



JIMMA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

RESETTLEMENT AND POPULATION INTERACTIONS IN EAST

WALLAGGAA ZONE, SAASIGGAA DISTRICT, 1980s-2012

BY: MOTI MERGA

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND HERITAGE
MANAGEMENT OF JIMMA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND
HUMANITIES SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR
THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY**

**FEBRUARY, 2021
JIMMA, ETHIOPIA**

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ABSTRACT

This study attempts to look at the process of resettlement and its effect in the livelihoods of both the new comers who are moved to Saasiggaa district since 1980s-2012 and the host communities with special reference to eight resettlement sites. This thesis deals with resettlement processes and ethnic interactions in Saasiggaa district (Aanaa) East Wallaggaa Zone with special reference to Adaa Guddina, Madda Jaalala, Balo Baredduu, Lalisaa Bareedaa, /Biqiltu Shonkora, Hora Waataa, Milkii Guddinaa, Handhuura Baloo and Badhaasaa Jaarsoo/Gotto Digdamii Afur kebeles. In order to show resettlement process, typology of resettlement, ethnic interactions the necessary data were generated both from primary and secondary sources. The research tools employed to collect the data include interviews, personal observation and document analysis. The collected data have been examined critically using a qualitative method of data analysis. Due to long history of population inflows and good accessibility of Saasiggaa district, the ethnic composition of the area was heterogeneous. Therefore, the growing population in Saasiggaa district increased the pressure on forests and grazing lands. The re-settlers and the indigenous population did not give any attention for the maintenance of the natural environment. The magnitude of natural resource competition between the newcomers and the host communities has resulted in more distraction on the environment. Accordingly agricultural and settlement lands were extremely expanded in Saasiggaa district and the ecological disaster of the area had also increased. The re-settlers have been able to improve their standard of living that they had never achieved in their place of origin because of natural and manmade factors. They have managed to maintain their social, religious and cultural identity. After the resettlement program ended, influx of legal and illegal immigrants towards the study area was not stopped. Since the government did not allow the settlers to return to their original homeland, most of them invited their remaining relatives who were in need of support to improve their livelihood. In other ways, the newcomers came to be friendly and established good relationships with some members of the host communities. The findings of this study confirm that the re-settlers have been relatively successful in adapting to the physical and social environment of the new area. They have had access to basic socio-economic facilities like schools, potable water, health service centers, and reasonable farmland size. They have managed to maintain their social and cultural identities at large. They were able to secure their subsistence food requirements.

PREFACE

Saasiggaa district is one of the east Wallaggaa *Zone* districts (*Aanaa, Worada*). It has been endowed with natural resources with relatively good agro climatic conditions and sufficient rainfall. The presence of fertile soil and good accessibility of the areas made it suitable for resettlement scheme. The principal purpose of this thesis is to reconstruct the resettlement, its process and ethnic interaction in Saasiggaa district from 1980s-2012. The study is based on both primary and secondary sources. The written sources include archives, manuscripts, journals, articles, books and other various sources.

The resettlement program in the area under study affected the local communities' livelihood and aggravated the level of conflicts over natural resources in the study area. It made ethnic integration between the host communities. The early 1980s were marked by agricultural stagnation and greater social instability in different rural areas of the country. The year 2012 was selected since ethnic conflict broke out as a result of large population settlements in search of land.

This thesis has four chapters. Chapter One outlines the geographical setting and historical background of the study area. It assessed location, climatic, agro-ecology, demographic, economic activities and the Oromo settlement in Saasiggaa district. Chapter Two focuses on the history of resettlement scheme during the *Derg* regime, and during EPDRF, resettlement programs executed Saasiggaa district, from 1980s-2012, causes of resettlement, typology and the role of government and non-governmental organization in the resettlement scheme in Saasiggaa district. Chapter Three analyzes resettlement processes, relations between re-settlers and areas of their origin, consequences or impact of resettlement on the host communities, environmental and social impact. Chapter Four deals with integration between re-settlers and host communities, popular interaction between the Oromo people and the Gumuz, the relations between the Gumuz and re-settlers, social interactions between re-settlers and the host communities and the migration of re-settlers towards the Gumuz land have been examined. The thesis meets its goal if it could add a brick to the study of the area and helps others conduct further studies on Wallaggaa in general and Saasiggaa district in particular.

ACRONOYMS

AAU	Addis Ababa University
DCG	Dry land Coordination Group
EPDRF	Ethiopian Peoples' Democratic Revolutionary Front
GIS	Geographical Information System
GSR	Government Sponsored Re-settlers
HC	Host Community
ILS	Illegal Settler
KO	<i>Kebele</i> Officials
LRA	Land Reform Act
LS	Legal Settlers
MLRA	Ministry of Land Reform and Administration
NGO	Non-Government Organization
ODPB	Oromia Disaster and Preparedness Bureau
ONRS	Oromia National and Regional State
RRC	Relief and Rehabilitation Commission
SSR	Self-Sponsored Resettlement
WO	<i>Woreda</i> Officials

KEY TO TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM

Oromo couplets, verses and prose are spelled according to newly introduced Oromo alphabets (*qubee*) to simplify the problems of reading Oromo words and sayings

I. Oromo Vowels

Short	Long	Example	English meaning	English equivalent
1. a	aa	<i>baala</i>	leaf	a=are
a	aa	<i>laafa</i>	weak	a=are
2. e	ee	<i>beera</i>	old	e=were
e	ee	<i>beela</i>	hungry	e=were
3. i	ii	<i>miila</i>	foot	i=he
i	ii	<i>miicuu</i>	wash	i=he/she
4. o	oo	<i>Hoolaa</i>	sheep	o=for
5. u	uu	<i>michuu</i>	friend	u=you
u	uu	<i>hatuu</i>	thief	u=you

II. Oromo consonants are stressed by doubling similar phonemes and combined by two different consonants. There are five different Oromo phonemes that are formed by combining consonant letters. These are: ch, dh, ny, ph, and sh. Two of them have English equivalent.

Oromo	English	Example
Ch	Ch	<i>Gudifachaa</i>
Dh	Dh	<i>Madhichaa</i>

Three of them have no English equivalents.

These are: dh, ny, ph.

Oromo	Example	English meaning
Dh	<i>Dhagaa</i>	Stone
Ny	<i>Nyaata</i>	food
Ph	<i>Dhiphoo</i>	not wide

III. In Oromo alphabets, consonants like: c/q/ and x have different sound while the rest have almost the same sounds as English consonants.

Oromo Example		English meaning
C	<i>Caffee</i>	swampy
	<i>Caafii</i>	edge
X	<i>xiqqaa</i>	small
	<i>Xaafii</i>	teff
Q	<i>qarree</i>	Unmarried
	<i>Qara</i>	Sharp

IV. Representation for Afaan Oromoo:

ጣ=X	ጢ,ጣ	Xiyya
ጫ=C	ጫ,ጫ	Maccaa
ደ=Dh	ደከ	<i>Dhakaa</i>
ጰ=Ph	ሳጰ,ሪ	Sapheera

V. Afaan Oromoo alphabets represented here under:

ሸ=Sh	ሻ=ch
ኘ=ny	ጿ=j

VI. The seven Amharic alphabet sounds are represented as follows:

1 st order	ቡ-Bä
2 nd order	ቡ-Bu
3 rd order	ቢ-Bi
4 th order	ባ-Ba
5 th order	ቤ-Bé
6 th order	ብ-Be
7 th order	ቦ-Bo

CHAPTER ONE

1. GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1.1. Geographical Setting of Saasiggaa District

1.1.1. Location and Climate

It is imperative to begin discussion with the geographical setting in such kind of research. This study focuses on the resettlement, its process and ethnic interaction; in Oromiyaa regional state, East Wallaggaa zone, Saasiggaa district (*Aanaa*). Oromiyaa regional state is one of the largest and natural resource gifted regional states of Ethiopia. East Wallaggaa zone is one of the 18 zones of Oromiyaa regional state whose administrative center Naqamtee is located 331 km away from Finfinnee (Addis Ababa) in the western direction of the country. The study area, Saasiggaa district, is located at 349 km from Finfinnee town and 18 km from Naqamtee town to the north west.¹

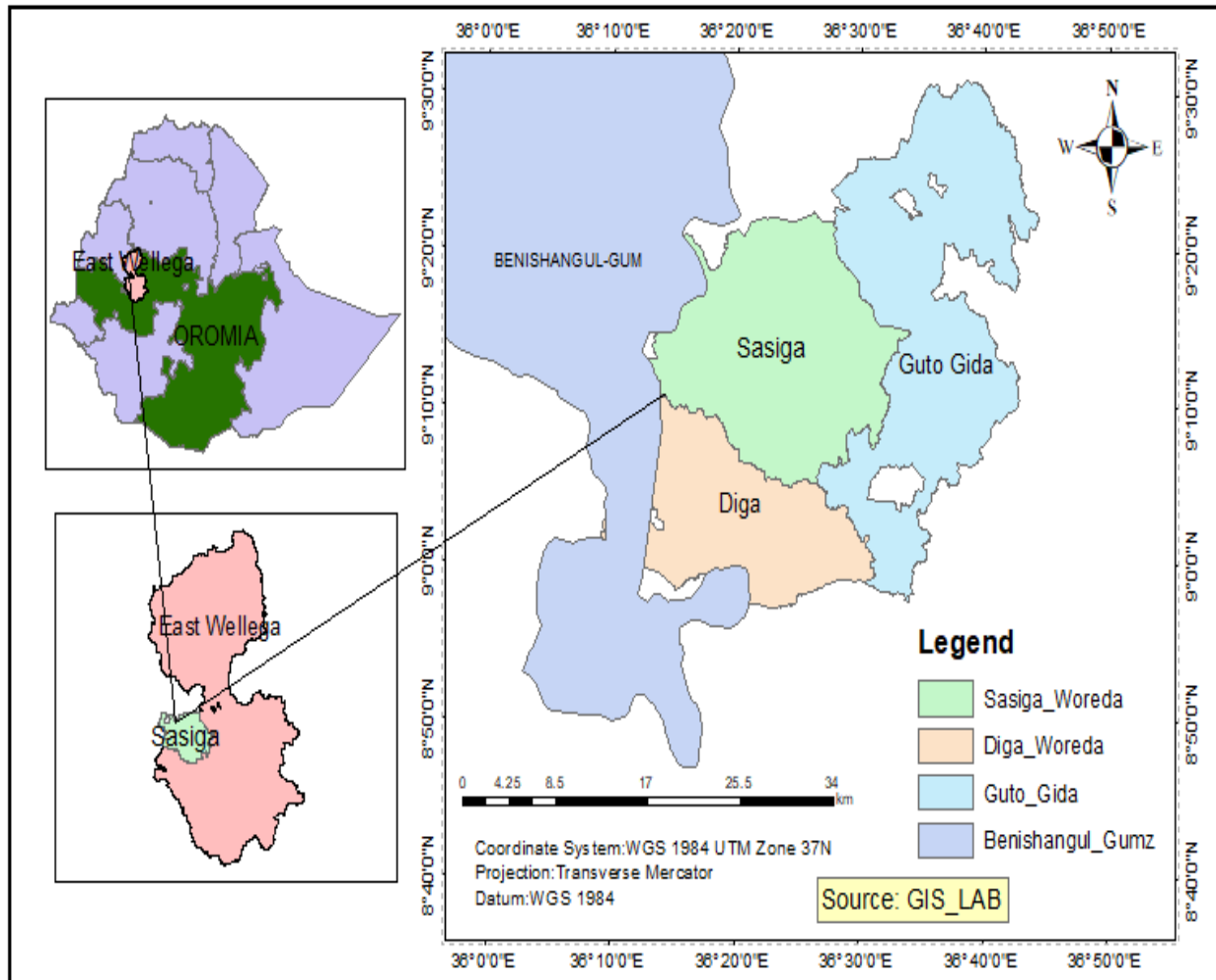
According to Saasiggaa Finance and Economic Development office data in 2011, the study area has an area of 93,813 hectares with the topographical features of more gentle sloped plains, flat areas and small mountain chains. It has 28 *kebeles* (local administrative). Twelve of them are found in low land area which was used as state farm during the *Derg* regime.² The absolute location of Saasiggaa district is between 9° – 10° North latitudes and 25° – 30° East longitudes. Geographically the district is bounded by Beneshangul Gumuz regional state in the north and west, Diggaa district in the south and southwest and Guutoo Giddaa district in the east. Gallo the capital city of Saasiggaa district is situated in the northwest of Naqamtee town.³

¹ Berhnau Jebesa, “A History of Sasiga District East Wollega Zone, (ca. 1880-1991)”, (MA Thesis, Jimma University, Department of History and Heritage Management, 2017), pp. 8-12; W.C, Plowden “Travels in Abyssina and the [Oromo] country”, (London, 1886), pp.307-309.

