed for marriage and it was sometimes given in a form of cattle, sheep, honey, bars of salt, or clothes for parents. The payment was taken as a compensation for the good treatment of the girl while she was in her parents' home. The qualities observed in the family with whom one's child is to be married include clan exogamy, equality in prestige and status, purity from diseases like leprosy and elephantiasis, similarity in occupational caste, hospitality, household management, fecundity, attention to children, sociability of parents, girl's home skills, physical fitness and personal behaviors. Marriage in Oromo is exogamy. Marriage from one's kin is *haraamuu*. Marriage is assumed to extend one's relations and perpetuates group lineage, adds status to the family and to the couple.(Ibid,40).

### 3.1.7. Infrastructure

There was no power source of electricity in the resettlement site. The one in the proximity was not supplying electric power to the area. Irrigation system is not being used for agriculture in the PA although there are small rivers and streams. Education is limited to one elementary school which is situated at a place supposed to be the centre for the two PAs and for resettlement villages. It is, however, at a distance not convenient for younger children. There was no even dry weather road and the means of transportation for people and grain was pack animals. The private tracks which came to the area did not give services to the community. There are streams from which drinking water was obtained. No treatment was done and water was used directly from the streams for cooking, cleaning, and for drinking. The weekly market was not enough to give services to the public. Purchase of necessary items for dailiy consumption and for agricultural

purposes was done in a far away town of *kiramu* which is some 40 kms from the resettlement villages on the way to *Naqamte*.

## **Chapter Four**

### **From recruitment to Early Adaptation**

#### **Introduction**

In this chapter, the procedures of recruitment and selection criteria will be seen. The early outcomes observed in the resettlement program are direct results of the recruitment in some instances. The impact the resettlement program has on the constitutional rights of the people are considered in this section. The question whether the program has involved individual motives on the part of both implementers and resettlers is also to be considered here. Availability of resources and the sources and deviations in the implementation of the program are also issues to be seen in this chapter of the thesis.

#### **4.1 The Policy**

##### **The resettlers' motives**

The recruitment of resettlers did not include physical disability to be one of the conditions for exclusion from resettlement. On the other hand, activities of farming in resettlement and in other situations need physical fitness and it has been the convention to recruit the most able farmers for resettlement. I assume that the purpose in sending or recruiting people, who are not capable of doing the activities of farming could also serve some other purpose different from the major aim of making the resettlers food secure. Because of my observation both at *Dubbuq* and at *Ashu Kusaye* of the *Salale* village, I could also suspect some individual interests at resettler level. Involving a very old person, and individual with such obvious deformity, in the program of resettlement can explain the presence of individual or group motives. The presence of those types of individuals among the recruited people was an evidence that private motives might have been involved in the recruitment. It is obvious that the heavy duties of agricultural activities require complete physical fitness. Healthiness or physical fitness was a criterion in the previous resettlement programs of the dergue era as well.

##### **The implementers' hidden motives in the resettlement program**

Massive moves of population in such immense programs like the resettlement of millions of people have never been free from the suspicion by the public. There has always been an unofficial motive along with the resettlement of drought affected people in the country

(Gebre,2003). As it has been mentioned in the other section of this thesis, the need to expand to the Southern regions, depriving political organizations (opposition groups) of the popular support, etc had been some of the reasons which were hidden behind the official objectives. In the resettlement programs under the *Dergue* the movement of population involved involuntary moves and even shootings when people were found escaping (Dawit,1989).

In contrast, the recent program was assumed to be at least voluntary (DPPO,1996). Observations by many researchers also have indicated that there is no such direct compulsion in the current resettlement program at official level. There could, however, be indirect involvement of this since local officials sometimes anxiously do this in order to fill the quota of a given number of resettlers to be completed in a short period of time.

The assessment of the situation in the present site and analysis of the past background of the local population and the schemes through which they have lived in the area (after the spontaneous moves) could, however, show that there is no motive that could be of some political and economic gain for the local Oromos in East *Wallaga* in particular and to the other *Oromos* in general. The presence of open land could have of course been an advantage for the host *Oromos* and the resulting competition for the resource after the coming of resettlers to the areas is at times a disadvantage to them. What is more, the local *Amharas*, who already were minorities in both the positions they hold in the administrative posts, and their relative holdings of the land would also be minimized because of the incoming population. These were of course advantages and disadvantages that accrue from the nature of the resettlement scheme which is intra-regional in general.

The presence of Amhara resettlers in the region of *Oromia* has changed the image of the resettlement program's intra-regionality. There were a considerable number of *Amharas* from *Derra* of North *Shoa*, who have been included in the present program and have been taken to *Wallaga*. There were, therefore, gains in the present program although the major objective was far from what had resulted in the process of the resettlement.

Looking at the beginning of the current resettlement scheme, one can easily understand that it was launched in response to the mass migration of farmers from the region of *Oromia*. The present resettlement program was, thus, not a planned one in its beginning. If It is to be understood in this sense, then it is possible to say that the program lacks the qualities of a planned development project; these are reflected in the lack of soil test, (testing its suitability for agriculture) scarcity of agricultural inputs, shortage of different social services, lack of local

market for products, infrastructure and lack of the capacity to give guidelines to resettlers on the part of implementers, etc. (local officials) .

Degradation and scarcity of land was the major cause of the migration of resettlers from Eastern *Ormoia* to south east. Absence of family guidance and education on environmental protection are clear signs of the drawback in the program. Besides, Protection of people (resettlers) and animals from diseases was not given adequate attention. The clinics were working on an on and off basis.

*Boqo*, one of the sites in East *Wallaga* was evacuated for its unsuitability for agriculture. Survey by experts failed to observe that the land at *Boqo* was stony. The team did not include expert farmers. It was a group of farmers, who later discovered an area where they should be taken for resettlement in *Sire Dooro*. The team of experts also failed to identify crop diseases and the presence of destructive wild animals such as pigs and monkeys, and suggesting the means of protection. As a result, a considerable amount of the crops was destroyed in the resettlement villages at *Dubbuq* and *Ashu Kusaye*.

### **Implications of the resettlement program for the constitutional and other rights of the people (both local and the incoming population).**

*Article 40, sub article 3*, of the constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia states that:

3. *The rights to ownership of rural and urban land, as well as of all natural resources, is exclusively vested in the state and in the peoples of Ethiopia. Land is a common property of the nations, Nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia and shall not be subject to sale or other means of exchange.* And it is stated in the same article sub-article 4, that

4. *Ethiopian peasants have right to obtain land without payment and the protection against eviction from their possession. The implementation of this provision shall be specified by law (FDRE, 1994).*

In the recent resettlement program resettlers were moved from different zones of *Oromia* to *Wollaga - Sire Dooro* site in the 2003 program. The local people, who used to own the plots on which resettlers are working were displaced as a result of the conflict between the 'Amharas' (most of Whom were local *Gojjames*) and the local *Oromos*. One episode of conflict was the dispute over an irrigable plot of land between the shoan resettlers in *Kutti* and an *Amhara* peasant who used to plow the adjacent plot. He is said to have access to the plot over which they compete through unjustifiable method; bribed PA leaders, threatened resettlers, for instance.

The statement of the constitution of FDRE, article 40, and sub-article 4 allows the Ethiopian peasants to have land (urban & rural) without payment and the protection against eviction from their possession (FDRE, 1994). The specification given in this sub-article is that the implementation of this provision should be specified by law (Ibid). The assumption here is that the regional states would make provisions for the implementation of what is cited in this sub-article.

The current resettlement program has enabled farmers from other subregions to obtain land in the present resettlement area. It has also displaced previous owners from the land over which the local Oromos have always had claims. The implication to the previous occupants was that they could not have a claim on the plots they used to do farm activities and on the forests they used for different purposes .

The traditional practice of land ownership of the Oromo was possession of land based on kinship relations among the same ethnic group members. Although that was violated long ago by the land reform of the Dergue, the Oromo of Wollaga and the migrant Amharas were engaged in open conflicts due to this. In view of this the two principles of a traditional land ownership system and that of the constitutional right of land ownership seem to lack compatibility with each other; they are related negatively. Yet provisions to the constitution imply that the principles of land ownership may have been still maintained in the implementation of the recent resettlement program.

#### **4.1.1. The resettlement motives**

The beginning of the present resettlement program in 1995 E.C(2003 Gc), was a rush hour act. It was a time when about 14, million people were affected in the whole country. The food insecurity that resulted from the drought in the affected regions was an emergency situation. Thus the government of Ethiopia decided to launch similar programs in almost all the regions of the country. Accordingly, the *Oromia* Regional State had set out to start a resettlement program. The self initiated move of resettlement was already started some time before and people from 'Harar' went to Southern and South East *zones* of Oromia spontaneously and there were quite a large number of people in the forests of Bale and Borana. The exodus was due to degradation and scarcity of land in Harar. The people stayed in the forest until they were made to move to other zones later since the act could have been destructive for the forests some of which are national parks.

As a result, the government of the state of Oromia launched a study tour by a team of experts in all the *zones* where open land was assumed to be available. After that, people from drought affected sub-regions were moved to these areas in masses. In some of the areas, the implementation of the program was by *sigsaga'*-ie, by inserting individual or group of resettlers wherever there was open land. The other form was the mass movement to the area and resettling them there.

The team of experts in the study tour included experts from different fields in rural development and environmental protection offices. The actual work of the study did not include such details as analysis of the soil and the presence of crop and human and animal diseases. There are places known for the presence of human and animal diseases in some zones including East Wallaga and Ilu Abbaa Boora. Nevertheless, people were moved to the areas although the soil in some of the sites was not fertile and that the land was stony. *Boqo* site was abandoned by the Harar resettlers in *Gidda Wereda* of East Wallaga because of similar reasons.

Therefore, moves to settle in different areas were self-initiated at first. The Government has, however, taken over the scheme by allotting budget for the program even if it had to cancel the budget for social services like supply of water, health services, etc. according to evidences in the interviews, therefore, the recent resettlement program although it was self-initiated, in the beginning, it was a government planned project of food security in general. The aim of the resettlement program was also to enable the land hungry people to have land and to become food secure.

#### **4.1.2. Deviations in practice**

There have been indications in the principles of recruitment of resettlers that people with physical disabilities and with other health problems could be included in the list of resettlers very easily since screening of such people was not that strict and a binding one. My field observation has also proved this. The presence of a resettler with physical disability, and the inclusion of a young lady with both mental and speech problems at *Dubbuq* are clear evidences of this. The following case might explain this:

*Haldeaf*, who is a young lady of 26 came to *Boqo* resettlement site as a worker for DAs. Later after the site has been closed, she moved to the present site along with the other resettlers. She was now a family head and has oxen and a plot of land. But she has no one to help her because the man she had associated with at the time of her arrival at *Dubbuq* was getting their relation

loser than it was. I observed her talking to the executive committee member (or a kind of social court) that she should be given the right to own the oxen.

*Haldeaf* has difficulty of speaking and hearing. She is a stammerer and one has to speak repeatedly closer to her ears and has to support his speech with gestures to make her understand. She claims she went to the first site with resettlers to visit relatives. At the time I saw her, *Haldeaf* was following others to farm site looking for people, who can help her with agricultural activities. At the time of the interview, she had just been visiting the plot of land she was given and later she left to the village much earlier than the rest of the resettlers. There was thus an opportunity in this to include people who were less experienced and unable to do farming activities. Therefore, it is observable that individuals who could be unemployed in places of origin came to the resettlement in this program.

What is to be considered here is how do the principles of recruitment relate to the failure or success of resettlers in the current program? The principles never specified the skills a resettler should have in the activities of farming. The only condition for recruitment was that a resettler should be a person who was under relief aid ie who has been receiving food ration for at least three years. The upper boundary for the number of years here was not limited. Thus the longer one has been receiving relief aid, the more acceptable he would be for recruitment in the present program according to the principles (DPPO, 1996). The contradiction of this principle with the main aim of making resettlers food secure is not difficult to understand: in order to work hard and become food secure, a resettler has to be well experienced, physically fit, and mentally sound. Any of the physical mental and experiential deficiencies in the resettler could definitely affect the person negatively and it is in principle unjustifiable to recruit such a person for resettlement if the objectives have to be fulfilled. The only restrictions made in recruitment of resettlers were the age of over 65(for all), and a 6 months pregnancy and a new delivery when the resettler is a female. The experience in farming could have been a relevant criterion for recruitment if the program was to recognize it as a major factor for success in resettlement.

The possibility of sharing experience with the community, and establishing self help associations could be of some help to reduce the problem but it can never exclude the risk in which a considerable number of resettlers would be food insecure like what I observed in *Sire Dooro*.

## 4. 2. Preparation

### 4.2.1. Criteria for recruitment of resettlers

According to the guidelines, the resettlers in the program had to be

1. Recruited Voluntarily
2. In the range of 60-65 years of age (no lower boundary of age for resettlers)
3. Those with a holding of less than 0.5 hectare of land in places of origin or those who had the capacity to do agricultural activities (though that had not been specified).
4. Those who are food insecure and have been receiving relief aid for at least three (3) years in their places of Origin.
5. Those who are not with a pregnancy of over 6 months and those who have no newly born,
6. Those who are not going to school in places of origin ,and
7. Those who are making a living by farming and who have no other jobs or means of income.

The principles of recruitment for resettlement according to the guidelines included only those conditions under which a resettler is and which allow the movement of individuals to the new sites. The policy does not include the experience of resettlers in agricultural activities which determines the success of the individuals considerably. But according to the guidelines (no 3), the resettler was expected to do farm activities. That seemed to have deviation in practice. While the majority of the resettlers are successful in their agricultural activities, at "Dubbuq", a considerable portion of them is also less productive and not food secure because of this. The most important and the relevant point to this discussion is the condition of the resettler, that is, being under relief aid for a minimum of three years. The resettlers' exclusion from agricultural activities for the number of the years specified in the conditions (three years), of recruitment was a criterion for recruitment in the program. The aim of the resettlement program, on the other hand, is to enable the resettlers to be food secure in a period of three to five years. There are thus, contradictory principles in the implementation of the program as it may be difficult for them to be food secure without the skills of doing farm activities.