² Sasiga Finance and Development office data, (Gallo, 2011), p. 5

³ Ayantu Habtamu, “Conflict over Agricultural land: The Case of Host Community with Government Sponsored Resettles and Investors in Sasiga Woreda, Eastern Wollega”, (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Social Anthropology, 2012), p.47.

Map: 1 Geographical location of Saasiggaa District (*Aanaa*).



Source: Ethio-GIS data, 2014.

Large part of the area was covered with dense forests and natural coffee forest. The distribution of rainfall and temperature reveal a low variation and fluctuation. In Saasiggaa district, the amount of rainfall was uneven and temperature of the area steadily increasing from time to time. The activity of human beings contributed to the expansion of agricultural land which in its turn led to environmental degradation, intensive deforestation, population pressure, food insecurity and climatic change in the district adjacent to highlands and that caused decline in agricultural productivity.¹ The ecological balance was changed and some farmers were forced to search for

¹Ayant, p.47; Bayana Biftu, “A History of the Macca Oromo of the Angar Gadi region starting from the 2nd quarter of the 19th century to the last decade of the 20th century”, (MA Thesis, Jimma University, Department of History and Heritage Management, 2018), p.4.

non-farm activities and then they got land on contract and purchased from local people. Most of them are settlers; these obtained land in either of and methods, the settler's cleared forested areas and convert into farmland. They often cut trees and set fire to any fields or forest to prepare the land for farming. Even if the sun is over head on the district during summer, the district experiences high temperature during summer due to extensive high amount of sunshine over the area.²The presence of various climatic conditions contributed to the flourishing of different types of vegetation in all zones with 1500m above sea level. That shows to the monsoon winds subjected to the longest main rainy season with an amount of annual rainfall reaches up to 51.5mm at maximum and 44.4mm at medium and 7.8mm at minimum altitude.³Maximum temperature occurs during the period of February to April prior to the start of the main rainy seasons. The district is also classified in to two climatic zones of *Wayina Dega* (60%) and *Kolla* (40%). In the districts there are twenty seven rural *Kebele* administrations and one urban *Kebele* administration. From twenty seven rural *Kebele* administrations, eight of them are the resettled farmers' *Kebele* administration.⁴

1.1.2. Agro-Ecology

In the past, Saasiggaa district had agriculturally conducive climate and soil type. This seems to be well distributed for months available. Generally, Saasiggaa district consists of mainly the following climatic zones. These are: *Baddaa* (highland), *Badda-daree* (sub-tropical) and *Gammoojjii* (hot lowland) climate. Hence, it is important to see some necessary points about the Saasiggaa district agro-climatic features very briefly. *Baddaa* is located between 2000 meter and 3000 meter above sea level. *Baddaa* constitutes the highest human settlements. In terms of temperature, it is the coldest region which is endowed with abundant rainfall and year round rivers and forests. It is conducive for cultivation of different type of crops. The ecological zone below *Baddaa* is *Badda-daree* zone, which is situated approximately between 1,400 and 2000m

² Asabe Abetu, "Qabiyyee fi Qubsuma Oromoo Aanaa Sasiga", (Waajjira Aadaafi Turizimii Aanaa Saasiggaa), ('Possession and Settlement of the Oromo in Sasiga District'),(Gallo, 2008), P.4.

³Sisay Asefa and Tesfaye Zegeye, "Rural poverty, Food in Security, and environmental degradation in Ethiopia", A case study from south – central Ethiopia paper prepared for presentation at 2ndEAF/IDR, *Symposium on contemporary development issues in Ethiopia*, July 11-13, (Addis Ababa, 2003), p.40.

⁴Berhnau, p.10; Adunya Merga, "Impact of Resettlement program on the livelihood of Settlers: The cause of Sasiga district of east Wollega Zone Oromia Regional State, Ethiopia", (M Sc Thesis, Haramaya University, Agricultural Economics, 2012), p. 19.

above sea level. It is an intermediary zone connecting the highland and lowland. *Baddaa-daree* is the most fertile region, as rivers originated in the highlands leave great quantities of fertile top soil as they wash down from the uplands. Grain cultivation and other forms of agriculture were thus the predominant economic activity in high potential zone.⁵ *Gammoojjii* (lowland) refers to all lands lying below 1,400m above sea level. This climatic zone is characterized by variable rainfall and extreme scarcity of water. Vegetation, especially, in the lower zone, consists of thorny trees (*muka meexii*) and it is very hot and climatically inhospitable and unhealthy region where the rivers eroded deep gorges and valleys. According to recent study, the minimum and maximum temperature seasonally varies between 26⁰c, medium 22⁰c and minimum 18⁰c, respectively in Saasiggaa district.⁶

1.1.3. Seasons

There were four seasons in the district, these are: spring (*arfaasaa*), summer (*ganna*), autumn (*birraa*), and winter (*bona*). The spring (*arfaasaa*) is the season between April and June and in this season the amount of rainfall is very small and it gradually increases. It was period the farmers have been busy of preparing the land for cultivation, plough by cutting forests in expanding agricultural plot and seeds to be sown. *Ganna* (summer) is the rain season and it's conducive for agricultural activities. The season begins from June and stops in September. The season makes farmers busy of plough, weeding, sowing and it was difficult for going from place to place because of rain season.⁷

Season is full of pleasure because, it is a crop harvest periods and fields are decorated by natural flowers. It has great place in Oromo society. *Bona* (winter), is dry season but there is some rain fall which starts not uniformly. The season is the hottest season with maximum temperature. There are some plants which give flowers in this season and this enabled the farmers to collect honey to support their agriculture. For instance, trees such as *Baddeessaa* (*syzygium guineese*) which is the source of best honey; *Hoomii* (*pigium afrcanum*) and *Waddeessaa* (*cordia africana*)

⁵Berhnau, p.10; Informants: Gadisa Senbato and Gemachu Daraje; Geda Melba, *Oromia: An Introduction*, (Khartoum, 1988), p.25.

⁶Asabe, P.41; Informants: Getacho Doja and Camada Qannoo

⁷*Ibid.*

and other big trees are not permitted to be cut even if they be in the farm land.⁸ Like all other western Oromiyaa zone, Saasiggaa district gets rain fall from the onshore moisture laden south-westerly winds blow in over the region during summer in the north hemisphere. The total annual rain fall raining over the district usually ranges between 1,300 to 1600mm. All parts of the district receive almost equal rain fall and duration. This means the topography of the district has no effect on the amount of rain fall. Even if the sun is over head on the district experiences low temperature during summer due to extensive cloud cover over the area. The district experiences average yearly temperature of about 27⁰c. Based on climatic conditions of the area, simply the whole district lies under the temperate and warm temperate conventionally.⁹

1.1.4. Vegetation, Drainage and Relief

Although the natural vegetation in Saasiggaa district was rare through human intervention for different purpose, the area under study had diverse beautiful forests. Where many rivers and streams originated and different species of wild life lived there in same known forests were Cillimo, Baddeeyyi, Jaganfoyii, Caakarbaa, Geerarsaa, Abbaallo, Miciree, Bachoo and the others. As a result Saasiggaa district is inhabited by many animal species like Lions, Hyena, Fox, Monkey, Elephants, Buffalo's, and Leopards, Wolves, Wild pegs, Apes, Antelopes and the others. As a result the forest of Saasiggaa district is shelter for wild animals.¹⁰

In addition to its natural vegetation and different animal species, the study area has also been surrounded by rivers; like Gumbi, Lagaharree, Gova'a, Laga Harre, Bage, Sonkoora, Gorba and others. These Rivers are used by the peoples of the region in many ways. For instance, most of the Saasiggaa peoples used these rivers around them for irrigation purposes to cultivate maze and other vegetables during dry season. As a result of the past geological events of volcanic eruption and denudation, the land escape of the Saasiggaa district characterized by undulating plains, valleys and mountains. The mountains found in this geographical area of Saasiggaa district are Wata, Micire, Himittaa, Daalattii, Abbaloo, Urunguu, Ilaala Mountain and the others. The areas around the foot hills of these mountains were vacant land; my informants cite that the people

⁸ Mosisa Ararso, "Impact of forest Degradation on Rural livelihoods and food security, East Wollega zone, Ethiopia", (M Sc Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of Geography and Environmental studies, 2015), p. 46; Informants: Bayyisa Kasasa and Gamachu Ganati.

⁹ Mosisa, p. 46; Informants: Bayyisa and Gamachu.

¹⁰ Berhnau, p. 9.

who lived along the foot hill of these mountains only cultivated barley and wheat for their consumption; it was difficult to cultivate crops like maize for fear of wind.¹¹

1.1.5. Demographic and Economic Activities of Saasiggaa District (Aanaa)

The district has a total of 16,046 households with the population size of males 55,239 (56.3%), females 42,875 (43.7%) and total 98,114. Out of these population, 95,239 (97.1%) live in the rural and the rest, 2,659 (2.9%) live in urban area Gallo of town. At the time of survey, out of the total population living in rural areas, 2,796 (17.4%) household's and 18,209 (18.6%) population are the resettled farmers in the study area.¹² During 2003-2005 resettlement program implementations, 10,592 households were resettled in the nine districts of East Wallagga administration zone including Saasiggaa district. Basically, the economic activities of the people of Saasiggaa district were based on mixed agriculture. That means, rearing of livestock like cattle, goats, donkeys and mainly cultivating variety of crops. Agricultural economy of Saasiggaa was highly developed during the period under the study like the south western part of the country. Therefore, almost all farmers of the district were practiced mixed farming. Crop production was the major activity usually under in the area under study. The dominant crops produced in the area were: cereals, oil and pulses crops. Among the cereals crops cultivated in the area were: sorghum, wheat, barley, teff, maize and finger millet. Oil crops produced in the district were sesame, Niger seeds, and flax and cabbage seeds.¹³

Crops commonly grown were fruits trees such as lime, orange, mango, avocado, banana and ginger. Varieties of vegetables like cabbage and mustard seeds are also cultivated. The relatively higher rainfall in the district encourages cultivation of root crops, such as: *Ancootee*, Oromo potato's, Irish potato's, sweet potatoes and taro. The major cash crops cultivated in the district area: coffee, Niger seeds, and sesame.¹⁴ Saasiggaa district was also endowed with relatively good agro climatic conditions with sufficient rainfall and the presence of fertile soil in the areas made it possible for farmers to cultivate of grain crops throughout the year. Although plough

¹¹Asabe, P.41; Informants: Getacho Doja and Camada Qanno

¹²Oromia Urban Central Statistical Authority (CSA), "The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia: *Statistical Report for Oromia Planning Institute*", p.29; Sasiga Culture and Tourism Bureau, (Gallo, 2004), P.4.