Moreover, the policy of resettlement does not specify the physical condition (fitness) of the participants. There are, thus gaps in the decision as to whether to include individuals with physical (and also mental) disabilities in the resettlement program. The presence of a resettler with an observable deformity (contracted right hand) at *Dubbuq*, and the presence of another

female resettler in the same village with disability to speak, are indicative of the gap in the policy of recruitment for resettlement.

Some of the resettlers, the youth in particular, are included in the program without an assessment of their experience in farm activities. The potential of the youth to become food secure is, however better, than the less experienced older resettlers. There are very young resettlers who came from North Shoa and who are working very hard to become food secure. Nevertheless, a larger number (about 11) went back to places of origin since they couldn't adopt easily and as they were Secondary School students who had to complete their studies in their places of Origin.

Responding to the questions I posed using the cultural consensus model (Berhard, 1994), a few of my informants manifested their experience, which is inadequate to enable them to identify the type of crop that could have been more proper to be sown in the plot of land they hold in the new site. Some of them explained that they lead a type of mixed life (agriculture and trade), and therefore, it is possible to consider that their age and experience have influenced the success of resettlers in the current program.

Other than these marital status was one of the conditions for recruitment. Those who are not married could not be considered for the resettlement as they could arrange marriages for the sake of holding land and owning oxen and getting other benefits that accrue from the change in status.

#### **4.2.2. Selecting the site**

Site selection was done by the team of experts who made a tour to the zones of Oromia in order to look for open land and to make sure that the plots were not occupied. The procedures included inspection of the sites visually and ascertaining that they were not holdings of the local people and that they were not part of the area reserved for wild animals in the region. Assessment of availability of rivers and streams for future irrigation were also part of the purposes of the tour.

What can be observed from this is that the methods the team used to select sites did not allow it to determine if the soil was fertile and to see that crop diseases and wild animals could be the possible problems for crop production. The consequence was that in some of the areas like *Boqo*, for instance, the soil was not suitable and resettlers were forced to move to a different site (*Dubbuq*) in the same *wereda*. Similarly, the presence of crop disease and destructive wild animals has affected the productivity of the resettlers at *Ashu Kusaye* for the inspection of the team and the preparation for resettlement did not anticipate the effect of the problem, which

could have been predicted easily by consultation with the local people. It was revealed in the interview later that pesticides were not made available for use by resettlers even after the occurrence of the disease. The rural development experts had only taken samples of the crops destroyed by the disease and they did not appear after that.

Part of the resettlers were sent to *Dubbuq* from *Boqo* to see if the land was suitable for agriculture and they agreed to come to the new site and then the selected land was divided among the remaining resettlers and each household was given two hectares. The remaining ones at *Dubbuq* came in February, 2004 i.e. one year after arriving there, and they said they were happy about the place and have found the soil to be more fertile than in *Boqo*. According to *Gilba* only *Harar* resettlers were taken to *Boqo* first. The *Salale* people stayed in *Limmu* before they came to *Ashu Kusaye* at *Sire Dooro* later.

I will turn to the next issue which is closely related to the present one – the role of the different parties that took part in the implementation of the resettlement program.

### **The role of the local agencies and the co-ordinating office (the wereda**

#### **Administration), in the implementation of the resettlement program.**

Other preparatory activities such as testing the soil, building houses, the construction of roads and bridges, etc. were supposed to be the duties of the various participants in the program of resettlement; the *wereda* administration and the higher body in the hierarchy have the duties of co-ordinating resettlement activities (DPPO,2002). The technical aspects of the activities are normally expected to be done by their respective agencies like the Rural Development and Agriculture, the Commission for Disaster Preparedness and Prevention, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Health, etc (interview with an official in *Nekemte*). Moreover, although they are not well defined and not obligatory, the various activities done by the local population were as important as those done by the agencies mentioned here.

The remaining party with a considerable contribution to the selection and preparation of the resettlement sites are the resettlers themselves. The resettlers in the study site explained that they arrived in the resettlement site some 18 months back in 2003, (1995Ec) with other resettlers.

The mission of the Rural Development and Agricultural Agency in relation to the resettlement program was to help them with the agricultural activities to attain food self sufficiency. The failure of the crops in the previous site was partly due to weaknesses on the part of the study team, which couldn't test the suitability of the soil for agriculture at *Boqo*. *Gilba* believes that crop disease, wild animals, and hailstones were the major factors for the destruction

of crops and have contributed to the present shortage of food. He explains that wild animals would destroy crops much earlier than resettlers came out of bed and it was difficult for them to control the wild animals. Proper orientation about the destructive nature of the wild animals should have been given to resettlers immediately after selection of the site by the party concerned.

The rural development and agriculture experts couldn't tell the cause for that year's crop destruction. Therefore, many resettlers at '*Ashu Kusaye*' have lost their beans for the disease mentioned.

The experience and capacity of the DAs at the site was not adequate. They lack proper orientation and adequate training. It was only after a three months training that the DAs were assigned to assist the implementation of resettlement with other senior experts from the *wereda* office of Rural Development and Agriculture. A representative of the *wereda* administration also mentioned that the coordinating party of the *wereda* administration didn't rely on the young DAs, who were inspecting and implementing the program in the two villages. There was thus the contribution of rural development workers who were supposed to play the most important role in the implementation of the resettlement program.

Harar resettlers were blamed for the female resettlers', who didn't assist their husbands in the farm. All *Harar* resettlers were *Oromos*, who spoke the same language as most of the local people who were *Wallaga Oromos*. The resettlers from Harar follow Islam, which was not a dominant religion in *Wallaga*. The pattern of agricultural activities of the Harar resettlers in *Sire Dooro* was in complete contrast with those of both the *Wallaga Oromo* and from those of *Salale* resettlers. The social network that would allow the incoming population to share the experience of the local population was not yet developed very well the study area.

It was not very clear whether the coordinating office (the *wereda* administration) was to continue to give relief aid. The representative only suggested that the store at *Sire Dooro* would be used for emergency in other sites. The response the *wereda* administrator gave the *Harar* and *Salale* resettlers in a meeting at *Sire Dooro* was that no aid would be given since the time for giving relief aid was only for the first harvest season. The representative didn't mention if there was shortage of grain for I have observed that there is some amount in the store at *Sire Dooro*.

The point is that the local officials were either not making decisions on issues like continuing to give relief aid or they were tending to do that based on crude survey results such as those I heard while I was in the field and which had later been confirmed by a response of an expert at *K'ality Breau* of DPPO. The expert I talked to towards the end of this study indicated that the

expert and the local officials were of the attitude that there were no resettlers in *Dubbuq* village who were food insecure due to different reasons. My observation, however, indicated that a considerable number of resettlers (1/3<sup>rd</sup>) in the village were food insecure. Whoever the source of error may have been the negative role played in this to the resettlement program was evident; resettlers, who were not food secure and who needed relief aid for a shorter term were reported as food secure wrongly

The representative also said that people with lesser capacities and failure to produce enough to make them food secure, wouldn't be left to be starved The *wereda* understands that resettlers took a long time at Boqo where the soil was not fertile for planting seeds. But since the aim was to make them food secure they wouldn't have relief aid once they have enough to help themselves.

### **4.3. Resources available; encounters in the field**

#### **4.3.1. The resettlers' experience in farming**

The background of my informants shows that resettlers were forced to move in this program due to financial problems, and due to scarcity of land in their places of origin. Some of the youngsters were students who couldn't continue going to school or didn't have plots of land to work on. The problem is serious particularly with the youth who are born to a family of many children since the share of land becomes progressively smaller and smaller as the number of children increases. Older children are relatively lucky for they could have larger plots of land. The last plot of land in a family of many children is usually kept for use by parents. Therefore younger children remain with either the smallest piece of land or even without any share. *Moofera* is such a resettler who was pushed by similar conditions and explains that he was compelled to come to *Ashu Kusaye* in the resettlement program after a short service in the army.

*Leymersa*, who came to the same site from *Dirre-Gundo Maskale*, after which he stayed in *Limmu Shankoora* his previous resettlement site, explains that in *Limmu*, there was a shortage of land. Therefore, they were brought here and were given two hectares of land. He explained he came at the age of 23 to the present site. He was married and had one child. He said he married at the age of 20. He was 24 years old now. He stayed in Shoa with his mother until he was 23 years old. His father died years back. The land they (his family) had was small (only one hectare); part of it was taken from them to reserve the area for wild life conservation. His younger brother remained at the place of origin and he was helping their mother. They gave the land for share-cropping with other land hungry farmers.

*Leymersa* confirms that he won't return to his place of origin and that he came because of his father's death. The mother's condition there and the scarcity of land were the reasons that pushed him. He returned to his place of origin last year (in May, 2004) and came back with his wife and child. As soon as he came back, he was given 2 hectares of land and seeds of maize, sorghum and *nug*. But since the land was not suitable for other crops, he saw 'nug' and beans only.

He explained that he was engaged in farming since the age of 7 but it was difficult to imagine that a person so young looking as *Leymersa* could manage to carry out the duties of a resettler. He further explained that he used to keep cattle until the age of 19. The land that was taken from the family was not compensated and that they were facing scarcity of land. It was thus difficult for them to be food secure and he moved to the present site under the recent resettlement program.

The state according to *Leymersa* promised to support resettlers by giving relief aid. He accepted his experience as a farmer was less, however, he said that the life of farming was not new to him as he had been in it since the age of 7. In comparison with the others, he was less experienced in farming, which *Leymersa* admitted.

The resettler said, that he did not face any particular difficulty as a resettler. The reason why he had collected a lesser amount of grain was that the land was not prepared well before sowing crops. But according to *Leymersa's* explanation, observers fail to consider this in assessing the causes for the failure of some of the resettlers to harvest the same amount of grain as others.

The young man explains the reason why he/they failed to prepare the land for planting was that they were given the plots very late and the oxen were distributed to them even later. The oxen were sickly and were not strong enough to be used in the farm they had to be fat and strong. As a result, the resettlers in *Qarsa* failed to obtain much. The major crops in the present area were maize, *nug*, bean, and pepper. Sorghum, according to him was readily destroyed by birds although it was possible to sow it. The young resettler obtained 120 kgs of maize, 100kgs of bean and he did not obtain *nug* for it was lost for weeds the land had to be ploughed 2-3 times before sowing according to him and he didn't do that. Many could get the oxen long after it was necessary to prepare the land. He hopes that they will work harder and they won't face shortage of grain in the coming harvest. He also hoped that they would be food secure. It is thus possible to conclude that lack of preparation of the soil generally depends on the resettlers' skills and it has contributed a great deal for the difficulties they faced in the implementation of resettlement

program. He responded that they didn't owe any debt and they didn't want any fertilizer because the land was fertile and they would only like to be given additional oxen so that they could prepare the land well for the following harvest.

*Moshe* was a resettler who came from *Harar 'Girawa'* to *Dubbuq* in the present resettlement program. He first went to *Boqo* with other resettlers in 2003 (1995e.c). It was about a year since he had come to the new resettlement site. He said ' *what could I have from last year's harvest. it is in this year that I got a small amount.*'. *Moshe* got five quintals of maize, three quintals of Sorghum and he said he didn't sow oil seeds from which others benefited most.

*Moshe's* response to the query if he was food secure was that it was ok! /*Garuu homaa hinjettu*/. *Moshe* didn't exaggerate nor did he underestimate his success in the production activity. In the morning I reached at *Dubbuq* with my assistant (*Gimali*) *Moshe* was just coming out of rest (sleep) surrounded by plastic bags containing maize. Seven of them were nearly full. There was maize on the ground below that was of course to be filled in other plastic bags.

In his response about the question on the other resettlers' failure in productive activities in *Dubbuq*, *Moshe* gave the following points:

First there were some resettlers, who did not plant grain seeds on fertile pieces of land.

Second- the land others used had never been used for farming before and that it was difficult for them to identify which crops would be proper for the type of soil in the particular plot of land.

Third there were people who couldn't do activities of farming for the conditions were different here. Many saw maize on a piece of land on which sorghum could have been more proper. Some resettlers forgot what they used to practice; they saw *nug* and *salit* and the oil seeds were destroyed by hailstones.

Comparing his own success with that of others, he said that he didn't have much advantage over the others i.e. most of the conditions for farming were similar for all resettlers in the area. So what could the factor be for the failure of a considerable proportion of the resettlers at *Dubbuq* site?

*Moshe* was a young man of 30 or so. He was of medium height and low weight he has two children hosts his younger brother. He explains he started farming since he was a young boy of 10 years. *Moshe* explains every grain and plants which grow here are also grown in the place of his origin; sorghum, maize, potatoes, wheat, Barley, Bean, *Nug*, *Salit*. He says maize gets ripe in five months and that it gets ready for weeding in a months time if the land is prepared well for planting it. If the land is not well prepared before sowing, the maize crop gets staffed with weeds

in about fifteen days, according to Moshe. He has two oxen. He was given one of the oxen by the agency and he bought the second afterwards.

I noticed a senior resettler *Amaaro* (in age and in farming experience), who was sitting in the center of the young ones around him. He was sharpening wooden tools for fellow resettlers in the location. The axe with which he sharpens small pieces of stick could be the only one in the village and he could be the only expert with the skills needed to prepare those parts of the yoke in that particular group.

The informant in this interview spoke good *Amharic* and that had excluded others from taking part in the discussion. He explained that they came to the present site first on foot from *Boqo*. He said that the soil in the present site was fertile and they had to build the houses again. Many of the cottages in the site were still being renewed. Teams of about 20 individuals or less were used as a self-help association. House building is the only activity I saw the association do in my presence. Other activities like farming need such associations or any form of coming together between resettlers in particular.

Except for the damage of crops caused by hailstones, resettlers were happy about the products in the new site. *Amaaro* says he collected 3 quintals of *salit'* in the present harvest after the damage. He mentioned that he did see other crops too and he had collected five (5) quintals of *mazie* in the following harvest. He had obtained 3 quintals of sorghum.

Being one of the most successful resettlers in *Dubbuq*, he is also sharing his skills to others by preparing tools, for instance. He explains he did work mostly in the place of his origin. At intervals he had also done other activities to make money.