¹³Berhnau, p. 10; Informants: Getacho Doja and Camada Qanno.

¹⁴Informants: Tasama Gammachu and Cala Lataa.

cultivation used by a pair of oxen was widespread in the area.¹⁵ In addition producing of various food crops the high land inhabitants of Saasiggaa district also known for producing of cash crop like Coffee. Coffee production gradually rose up during the second decade of the twentieth century. This demand of coffee came in parts as a result of the rise of coffee price on the world market and partly due to the desire of Ethiopian government to capitalize on that. The availability and quality of agricultural and environment always played an important role to where people can live, also their quality of life. In Ethiopia, food production lags behind while population growth increase, poor management of soil, environment, water, poor agronomic practices and environmental degradation became were. As elsewhere, agriculture in Saasiggaa depends on rainfall.¹⁶ As the demand for coffee export increased in the 1950s; most of the Saasiggaa land lords of the high land areas put their lands under coffee cultivation. For them coffee was much profitable than producing food crops. Not only the land lords but also local peasants who had piece of land also begun to change their farm lands from producing food crops to coffee cultivation. Furthermore, expanding coffee cultivation had not only reduced the size of land for the production of food crops but also increased food price in the region.¹⁷

Asabe mentioned, about more than half of the high land areas of Saasiggaa land was covered with coffee farming. Under normal situation, the peasants in this district also paid land rent to the land lords in the early period. To pay the rent the peasant needed cash even recently. As a result, they were forced to sell their food crop or coffee during early harvesting season when the local market price for agricultural produce was very low because of the abundant supply. In addition to the abundant supply, with respect of coffee the peasants had to sell the wet coffee cherries at lower price to the local merchants. Hence, many peasants could not sustain their family until the next harvest would come.¹⁸ In addition to this, there was also mismanagement of income obtained from sales of coffee. During the months of coffee harvesting, most coffee farmers lived a better life. However, the living situation of the local peasants was another during the rainy season. They even sell their house hold property they had bought during coffee harvesting

¹⁵Berhnau, p. 47; East Wollega zone disaster prevention and preparedness and Sasiga district agricultural development office administrative data, (Nekemte, 2011), p. 46

¹⁶Negasa Bane, “Assessment of Agro-ecology and Management parties’ effect on crop water productivity of major crops at Dapo watershed”, East Wollega zone Oromia regional state, (Addis Ababa, 2013), p. 18.

¹⁷ Informants: Olana Qanno and Tasama Gamachu

¹⁸Asabe, p. 41; Informants: Sori Danno and Zelalem Sanbato.

months. According to my informants coffee growing village has experienced a process of ethnic interaction next to re-settlement due to the continuous influx of immigrants during second half of 20th century. As a result socio-economic relationships among various ethnic groups have taken place in the last several decades. Large number of peoples from local neighbors district; Gidda Ayyaana, Diggaa, Leeqa Dullachaa, Guuto Waayyu and also those from far away regions moved to Saasiggaa district in search to wage labor. The economy of the people in the region is also pre-occupied in raising livestock; this is economically most valuable to them, as the region has good grazing land and sufficient water. ¹⁹Cattle are valuable to them for they provide dairy products, meat as well as being used for plough cattle horns and skins were used as important commodities of exchange in the markets particularly, in the second half of the nineteenth century. Animals like goats, sheep, donkeys and chickens are also important in the economy of Saasiggaa. More over the district has the major sources of butter and honey. Honey is another important asset besides mixed farming. It mainly used for making a local drink called *daadhii* which is a favorite drink of the people and sold for many which still has the largest share in economy of the population of Saasiggaa district.²⁰

In Saasiggaa district there are different social groups specially peoples who came from northern part of the country in the area of Wollo, Tigray and Amhara provinces during resettlement scheme and former settlers Oromo and Gumuz peoples. As the result of continuous influx of immigrants during 20th century there is a process of ethnic interaction. Due to the long history of population inflow and good accessibility of the area the ethnic composition of current Saasiggaa district was heterogeneous.²¹

1.2. Historical Background of Saasiggaa District (*Aanaa*)

1.2.1. Oromo Settlement in Saasiggaa District

There are some information about the pre-Oromo society in Saasiggaa district in particular and Wallaggaa in general before the Oromo population movement and expansion of the sixteenth century. According to Tesema, the settlement of Oromo did not take place on the bare land.

¹⁹*Ibid*, p. 41; Informants: Sori and Zelalem.

²⁰Tesema Ta'a, "The Oromo of Wollega, A Historical Survey to 1910", (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1980), pp. 19-20; Informants: Argata Getacho and Lulu Ambacho.

²¹Berhnau, p. 69.

There were pre-Oromo societies such as the Gumuz, Senecho and the Ma'oo peoples before the coming of the Maccaa Oromo to the region. Tesema said that these societies were not all disorganized.²² Some of them were organized into kingdoms and had strong socio-political organization. From these pre-Oromo societies, the Gumuz controlled the lowland areas of present Saasiggaa district. They were pushed to the peripheral parts of the great rivers. As a result, they were not absorbed by the Oromo peoples and they protected their identity and speak their own language which belongs to the Nilo-Saharan super family. The overall tradition about the pre-Oromo way of life, Gumuz peoples indicates that they were then in the earliest stage of socio-economic development. Many of them are said to have practiced hunting and gathering economy and lived in the caves and other natural shelters.²³

The highland areas of the district were not controlled by Gumuz people it was occupied by the Oromo which were pioneer called *dagalsaaqii* (opener of the forest). Works of many scholars try to relate the coming of the Mecca Oromo in to Wallaggaa with the Oromo population movements of the 16th century. However, sources indicate that there are pre-Oromo settlers (*Orom-duri*) in east Wallaggaa.²⁴ However the exact date of the coming of the Mecca Oromo to Wallaggaa and Saasiggaa district is not clearly mentioned. Tesema states that several of the Mecca Oromo occupied and settled in Wallaggaa in the year between 1680-1772. Negaso also agrees on the expansion of the Mecca clans to western Oromiyaa and Wallaggaa zones with the Oromo population movement of 16th century. According to Nagaso the Mecca Oromo more expanded to remote areas from *Xuuxxee Bisil* under the leadership of famous *Abbaa* Gadaa called Makoo Bili.²⁵ With this regard, Warkinesh argued that the south western part of Ethiopia was controlled by the Mecca and Tuulama moieties of Oromo during *GadaaBirmajii* since 1579-1586. He claimed these two groups of Oromo had practiced the Gadaa system in common until the beginning of 17th century and their Gada center called Odaa Nabee. Later, the Maccaa Oromo established their separate Gadaa at Odaa Bisil, with its center around Geedo and occupied the present west central Oromiyaa. The separation and moved far away of the Mecca tribes from the

²²Tesema, "The Oromo of Wollega...", PP. 19-20:

²³ Informants: Bule Negasa and Bayu Dureso

²⁴Alemaheyu Haile, *History of the Oromo to the sixteenth century*, (Finfine, 2006), p.150.

²⁵Tesema, "The Oromo of Wollega...", P. 27; Negaso Gidada, "History of the Sayyo Oromo of South Western Wollega", (Ph D Dissertation, Frankfurt, 1984), P.18.

other branches of Oromo is because of shortage of grazing land for their cattle and for settlement of the Oromo tribes.²⁶ They were spread to different direction following the footsteps of their Bulls called *korma* and agreed to occupy places where their Bull sleep and rested. In this case the Mecca Bull moved west ward to Tute Bisil the place with good pasture and water, this area later became their center.²⁷ To make effective their expansion Mecca Oromo tribes organized themselves in to two confederacies. These are the *Afree* and the *Sadachaa* confederacies (the confederation of four and three respectively). Accordingly, the Sadacha confederacy moved to south easterly direction and occupied Gibe region. The *afree* confederacy moved south and south western direction and occupied Ilu Abba Bor and Wallaggaa and move to Saasiggaa region and some crossed the *Abay* river and moved up to Wanbera, Benishangul region and western Gojjam.²⁸

Maccaa Oromo moved from Tute Bisil and separated from each other around 1556, under the order of Makoo Bili. According to tradition, after departure from Xuxe Bisil, the Gombo sub-minority of Mecca Oromo was settled in the present day Sasiga district. As a result, the origin of Saasiggaa Oromo is largely from the clans named *Shanan* Gomboo (five Gombos). Besides, different Oromo clans from different areas had moved to this area and settled in the Sasiga district. According to the information from elders and Asabe Abetu's document entitled, *Qabiyyee fi Qubsuma Oromo Aanaa Saasiggaa* the name of Saasiggaa was derived from the name of a person, who was known as *Abbaa Saasiggaa*. Abba Saasiggaa was the son of Abuse Gibe.²⁹

He lived around present day Naqamtee town at a place called Bakkanisa Qasee, when Fido Bokkisa became *Abbaa Gadaa* in 1839. Later he moved to the present day Sasiga district and settled at present Galloo Jaanjaa kebele and lived the rest of his life in this region. The area he occupied was highly known by its abundant agricultural products which were highly wanted by the traders or merchants.³⁰ Western Oromia and Wallaggaa including Saasiggaa district is mostly inhabited in to different branches of Mecca Oromo. These are Liiban, Guduru, Jaawwii, Daallee and Jidda. From these Mecca branches, the Oromo peoples who live in Sasiga district are the

²⁶Warkineh Sori, *Sirna Gadaa*, Maxxansa^{3ffaa} (Gada system 3rd edition), (Finfinne, 2010), P.32.

²⁷Tesema, "The Oromo of Wollega...", P. 23.

²⁸Tesema, "The Oromo of Wollega...", pp. 22-28.

²⁹Alemaheyu, *History of the Oromo...*, p.156; Asabe, pp. 49-51.

³⁰*Ibid*; Informants: Garbi Tola, Hailu Dereje, Dereje Gemechu and Ifa Oluma.

descendants of Jaawwii Macca. Jaawwii has nine clans. These are Guduru, Horro, Amuru, Jimma, Gudayyaa, Gidda, Limmu, Eebantuu and Ilu. During their expansion, the Oromo people were well consolidated under Gadaa system and had taken an upper hand against all the forces to challenge them and settled in the wealthy lands of present and beyond.³¹

1.2.2. Religion in Saasiggaa District (*Aanaa*)

1.2.2.1. Indigenous Religion

Like other Oromo societies, the Oromo of Saasiggaa district also had their own religious beliefs, socio-cultural and political institutions that gave them distinct culture and ethnic identity for a long period of time. The Oromo expansion and settlement in to the East Wallaggaa in general and in Saasiggaa district was followed by ethnic intermixing and assimilation through their indigenous institutions of adoption mechanism of *Guddifachaa* and *Moggaasaa*.³² This did not shift the Oromo from practicing their fundamental socio-cultural and other ways of life. However, with the developments of long distance trade and the rise of powerful war leaders as well as the emergences of certain despotic Oromo chiefs and their submissions to the Christian high land kingdom, they receive some new cultures and religions like Christianity and Islam which is different from their own traditional institutions and practices that enter to the society in the course of the 19th century.³³

The religious institution of the Oromo was one of the very ancient in form. The central pillar of the Oromo worship is *Waaqa* whom they believe in as the creator and master of elements of the whole universe including them and hence they call him as inviolable *Uumaa* (creator). According to Lambert presented that *Waaqa* has double meaning among Oromo: The first is sky God and the second “comprise creator, and ruler of the universe.”³⁴ This creates the fact that *Waaqa* is Supreme Being and is physically invisible to the believer and indicates the fact that, *Waaqa* sky Good is source of all life. Lambert further puts this as “we do not see *Waaqa* we only

³¹Alemaheyu, *History of the Oromo...*, p.150.

³²Nagasso Gidada and Crummy Donald, “The Introduction and Expansions of orthodox Christianity in Qellem Awraja Western Wollega from about 1886-1941”, *Journal of Ethiopia studies*, V.2, no. 3, (Addis Ababa, 1972), p.132.

³³Tesema, “Bribing the Land An appraisal of the Farming Systems of the Maccaa Oromo in Wollega”, *North East African Studies*, Vol.9.no.3 (Michigan University press 2002), p.98.

³⁴Mohammed Hassen, *The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History (1570-1886)*, (Cambridge University press 1994), P.2; Lambert Bartels, *Oromo Religion myths and Rites of the western Oromo of Ethiopian*, (Berlin, 1983), p. 22.

see his works” and “to *Waaqa* we are only very small ants” which do not see person as a person sees them and the *Waaqa* had good things on his hand to give it to the people through whom they confirm his existence.³⁵ Like other Oromo societies the Oromo of Saasiggaa district had their own religious beliefs, socio-cultural and political institutions that gave them distinct culture and ethnic identity for long period of time. However, with the developments of long distance trade and the rise of powerful war leaders as well as the emergence of certain despotic Oromo chiefs and their submission to the Christian highland kingdom, they receive some new cultures and religions like Christianity and Islam which is different from their own traditional institutions and practice that center to the society in the course of the 19th century.³⁶

1.2.2.2. Orthodox Christianity

Orthodox Christianity was introduced with the conquest of Wallaggaa region by the invading forces of Gojjam and Shewa. It was started with the Gojjam force and later by emperor Menilik. According to oral informant, Orthodox Christianity was first introduced in to Saasiggaa district during the reign of *Dajjazmach* Kumsaa Morodaa, the ruler of Leeqa Naqamtee after its incorporation to the Ethiopian empire in 1880's.³⁷ Later, the peoples of Sasiga were forced to give up their indigenous religion and they baptized to follow the religion of their rulers. In addition to this as I collect information from elders, Orthodox Christianity was introduced to the district in 1892 with the coming of priests like *Abbaa* Tesema Lemu, who invited other priests from Gojjam and started to preach the religion in the Saasiggaa district. Later, different Orthodox churches were constructed on the ritual places of the Oromo to weaken the Indigenous religion and expand Orthodox Christianity.³⁸

1.2.2.3. Protestantism

According to oral information, Protestantism was first introduced in to Saasiggaa district by Desise Abetu. She was the first protestant follower in the Saasiggaa district. She came from Naqamtee, when she was married to Gemechu Gudeta, who was Saasiggaa man. According to informants she came to Saasiggaa with the Bible. Later on she began to teach Bible in the area

³⁵Lambert, p. 22.

³⁶*Ibid*; Informants: Takele Ababa and Fayyisa Alamu.

³⁷ Asabe, p. 74; Informants: Bekele Tagenye and Asrat Kabade.

³⁸*Ibid*, p. 75; Informants: Siyum Abdata and Gudata Janne.

and she converted some peoples to Protestantism.³⁹ Subsequently, Protestantism spread in the Saasiggaa district. After that, many different protestant churches were constructed in Saasiggaa district. First they constructed Humbii Mekane YESUS Church in 1953 at Tsige, secondly they constructed Adiya Makane YESUS Church in 1953 at *Sanbata Duree (Gallo)*. Later on other many different protestant churches were constructed in Saasiggaa district and many Saasiggaa peoples were converted into Protestantism.⁴⁰ However during the military rule, *Derg* prosecuted Protestantism in Saasiggaa and closed all Protestant churches. In addition to the closing churches many protestant christens were in poisoned. More over traditional believers and follower of other religion highly resisted Protestantism and the follower of this religion (protestant christen). Later on in 1983, the interference of governor of Wallaggaa by their letter written from the governor of Wallaggaa province to Wallaggaa workers party in Naqamtee on Megabit 10, 1983, Protestantism and the followers were same what free from prosecution and their missionaries learned Oromo language to translate the Bible in to *Afaan Oromoo* language when they teach and preach this religion, which facilitated the revival of Protestantism in Saasiggaa district. Accordingly missionaries built school and clinic, which attracted the peoples to Protestantism.⁴¹

1.2.2.4. Islamic Religion

Islam was introduced to Saasiggaa district through trade. The Muslim merchants were encouraged by the local Oromo rulers to trade in the region. They brought farming instruments, cotton, clothes, salt or amole (salt bar). Later, the persecution of Muslims by Emperor Yohannis IV for religious unification policy of 1878 brought large number of Muslims in to the region from Wollo, Semen, Gondor and etc.⁴² The first missionaries were Sayid Ismaa'el, Sh/Ibiraahim Mohammed, Sh/Adami Mohammed in 1888, Hasan Waasuu, Ahimed Laggas and Hajii Ahimed Ayyube in 1938. They settled first in Jimaata Gumbii and Sambata Duree and they constructed Mosques first in Jimaata Gumbii in 1950. Later on many Muslims from different areas arrived and settled in Saasiggaa district and they constructed many mosques in different areas of the district.⁴³

³⁹ Informants: Guta Taraqa and Dacho Geneti; Berhnau, p. 69.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Asabe, p. 75; See Appendix. 1.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 77; Informants: Ahimedo Husen and Gutu Tujuba.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER TWO

2. RESETTLEMENT: AN OVERVIEW

2.1. Introduction

The description of resettlement is the movement of people from areas of continuous drought attacked areas, fragmented farm land holding, environmentally degraded and densely populated areas to the places where there is relatively better rainfall distribution and more areas of farm land available for resettles.⁴⁴ According to the same source, the destination of resettlement is to areas with under-utilized agricultural potential, and movement could take place either as a result of planned (organized) or self-initiation (spontaneously). In other words, the process by which individuals or group of people leave spontaneously or un spontaneously from their original settlement sites to the new settlement areas where they can start new trends of life by adapting themselves to the physical, social and administrative systems of the new environment. Resettlement is becoming attractive as a way out of pressing problems caused by drought, population pressure, land fragmentation, food shortage, out of control unemployment; nonconformity of land and decline in productivity.⁴⁵

Resettlement could be classified into four types within two main categories. The first category is un-planned resettlement, comprising spontaneous resettlement and emergency (forced) resettlement. The second category is planned resettlements which comprises voluntary and involuntary resettlements. Usually, planned resettlements are those initiated or supported by government. Planned resettlement projects have been undertaken with aim of relieving population pressure and promoting land consolidation and sound agriculture in areas of high population density. It may be undertaken as a form of compensation for displaced populations whose lands have been utilized for development projects such as dams, national parks, etc. Similarly, settlements have frequently been planned to rehabilitate populations that have been adversely affected by natural disasters, unfavorable climatic conditions and political conflict.

⁴⁴Alula Pankhrust, “Long Term Implication of Resettlement in Ethiopia: *The proceeding of workshop by the Ethiopian Sociologist*”, *Social workers Anthropologists and UNEUFE*: (Addis Ababa, 2004), p. 113.

⁴⁵Mengistu Asefa, “Effects of Resettlement Schemes on Biophysical and Human Environments: *The case of Gambela Region, Ethiopia*”, *Boca Raton*, (Florida USA, 2005), p.168.

Others call these displaced people because of natural calamities as environmental refugees.⁴⁶ In different countries there also exist involuntary resettlement processes caused by development projects. They are caused by industrialization, urbanization, economic mobility, war, ethnic conflict, and natural calamities such as droughts. Often the spatial distribution of people and resources do not coincide. Therefore, much of the momentum for population movements comes from efforts to match the people with the resources they need for sustenance and growth. The African continent is the scene of massive population resettlement processes of all types, including painful involuntary displacements of people. Currently, however, Africa's most important forced displacements are not those caused by development programs, but those triggered by social and political causes such as civil wars, ethnic, racial and religious persecutions, or by natural causes such as droughts and famines.⁴⁷

These resulted in millions of refugees either international refugee who crossed international borders to find protection, shelter and food in another country, or internal refugees who still remain within the borders of their countries but have abandoned their houses and lands. Displaced populations are not only they disadvantaged of normal livelihood and pushed to the limits of poverty and starvation, but often represent an enormous burden on the host populations, thus compounding the complexity of the displacement triggered problems. They may lower the hosts' standards of living and tend to rapidly deplete the natural resources of the areas of refuge.⁴⁸

2.1. Resettlement in Ethiopia

State-sponsored population resettlement schemes have grown in importance in the past forty years in Ethiopia. In imperial times, resettlement became part of government planning from 1966 with establishment of the Ministry of Land Reform and Administration (MLRA). Following this event, thousands of settlers were moved by several schemes, mainly set up on the initiative of local governors, missionaries or NGOs. The type of settlers varied, and included urban unemployed, pastoralists, ex-soldiers and famine victims. The projects were set up with

⁴⁶Dessaleny Rahmato, "Access to Resource and livelihood Insecurity", *Forum for Social Studies*, (Addis Ababa, 2003a), p. 26; Mengistu, p.168;

⁴⁷Cernea Michael M (ed.), "The Economics of Involuntary Resettlement:" *Question and Challenges*, (Washington, D.C. 1999), p. 61.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

determined economic, social and political objectives: to deal with famine, provide land to the landless, increase agricultural production, introduce new technologies, establish cooperatives, remove urban unemployed, stop charcoal burning, settle pastoralists and shifting agriculturalists, form defense on the Somali border and repatriate refugees.⁴⁹ Similarly, the military government of Ethiopia resettled more than half a million settlers because of the occurrence of famine in 1984/85 mainly in Northern part of Ethiopia, especially in Wollo, Tigray, Gojjam and Shewa, and in the recent times (2003/04) from East and West Hararge zone to areas of West and southwestern part of Ethiopia, especially in Wallaggaa, Kafa, and Ilu Ababor. However the resettlement was intended to be voluntary and a large proportion of settlers were famine-victims, targets were turned into quotas, food-aid was used as a trap, and coercion and victimization became common place.⁵⁰

2.1.1. Resettlement during the *Derg* Regime

Owing to drought and famine of 1984/85, the government set in a motion of resettlement policy that was initially designed to relocate 1.5 million people from areas; in the northern severely affected by drought and famine to areas in the west and southwestern that had experienced adequate rainfall. The government claimed that it was carrying out the program for humanitarian reasons, contending that it would remove the people from exhausted and unproductive land and place them in settlements with rich agricultural potential. In addition, the government argued that the new settlements would greatly facilitated efforts to provide social services. The then government viewed resettlement program as a way out of the pressing problem of famine.⁵¹

It was proposed that the food security crisis would be addressed in a durable way through a dual strategy of relieving population pressure in the highlands, which were perceived as chronically drought prone, over populated and environmentally degraded, and, on the other hand, of making lowland areas, which were perceived to be fertile, under-populated, under-exploited and more productive. Resettlement was also considered as an opportunity to introduce social and economic change and pursue socialist transformation at that period. It has been also suggested that it would

⁴⁹Berhanu Geneti, "The Impact of Resettlement on wood land Vegetation: The case of Chewaka Resettlement Area South Western Ethiopia", (MA, Thesis, Addis Ababa University, 2007), pp. 13-14.

⁵⁰Berhanu Geneti, pp. 13-14.