In explaining conditions in the present site, he expressed that the soil was fertile here in the resettlement site and that it was eroded by flood in Harar. Therefore in comparison, it was possible to produce more and better crops in the new site.

One of the most important reasons for the failure of some of the resettlers in the productive activities according to *Amaro's* explanation was that many of the incoming had little experience in using oxen for farming in the places of their origin. In Harar, many of the vegetables and crops were grown in the farms that were prepared by using other types of farming tools. The resettlers, therefore, were not skilled in the activities of farming by using oxen.

That had been observed by myself; many of the resettlers give several reasons for their failures; some of the reasons were toughness of the land and hail stones and wild animals that destroy crops. But they couldn't explain well why their fellow resettlers produced much more than the others. According to the informant's explanation it was attributable to the lesser

experience of farming they had in general. The suspicion that the *wereda* administration representative had was also confirmed by the response the informant was giving me now: The administrator explained some days after this interview in another interview I had with him in *Gidda* that many resettlers were living on relief aid for 10-12 years and that they lack the skills needed for farming activities.

### **The Resettlers' experience in places of origin**

Factors like season of the year they came to the new resettlement site, shortage of rains, snow fall, lack of oxen, and toughness of the land to dig and presence of bushes and lack of seed could definitely affect resettlers' success in crop production in the new site. Quite a large number of resettlers at *Dubbuq and Ashu Kusaye* had produced an average of 2-3 quintals of maize, sorghum, bean, *salit* or *nug*. Of course, there were some extra ordinarily productive ones who obtained 6-7 quintals of two or three types of the crops. It had been witnessed that a smaller number of resettlers at *Dubbuq* produced 9-11 or more quintals of some of the crops.

The point is that a considerable proportion of the informants complained of coming late to the present site that it took them longer time to prepare the land for sowing, that they were busy building houses, that the land had bushes and that it was hard to clear and plough, that the snow had hit some oil seeds like *nug'* and '*salit*,' and that the wild animals had destroyed their crops. As a result, they needed some more relief aid because their stores were empty and they had nothing to eat. Some of the resettlers explained that they even started selling goats and cattle I had observed a *Harar* woman who was a resettler at *Dubbuq* with three goats one small and two big goats brought to the market for sale. Others were in market at Sire Dooro. Another *Harar* resettler at *Dubbuq* told me that he had even been to the neighbouring Amhara village to beg.

It is, however, difficult to assume that all those resettlers who had lesser products were exposed to similar environmental and other factors. The land differs in toughness from one spot to the other. The amount of bushes differs in the same way. There were older resettlers, 60 or more, according to my observation.

. The soil is good at *Dubbuq* according to *Rahmid*. But wild animals and the hail stones have destroyed their crops in the harvest year and they have a shortage of grains, which they're buying from market. *Rahmid* explains the people, who remain in the place of his origin sell every thing that remains in *Harar* and send him money which he is using to buy grains. *Rahmid* also explained that he got only one sack of maize, two sacks of sorghum, and half a quintal of "*nug*" from the harvest of the year. He adds that he lost all the "*salit*" he sow by the destruction of the

hailstns. He also mentioned that the state had promised to help them to support them that year too. He had two oxen and three goats. *Rahmid* hoped that the state would support them and it wouldn't leave them without any support in the face of the current shortage of grain. He had no intention to go back to the place of his origin. His experience was only in farming and he had not mentioned any other economic activity that he did to support his life.

The following data was obtained from the family of a farmer, who failed to obtain grain and was now with an empty store. The wife expressed it as follows: "*some resettlers have prepared the land earlier and have also been fortunate to hold good land but failed to obtain good harvest too.*" She explained that although the soil was fertile, the hail stones had caused damage to the crops and as a result they couldn't have good harvest. According to the lady's explanation i.e. it caused harm to some when the crops of the others remained without any harm.

The time at which I saw *Moshe* (the informant in the other sub-section) was late in the morning. They were, however, chewing *chat* and making tools and others were boiling goat milk. *Moshe* explained he came at 8:30 in the morning to plough the field but it was about 11:00 am when I had this interview with him. He admitted that it was too late to come to the farm at that time. *Moshe* explained that the reason for their coming to the farm late was that the oxen had to have something to eat before they came to the fields and that it was difficult to use them unless they had enough grass.

There was no particular way in which the previous assumptions expressed by informants could be generalized. Some are really working hard and have also benefited from hard work. Others who were not skilled were trying to gain experience from the more experienced ones. The skilled ones were also busy to the extent that they keep their own oxen idle in the farm field. Still others came to the farm after 11.00 am when the sun would no more allow one to move let alone to do farming and they give reasons after reasons for their coming late. The behaviour of the resettlers was a mixed one. Almost all of the resettlers demanded the food ration. Some wanted the others who had no grains to continue to be given the ration and the others wanted the ration for their own consumption because the amount they obtained may have not kept them food secure until the following harvest.

#### **4. 3. 2. Availability of government funds**

The presence of government funds for the resettlement program has been mentioned to me in the discussion I had with the experts at the DPPO. According to an expert's explanation, there were funds even for travel, mill, and even for a return travel in case resettlers fail to reconstruct

and change their minds. He had also mentioned that resettlers often refused to return to the places of origin when funds were there for return travel(*Birdissa*). Other than the regular expenses for running the resettlement program, the regional state of *Oromia* had also allotted funds for expenses like per diem for field workers and for other necessary duties of the resettlement program.

The allotment of budget for the program was a decision that was thought about after wards. Of course the program was made to have its own resources from the regional government's budget and funds for the different services like even mills in the resettlement program were allotted money.

According to the knowledge of the informants, the region of *Oromia* had allotted funds for the resettlement program. The experts at DPPO, explained that there were funds for per diem and for different social services. However, there was evidence that the national food security program allotted 250million 644 thousand birr for the program in the Regional State of *Oromia* for 1997 e. c. (Year Book, for Ethiopia, 1996:87). The program allotted 2 billion birr for food security in all the regions of Ethiopia in 1997 (Ibid).

### **4.3. 3. Provision of relief aid and other technical inputs**

#### **Relief aid**

A considerable number of resettlers in both villages were still looking for food aid during the time I was in the field. Many had, however, been food secure and were no more in need of relief aid. The administration was requested by resettlers at *Sire Dooro* to provide them with the grains available in stores but no relief aid was to be given after the first harvest. That had angered many resettlers and some have even planned to return to their places of origin. The guideline, however, states that relief aid would be given based on the assessment of conditions of resettlers.

Besides, resettlers in the village of Ashu Kuseye in particular, came to the present village when it was late to prepare the land for the crops and also they lost much of the crops for crop disease and wild animals. They should have been given relief aid on the grounds that more of the conditions under which they resulted was an effect of the poor resettlement planning and implementation. It was a mistake rather on the part of experts in selecting a site and on the local rural development office for failing to provide them with pesticides. In general, therefore, the capacity of the resettlement program, and of course partly the scarcity of inputs was affecting the success of the resettlement program.

On my arrival at *Gidda*, the *wereda* administrator was to visit resettlers at *Sire Dooro* upon their call to him to do so. The response he gave to their demand to supply them with the remaining grains brought for relief aid was not answered affirmatively. A considerable proportion of the resettlers at the two villages (*Ashu Kusaye* and *Dubbuq*) complained of the administrative office's decision to discontinue relief aid while a large number of resettlers (about one-third) were still experiencing problems. The presence of a number of resettlers who were not yet food secure (assistant DA) said that the policy had no provisions for such events and the decision to discontinue aid did not consider that many of the resettlers failed to become food secure within the given period of time (9 months). Besides the resettlers stayed the previous harvest year at another site from which they were brought to the present site as a result of poor soil test which had in turn resulted in crop failure in the year.

It was in one of my informant's interview with me that the *wereda* should give the relief aid because it had once been promised by the government, the aid needs to be given to them according to the resettlers' needs. Therefore, there was expectation on the part of resettlers to be given relief aid. Many of the resettlers are in problems of daily foods for there is shortage of grain. Being one of the successful ones, *Beyahim* also believes that the relief aid should continue to be given until the resettlers are food secure. He doesn't precisely tell the exact number of years the state promised to continue giving relief aid but he remembers that it just promised to help them!! He explains that a man named "Getachew" the administration officer at "Girawa", in Harar, said what he has stated above.

#### **4. 3. 4. Agricultural inputs**

The scarcity of agricultural tools like *qotto* (a hook with cutting blade on the shorter hand), pieces of rope for tying the wooden parts of the *moofara* and *qambara* together, etc are lacking in the resettlement site. Resettlers are either forced to borrow them from the neighboring farmers or they use the existing tools in turns, a mechanism which is time taking and leaves some oxen and people idle since the tools have to be used in turns for the purpose. I have observed this on some of the occasions I have been to *Dubbuq*. Generally, it seems that the contribution the smaller tools have is underestimated in the resettlement program. Yet the effect the scarcity of these tools have is so serious that a considerable number of resettlers have been complaining about it.

Moreover, the oxen resettlers were given were not strong enough to enable them to plough and prepare the land for crop cultivation. They had to be fed well before it was possible to use them in farms.

The provisions of agricultural inputs and materials like blankets were inadequate. The scarcity of such things was so serious that in some households a single blanket was provided for a house hold of seven individuals (Mofeera).

The informant I had in interviewed(*Jassa*)about the fertilizer was the secretary to the *Sire Dooro* farmers' cooperative. He said that commercial fertilizers were never brought to Sire Dooro until that day and now he receives the fertilizer because a letter was sent to him from Jidda wereda to do so. The chairman of the cooperative was not around and the secretary, who was in charge of the office, had to receive the fertilizer. The secretary complains of the likely problem related to the distribution of the commercial fertilizers as most of the local people never requested it and may not be taking it in the case of which the material could be kept in the store for a long time. He had no idea about what would be done if a large amount was going to remain in the store without anyone to take and use. He says' it was new for them at "*Sire Dooro*" to distribute commercial fertilizers. Some of the farmers seem to have no idea whether it was to be given free or by payment. An old farmer however, explained that money was going to be paid and that it was an advance payment.

Another farmer explains that he needed some three bags (1.5 quintals of) and that he had made a request for a commercial fertilizer. The price of each bag (1/2 quintal) according to him is birr 200.00. He expected the price he was going to pay for three bags of the fertilizer was birr 600.00. The farmer responds that although the price was very high, they would have to pay for the amount they would take anyway.

Resettlers presented the problem or shortage of cutting tools for making accessories for the plough share and the yoke for bulls. Many of the bulls were just trained and broke the wooden accessories. Softening the fields was a problematic process for many of the resettlers. It was evident that they had not come to the sites in the program with their tools which enabled them to plow the land well. Besides, lack of the skills needed to do that might have contributed a great deal to the failure of the resettlers in preparing the land for sowing seeds. The hand tools used by the Harar resettlers were poorly designed. They didn't help to dig the land well and prepare it for the sowing of seeds.with difficulty

## Chapter Five

### *Problems and Survival Strategies*

#### **Introduction**

This chapter highlights the various problems the resettlers experience and also the strategies they employ to mitigate or solve them. These problems include inadequacy of infrastructural facilities, and poor agricultural as well as housing facilities, and lack of employment. The resettlers are more frustrated because of the poor soil quality and inadequate support from the side of the government. The strategies they employ include interethnic marriages, establishing Self-Help Associations to support themselves.

#### **5.1. The concept of social disarticulation**

*Social disarticulation* includes the tearing apart of the social bond upon which communities have been depending. The break of these ties among the social groups, the setting apart of the system of coming in to groups and individual bonds. As a result of this, kinship groups and voluntary self-help associations will become scattered and informal groups of sustenance cease to exist because of forced development. Relations established among individuals and groups for reciprocal help never exist in the new environment (M. Cernea, 1997).

### **5.2 . Problems**

#### **a. problems in infrastructural facilities**

Schools, clinic, police, roads, local market, and court.

The inadequacies observed in the social services like roads, clean water, clinic, school, etc (as discussed in chapter four) were partly responsible for the rising frustrations among the people. The resettlement program was a rush hour plan, primarily because the government was compelled to carry out resettlement program that was started by the *Harar* people, who have migrated in search of open land spontaneously, in all the zones of *Oromia*. Funds allotted for the selection of the resettlers in both the sites were not utilised as it was carried out hastily. As a result, the resettlers mostly point their fingers toward the government mechanisms for generating frustrations and obstacles they experience due to non availability of basic facilities.

## **b. Problems in agricultural operation**

1. The land allotted to families at *Boqo* site is not suitable for cultivation as it is full of stones. The resettler families therefore had to invest a lot of labour to remove the stones from the field but at the same time it will take some more years to make the land fully cultivable. Since the soil type is not good, the seeds could not germinate as they remain under the stones. It took the resettlers a whole harvest season to realize that the land may not yield rich dividends. Subsequently they thought of alternate sites for agricultural purpose. Some of them were able to find more suitable sites and started moving but it was late. Mean while the time for keeping the resettlers under relief aid expired and they had to depend on the stocks they had in places of origin in many of the cases.

2. The soil was so strong that it was difficult for many of the resettlers, to plough the land using the traditional agricultural system and tools. The support made by the government officials was minimal in this respect. The impressions resettlers had was that the land would be prepared by using tractors. But they were to face difficulties due to lack of this, since they didn't have agricultural implements with them in the resettlement site.

The land according to *Mofeera* 29, was not easy to break and it offered difficulties as the oxen were not fat and strong enough to do the work. After all that the crops like beans were destroyed by crop diseases. They were given seeds to plant. The yield was however less compared to that of the local people. The particular plots which the *Salales* hold were not suitable for oil seeds like 'nug' and 'salit' which he explained as a key point in his discussion of problems. The privileges he mentioned included the supply of tools and that the land didn't need commercial fertilizers for the time being. Bushes wild animals, and the toughness of the land were some of the major problems he indicated.

He had expressed his uncertainty when he first arrived there. He had the feeling that it would be difficult to live here but he relied on the authorities that they would do something for resettlers. Now he found out that conditions were improving and it was according to his hopes. He also believed he would be food secure and free from poverty sooner.