⁵¹Dessalegn Rahmato, "Resettlement in Ethiopia: *The Tragedy of population Relocation in the 1980s*," *Forum for Social Studies, Discussion paper No.11*. (Addis Ababa, 2003), pp. 10-19.

be easier to convince or force people to move during the time of famine.⁵² The decision to relocate such huge amount of people could also be explained by such factors as the land reform act (LRA) of 1975 that made public land available to be used for resettlement purposes and famine recurrence at short intervals calling for solutions in the form of embarking on resettlement in the areas with marked agricultural potential. The 1984/85 famine placed most affected localities in extremely precarious situation. The government responded to the famine by launching large-scale resettlement program. Accordingly, it was initially intended to resettle 1.5 million people to address the problem of recurrent food insecurity in risk-prone areas and some 600,000 people were resettled in the lowlands of western, southwestern and southern Ethiopia.⁵³

2.1.2. Resettlement during the EPRDF

The EPRDF government also planned for resettlement program to relocate 2.2 million people in response to the drought and famine occurred in 2000/01. The objective of the program remains similar to that of the *Derg* this means they based on ensuring food security. The resettlement scheme planned recently by EPRDF government is believed to involve minimum environmental impacts contrary to past resettlement programs. It seemed that planned resettlement was suspended in the years following the downfall of the *Derg* regime. However, the EPRDF government appears to be increasingly enthusiastic and in favor of launching planned resettlement schemes during 2002/03. The plan envisages relocating over two million people within three years. The basic assumptions behind the current resettlement program remain similar to those made during previous periods. But the later program is essentially different from the preceding ones in the following respects.⁵⁴

It would be based on free consent and willingness of resettles. It would be implemented at intra-regional level there by ruling out possibilities of massive movement from one region to another. Resettles retain their land use rights and other immovable properties in the original home villages for about three years after being relocated and resettles can return to their original villages for good whenever they have change of mind. This was carried out in response to the disparate

⁵²Kassahun Berhanu, "Resettlement: A strategy, for vulnerable group", In Zenework Tadesse (ed.), *Proceedings of inaugural workshop of forum for social studies*, (Addis Ababa, 2000), pp. 123-151.

⁵³Kassahun, Resettlement: A strategy, for vulnerable group..., pp. 123-151.

⁵⁴Feleke Tadele, "The new resettlement Program in Ethiopia", *Reflection the Design and Implication approach, Bulletin of Forum for Social Studies*, (Addis Ababa, 2004), pp. 8-12.

movement of people to forests and national parks from hard-hit areas. Accordingly 45,000 households were resettled voluntarily in Amhara, Oromiyaa and Tigray regions in the year 2002/03. This pilot project motivated the government to plan and implement large-scale resettlement program.⁵⁵ According to Berhanu mentioned the major differences between the resettlement programs carried out during the *Derg* and EPRDF governments are: The resettlement program by EPRDF is intra-regional while that of the *Derg* was not. The resettlement scheme by EPRDF is based on voluntary basis where as that of the *Derg* was carried out involuntarily. Discussion with host community and the people to be resettled was held in the resettlement program carried out by EPRDF while it was not in the *Derg* regime. The resettles could return to their home land if they have change of mind and their immovable properties such as land are secured for three years in the recent resettlement scheme while it was contrary during the *Derg* regime.⁵⁶

2.2. Resettlement Program in Oromiyaa Regional State

Oromiyaa is one of the largest regional states in Ethiopia consisting large land size, population size, natural resources, comfortable climate with varying agro-climatic zones and a region largely inhabited by the Oromo nation. Like in other regions, chronic and frequent food shortage of varying degree has becoming prevalent at different times initiating resettlement programs in the region. Among the zones found in the region Booranaa, eastern and south eastern part of Baale, east and west Hararge, north and eastern extremes of Arsi, some parts of north Shewa and some pocket areas of rift valley of eastern Shewa are affected by food insecurity problems. Forty four districts found in these zones were identified as severely food insecure and chosen for various development interventions. Accordingly, the objective of the resettlement plan of Oromiyaa National Regional State (ONRS) from 2003-05 is to enable up to 100,000 constantly food in secured households 500,000 population to attain food security through improved access to 250,000 hectares of farm land in voluntary resettlement program.⁵⁷ The pre-settlement possibility study identified that, Ilu Abbabor, and western Wallaggaa zones of Oromiyaa region had potential areas for resettlement because large areas of those zones are fertile and some parts are sparsely populated. The two zones have eight potential resettlement sites with total of 23,700

⁵⁵Kassahun, Resettlement: A strategy, for vulnerable group..., pp. 2-7.

⁵⁶Berhanu Geneti, p. 16.

⁵⁷Adunya, pp. 11-12.

hectare of land. About 100,000 people were planned to be resettled in the region where population density is relatively low and unutilized land was available. The study on resettlement issues in Oromiyaa Regional State was carried out in some zones. Those are Chewaka district and Haro Tatessa in Bedele district of Ilu Ababor Zone and Angar Gute in East Wallaggaa Zone. Some are occupied by Hararge people and others by Wolloye ethnic groups. About 13,108 household heads were also planned to be resettled in the year 2003/04.⁵⁸

2.3. Resettlement Scheme in East Wallaggaa Zone

Resettlement schemes are efforts to move people from areas of their origins for one reason or another, proven to be unlivable to areas that are conducive for life. The choice of places in to which people moved and settled also varied, depending on the causes for which resettlement had become important. If settlers were running away from war, their destinations would be areas that are outside the zone of violence. For people who flee from hunger and starvation, the directions of movement were those that led into areas of plentiful food.⁵⁹ Between 17 November and August 1982 alone, about 182, 695 family-heads and their dependents were sent from the drought-prone areas of northern Ethiopia to the west and southwestern parts of the country. The regime also committed itself to continue the process. The *Derg* resettlement programs that had been in order since 1978 were ceased in 1981 because of relentless resistance from the relocated peoples and the host communities, who fled from the hardships of resettlement programs in large numbers.⁶⁰

The program was resumed in 1985 and conducted on an unparalleled degree. In 1985 and 1986 alone, more than 600,000 northern peasants were resettled in the south west. A good part of these peasant families were settled in eastern part of Wallaggaa.⁶¹ The *Derg* rationale for making Wallaggaa the biggest resettlement destination was the availability of vacant land in the Wallaggaa. During that period land was traditionally classified in to four categories: The first one is forest land, land under cultivation, land used for residences and land for grazing. The land under grazing increased or decreased in size depending on the time. The increase in size took

⁵⁸Berhanu Geneti, p. 17.

⁵⁹Osman Imam Beshar, "Settlement Program Agricultural production in Ethiopia: The Case of Tedalle-Harawa and Amibara", (M Sc. Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Economics, 1976), pp. 31-32.

⁶⁰Mekuria Bulcha, "Famine as an Instrument for Nation-Building and State consolidation: Ethiopia's Resettlement and Polarization programs of (1978-1991) in Retrospect", *The Journal of Oromo Studies, Vol. 8, No. 1and 2*, (London, 2001), p.116.

⁶¹Dawit Woldegiorgis, *Red Tears, War and Famine*, Lawrenceville, NJ: (Red sea Press, 1989), p.304.

place when at some stage the land under cultivation was left to remain fallow. Such fallow land was gradually changed into grazing land since grasses grew over them. The land that looked fertile and empty for the *Derg* regime and its agents who selected resettlement sites from helicopters were in some cases, fallow lands that the farmers let to rest.⁶² Three major conventional resettlement sites were established in Wallaggaa. These were: Angar Gutin in Horro-Gudru *awraja*, Jarsoin Gimbi *awraja*, and Qeexoo in Qellem *awraja* comprising 20, 8, and 20 new settlement villages respectively. Of the three *awrajas* of Wallaggaa, East Wallaggaa (former Horroo Guduru *awraja*) took the lead in absorbing the settlers followed by Horroo-Gudru and Qellem. Reception camps throughout Wallaggaa, however, were not ready for the settlers because there were no dwellings and there was lack of food, clean water and all kinds of equipment. This massive resettlement project was implemented through pressure from the administration. Nevertheless, the ravenous condition of the resettles compelled the population to support the victims out of their will rather than waiting for an organized call from the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC) and religious institutions.⁶³

They offered food, water, equipment and even temporary shelters needed for residence. However, the regime employed this move for its political purpose portraying it as its successful famine relief undertakings. The contribution of the local people to the resettlement program particularly at Angar was a success. The peasants in Gidda KIRAMU, LIMMU, and NAQAMTEE, the workers of the surrounding state-farms as well as the secondary school students of Naqamtee, Arjo, and Gidda Ayyaana in an organized work campaign accomplished the construction of most of the temporary residences for the new settlers. Their re-settlement project, however, was one of the most hated and infamous programs of the *Derg* in Wallaggaa.⁶⁴

2.4. Resettlement in Saasiggaa District (Aanaa), 1980s-2012

Saasiggaa district is one of the East Wallaggaa zone districts accepted the 1984/85 and 2003/2004 resettlement from different parts of the country caused by drought/famine. The

⁶²Alula Pankhurst, "Resettlement: policy and Practice", In *Ethiopia Option for Rural Development*, S. Pausewang, et al (ed.), (London: Z- books, 1990), p. 124.

⁶³Etana Habte, "The Administration of Wallagga under the Dergue (1974-1991)", (M.A Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 2007), p. 262.

⁶⁴Endalkachew Dina, "A History of Land Tenure and Agriculture in Wollega (1941-1991)", (Ph D Dissertation, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 2016), p. 277; Etana, p.265;

district has still preserved its greenery and the water volume in the river is considered to be adequate enough to irrigate vast tracts of arable land. In general patterns of rainfall and fertility of the soil are decisive factors in agricultural activity that Angar was selected for settlement site as the result of the area is not densely populated feasibly, the fertility of the soil and the patterns of rain falls is relatively constant and sufficient also the climatic condition is favorable for human settlement and livestock breeding. The previous settlement and the state farm project has founded a good bases for the selection of this area and also the availability of construction materials, the infrastructural facilities that can be used for further socio-economic development of the area.⁶⁵

The early 1980s were marked by agricultural stagnation and greater social instability in different rural areas of the country. The year 2012 was selected because ethnic conflict rise up as the result of the districts experienced large population settlements in search of land. In many parts of the country, and especially in the famine prone areas, rural society was subjected to prolonged and acute pressure arising from in assurgency and war, land scarcity and poor harvests, environmental distress and the loss of natural resources.⁶⁶ The study identifies the characteristics of resettlement in the district that came from the various areas of the Gojjam, Wollo, Tigray and recently from east and West Harerge zones settled in different peasant associations in Saasiggaa district of the Oromiyaa regional state. By so doing, the study going to mention the social, economic, political and ecological factors that compelled the re-settlers to leave their homes permanently, how they lived in the host region and the causes of conflict and displacement.⁶⁷

The study also explains the predicaments of different re-settlers who went through the process of migration, settlement, conflict and displacement. Re-settlement came in to existence in two different ways in Saasiggaa district. First it was established by the people themselves or illegal without government initiative and support. This type of re-settlement also called spontaneous re-settlement which was caused by the existence of push and pull factors at the place of origin and destination area respectively. The second type was planned or legal re-settlement, in which the movement of people and their re-resettlement was organized by government.⁶⁸ Although planned

⁶⁵Endalkachew, p. 277; Etana, p.265; Berhnau Jebesa, p. 69 and Ayantu, p. 40

⁶⁶ Dessalegn, "Resettlement in Ethiopia: *The Tragedy of population Relocation* ..., p.30.

⁶⁷*Ibid*, p. 32;Berhnau Jebesa, pp. 68-70; See Appendix, 2.