3. The oxen were weak and not healthy enough to enable the farmers to plough the land. They were not well fed as fodder was not available in an adequate quantity. The time at which the program of resettlement started was dry season and it was difficult to find grass for feeding oxen. Due to this most of the newly bought oxen were too weak and even sick to use them in the farm field.

4. Agricultural implements like *gotto* were not available in the resettlement site. Only a few resettlers had these types of tools and it was difficult for most of them to use or to make wooden implements for the traditional system of ploughing.

5. Irrigation system is not available. The agriculture is therefore, dependent on rain water, which is scarce. The effort the resettlers made to use traditional irrigation system was not effective either. Shortage of tools to dig the earth, and divert the small streams in to the farm areas was of little significance for the resettlers.

6. Chemical fertilizers are not available in the site in sufficient quantity either. Since the fertility of the soil was difficult to be explored instantly as it is full of stones, resettlers require chemical fertilizers to have some benefits from agriculture. But the price is very high and difficult for many of them to buy. Moreover, some of them have wrong beliefs about the use of chemical fertilizers. The lack of credit facilities has also contributed to this problem since most of the resettlers are not in a position to help each other.

### **C. Other Hazards in Agriculture**

#### **1. Crop failure**

**The cause for the failure of crops in the resettlement site can be summarized as follows:**

Poor site selection, which did not include soil testing, and change of site of resettlement from *Boqo* to *Sire Dooro*, which wasted the time and energy of resettlers. Apart from this, the rain and hailstones destroyed standing crops. The menace of wild animals is another cause of improper harvest and it requires group activity for protection of crops. The resettlers experience some new type of crop diseases which they have not experienced in their original sites. Since they do not have experience and are not properly advised by the officials of agricultural department about the use of pesticides, all their efforts became futile. Moreover, some resettlers do not have adequate experience about the agricultural practices which put them in trouble in the new settlement area.

The advice given by the DAS focuses on the time when one should plant, how to plant in rows (maize or sorgam) for instance. The resettlers were also helping each other in sharing experiences but that couldn't bring much change in the skills of resettlers at least until they have enough experience from the more experienced ones. As a pretext for their lack of skills, many of the resettlers gave me reasons that were not convincing, like the customary way was to come to farms very early and set oxen free when the sun gets hot at noon and take rest or do some other activities. This was not done by most of the *Harar* resettlers at *Dubbuq'*. Instead, they failed to

come to farms and try to defend the failure to use oxen in the field, especially oxen are left to graze in the jungle during the night and are to be collected in the morning. Some of the resettlers bought younger bulls, which needed much time and energy to be trained by setting them along with better trained and older ones.

*Gilba*, who is a gentleman of 29 and single, responds that their behaviours like coming late to farms would have been minimized if the resettlers were made aware that such practice like coming late to fields would affect the overall performance of their effort to become food secure. He believes that they would rid of their old work habits. Instead of criticizing the agency the people must think of how to become self sufficient in food production in the new settlement (*Gilba*).

Considering the attitude of dependency on aid and lack of experience in agricultural activities, many resettlers failed to produce much in the harvest year. Some of the resettlers have never been farmers in place of their origin and that may have made it difficult for them to start farming right away. The lack of experience coupled with problems in new settlement sites made some of the resettlers less productive and they would not have enough grain even for daily consumption.

In explaining the experience and capacity of the DAs at the site the officials indirectly admitted that they lack the proper orientation and adequate training. It was only after a three month training that they had been assigned to assist the implementation of resettlement with other senior experts from the *wereda* office of Rural Development and Agriculture. They mentioned that the coordinating parties of the *wereda* administration do not rely on the young DAs, who were inspecting and implementing the program in the two sites as they are inadequately experienced.

But there are some progressive resettlers who assign crop failure due to incapacibilities of the resettlers themselves For instance: *Beyahim*, 39 years of age, from village *Dubbuq*, didn't accept the reason for the failure as the others and says they are as young and strong as himself and can do hard work. He explained that the reason for the failure was that the land was not prepared well and that it had bushes thus it was difficult to plough as a result of which some of the resettlers failed to obtain much product during this harvest. He said the land he had was suitable for many types of crops.

*Jamad*, who is a farmer of 57 years of age and literate, explained that he had harvested four sacks of maize from the year's harvest. He got one sack of "salit" and half -a quintal of nug'. He stated that he didn't harvest sorghum because he arrived at *Dubbuq* late and that it was not

proper time to plant sorghum at that season of the year. The explanation he gave for the success of his fellow resettlers in obtaining good harvest of sorghum was that the difference in the plots of land and the time which they arrived. He said the time at which he arrived couldn't allow him to sow some grains like sorghum.

*Jamad* and *Beyahim* responded to the question – what was the cause of the destruction of crops in their village? .The major reason for the destruction of crops according to many of the respondents was hailstones, hardness of the soil to dig ie-difficulty in plowing, their coming time to the villages, which was late for plowing and preparing the land for crops, crop disease, weakness of the oxen, and wild animals like wild pigs , monkeys and apes.

## **2. Improper Marketing**

Lack of marketing facilities for the crops played its part in the financial problems and harassment of resettlers: Some of the crops which could sell for much higher prices were being sold for low prices at the local market. Retail traders take *salit'* and *nug*, for instance, for 350 and 250 birr per quintal respectively where as the same amount used to be sold at 650 birr in *Nekempte market*.

### **Lack of Non-farm Activities**

Absence of non farm activities in the site had influenced the financial capacity of resettlers negatively. Smaller necessities could be managed if the farmers had the chance to do non farm activities in private organizations like petty trading, and working in private farms etc.

The other reflection of this was that Chat was a cash crop many of the resettlers used to depend on for getting some income through buying and selling it in their places of origin. Its absence in the new environment has also affected the financial capacity of the resettlers. There was no any other crop in the new area saleable as readily as chat and most of the resettlers think that had affected considerably.

The experience of the *Harar* resettlers as petty traders in places of their origin was mentioned by many and the now almost none of them are currently engaged in those activities. The reasons they attribute that *Sire Dooro* was not a place where transportation facilities allow people to bring goods and sale in the locality.

The other reason was absence of employment in the area. The requirement for additional labor in the small individual holdings is not encourageing. People use to do their work by themselves without depending on the labour from open market. It could have encouraged a

considerable number of resettlers to work and earn money for financial support of their household.

#### **d. Problems of Housing**

##### **Houses were weak in construction**

While moving in the resettlement program to the new sites, the orientation many resettlers had was that they would have the land prepared by tractors and their houses would be ready for living and that the food aid would continue to be given for three years. But in reality, it was different in the resettlement site. Most of the cottages had to be rebuilt for they were either weakly constructed or they became old by the time resettlers occupied.

In the villages of resettlement, many cottages were under construction while even the researcher was in the site for data collection. They had to be built again for they had become old. The other thing was that it took resettlers a long time to reconstruct in the new site after they had discovered that the previous site "*Boqo*" was not suitable for agriculture. The reconstruction needed additional time that was not assessed by the resettlers previously. The harvest season for which resettlers were to be given aid consumed the time taken to move to the new site and to reconstruct the houses.

*Beyahim and Jamad* have also explained that many of the resettlers were busy with the reconstruction of the cottages, which are to be built again. The cottages had either been constructed weakly or they were left empty for longer time before the arrival of the resettlers to the site which has contributed for their current poor state.

#### **Other problems**

*Mofeera 29*, complained of the absence of flour mill, relief aid was not being provided and seeds were not yet ready according to him. Other social services like school and clinic were far from their village. There was water but the pipe had no tap. It was difficult to let it settle and make the dirt clear.

Water was available in the site. It flows onto the irrigable plots. The actual use of the water seems to have not been started. The fields are just starting to be ploughed. Building of the canals has been carried out by resettlers both at *Dubbuq* and at *Ashu Kusaye*. The *Harar* resettlers at *Dubbuq* are using the water to soften the soil for ploughing. But there is no treatment centre for water to be used for drinking.

*Mofoera*, the informant in the previous discussion, stated that he was a voluntary resettler. The state promised to provide relief aid for three years. But it stopped even before the resettler became food secure. But he assumed the state should go on providing assistance till they become self-sufficient in food production after which they are not going to ask for it.

*Amaaro*, *Mofoera* and also others in the resettlement villages said that the state promised to give the food ration for three years. That was taken for granted by many of the resettlers in the two villages and when the local officials discontinued the aid, the resettlers called and talked to them who answered to their surprise that the relief aid wouldn't continue to be given after that prescribed period. Many of the informants talked about it with anger because the information they had was that the food ration would continue to be given for three years which developed a sense of distrust due to lack of proper communication and information.

According to the discussion with Ato *Dawit*, another official at *K'allitii*-the Addil DPPO, the understanding was quite different; the state had a plan to give food ration for only one harvest season, ie, for 12 months. If people needed food aid for a longer period, the situation would be assessed and decisions could be made about what should be done based on the results of the assessment. The problem according to *Dawit* was that the local officials might have not been given proper orientation about that and resettlers could have been misled to think that way. Expectations of the people were, therefore, not according to the plans officials were talking about.

### **e. Problems of Agricultural Knowledge and Training**

My observation allows me to note that many of the resettlers are without the basic skills of agriculture. Many of the resettlers do not have proper knowledge about the ways of training young bulls, preparing agricultural implements for the different parts of the plough, the proper time of weeding, and harvesting, etc.,. Therefore, a considerable influence was put on the program by lack of the necessary knowledge of agriculture on the part of the resettlers.

### **f. Environmental Degradation**

Chemical fertilizers were about to be sent to the PA cooperatives. Although many farmers realize that it was good to use chemical fertilizers in the farm field, especially after a long period and repeated use of the land for crop production, they also fear the dependency that may follow. They say the field fails to grow crops after the use of commercial fertilizers are stopped. The effort made by the DAs to promote the use of compost is underway. The higher price of

commercial fertilizers and the dependency it might result in poor conditions that encouraged farmers to use the natural method of protection of fertility of the soil. Resettlers were not, however, encouraged to use their method adequately as it needed quite a large amount of labor.

There is a tendency among the resettlers to use manure and compost in particular. Resettlers were advised to prepare and use compost which was not expensive and also without undesirable effects. Some of the local farmers were, however, observed to use commercial fertilizers for their immediate benefit without realizing what would create injury to the soil in the long term. Most of the local people I interviewed explained that the soil was fertile and it didn't need commercial fertilizers. The PA chairman, for instance, needed some amount of fertilizer because he had benefited a great deal in the harvest. The chairman accepted that chemical fertilizers were expensive and that it also caused dependency. Compost on the other hand, is cheaper and it also has no bad consequences according to the PA chairman. The chairman explained that it was only recently that the advice about the use of compost had been given and he expressed his wishes that all the farmers could use it in their farms.

It is of some interest however, to note that almost no effort has been observed of people doing to protect the soil. Instead, trees are cut for use in building cottages and fence in the resettlement site. None of the dead trees were, however, replaced as an effort to protect the environment while the study was being conducted in the field.

### **5.3. Survival Strategies :**

#### **5.3.1. Marriages as Forms of Survival Strategies**

##### **5.3.1.1 Inter-ethnic marriage**

The *Amharas* and *Oromos* intermarried in order to associate with each other. There were many *Amharas* who married *Oromo* women and there were many *Oromo* male, who married *Amhara* women in the previous resettlements.

*Feksha*, a gentleman of about 40 years of age, explained that he had married an *Amhara* woman (*Algeta*) and he is living with her, it was over nine years since he married her. The *Oromos* marry here with a large amount of dowry; the amount of money given was increasing each time it was simple and one could pay it when he was young. He had an *Oromo* wife too. It didn't cost him much to take her as wife since it was not costly then but now the amount of money needed was too much according to his explanation. In contrast, the *Amharas* spend only a

small amount of money to marry even when it was marriage of a girl. He bought *Algeta* gold, shoes, and a dress because he liked her and he was happy with her.

What I am trying to explain at this point is that such type of relations between the local *Oromos* and the *Amharas* were not uncommon and that could give a good background for the relations to be established between resettlers in the current program and the local population. Incidentally, there is an example for the possibility of future relations among them already.

#### *Ahmed*

There is a case in the present study that exemplifies that marriage was performed between a *Gojjame* Christian woman and a *Harar* Muslim resettler *Ahmed*. The marriage in this example was incompatible in many aspects; like age, religion, and ethnic group, which are normally considered in marriage. The young *Gojjame* lady, who was a follower of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, was married to an old Muslim *Harar* resettler at *Dubbuq*. The young Amhara lady came to the resettlement site with female child of two to take shelter in a village where *Ahmed* lives. According to the lady's explanation, her life was in danger as the previous husband threatened to kill her as a result of a quarrel between them. Then she decided to escape and soon she crossed the *Abbay* valley and arrived in *Sire Dooro*, *Dubbuq* village. It didn't take *Ahmed* long time to approach the young lady, who was looking for shelter to save her life. *Ahmed* left his wife in place of origin, *Harar* since she is too weak to come to the present site with him. Thus, he employed a scheme that could enable him to take the hands of the woman as he needed one very badly. The other woman he used as a go-between took him the happy message of the young lady's agreement to come to his place as a wife. Then *Ahmed* was all happiness. He did even respond to one of my questions in the discussion " see that I am strong and that is why I marry a lady like her".

It was not easy to accept this kind of arrangement between husband and wife in normal circumstances. There were restrictions in many social aspects. The arrangement was thus one of economic association used as a means of coping with the reality in the settlement site. *Ahmed* said he left his previous wife in his place of origin for she was old and weak to come with him. The explanation of this was that the marriage between the two was necessitated by the objective conditions in the resettlement site.

### 5.3.1.2. Intra-ethnic Marriage

*Kanzali*, who is 16 years of age and was married to a *harar* resettler, the fact that she was not told about the presence of a former wife in their place of origin, became the cause for divorce she was to undergo later. The husband came from *harar* with the senior wife to *Dubbuq*. The teenager was offended and has left for her parent's place (in the same village). She was going to school in the new site. The young lady said she had nothing to dress, and nothing to eat and that she had no money for stationery. She was under her father's support and needed his financial assistance for everything, which was difficult especially after marriage according to her. The lady's father was challenging her husband in the social court first and then at the wereda court of *Gidda Ayyana*.

The fact that marriages are the means of forming alliance has been mixed up with an interest on the part of the parent in this case. But the point that I want to make is, however, that there was an example of intra-ethnic marriage between resettlers with the possible and normal intention of forming alliance between the families of the marrying couple. It also was obviously the husband's intention to obtain additional labor which is needed at household level in the new environment in taking the girl as a wife. It was a strategy of survival employed by the newly married couple whether the parent allows it or not as it is observed in the previous case.

### 5.3.1. Social Relations in the new Environment

It seems too difficult on the part of resettlers to establish social relationship with the host community in the short duration. It was, however, possible to identify some early indications to have some type of social relationship between the two in the near future. These were assessed in terms of Self Help Associations, marriage, participation in events like religious conferences and funerals, in the Peasant Association.

The effect of the break in the social bond was also reflected in some other ways; the neighbouring people in the new resettlement villages of *Dubbuq* and *Ashu kusaye* were Christian Amharas and Oromos. The difference in religion had kept them away from establishing close connections with the Harar resettlers muslim in particular. On the occasion of a certain wedding ceremony of Christians for instance, which I and the DA happened to experience, the Muslim Oromos from the neighbourhood were not included. Besides, the self-help associations so far established by the resettlers did not include people from the host community. In both the resettlement villages the new comers were organized among themselves to establish voluntary self-help associations such as *daboo*.

Nevertheless, on one other occasion I observed that the *Salale* resettlers at *Ashu kusaye* found it easier to mix with the host community in the new environment compared to that of the *Harar* resettlers at *Dubbuq*; (they were in an isolated village at a distance of 5-7km from the village of the *Salales* at *Ashu Kusaye*). Although the distance between the settlement places cannot be the only evidence for the absence of the local Oromo people The *Salale* resettlers are predominantly Christians and so also the host population. Whereas, *Dubbuq* resettlers are all muslims. Hence, because of the religious similarities, the co-operation between the *Salale* resettlers is stronger with the host community in comparison to the *Dubbuq* resettlers. Moreover, there is also a physical distance between *Dubbuq* resettlement and the host people, which is another barrier for cooperation.

### 5. 3. 2. Economic Co-operation

Experience sharing was one of the most important coping mechanisms resettlers were practicing in the new area. The new comers at *Dubbuq* were helping each other by involving themselves in the agricultural activities such as ploughing the land, making smaller agricultural tools, and by training young bulls for those, who are less experienced. Resettlers at *Dubbuq* were observed doing this on many occasions which I had observed during my field work. The cooperations are observed in the following manner:

1. Forming Voluntary Self-Help Association that does not include the local population
2. Establishing reciprocal help relations with the local population (borrowing and lending of smaller tools),
3. Consultation with the DAs for inter-cropping, control of plant diseases, plantation in rows, etc.
4. Pairing oxen with those of the neighbours,
5. Marrying women house hold heads and
6. Using women's and children's labor by keeping most or all of the household members with oneself, etc were the mechanisms resettlers adopted in the villages

The *Dubbuq* resettlers also borrow farm tools like *Wagal*, (a metallic ring hooked at one end to attach it with the heavy wooden part, *muka*, that connects with the yoke) from the Amharas in the neighborhood and they exchange oxen with them; younger bulls were paired with older oxen for training the younger ones, which were bought from neighbouring Amharas.

*Amaaro*, an informant with whom I have conducted an interview, keeps seven children with himself in the resettlement site. Therefore, he is among the most capable in terms of the capacity

in agricultural activities. On most of the observations I made in the farm field, I saw him sharpening smaller wooden tools like *t'ik'irt* for others. Many resettlers look for *Amaaro's* help and expertise to prepare the tool. The metallic tool *qotto*, used to sharpen the object is also scarce in the site. He obtains the tool by borrowing from the local people with whom he also exchanges an older bull for a younger one.

There was also more evidence that some non-resettlers who came to the area are practicing share cropping as a mechanism of survival. They were a source of labor especially for the less experienced and for the less capable resettlers in the site. I observed one young lady who had a pair of oxen but could not plough without asking others to help her in the farming.

*Haldeaf*, a lady of about 27 years age, who also has defects of speech and communicates with difficulty, was asking the male resettlers to help her the following day in the activities of preparing the land for planting seeds. As it was explained by her and the other resettlers, she is expected to prepare some tea and *chat* if possible to treat the people who help her in agricultural activities. *Chat* is actually the maximum expectation since it is lacking in the resettlement site. Therefore, in such cases, the person in need of the peoples' help is expected to make tea only in most of the cases.

I have observed that the less skilled resettlers were coping up with the tasks of ploughing the field in two ways; they request the more skilled ones to help them to prepare the tools for ploughing and to set the oxen in the farm. Resettlers also borrowed tools from the neighbouring *Amharas*. The co-operation among them was so good that the kind ones spend much of the time to help others even keeping their own oxen idle in the farm. Lack of experience and the shortage of smaller tools like axes, are major problems resettlers are facing. The minimisation of social relations with the people in their places of origin could have played some part in this regard as borrowing tools like *qotto* (axe) was a common practice in their places of origin. Those types of social ties were not spectacularly present in the new environment and resettlers had to establish similar relationships among themselves and with the local people, but it will take more years to establish such similar relationships.

Some of the resettlers bought younger bulls, that need much time and energy to be trained by setting them along with better trained ones and older oxen; the oxen given to resettlers by the government were older and weaker.

The other forms of coping mechanism in addition to those discussed above included:

1. Consultation with the DAs, who were responsible for the implementation program and with the Rural Development Agency of the Regional Administration.

2. Using the links they still had with their places of origin to have what ever support from there.

*Amaaro*, a senior resettler at *Dubbuq* village, and who is 57, and the most experienced resettler, was just coming back from place of his origin when I saw him first. He was in *Harar* a few days before and he says all the property he left was well protected. *Amaaro's* willingness, his ability to express what is asked clearly, his co-operativeness to share his experience to others in the farm field, etc. were some of the qualities I observed and made my decision to recruit him as one of my key informants for the study. In the discussion I conducted with him, he explained that his relatives took care of the plantation of coffee and chat in place of his origin. He says that his relatives have collected the coffee beans and chat and he has come to the current resettlement site after a visit. He is happy with the opportunity he had to see the place of his origin and having money from the sales of coffee and *chat* there. He says he bought 12 goats with the money he obtained.

3. Keeping all the house hold with oneself was a means of obtaining labour and it also gave a feeling of security to them; the informant in the above interview told he kept seven children with him at *Dubbuq*.

4. Seeking help from others in any form had been practiced by resettlers in *Sire Dooro*;

*Haldeaf* was observed requesting fellow resettlers to plow the land for her. (see *Haldeaf* above, p.56)

5. Pairing an ox with that of a neighbour was a mechanism most rersettlers were using. Training young bulls was often done in that way.

6. Marriage with women house hold heads was the type of mechanism some resettlers are using. There were half a dozen marriages of that type in *Kutti- Ashu Kusaye* village alone where there were about 40 house hold heads.

Let us see some cases:

Some resettlers had already started establishing marital relations with fellow resettlers. *Adashe*, 29 and one of the female household heads in the village of North *Shoan* resettlers, had joined *Obbo Tarre* 34, in a wedlock. The couple had their respective families in their places of origin. But now after the present marriage, the previous marriage does not continue any more. Their marriage was not based on a romantic affair but it was an economic association according to *Tarre*. In that type of association the couple shared not only love but plots of land, a pair of oxen, joining their labour and became more productive in the resettlement area.

*Tarre* recognizes the economic role of women at family level. Accordingly, his relation to *Adashe*, was of some decisive importance to the improvement of their life. He explains that *Adashe* had a big role in weeding, preparing store, cleaning and cooking. But he believed that the most difficult part of the agricultural activities was performed by the male partner. Women can protect crops from birds and other animals in addition to the economic activities mentioned according to him. But he said the difficult labor like ploughing, training the young bulls, and preparing the wooden tools for farming, etc were the more difficult and important activities in agriculture.

He could be categorized among some of the successful resettlers in the site in terms of the amount of crops he harvested; He had collected three quintals of teff, two quintals of bean, one quintal of *nug* and half a quintal of maize in that harvest. On the other hand, he had lost all the sorghum to wild animals.

Half a dozen marriages were performed in the village of *Ashu kusaye* alone. Besides, a considerable attention was given to those who were less experienced in agricultural activities; fellow resettlers were working very hard to help those who cannot prepare tools, or plough the land by using oxen in the village of *Dubbuq*. The background of a considerable number of resettlers did not allow them to cope up with the hard labor farming life involves in the area and they look for help from others who were also willing to invest their energy to help the less experienced ones.

### 5.3.2.1

#### ***Buying additional bulls***

*Mokal*, the *Dubbuq* resettler and who is 58 years of age, has bought an ox in addition to the one the government gave him. He bought an ox selling tea in a cottage near his resettlement site, *kutti*. He hoped that they would be food secure soon because the early rains were seen in the sky. He said even a mother doesn't do to her child what the state was doing for them at that time. *Mokal* had moved like other fellow resettlers, from his place of origin in *North Shoa* due to scarcity of land. The land he mentioned had stopped yielding much product since it had no forest that would protect the soil from erosion due to exposure to wind and sun and due to floods. He had children and came to this site with one of them. He had a plan to bring the rest of his children to *kutti* to help him in farming activities as more labor is an asset for agriculture. As it has been explained earlier, keeping all members of household in the resettlement site is one of the sources of additional labor and it is considered as a strategy of survival in this study.

### 5.3.2.2.

#### **Preparing Composte**

The resettlers were told to prepare composte so that they could use a natural fertilizer instead of the commercial one. The manure is mixed with plant leaves under a cover of soil in a hole dug for the purpose. The farmers were also told to protect trees by pruning the branches instead of cutting the whole tree to prevent drought which comes as a result of destruction of trees. The use of composte is more reliable for the environmental protection as the commercial fertilizer enhances dependency on the product which was also unaffordable and difficult to use for many of the resettlers given their financial capacities.

### 5.3.2.3.

#### **Working for Longer Hours**

The Harar resettlers in Sire Dooro were trying to cope with the unaffordability of labour by working for longer hours a day: They told me that they stayed until 6:30pm in the field. Besides, the women resttlers were expected to go to the farm with their husbands and did agricultural activities. The Harar men on the other hand complained of their women's lack of participation in agricultural activities (weeding, picking roots and other undesirable objects from the field, Preparation of the field for thrushing the crops, and the role of taking to market and selling products) which the women of Shoan resettlers did. There are in fact minor cultural differences between the *Harar* and *Shoan/Salale* women in the ways they participate in agricultural activities; the *Salale* women participate more actively than the *Harar* women in agricultural activities.

### 5.3.2.4.

#### **Using Traditional Irrigation System**

Since the area of the resettlement is rain fed, the resettlers have started using traditional irrigation system already. Small fields are irrigated by diverting streams in both the villages of resettlement in *Sire Dooro*. Although they have consultation with the field workers on the use of irrigation, the modern irrigation system is not seen there, and the resettlers are making efforts to use the traditional one. This system of irrigation needs building a dam at the coast of the river which is to be used as a source of water. The materials used to build the dam include stone and mud available near the river bank. The elevation of the dam helps the water to move down to the farm field which is often located below the river and water flows through the drainage tunnel by

the help of gravity. Tunnels are dug in the ground with digging sticks which have small sharp metal. They also use other form of the digging tool which is often carried by the Harar resettlers is a short and pointed metal with a heavy end on the top. The weight of the metal allows an easy access to the earth which is difficult in dry seasons. The harar and the *Salale* resettlers have made many tunnels of this kind and water is flowing to the fields. Many of the tunnels are 200-300metres long. One such drainage tunnel made by the *Harar* resettlers is about 400 meters long. Although it was not yet possible to evaluate the extent they are using the irrigation system in the resettlement site, as my short stay of 45 days does not allow me to see the outcome. It is, however, possible to observe that resettlers in both the villages were very much interested to use the rivers for irrigation. Many of the fields were watered in *Dubbuq* village to wet the earth so that it could be easier for ploughing.

### 5.3.2.5.

#### **Share- Cropping:**

It is obvious that many of the activities in the resettlement site needed additional labor. People, however, seem to have no surplus money to use for the purpose. Share-cropping was the only possibility there. Absence of credit facilities in Sire Dooro might be contributing to that; people didn't hire farmers when work was still available.

*Keessumma*, who is 28, and came to the resettlement site to visit a brother, explained that he would be looking for a chance to stay there helping others and supporting himself by doing share-cropping. He had almost spent the harvest season doing that when I carried out the interview with him. He came as a result of scarcity of land in his place of origin and it was already late for him to obtain a plot of land as the program of recruitment and provision of land was also closed.

### 5.3.2.6.

#### **Forming Associations as Coping Mechanisms**

Resettlers were organized in associations among themselves. They helped each other in turns in farming and in building houses. The host prepared food and drink for members of the association. The food was made from grains simply boiled or roasted, and the drink was the locally prepared alcohol (*areki* or *talla*)

*Mokal*, a resettler at *Dubbuq*, explained that teams consisting about 20 individuals or even less were organized as Self-Help Associations. House building was the only activity I saw the

association members used to do during my field work. Other activities like farming also need such associations but resettlers seem to have not yet started using the Self-Help Associations for agricultural activities.

*[Faint, illegible text]*

*[Faint, illegible text]*

*[Faint, illegible text]*

*[Faint, illegible text]*

*[Faint, illegible text]*

*[Faint, illegible text]*

*[Faint, illegible text]*

*[Faint, illegible text]*

*[Faint, illegible text]*

*[Faint, illegible text]*

## Chapter Six

### 6.1. Disputes and Conflicts in the Resettlement Site

#### Introduction

In this chapter, the nature of various disputes among the resettlers and with the neighbors are discussed. The chapter also highlights the nature of disputes among the earlier settlers due to scarcity of cultivable land.