⁶⁸*Ibid*.

re-settlement was a recent phenomenon in the history of Ethiopia. Movements of people, farms between and within regions had long existed as a traditional survival strategy. According to oral informants there are different possible causes for the resettlement schemes implemented in the region. The first reason is associated with political goals intended the *Derg* to propose the settlement scheme in the region.⁶⁹ Also many peasants moved to Saasiggaa district because of famine, environmental fluctuations, and population pressure and land degradation in the northern part of Ethiopia. The frequent occurrence of drought and the population pressure in the northern part of the country had resulted in subsequent loss of lives and sufferings.⁷⁰

Even though the government sponsored resettlement and implemented in Saasiggaa district, there was also unplanned or self-sponsored settlement in the Saasiggaa district. The self-sponsored resettlements of the time came from local provinces for search of wage labor, especially from Gidda Ayyaana, Diggaa, Leeqa Dullachaa, Eebantuu, Limmu and Guutoo Waayyu. Some of these self-sponsored re-settlers came to earn money during coffee harvest but others stayed and found work as servants or manual laborers of landlords. Actually, re-settlers came to Saasiggaa district not only due to coffee harvest. Tenants who came from various areas not only settled in the coffee growing highland areas of Saasiggaa district but also in cereal crop producing low land areas of Saasiggaa district.⁷¹

Due to a long history of population inflow and good accessibility of the area for new comers, the ethnic composition or heterogeneous society were formed. At the beginning the laborers did not settle permanently in Saasiggaa district. Rather they returned to their home land at the end of coffee harvesting season. But later same peoples began to obtain land in Saasiggaa villages and began to settle permanently. However most of them continued to life live better in their new homes compared to their birth places. They were able to minimize their vulnerability and enhanced their food security. They worked and earned money as wage laborers and finally bought lands from the local Oromo farmers. Because this region economically very useful with

⁶⁹ Shiferaw Beqqele, "An Empirical Account of Resettlement in Ethiopia (1975-1985)", *In the Proceeding of the 19th International Congress of Ethiopia Studies*, (Moscow: Nauka Publishers, 1988), p.132.

⁷⁰ Shiferaw, p. 132.

⁷¹ Dessalegn, "Resettlement in Ethiopia: The Tragedy of population Relocation...", p. 32; Informants: Biratu Akuma and Alamayyo Ganati; Asabe, PP.49-50.

its virgin land and its strategic importance.⁷²The seasonal laborers who came from various areas for coffee picking were stayed at maximum for two to three months. The laborers did provide service in cash; rather they needed it in kind. They collected coffee from early morning to afternoon. During night time they shared what they collected in the day. From what they collected, they shared one-fourth (*erbo*). When a soon as the coffee picking ended, some laborers sold the coffee they got to the local merchants for low price due to abundant supply and returned to their home.⁷³

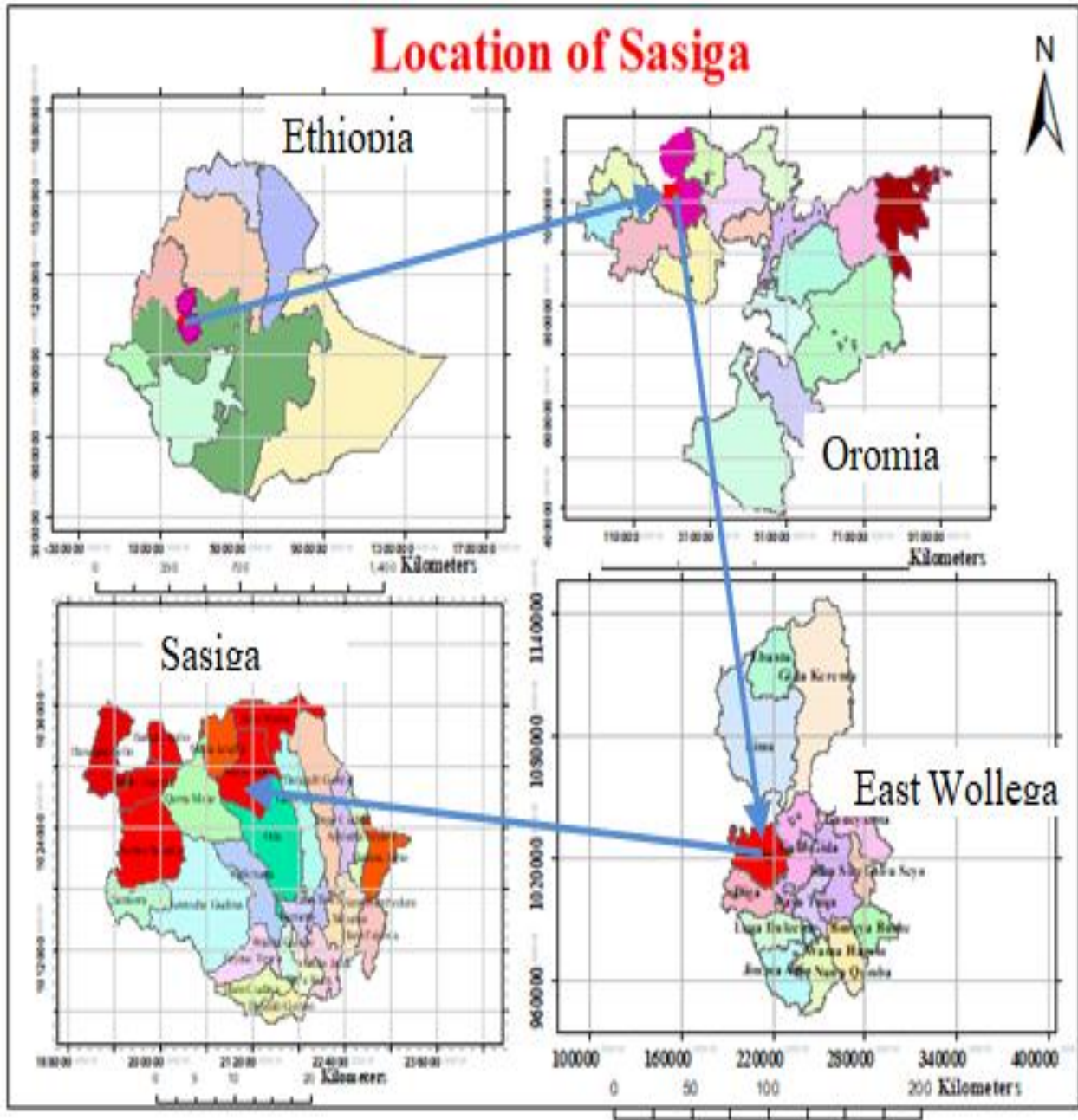
More over the government adopted a massive resettlement scheme and soon decided to move peoples from drought affected areas to the area under study. This was decided in October 1984 and was launched more vigorously than ever before. Starting from the late 1984, several new settlement sites were opened in the region. The resettlement patterns in this period were of two types. The former refers to resettling of peoples in new sites on a relatively large, fertile and unoccupied area. The latter refers to the resettlement of peoples either in sparsely populated areas or in previous settlement sites.⁷⁴

⁷²Informants: Waqari Kaba and Dereje Oluma; Lakech Kidane, “Resettlement in Ethiopia with Particular Emphasis on the Asossa Project”, (B.A Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Economics Department, 1984), p.11.

⁷³ Informants: Cali Yadata and Birasaw Fufa.

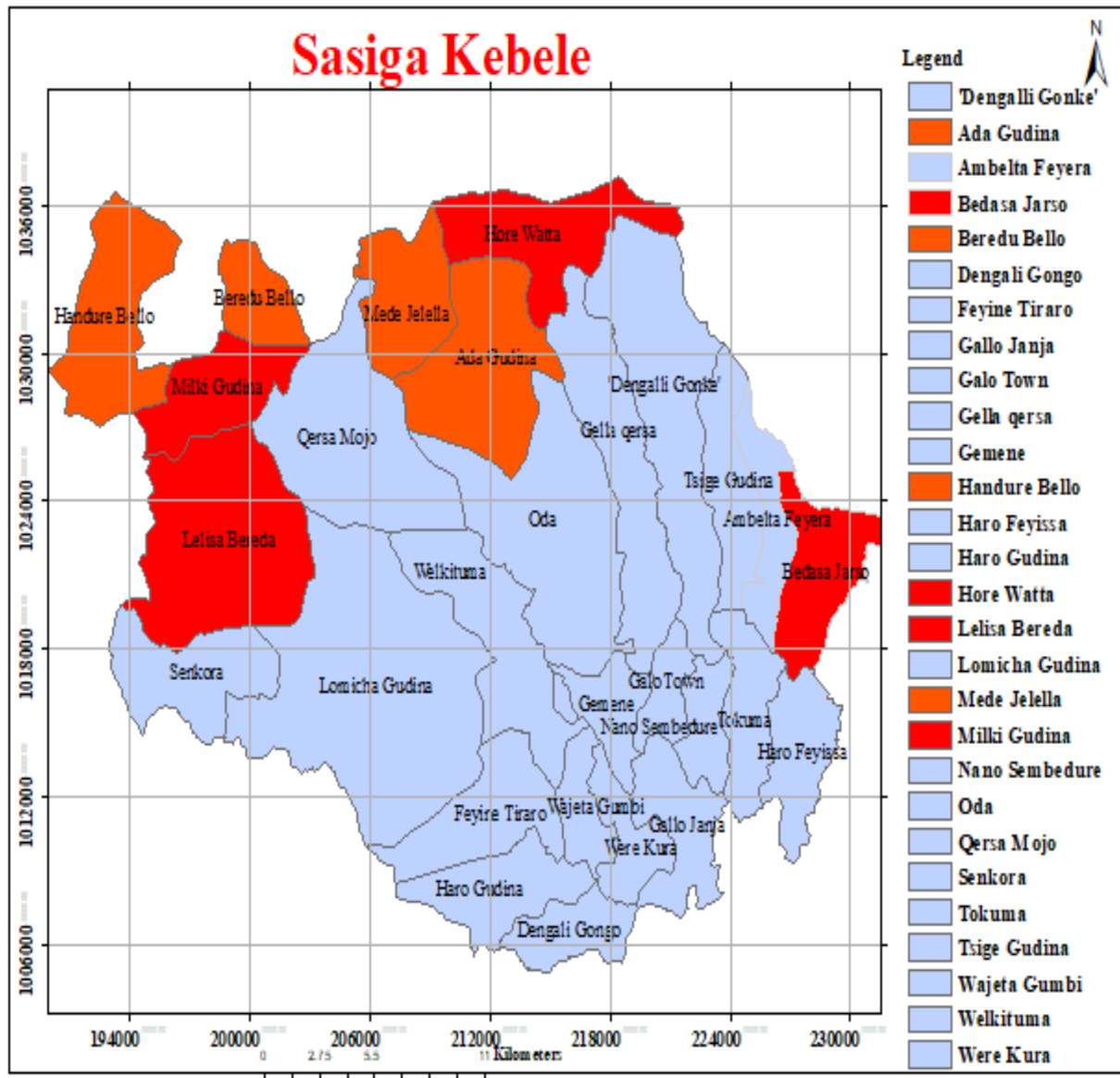
⁷⁴Yasin Mohammed, “The History of Ilu Abba Boor, Ethiopia, (Ca. 1889-1991)”, (Ph.D. Dissertation, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 2009), p. 199; See appendix 3.

Map: 2 Location of Re-settlement in Saasiggaa District.



Source: Ethio-GIS data, 2014.

Map: 3 Location of Re-settlement in Saasiggaa *Kebeles*.



Source: Ethio-GIS data, 2014.

Among different sites of the resettlement schemes in Saasiggaa district Adaa Guddina which still named Wollo *safar* separate village, Handhuura Baloo separate village, Baloo Bareeddu separate village and Badhaasaa Jaarsoo/Gotto *digdamii afur* separate village were the former resettlement sites of district. These are the government sponsored resettlement program that aimed to

rehabilitative the people from famine affected areas.⁷⁵ In which they established separate village in Saasiggaa district, they were settled around 1986. However the resettles faced intolerable challenges to adapt themselves to the new environment. And they were highly affected by the lack of food and shortage of water. As a result escaping from the areas was started a soon as they had arrived.⁷⁶

Due to the coming of large numbers of population for the implementation of resettlement in Saasiggaa district different unreserved problems occurred in the study area. As a result socio-economic relationships among various ethnic groups have taken place in the last several decades. The other one is significant environmental changes brought by resettlement schemes in different areas of Saasiggaa district were deforestation. Resettlement sites in the region were held on virgin land which involved clearing and burning of forests. In terms of land use forests and grass land areas appeared to be quite preferable since the cleared land were in most cases associated with the poor. Thus, the program damaged the regions dense forest and leads to environmental degradation at a large. This paved the way for the subsequent soil erosion and reduction in agricultural productivity.⁷⁷ According to data I obtained from Saasiggaa district disaster prevention and preparedness, the majority of resettlement from 1984/85s and 2003/2004 was explain and investigate as the following table.

⁷⁵Informants: Waktole Morka and Fiqadu Yadata; Berhnau Jabesa, pp. 67-70; See Appendix 4.

⁷⁶Berhnau Jabesa, pp. 67-71.

⁷⁷Berhnau Jebesa, 2017, p. 69; Informants: Waktole and Fiqadu; See Appendix, 5.

Table: 1 Area of Re-settlement in *Kebeles* of Saasiggaa District.

Resettlement site/ <i>kebeles</i>	Number of house holders	Amount of land allotted (ha.)	Place of origin
Adaa Guddinaa	291	2 ha. for each household	Wollo (Abasel) and West Hararge
Badhaasaa Jaarsoo/Gotto	86	2 ha. for each household	Wollo(Yejju)andGojjam
Baloo Bareeddu	456	2 ha. for each household	West Hararge and Wollo
Handhuura Baloo	313	2 ha. for each household	West Hararge
Hora Waataa	189	2 ha. for each household	West Hararge
Lalisaa Bareedaa/Biqiltuu Shonkoraa	380	2 ha. for each household	West and East Hararge
Madda jaalalaa	796	2 ha. for each household	West Hararge
Milkii Guddinaa	199	2 ha. for each household	West Hararge
Total	2,710	2,084 ha.	Four d/t Zone

Source: Saasiggaa district disaster Prevention..., p.11.

The main aim of the settlers was not to precipitate the deforestation rather they want to produce maize, sorghum, teff and millet. Beyond making the forest lands suitable for cultivation activities, the removing of forests were explicitly used different materials for the removing of big trees and bushes. Accordingly agricultural and settlement lands were extremely expanded in the Saasiggaa district and the ecological imbalance of the area had also increased. After the resettlement program ended influx of immigrants towards the study area was not stopped. Since the government did not allow the settlers to return to their home land, most of them invited their remaining relatives who were in need of support to improve their lives. Therefore, the growing population in the Saasiggaa district increased the pressure on forests and grazing land.⁷⁸The re-

⁷⁸John Clarke, *Resettlement and Rehabilitation Ethiopian*, Campaign against Famine,(London, 1992), p.13.

settlers and the indigenous population did not give any attention for the maintenance of the natural environment. They often used wood for fuel, construction and for other domestic consumption. Never the less, their consumption level was in hospitable to the ecological aspects of the area. Settlers in Saasiggaa district underwent a number of hardships such as family separations. Moreover, many settlers lost their properties and their lives because of disease. The faced the problems of physical and mental adjustment to the new environment. The program also aroused growing ethnic and land use conflicts between the indigenous and the settlers. It also paved the ways for the intermixing of different culture, language, religion in the different parts of the area understudy.⁷⁹

2.4.1 Causes of Resettlement in Saasiggaa District

2.4.1.1 Push and Pull Factors

According to the survey data, the main push factors for the resettled households in these *kebele* were related to shortage of farm land, landlessness, food insecurity, shortage of rainfall (drought) and land degradation among others. Since there was no enough arable land to match the population growth, this led to land fragmentation and low productivity. Most of these resettles households had farmland, but they perceived it as inadequate to improve or even sustain the households' livelihood. Landlessness was the other push factor resettles to move from the area of origin to Saasiggaa district. To tackle this problem and search for better opportunity and access to arable land, the government proposed resettlement to provide the new young generation with livelihood. In the majority of high land areas of the country, the livelihoods of households depend on rural farming, which is highly vulnerable to recurrent famine or food insecurity and drought in the absence of adequate rainfall. Another reason for coming to the resettlement area was the lack of job opportunities in their home area; there was no way of government promise to fertile land and regular rainfall.⁸⁰

The major causes of large scale displacement can be categorized into three causes: The first one is conflict-induced displacement mostly people displaced due to socio political upheavals such as civil unrest, war, religious and ethnic crisis; secondly disaster induced displacement- people

⁷⁹*Ibid.*

⁸⁰Daniel Gudina, "Resettlement and its contribution to livelihood Improvement: The cause of Gachi Woreda Chate Resettlement site Ilu Aba bor Zone, Oromia Regional State", (MA Thesis, Arba Minch University, Geography and Environmental Studies, 2018), pp. 19-21; Ayantu, p. 39.

displaced due to natural and technological disasters such as droughts, famines, floods, etc.; and the third one is development induced displacement- people relocated due to large scale infrastructure and other development projects, such as construction of highways, ports, airports, dams, irrigations and reservoirs. However the resettlement program that was in progress during 2003-2005 was intended to provide food security for those suffering from a lack of food due to land shortage which was caused as a result of land fragmentation and the ecological deterioration of their home areas.⁸¹In most of the cases the push and pull factors play the greatest role in the decision of individuals to leave their home areas. Push and pull factors are those socio-economic and political factors which force people to leave their homes, on the one hand, and the factors that attract people to the new locations, on the other.⁸²

The most common factors that have been identified as push factors include under-employment or unemployment, depletion of resource, population pressure and a difficult and unsatisfactory life. In Ethiopia, decline or unavailability of rainfall result in drought which is the one push factor for resettlement of people; furthermore, beside high population pressure, small farmland, land degradation, frequent famine and landlessness are among the argued factors for the current resettlement undertaking.⁸³Accordingly, enabling the chronic food insecurity households attain food security through improved access to land has been the main objective of the program. The most important pull factors are demand for labor, availability of land and good economic opportunities. In district the availability of underutilized land has made impact on the decision of resettles to be relocated in the new destination also assessed the attitudes of society in drought affected areas regarding voluntary and involuntary relocation and found that they resettled due to pressure from family, friends and neighbors.⁸⁴According to the government of Ethiopia the main push factors are erratic rainfall, small landholdings, degraded farmlands, infertile soil, pest infestation, flooding, population pressure and infrequently ethnic conflicts. On the other hand,

⁸¹Gabre Yintiso, "Differential reestablishment of voluntary and involuntary migrants: the case of Metekel settlers in Ethiopia", *African Study Monographs*, (2002), pp.31-46.

⁸²Tan Y., *Resettlement in the three gorges projects*, (Hong Kong University Press, 2008), p. 41.

⁸³Tesfaye Tafase, "The Predicaments of Amhara Migrant-settlers in East Wollega Zone Ethiopia", *In Proceedings of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, (ed.) by E Svein, Harald, A, Birhanu T, and Shiferaw B. (Trondheim, 2009), p. 855.

⁸⁴Gabre, p.276; FDRE, "New coalition for food security in Ethiopia: *Voluntary resettlement program (access to improved land)*", *Volume II*. Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, (Addis Ababa 2003b), p. 6.

the major pull factors of resettlement in the district were availability of unutilized land, food self-sufficiency, proper preparation of basic infrastructures, achievement of maximum crop production and productivity by earlier resettles provision of agricultural tools and oxen by government and better labor opportunity in the resettlement areas. To sum up the push-pull model, the main push factor was the lack of land in the home areas, and the main pull factor was the promise of land in the resettlement area. Land scarcity mainly in highland areas of the country was the critical problem that affected the livelihoods of households and this was the main reason for people to resettle.⁸⁵

2.4.2. Typology of Resettlement in Saasiggaa District

2.4.2.1. Self-Sponsored Resettlement

Self-organized resettlement is not a new phenomenon to the study area. There are three types of self-sponsored resettles (SSR). The first types of self-organized resettles are those who came to the area as a result of the establishment of the state farm enterprise in the area and labor workers during coffee harvest. A lot of job seekers from different corners of the country and from neighbor province migrated to the area for searching jobs in the enterprise. These daily laborers were predominantly Oromo from highland areas of Naqamtee and the neighboring rural areas, as well as migrants from Amhara region. The purpose of migration of the newcomers has changed following the closure of the enterprise, as it now aimed at competing for the former state farmlands. The second type of migrants who came to the area was those who were invited by their relatives and settled in the area during the Imperial and *Derg* regimes.⁸⁶

Thirdly, there has been a continuous flow migration of resettles to the resettlement area of Saasiggaa district. Currently, (2004/2005)migration of resettles from east and west Hararge to the resettlement area has increasingly become a common phenomenon. It has also become causes for conflicts in the area understudy. Due to government's developmental policy on intra-regional resettlement, the resettles voluntarily moved from their area of origin to the area of destination without the knowledge of government officials in their area of origin as well as destination area. Peer and family influences at the resettlement sites also played a great role. Their relative's legal

⁸⁵FDRE, "New coalition for food security in Ethiopia: *Food security program proposal*", Volume I. Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, (Addis Ababa, 2003a), p. 41.

⁸⁶Informants: Dachasa Kafale and Taddasa Hayilu; Ayantu, p. 39.

resettles (LS) usually host the newcomers. However, no agricultural land is allotted for them from the district administration; rather they hide themselves in the community.⁸⁷ Then they occupy the land illegally and compete for it. Due to strong ties between the resettles and the newcomers, the district and *kebele* administrations do not have the exact figure of the newcomers. One of the government officials at Balo *kebele* said “We could not have their exact number, because they wandered throughout their life, if you see one person today in the area as new comer; after a few weeks you hear that he went to his place of origin, east or west Hararge.”⁸⁸

Another problem that makes the government officials not to have known the newcomers’ exact number is the similarity of their names. Due to religious background, it is often difficult to identify one resettle from another as most of them have similar names. One of my informants from Balo *kebele* administration responded that: “Most of them are named “Mohammed” or “Ahmed even their father’s names are similar.” Their dressing style also usually confuses the *kebele* officials as they are not familiar with it before the resettles came to the area. The resettles mostly wear what they call *marxoo*. Hence, knowing the exact number of newcomers has become a very challenging task to the district officials. In 2003/2004 based on the existing evidence from Saasiggaa district disaster prevention and preparedness office data, it is estimated that there are around 3,153 illegal settlers living in Saasiggaa who came from east and west Hararge on their own initiative.⁸⁹

The government administrators consider these newcomers as illegal and there is no provision of land for them. However, the community itself (the legal re-settles) helped and hosted them until they get a plot of land or begin to engage in other economic activities like shop keeping in the area. Most of the time the newcomers (illegal resettles) lead their life by farming others land or engage in sharecropping with the host community or resettles themselves. Competition over natural resources of the area also occurred between illegal resettles and legal re-settles, because the newcomers consider themselves as legal and begin to claim equal rights with the legally settled ones.⁹⁰

⁸⁷Informants: Dachasa Kafale and Taddasa Hayilu; Ayantu, p. 39.

⁸⁸Informants: Taddasa and Zarihun Gamachu; Ayantu, p. 40.

⁸⁹ Ayantu, p. 40; Informants: Garoma Nagash and Bayana Araga; See Appendix 6.

⁹⁰ Informants: Abdisa Gudata and Olana Qanno.