Although there was no evidence of a general movement against the current resettlement program in *Sire Dooro*, it is not, however, free from tension. The background for the present tension is the historical relation between the two ethnic groups in that particular region and also elsewhere in Ethiopia. Previously, two types of resettlement were carried out in the present site of *Sire Dooro*. The spontaneous resettlement and government planned resettlement through which people were moved to *Wollaga* from the neighboring *Amhara* regions of *Gojjam* and *Gondor* at different times. The spontaneous resettlement was the movement of people to the region on individual basis and the number of people who came was small and the movement did not result in immediate security problems in the area. The reason for this may be neither the migrants have presented security problems by forming any alliance against the local people nor did the native people take violent actions against them as their number was meagre. Rather the migrants have formed kinship ties with the local *Oromo* through marriage to ensure their security. This was, however, the strategy adopted by the new comers and the local people seem to have little opposition to it.

But during the Socialist regime the government of Ethiopia moved a large mass of people to the same area for resettlement. The increase of the population in the area in this way has intensified the competition for resources which used to be utilized previously by the local people almost exclusively. The land, forests, water, which was the property of the local *Oromos*, became a common property of of both the migrants and resettlers who are *Amharas*.

Both the Imperial and the Socialist governments of the country did not discourage the flow of people from the *Amhara* regions as mentioned above. Instead, they were in a sense promoting large scale resettlement in the locality. The movement as it was justified and necessary to cultivate the unoccupied land. The Socialist system has also backed it with a proclamation, which recognized the ownership of land by the tenants. *Most* of the migrant *Amharas* were holding land in *Wollaga* as share-croppers or as 'yek'inyi marat' which means land for

cultivation by the non-native people. Both types of land holders were granted the possession of plots for cultivation they were holding by the Socialist system after the proclamation. As a result, the tension between the *Balabats* (traditional land owners who gave their land to tillers in contract) and the tillers was intensified. The conflict, therefore, between the *Amhara* migrants and the local *Oromos* has economic ground rather than an ethnic one. The ethnic tie between the groups has of course played symbolic role in solidifying the *Amharas* on the one hand and the *Oromos* on the other.

This was the background of the present relationships among the people in the resettlement site. The tension between the *Amharas* and the *Oromos* has been reflected in some way in the current resettlement program as well.

### **Self-Help Associations**

Relationships for reciprocal help were also being established between resettlers and the host community at Sire Dooro. These were beginnings which were reflected in the willingness to borrow farm tools from the hosts.

As opposed to all these, however, there was no single instance of the resettlers' coming together in self help associations such as "*Daboo*" in the resettlement villages in *Sire Dooro*. Given the short duration of time the resettlers stayed together with the local people, it was not yet time to establish wider social relations with the community. Resettlers, however, organize among themselves for increased labor in agricultural activities and for building houses. This does not, however, suggest that there wouldn't be any associations in the future between resettlers and the local people. The short period during which I had been with the resettlers did not allow me to study the reasons of absence of any Self- Help organizations between resettlers and the local people from a broad perspective. Therefore, it remains open for future studies to evaluate and describe the out come of the relationships among the people. My observation does only include the way resettlers are trying to establish reciprocal relationships in agricultural activities in the site.

## **6. 2. Resource Based Conflicts**

### **6. 2.1. Conflict over Land , Water, Forest**

Another possible cause for the occurrence of conflicts such as the one that has happened recently, is the accessibility of the resources mentioned and other social services (like school, clinic, mill etc) to the host community. My observation shows me that children of both the

resettlers and those of the local community were going to the same school in *Sire Dooro*. The clinic also gave services to both the hosts and the resettlers. There was nothing in that respect that was of an immediate concern because both resettlers and the host population were making use of the social services available.

### **The case where land was a resource over which violence broke out in the site**

*Mireta*, is an Amhara resident of *Ashu Kusaye* village. He wanted to cultivate a piece of irrigable land perhaps bribing the local PA leaders. The land was reserved for use in the resettlement program that was being carried out then in the site. Since the productivity of the irrigable land is better, it is usual for everybody to have such precious land so that productivity could become more. *Mireta* armed with gun, went to cultivate the land during the night to claim his possession as he might be intercepted by the others during day time. Unfortunately, his activities were noticed by some resettlers who came in group to challenge him. On the other hand, *Mireta* scrambled for help from his own people by alerting them. When these two groups were justifying their claims, *Mireta* fled from the scene sensing defeat. But subsequently, he was asked to justify his claim over the piece of land, and failed to do so properly.

Although the dispute was solved temporarily, by stopping each party from cultivating the same land, the tension has continued. After a week or two, the local police came to the village along with local militia to inquire him about the incident. They arrested *Mireta* and his son. After some days, his son was released but *Mireta* continued to remain in custody. The land was then given to resettlers for cultivation.

### **Water as a cause of conflict in the resettlement site**

While competing for a piece of irrigable land, resettlers at *Ashu Kusaye* were also fully engaged in the activities of diverting the small river in the vicinity. The adult male resettlers were digging the canal for the water to come to their farm field. The youngsters gather the earth to the sides of the canal so that water could get easy access to the target direction. In this way resettlers take part in the different activities of construction of the canal. The business and coordination of activities in the area generally shows the interest resettlers have to divert and use water. It is evident therefore, that the land is more useful with the availability of water for irrigation. That is why resettlers displayed their joy at the completion of the activities of diverting the small river in *Ashu Kusaye* village. Some took a mouthful from the running water, others sprinkled it to their face, and so on.

In doing this, the resettlers were not only making an immediate use of the water but they are also preparing it for permanent use in the farm. Therefore, the competition for water is also as intense as that for land in the locality since the land without water for irrigation may be less important for agricultural activities in that area.

### **Forest as a cause of conflict in the resettlement site**

Eventhough competition for forest or wood did not yet reach a level of antagonism in the resettlement site, there is, however, a potential for future dispute over the use of wood or forest. Trees and forest are already scarce in the village of *Ashu Kusaye*. On the other hand, almost all the houses in the village need reconstruction as they were not well made at the beginning. It is thus highly likely that the local people and the resettlers will be in conflict over the use of the remaining scanty trees unless proper attention is given to the issue by the local officials.

It is therefore possible to assume that the availability of fertile land had attracted the previous Amhara occupants to the area and the conflict was created on this ground but not on ethnic ground as many try to evaluate it. The ethnic identity might have played a symbolic role when the basic cause of the dispute was resource based. But as it can be seen from the above combination, the *Amhara* farmers were also fighting against a group of *Amhara* over the the same plot of irrigable land in the village. The conflict, therefore, did not develop to ethnic level. It has rather declined to individual or group level. There was even a period when it had disappeared totally when one of the quarreling parties was away. But lastly, it appeared in a relatively petty dispute level at the arrival of the resettlers to the village. That was because the increase in the population of the area, which could have possibly generate more and more competition for the resources, land, water, wood or forests, and grass in the area.

On the other hand, resettlers were organized among themselves to form self-help associations. The associations that were formed did not include the local people (Ahmed). This doesn't however, mean that there were no indications for the establishment of different social relations between resettlers and the local community. The case cited in the other section of the present study, the marriage between a *Harar Muslim* resettler and an *Amhara* migrant tells that there was at least no sanction to that type of relation between them.

*Bezaw*, is another case who is a local *Amhara*, and who took part in the group discussion. He is an *Amhara* local who had competing interests with the *Mireta* (see discussion above). The person was plowing the plot of land that was supposed to be used by the *Salale* resettlers, who are new comers and the local farmer, who is an *Amhara* local is expected to have comments in

favor of the local people. His opinion was against the local *Amhara* farmer with whom the discussant (*Bezaw*) had a competing interest. There were thus indications of both agreement and disagreement. The potential for any of the tendencies can be derived from the type of economic and social relations the resettlers and the local people were establishing in the area. Forming an alliance based on economic relations and other social relations is a usual way of organization among people and the reactions of the local community can, therefore, be determined based on the relations that have been described.

### **6. 2. 2. Reflections in the Support Local People Provide to Resettlers**

*Mokal*, a resettler in *Dubbuq* village, was discussing the role of the PA in the resettlement program. The role of the PA according to the informant was measuring the plot to distribute it to resettlers, building cottages, and clearing the bushes to make it easier for farming activities. Roads were also constructed by the local people. The local people were encouraged to help the incoming people by giving the necessary advice about how to plough, when to weed, when to sow and about other activities of farming. The local farmers were also engaged in ploughing the land for the resttlers at first so that it would be easier to plough subsequently and also to sow seeds. The PA co-ordinates all the activities and its role also extends to matters of dispute resolution and security.

### **6.3. The Political Nature of the Recent Conflict in *Sire Dooro***

#### *The conflict in 1992 e.c*

A few years ago, there was a fight between the *Oromos* and the *Amharas* in *Sire Dooro*. According to my informant, *Fe'kisha*, who is an oromo resident of *Sire Dooro*, says that that part of *Wollaga* was dominated by the migrant *Amharas*. The *Oromos*, who felt that they were being treated as the minority in a region they are supposed to be the majority, resented the predominance of the other party. As previous occupants of the area, the *Oromos* also felt that there might be a serious competition for land, water and forest. *Fek'isha*, explains that the immediate cause for the recent fight was that *Amharas* realizing that most of the administrative posts of *Gidda* have been taken by the *Oromos*, they plotted to fight and include *Gidda Ayyana* & *Hangar Gutin* to the region of *Gojjam*. As a provocation to this, some individuals came to *Sire Dooro* and killed two militia men, who were brothers. This action according to the informant resulted in a more serious fight, where some people died and others fled the area. The land that used to belong to the displacees was distributed to resettlers in the recent resettlement program.

Since then, local *Amharas* seem to have been divided; the *Gojjames* didn't associate with the *Wolloyes* and now they became allies to the *Oromos* and accordingly some administrative posts were open to the *Wolloyes* in the *Oromo* district of *Gidda. Algeta*, *Wolloye Amhara* resident, says that there is a *Wolloye* chairman in the PA near *Sire Dooro* and I also witnessed the presence of some *Wollo Amharas* who are armed and who were cooperating with the *Oromo* in many security activities in the PA in which I was working to collect the data for this study.

On the other hand, there were some marriages among the *Oromo's* and the *Wollo* and the *Gojjame Amharas* as well. The number of *Oromo* male, who marry *Amhara* women, was however much larger than the *Amhara* men who marry *Oromo* women. That might however, be because of the large amount of money that was paid in bride price for marriage with the *Oromo* women. The comparative price of marriage to marry an *Amhara* woman was lower and it was, therefore, encouraging.

Therefore, there was no observable sanction that prohibits inter ethnic marriage in *Sire Dooro*. As evidences show, there are about 13 cases of inter ethnic marriages my informant knows of in the area near his village alone (*Fek'isha*) I also talked to some of the locals who married *Amhara* women.

Accoridng to *Feksha*, there was no history of conflict like that in the *wereda* before; it was, however, clear that there was a more serious fight in *Gutin*, in the *Oromo* zone of *Wollaga* and many were reported to have been shot dead. at the end of the *derg*ue regime (Assefa, 1999).

In answering the question if there had ever been a serious fight among the *Amharas* and the *Oromos* before, he said, there were fights, which were not as serious as the last one. Once he witnessed a fight in which one person was wounded with sticks. He said the person was hit hard on the head and fell on the ground with three wounds. Later, he reached there and had fired 2 bullets to disperse the fighting parties and the man's life was saved. The cause according to *Fek'sha* was a dispute over the boundary of a piece of farm land. The other cause was an election that was intended to make an appointment in the parish of the Orthodox Church. *Kutti Georgis* parish members fought over the position for the parish and later the conflict was resolved. The police came from the nearby town of '*Kiramu*' and handled the case. The individuals were sent to the police. The dispute in which one was wounded was resolved by a council of elders lastly. This case however, has little relevance to the present conflict between the resettlers and the previous occupants in the area.

What can be observed is that although the political interpretation of the recent resource based conflict is likely to give the type of meaning to external observers, there is nothing that

proves the dispute that took place is some form of ethnic politics. For that matter, the ethnographic data and the experience of informants, (recent resettlers and the previous occupants) show that what is going on in the area is not ethnic strife but a conflict over resources like land, water, forests, etc., in the resettlement site and in the area around.

# SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

## SUMMARY

The main purpose of this study is to assess the resettlement program of 2002/2003 in terms of policy, preparation, and implementation. It has also been the objective of the present study to predict the prospect of the present resettlement program .based on recruitment of resettlers, availability of resources, agricultural inputs and other supplies, and the capacity of local officials to implement the program. The impact of local conflicts and the implications of the program to the constitutional rights of the people have also been examined in the study.

The Research Questions expected to be answered after completion of the study are the following:

1. Are the resources (financial and capable personnel) available for the resettlement program?
2. Are the implementation activities, (selection of sites, recruitment of resettlers & the provision of the agricultural inputs carried out properly?
3. What are the implications the current resettlement programs have for the local people, the environment, and the social organization of resettlers?
4. Are there motives for the resettlement, programs other than the 'official' one, i.e., food security?

I selected *Sire Dooro* resettlement site in *Jidda Kiramu wereda* because of its strategic location, to be helpful in collecting ethnographic data about the implementation of the resettlement program, peoples' cooperation and management of crisis. The place is selected as a resettlement site for people from *Gojjam and Shoa* in the previous resettlement practice and also as a site of resettlement for people from *Shoa and Hararghe* in the present resettlement program.

It is true that people are moved through resettlement programs when there are problems like

population pressure, and the resulting scarcity of land, land degradation, famine and drought, conflicts, unemployment, etc in the oromo land. The spatial change or movement of people from places of origin to a new environment is a common feature to all resettlement schemes.

Hence, it appears that the site is suitable and preferred for resettlement by the people as the land has agricultural potential and the population density also seems to be low.

There is, however, reason to accept that people are moved in resettlement programs to fulfill the objective of food security and to minimize the problems of land degradation, population pressure, in the respective areas from where resettlers came.

According to those studies by the authors mentioned, the two major types of resettlement carried out in Ethiopia include (a) Spontaneous resettlement and (b) planned resettlement schemes (Alula P., 1992). The previous resettlement programs have failed to achieve the official objective of 'self-sustainability' in particular. Resettlement projects are 'problematic institutional processes' because *the objectives of the resettlement project fail to be 'realized'* and the people/resettlers often become socio-economically worse off. *"Eventually resettlement policy becomes what the local officials make of it on the ground".*

The villages selected for resettlement in the site of Sire Dooro are *Dubbuq* and *Ashu Kusaye*.

The larger village, *Dubbuq* has about 1,600 resettlers while the smaller one, *Ashu Kusaye*, is composed of about 400 resettlers from North *Shoa*. A total 2000 resettlers are living in the site of the present study.

There are 3 female family head resettlers at *Ashu Kusaye* at *Ashu Kusaye* alone. The presence of female household heads in the resettlement indicates that the recruitment was also based on scarcity or total landlessness in places of origin. According to the present scheme of resettlement, older parents and other members of the resettler's family are allowed to remain behind and protect the property whatever they have at least for the following three years. The relative possibility for the resettler to make use of the property in place of origin is evident. Cases I have selected also indicate that there was an opportunity for the resettlers to use possessions of land in places of origin (see *Amaaro*).

The resettlement site lacks adequate infrastructural facilities as well.

There was no power source of electricity in the resettlement site. The early outcomes observed in the resettlement program are direct results of the recruitment in some instances. The impact the resettlement program has to the constitutional rights of the people are considered in this study.

The presence of Amhara resettlers in the region of *Oromia* has changed the image of the resettlement program's intra-regionality. The present resettlement program was, thus, not a planned one in its beginning. Besides, Protection of people (resettlers) and animals from diseases was not given adequate attention. As a result, a considerable amount of the crops was destroyed in the resettlement villages at *Dubbuq* and *Ashu Kusaye*.

In the recent resettlement program resettlers were moved from different zones of *Oromia* to *Wollaga - Sire Dooro* site in the 2003 program. The current resettlement program has attracted people from other subregions of *Oromia* and people who do not belong to the indigenous population have also been given land in the present resettlement site to practice agriculture. The traditional practice of land ownership of the Oromo was possession of land based on kinship relations among the same ethnic group members.

The beginning of the present resettlement program in 1995 E.C(2003 Gc), was a rush hour act. In some of the areas, the implementation of the program was by *sigsaga'*-ie, by inserting individual or group of resettlers wherever there was open land. *Boqo* site was abandoned by the *Harar* resettlers in *Gidda Wereda* of East Wallaga because of similar reasons.

The aim of the resettlement program is also to enable the land hungry people to have land and to become food secure.

According to the guidelines, the resettlers in the program had to be those who stayed for at least three years under relief aid. The policy, therefore, does not include the experience of resettlers in agricultural activities which determines the success of the individuals considerably. The aim of the resettlement program, on the other hand, is to enable the resettlers to be food secure in a

period of three to five years. Some of the resettlers, the youth in particular, are included in the program without an assessment of their experience in farm activities.

Part of the resettlers were sent to *Dubbuq* from *Boqo*, (the site where the resettlers of *Sire Dooro* were taken first ) to see if the land was suitable for agriculture and they agreed to come to the new site and then the selected land was divided among the remaining resettlers and each household was given two hectares. The remaining party with a considerable contribution to the selection and preparation of the resettlement sites are the resettlers themselves. The resettlers in the study site *explained that* they arrived in the resettlement site some 8 months back in 2003, (1995Ec) with other resettlers.

The mission of the Rural Development and Agricultural Agency in relation to the resettlement program was to help them with the agricultural activities to attain food self sufficiency.

*Harar* resettlers were blamed for the female resettlers', who didn't assist their husbands in the farm. All *Harar* resettlers were *Oromos*, who spoke the same language as most of the local people who were *Wallaga Oromos*. The pattern of agricultural activities of the *Harar* resettlers in *Sire Dooro* was in complete contrast with those of both the *Wallaga Oromo* and from those of *Salale* resettlers.

The background of my informants shows that resettlers were forced to move in this program due to financial problems, and due to scarcity of land in their places of origin .It was thus difficult for them to be food secure and he moved to the present site under the recent resettlement program. My observation has also indicated that a considerable number of resettlers (1/3<sup>rd</sup>) in the village were food insecure.

The state according to *Leymersa* promised to support resettlers by giving relief aid. As a result, the resettlers in *Qarsa* failed to obtain much. *Moshe* was a resettler who came from *Harar 'Girawa'* to *Dubbuq* in the present resettlement program. First there were some resettlers, who did not plant grain seeds on fertile pieces of land.

Other activities like farming need such associations or any form of coming together between resettlers in particular.

The resettlers, therefore, were not skilled in the activities of farming by using oxen.

The behaviour of the resettlers was a mixed one. Almost all of the resettlers demanded the food ration. According to the knowledge of the informants, the region of *Oromia* had allotted funds for the resettlement program.

A considerable number of resettlers in both villages still were looking for food aid during the time I was in the field. Besides, resettlers in the village of Ashu Kuseye in particular, came to the present village when it was late to prepare the land for the crops and also they lost much of the crops for crop disease and wild animals. In general, therefore, the capacity of the resettlement program, and of course partly the scarcity of inputs was affecting the success of the resettlement program.

A considerable proportion of the resettlers at the two villages (*Ashu Kusaye* and *Dubbuq*) complained of the administrative office's decision to discontinue relief aid while a large number of resettlers (about one-third) were still experiencing problems. Many of the resettlers are in problems of daily foods for there is shortage of grain.

Generally, it seems that the contribution the smaller tools have is underestimated in the resettlement program. Moreover, the oxen resettlers were given were not strong enough to enable them to plough and prepare the land for crop plantation.

Softening the fields was a problematic process for many of the resettlers. The hand tools used by the Harar resettlers were poorly designed.

The resettlement program was a rush hour plan, primarily because the government was compelled to carry out resettlement program that was started by the *Harar* people, who have migrated in search of open land spontaneously, in all the zones of *Oromia*. It took the resettlers a whole harvest season to realize that the land may not yield rich dividends. The impressions resettlers had was that the land would be prepared by using tractors. Agricultural

implements were not available in the resettlement site. The effort the resettlers made to use traditional irrigation system was not effective either.

Poor site selection, which did not include soil testing, change of site of resettlement from *Boqo* to *Sire Dooro*, which wasted the time and energy of resettlers, the resettlers experience as farmers, some new type of crop diseases which the resettlers have not experienced in their original sites were the commonest causes for the failure. Given the attitude of dependency on aid and lack of experience in agricultural activities, many resettlers failed to produce much in the harvest year.

Absence of non farm activities in the site had influenced the financial capacity of resettlers negatively. The reconstruction of houses needed additional time, that was something that was not assessed by the resettlers previously.

Water was available in the resettlement site. The *Harar* resettlers at *Dubbuq* are using the water to soften the soil for ploughing.

The young *Amhara*, lady came to he resettlement site with female child of two to take shelter in a village where *Ahmed* lives. After a very short stay with resettlers, she has been taken as wifw by one of the Oromo Muslim resettlers in the village of *Dubbuq*. Thus, there is an indication for the absence of sanctions for inter-ethnic marriage in the study area. It is also a stratedy of survival the new comers have adapted in the present environment.

Besides, the self-help associations so far established by the resettlers did not include people from the host community. Whereas, *Dubbuq* resettlers are all Muslims. Hence, because of the religious similarities, the co-operation between the *Salale* resettlers is stronger with the host community in comparison to the *Dubbuq* resettlers. Resettlers at *Dubbuq* were observed doing this on many occasions which I had observed during my field work. Establishing reciprocal help relations with the local population (borrowing and lending of smaller tools).

Resettlers also borrowed tools from the neighbouring *Amharas*. Lack of experience and the shortage of smaller tools like axes, are major problems resettlers are facing. Seeking help

from others in any form had been practiced by resettlers in *Sire Dooro*; *Haldeaf* was observed requesting fellow resettlers to plow the land for her.

Marriage with women house hold heads is the type of mechanism some resettlers are using. Some resettlers had already started establishing marital relations with fellow resettlers.

Since the area of the resettlement is rain fed, the resettlers have started using traditional irrigation systems already. Small fields are irrigated by diverting streams in both the villages of resettlement in *Sire Dooro*.

Relationships for reciprocal help were also being established between resettlers and the host community at *Sire Dooro*. Given the short duration of time the resettlers stayed together with the local people, it was not yet time to establish wider social relations with the community. Resettlers, however, organize among themselves for increased labor in agricultural activities and for building houses. This does not, however, suggest that there wouldn't be any associations in the future between resettlers and the local people. The short period during which I had been with the resettlers did not allow me to study the reasons of absence of any Self- Help organizations between resettlers and the local people from a broad perspective. My observation does only include the way resettlers are trying to establish reciprocal relationships of cooperation in agricultural activities in the site.

Previously, two types of resettlement were carried out in the present site of *Sire Dooro*. The spontaneous resettlement and government planed resettlement through which people were moved to *Wollaga* from the neighboring *Amhara* regions of *Gojjam* and *Gondor* at different times. The land, forests, water, which was the property of the local Oromos, became a common property of of both the migrants and resettlers who are *Amharas*. As a result, the competition for resources was found to be the major cause for conflicts among the population. The competition has also been reflected in the form of dispute over irrigable land in the resettlement site. The clinic in the resettlement site gives services to both the hosts and the resettlers. Therefore, the possibility for the services to be causes for conflict is minimal. On the other hand, there is a case where land has been a resource over which violence broke out in the site

The land was reserved for use in the resettlement program that was being carried out then in the site. One of the local residents was trying to use the land by ploughing it during the night. Unfortunately, his activities were noticed by some resettlers who came in group to challenge him. The land was then given to resettlers for cultivation.

Apart from this, the previous incidence is related with the quality of the land as irrigable. Following the violence mentioned in the previous example for instance, all the adult male resettlers were digging the canal for the water to come to their farm field. This showed that the seriousness of the conflict is associated with not only the plot of land but also with the availability of water that can be diverted easily in the proximity to the farm field.

## CONCLUSIONS

The theoretical model of 'social capital' was used in the study to focus on adaptability to changing situations. Although Cernea's focus on 'Risk and Reconstruction Model' is also kept in mind. There will be risks as Cernea classifies into landlessness, homelessness, marginalization, social disarticulation, etc. at the time of any resettlement programme that the aptitude of management of risk appears to be pivotal for sustenance of human being. Hence, since the conclusion emphasizes the risk and management of risks through social capital at different levels in the focus of adaptability to new situation.

The resettlers faced a great deal of challenges in the new locality, starting from the problems of housing to the agricultural activities. Some family members were left behind in the places of origin because of their age and to take care of the property or resources what so ever they have. This also resulted in emotional stress in some of the resettlers in the new environment. But the resettlers' adaptability together with the possibility to return to places of origin to visit the remaining household members has made the situation tolerable for them. Resettlers also tried to form different associations at micro level. Some also tried to form new families through marriage in order to enhance labor support for farm and related activities.

The contribution of women in agricultural activities is minimal on the part of women from *Harar* region while women from the other region make better contributions for agricultural activities in terms directly related activities.

It thus seems that resettlers are not feeling secured in the new environment. The inadequacy of technological implements of agriculture, labor and financial limitations are some of the problems which still make them to set one of their legs on their native land. The frequent visits to their native land has enabled a good proportion of resettlers to survive the financial crisis by using products there and to visit family members.

*Harar* resettlers also bring *Chat* from an area in the vicinity to the resettlement site. *Chat* is an item (a cash crop) which is also used by *Harar* resettlers as stimulant and it is also served as an offer to guests in Reciprocal Self Help Activities in the site. The activities and the

extraordinarily long trip made to make this item available has helped the Hararians to maintain the relationships in places of origin and which they are still banking on.

At micro level, resettlers have their associations among themselves to support in the life crisis situation particularly during death. The people from the village are gathered through that mechanism and come forward to help the person in times of need.

The relationship at macro level, is yet to be clearly seen as the antagonism continues between the resettlers and the previous occupants, which is mainly due to agricultural resources, land. People knew as it seems, to be playing hide- and -seek seen in terms of the relations they have established though no major conflict has erupted so far.

Some isolated case of co-operation has also been evidenced to exist between resettlers and former occupants. Some kind hearted men come forward to help individuals in times of food crisis, and in agricultural activities. Some resettlers need those types of assistance due to scarcity of food aid and lack of skills needed for agricultural activities in the new resettlement site. Some even neglect their own duties for survival and assist fellow resettlers in the farm activities. But such activities and assistance are only casual.

On the whole, the social capital which is adapted as the basic coping mechanism, is really a matter to be highlighted.

The resettlers do not lose or distance their previous relationship and at the same time, they also weave the new network of social relationships in the present situation. But the degree of balance between the two settings requires time to be studied in the future.

## Recommendations

1. Clear information about the amount, type and the duration of relief aid should be given to the resettlers in the program quite earlier so that misunderstandings between them and the implementers could be minimal.
2. Local officials, wereda administrators and other officials need to be trained to enable them to decide on matters like distribution of input and relief aid based on guidelines which are not rigid. There needs to be conditional flexibility of guidelines for implementation of resettlement programs depending on field situations.
3. If resettlement programs are planned to include disabled individuals, there have to be provisions in the programs according to special interests of the subjects under consideration in each particular situation. Adaptation is difficult to disabled persons particularly.
4. Recruitment principles for resettlement should include the experience of participants as farmers in places of origin since the success of the program in general depends on the resettlers' skills in agricultural activities. Provisions should be made in the policies to train the less skilled resettlers before they engage in the actual work.
5. Evaluation of the resettlement program should consider individual situations as well. It should not be an activity of averaging conditions in selected sites or villages only.
6. Preparation for implementation of the resettlement program should consider related issues like availability of market for products, existence of causes for crop failure, availability of social services like roads in particular.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abrham Sewnet, and Francois Piguet, 2003. **Intra-regional resettlement in Ethiopia; Comparing developments in Amhara and Oromia regional States.** *Migration, Resettlement and Displacement in Ethiopia* by Alula P. and F. Piguet (eds), 2004.
- Assefa Tolera, 1999. **Ethnic Integration and Conflict: the case of indigenous Oromo and Amhara Settlers in Addis Alem, KIRAMU-Northern Wollaga.** Social Anthropology dissertation Series No.5.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1998. **Displacement and the politics of settlement in Wollaga-Western Ethiopia.** Unpublished research report submitted to school of oriental and African Studies-the University of London.
- Bartels, L. n1983. **Oromo Religion: Myths and rites of the Western Oromo of Ethiopia; an attempt to understand.** Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Burnard, Rusel, 1994. **Research Methodology in Anthropology; Qualitative and Quatitative Approaches;** SAGE publications; London.
- Clay, J.W. and B.K. Holocom, 19986. **Politics and the Ethiopian Famine 1984-1985.** Cambridge: Cultural Survival.
- Cernea, Michael, 1997. **The Risk and Reconstruction Model for resettling displaced populations.** The World Bank, Washington DC, U.S.A.
- Colcheter, M. and V. Luling, 1987 **Ethiopia's better Medicine; Settling for Disaster. An Evaluation of the Ethiopian Government's Resettlement programme.** London: Survival International.
- Dawit Woldegeorgis, 1989. **Red Tears, War, Famine and Revolution in Ethiopia.** N.J Ternton, N.J: The Red Sea Press.
- Dessalegn Rahmato (ed), 1984. **Land Tenure and Land policy in Ethiopia after the Derg;** in the proceedings of the second workshops of the land tenure project-Trondheim, Norway, Institute of Development Research, Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa

- \_\_\_\_\_ 2003. **Resettlement in Ethiopia: The Tragedy of Resolution in the 1980s.** Forum for Social Studies, Addis Ababa.
- De Wet, Chris, 2003. **Migration, Resettlement, and Displacement in Ethiopia.** In the proceedings of Ethiopian Sociologists, Social workers and Anthropologists workshop. Alula P. and F Piguet (eds) 2004.
- Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE), 2002. **Food Security Strategy;** Addis Ababa.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1998. **The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.**
- Feleke Tadele, 2003 **The Current Resettlement program in Ethiopia;** Forum for Social Studies, Addis Ababa.
- Gebre Yntiso, 1998/99. **The Metekel Resettlement in Ethiopia; why did it fail?** In *Migration, Resettlement and Displacement* by Alula P. and F. Piguet (eds), 2004.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 2004. **Resettlement Risk and Inter-Ethnic Conflict in Metekel Ethiopia.** In *The Ethiopian Journal of the Social Sciences and Humanities*, vol. ii, No. 1.
- Jansson, Kurt, Michael Harris and Angela Peneroe, 1990. **The Ethiopian Famine;** Zed Book Limited: London.
- Hunter, BH., 2003. **Taming the Social Capital hyryla Indigenous Poverty, Social capital. Theory on Measurement Canberra, Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research Discussion Paper No. 205, ANU.**
- Kasahun Berhanu, 2003. **Returnees, Resettlement and the Quest for food Security in Ethiopia.** Forum for Social Studie, Addis Ababa.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 2000 **Returnees,.Resettlement .and Power Relations: the making of a political constituency in Humera, Ethiopia.**
- Locke, F. Lawrence, Waneen Wyrick Spirduso and Stephen J. Silverman, 1993. **Proposals that work;** (third edition).
- Mellese Mada, 2005. **Promises, Expectation, and Realities of Resettlement: The Dynamics of Intra-Zonal Resettlement in Wolayta of the Southern Ethiopia.**
- Ministry of Information (MOI), 2004. **Ethiopia Year book** Addis Ababa.

- Mulugeta Debalkew, 2000. **Sustainability in Post-war Reconstruction & Development; the case of TPLF ex-fighters in Dansha Agri- Resettlement.** MA Thesis in social Anthropology, AAU.
- Pankhurt, Alula, 1992. **Resettlement in Ethiopia.** A background paper.
- Pankhurst, Alula, and François piguet (eds), 2004. **Why do things so often go wrong in Resettlement projects? By Chris de Wet**
- Taylor, Steven and Robert Bogdan, 1984. **Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods.** John Wiley and Sons: New York.
- Teshome Deresse, 1999. **People's Perceptions of Population Pressure and Attitude Towards Planned Parenthood: The case of Neqamte Environs in East Wollaga.**
- Tessema Ta'a, 1980. **"The Oromo of Wollaga: A Historical Suvey to 1910.** MA Thesis in History, Addis Ababa University.
- Triuilizi, A., 1975. **"The Guduru Oromo and their Neighbours in the two Generations before the Battle of Embabo"** \_ In the Journal of Ethiopia tudies, vol. xii, No. 1.
- UN Office for the Coordination of humanitarian affairs,2003. **Resettlement as a Response to Food Insecurity; The case of Southern Nation Nationalities and People's Region (SNNPR).** By Wolde Silassie Abbute. UN-OCHA-Emergencies unit for Ethiopia.
- Wolde Sillaie Abbute, 2004. **Impact of Resettlement I Beles Valley, Metekel;** In Migration, Resettlement and Displacement by Alula P. and F. piguet (eds), 2004.
- WBMNO,1996. **Qajeelfama Akkaataa Raawwii Sagantaa Hojii Qubatinsa** (unpublished).

Case	Pseudonym	Age	Sex	M Succesful, 8q arital Status	Place of Origin	Religion	Reason for resettlement	Productivity	Number Of children
	Kamusbare	50	M	married	Harar	Islam	Scarcity of land	?	5
	Dessiechew	36	M	marrid	NR	Christianity	NR	NR	?
	Leymersa	24	M	Single	Salale	Christianity	Father's death Scarcity of land	Failed -2.5 quint Oxen, fertilizers	-
	Isbu	30	M	Married	Harar	Islam	Scarcity of land	Failed Hailstone	?
	Moshe	30	M	Married	Harar	Islam	Scarcity of land	Successful Ful, 8quint	1
	Amaaro	57	M	Married	Harar	Islam	Land Degradation, scarcity	Successful Ful, 11qut	?
	Rahmid	58	M	Married	Harar	Islam	Scarcity of land	Failed 3.5quint	1
	Abdulkali	47	M	Married	Harar	Islam	Scarcity of land	Successful Ful, 11qut	3
	Haldeaf	28	F	Single	Harar	Islam	Unemployment	Failed	-
0	Ahmed	56	M	Married	Harar	Islam	Scarcity of land	?	-
1	Salamanca	50	M	Married	Harar	Chritianity	Scarcity of land	Moderate	?

Tarre	34	m	Married	Salale	Christiani	Scarcity of	6.5 quint	2
Mokal	58	M	Married	Salale	Islam	Land Degra	Moderate	Has chil- ren
Gilba	29	M	Single	Wollaga	Christianity	NR	NR	Nil
Ithima	50	M	Married	Hrar	Islam	Scarcity of	Failed	1
Kanzali	16	F	Married	Harar	Islam	Parent's dependant	NR	-
Beyahim	39	M	Married	Harar	Islam	Scarcity of	Success- ful	2 Lost one
Jassa	57	M	Married	Wollaga	Christianity	NR	NR	NR
Fek'sha	40	M	Married	Wollaga	Christianity	NR	NR	3
Brali	49	M	Married	Harar	Islam	Scarcity of	not food sec	7
Ressie	27	M	Married	Salale	Christianity	Scarcity of	not food sec	?
Mofeera	29	M	Married	Salale	Christianity	Scarcity of	not food sec	1
Dawit	43	M	Married	?	Christianity	NR	NR	NR

## **The Nature of the Interview Questions Informants were made to respond to in the Field Work**


1. Questions the response of which could enable the one to explain the experience of the resettlers as farmers.
2. Questions that could help to bring out the real cause of the resettlers' move in the program (drought, famine, war, land degradation, population pressure, political motives, etc).
3. Questions that could help to explain the attitude of the resettlers toward the presence of culturally different people in the locality.
4. Questions that enable one to explain the attitude of the resettlers toward the program in general and to the opportunity to retain the property in places of origin for three years, to the chance of returning home, the shortage of relief aid the duration for which it was to be provided, etc.
5. Questions about how resettlers would feel about the common use with the local population) of the social services made available for the program.
6. Questions about the conflict between the local farmer and the new comers in one of the villages (Ashu Kusaye).
7. Questions that could enable the field worker to explain the capacity of implementers of the program locally.
8. Questions that could help to find out the attitude of the resettlers about environmental protection, the use of commercial fertilizers, etc.
9. Questions about the type of co-operation resettlers were establishing with the local community.

10. Questions about the type of social organization the new comers were forming
11. Investigation about the type of self-help associations among resettlers themselves.
12. Examination of the social organization among previous occupants-including marriages.
13. Questions that could help to determine the attitude of implementers, resettlers, and the previous occupants.
14. Questions that could help to determine the feeling all the communities had about the use of their respective languages in elementary education.
15. Questions that help to see resettlers' hope about the prospect of the resettlement program.
16. Questions that could help to know about the tie the new comers still had with their respective family in places of origin., etc

# DECLARATION

I THE UNDERSIGNED DECLARE THAT THIS THESIS IS MY ORIGINAL WORK, HAS NOT BEEN PRESENTED FOR A DEGREE IN OTHER UNIVERSITY AND THAT ALL SOURCES USED FOR IT HAVE DULY BEEN ACKNOWLEDGED.

NAME Shimela Gizaw

SIGNATURE 

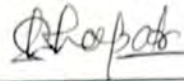
PLACE AND DATE OF SUBMISSION

\_\_\_\_\_

ADVISOR'S NAME

S. K. Mohapatra

SIGNATURE



(Plate- 1)

Trip to the resettlement site from *kiramu* with a guide





Plate - 2

Participation in a wedding feast with the local *Amharas* in *Sire Dooro*



Plate-3

A recently diverted water for irrigation in *KUTTI* village of *ASHU KUSAYE*



Plate - 4

Activities of threshing by the local *Oromos*



plate-5

Diverted water for irrigation in *Ashu Kusaye*



Plate - 6  
In a family of Amhara settlers in *Ashu Kusaye (kutti Georgis)* who were just seeing us off after lunch



Plate - 7

Female house hold members taking part in the activities of threshing



Plate - 8

Participation of the local *Oromo* women in Agricultural (threshing) activities.

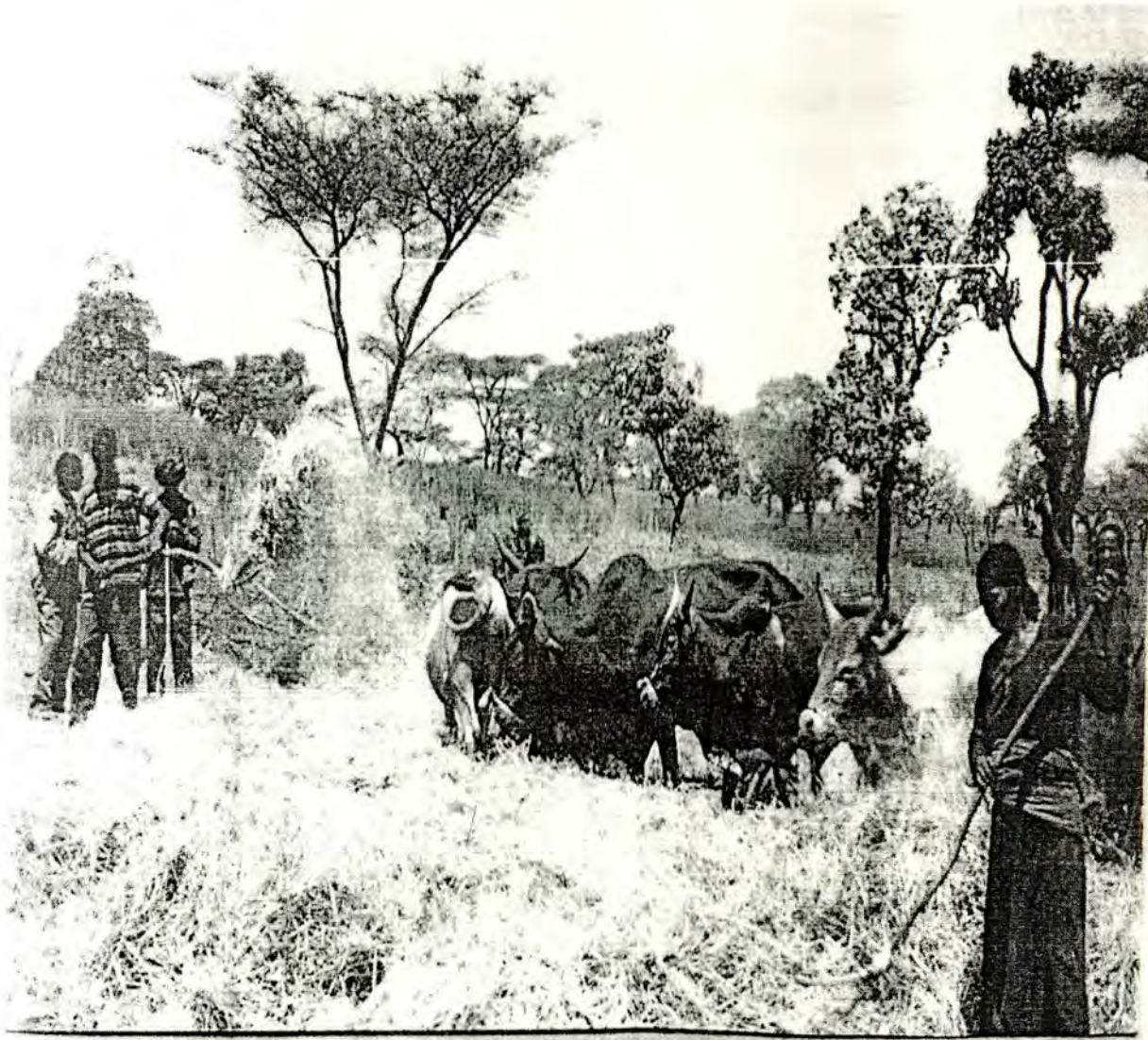


Plate - 9

Threshing being done by both male and female house hold members in a village near  
*Ashu Kusaye*