2.4.2.2. Government Sponsored Resettlement

However resettlement is an ongoing exercise mainly aimed at bringing about changes in agricultural productivity for the purpose of securing food and relieving human pressure from densely populated areas. Ethiopian government initiated intra-regional resettlement program as a strategy to bring about food security and rural development in the country since 2003/2004. This intra-regional resettlement may be less expensive and less complicated than the inter-regional resettlement program of 1980's even though it shares the same planning approaches and management practices of the past.⁹¹ Resettlement projects have also been aimed at relieving population pressure, land shortage, promoting land consolidation and sound agriculture in the areas of high population density. It has also frequently been undertaken to rehabilitate peoples who have been adversely affected by natural disaster, unfavorable climatic conditions and political conflict. The selection of sites for resettles should be in terms of appropriateness of physical aspects of a new environment, which includes soil fertility, possibilities of controlling human and animal diseases, adequacy of rainfall, availability of drinking water, and accessibility of virgin land.⁹²

The EPRDF resettlement policy depends on the standards it has set. The pillars of the program are voluntarism, the availability of underutilized land, consultation with the host communities and assurance of the existence of minimum infrastructure at the destination site. The government should take care in order not to repeat the same mistakes as the *Derg* by way of violating the principles set for resettlement policy.⁹³ Resettlement under current government sponsorship was not a new phenomenon in the country. However, interregional resettlement program was a new trend undertaken by the EPRDF government in order to minimize the inter-ethnic conflict between the resettles and the host community. Oromiyaa was one of the regions that started the implementation of the program first in the country region. In 2003, peoples from highly drought affected areas in the eastern parts Oromiyaa were relocated to free and fertile lands of western parts of Oromiyaa regional state. As a result, settlers from east Hararge zone and west Hararge

⁹¹ Kassahun Berhanu, "On Resettlement Experience, *Forum for Social Studies* (ed.)", *The Challenge of Resettlement in Ethiopia, Bulletin Vol. 1, No. 3*, (Addis Ababa, 2003), p. 211.

⁹² Dessalegn, "Resettlement in Ethiopia: *The Tragedy of Population Relocation...*, p. 37.

⁹³ Kassahun, Resettlement Experience, *Forum for Social Studies...*, pp. 13-14.

zone were resettled in the east Wallaggaa Saasiggaa district. In Saasiggaa district all Government Sponsored Resettles (GSR) have a similar place of origin, east or west Hararge zone.⁹⁴ The households relocated to the area include both men and women. The total population of resettles at Saasiggaa during 2003/2004 resettlement reached 25,164 with 3,520 household heads. The number of women headed families as compared to male is very small. Some of them came to Saasiggaa leaving with their husbands and children from the two provinces of Hararge and others joined the resettlement program as widows or separated.⁹⁵

2.5. The Role of Government and NGOs

Basically, resettlement was aimed at improving the livelihood of the people by raising living standards beyond the pre-resettlement levels. Efforts made by the government and non-governmental organization, (NGOs) regarding the preparation of infrastructure, social services and other provisions, promised to give and built different social services such as houses, schools, clinics, water wells, agricultural inputs and farm tools. As I gathered information from the interviews the re-settlers it was revealed that the support from the government during their movement away from their place of origin and in the settlement areas has played a fundamental role in facilitating the resettlement and integration process. Informants were asked to discuss the condition of support from the government beginning from the flight away home, during their first arrival in the settlement sites and even after that, until they fully rehabilitate from the problems they faced in the native villages.⁹⁶

But after their arrival, what they were told was completely different from the reality. Some of them returned soon and some of them contracted their houses and tried to resettle with their efforts. Government has identified education as one of its priority areas for intervention and hence significant strides have been made to provide basic education to citizens. Resettlement areas are no exception. There is a school at least for the first educational cycle in every resettlement area. Schools which initially built with government funds and settlers were strictly advised by government authorities to send their children to school. As more and more children got enrolled, the contribution of settlers in the construction of more classrooms became mandatory. Settlers themselves have participated in the construction of their own informal

⁹⁴Ayantuu, p. 39; Informants: Biqilaa Tagenye and Faqaadu.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Informants: Kalid Najib and Nure Mohammed; See Appendix 7.

institutions and worship centers that are instrumental for social cohesion and facilitated community integration.⁹⁷The re-settlers were interviewed to express their feelings in relation to the use of natural resources base of the settlement area. This was necessitated with the belief that how the natural base of the settlement area has influenced the resettlement and integration experiences of the re-settlers. They expressed their view as follows

When re-settlers arrived to the settlement sites, they were forced to organize farming in to cooperative. The government's rationale was that this farming system would benefit the needy (particularly older people) who cannot perform farming activities and do not have someone to perform it. However, most of the re-settlers did not favor the system as it was without their willingness and with strict control. However, after almost three years, the cooperative lands were divided to its respective individual members and re-settlers were able to access farmland on individual basis and started private farming.⁹⁸

Resettles had been told about receiving two hectares of cleared and fertile farmland. However, most of the resettles did not receive the land on arrival. Some of them received it after a few months and some after a year. Against the guideline, land distribution was not consistent. Some received one hectare and some received two hectares. The allocation did not consider family size. Accordingly a single household and a household with twelve members had received the same size, i.e., two hectares in some sites. According to my informant local community members were mobilized to construct houses for re-settlers. However, most of the resettled households were forced to build their own houses; this was contrary to what they were told. It was only on a few sites that some houses were built by the local community but the quality of houses was poor and they had to be rebuilt.⁹⁹Some water pumps were constructed by government and non-government organization in the four districts after the arrival of the resettles in the area under study. However, it was not adequate and some of them were broken before they gave service. As a result, many of the re-settlers were forced to use river water for drinking and washing which was a high risk for their health. The other one is provision of ox, re-settlers in Baloo Bareeda received one ox for two households for traction purpose. However, in Adaa Guddinaa, one ox was provided for one household. In both districts, there were some resettles who did not receive

⁹⁷Dessalegn Rahmato, "Resettlement in Ethiopia: The Tragedy of Population...", p. 37; Informants: Kalid and Lama Gutata.

⁹⁸Tewodros Gorge, "Long term Resettlement and Integration Experiences of Re-settlers in Ethiopia: The case of 1980s Re-settlers in Sheko Woreda Bench-Maji zone Southern Nation Nationalities", (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Sociology, 2011), p. 49.

⁹⁹Informants: Nure Mohamed; Dagafa and Fiqadu.

an ox but they received credit to buy or rent oxen. It was also confirmed that the purchasing process was not transparent and most of the oxen were weak and too stressed for traction. They were unable to adapt to the environment, since they were bought from the highland areas. As a result, most resettles lost their oxen before the start of cultivation.¹⁰⁰ Accordingly health services were built in some sites before and in some other sites after arrival of the resettles. In some sites there was free medication for the resettles. However, the health posts were ill-equipped with adequate health workers, drugs and other health facilities. Even today at the Baloo Bareeda and Angar site reaching clinics, health centers and hospitals were critical problems, particularly for the sites cut off during the rainy season.¹⁰¹

The other one is the support of nongovernmental organization (NGO) like united nation (UN) and world food program (WFP). Though the support varied in type, amounts and duration in the *kebeles* of Saasiggaa. Resettles received food aid per month. In the Baloo Bareeddu and Adaa Guddinaa sites 15-20 kg of grain (maize, wheat or sorghum) per person per month was provided together with 0.5 kg of cooking oil and 20–50 birr in cash for spice. In Adaa Guddinaa, additional food items such as beans, potatoes, peppers, salt and soup were provided during resettlement process. In some cases, in both site local communities were mobilized to provide food for resettles due to late arrival of food rations to settlement sites. In Adaa Guddinaa, there was a case of interruption of food supply during the rainy season due to road cut-off, leading to serious malnutrition. In some sites rations were stopped after eight months. However, in some places it continued for more than two years.¹⁰²

Other provisions given to resettled households by these NGOs and host communities in these districts were cooking utensils (jerry cans, pots, plates and cups), clothes (blankets, bed nets against mosquitoes) and farm tools including hoes, sickles and axes. In Lalisaa Bareedaa, some re-settlers were provided seeds and fertilizers, whereas in Adaa Guddinaa, access to loans was provided for re-settlers to buy fertilizer and improved seed. Concerns were raised by the informants in terms of the amount and quality of the utensils, farm tools and other supports, especially at Anger site. When provided, the support did not consider family sizes. For example,

¹⁰⁰Informants: Nure, Dagafa and Fiqadu.

¹⁰¹ Informants: Badhasa and Amino Mudasir.

¹⁰²Informants: Badhasa and Amin; See Appendix 8.

one blanket and bed net for the entire family were not sufficient, and some of the farm tools went out of use so quickly.¹⁰³

¹⁰³Informants: Abdisa and Amino

CHAPTER THREE

3. RESETTLEMENT AND ITS IMPACT IN SAASIGGAA DISTRICT, 1980s-2012

3.1. Resettlement Process in Saasiggaa District (*Aanaa*)

The conceptualization of resettlement process includes rehabilitation of vulnerable groups, which relates to reconstruction of target population through land based re-establishment, house reconstruction, social inclusion, better health care, adequate nutrition, restoration of community assets and community reconstruction. Even though the process of resettlement entails temporary loss of socio-cultural, economic and ecological assets; it also brings about permanent recovery and improvement of multidimensional aspects of life of resettles under appropriate resettlement policy of nations depending on their objective conditions.¹⁰⁴ Often resettlement projects have also been aimed at relieving population pressure and land shortage, and promoting land consolidation and sound agriculture in areas of high population density. This to show the rationalization of natural resources, particularly land, vegetation, climatic and human factors.¹⁰⁵

The process of resettlement scheme should be preceded by serious, comprehensive, in-depth economic, social, cultural and environmental feasibility studies. The requirement of careful planning and sufficient timing is necessary for resettlement rather than making it emergency campaign to solve food insecurity. The resettlement program should be undertaken as a part of long-term migration strategy including a range of measures, packages, options and incentives, notably preparing the basic infrastructure, services, credit, etc. required to attract re-settlers. This should be when carefully planned.¹⁰⁶ The other one was the selection of sites for re-settlers, in terms of appropriateness of physical aspects of a new environment, which includes soil fertility, possibilities of controlling human and animal diseases, adequacy of rain- fall, availability of drinking water, and accessibility to infrastructural services. Site selection is the job of policy makers and planners who are responsible for resettling people. If the site selection gets wrong,

¹⁰⁴ Cernea Michael (ed.), "The Economics of Involuntary Resettlement: *Questions and Challenges*", (Washington, D.C, World Bank, 1999), pp. 194-198.

¹⁰⁵ Dessalegn, "Resettlement in Ethiopia: *The Tragedy of Population Relocation...*, p. 47.

¹⁰⁶ Alula Pankhrust, "Long term Implications of Resettlement in Ethiopia, In P. Alula, & P. Francois (Ed.), *People, Space and the State: Migration, Resettlement and Displacement in Ethiopia*", *Proceedings of the Workshop held by the Ethiopian Society of Sociologists, Social Workers and Anthropologists and the UN Emergencies Unit for Ethiopia*, (Addis Ababa, 2004), p. 67.

everything in relation to it gets wrong. This not only forces the re-settlers to abandon the new area but also it affects the government through defiling its politics.¹⁰⁷ The poor understanding and failure of considerations of the factors in the new areas lead resettlement schemes to failure. Site selection in resettlement schemes has been a problem in Ethiopia since 1980s. Some of the selected resettlement schemes were without moisture for permanent crops, while other resettlement sites are out of easy reach and with serious problems of security. Others were located in un conducive topographic areas where it was difficult to provide infrastructure to the re-settlers. These problems were the results of conducting resettlements without prior studies and careful planning.¹⁰⁸

There are several reasons why a household moves from its original place to a new site. The causes for this movement could be natural or man-made unfavorable climatic conditions or political conflict. Results of the data analysis from Oromiyaa region revealed that drought or famine as their major reason to move from their original place to resettlement site. The process of resettlement during *Derg* regime from Tigray, Wollo and Amhara regions was encountered many challenges. People are not willing to resettle voluntarily for they fear that they might be taken to war front, as it used to be during the military regime, and also the harsh environment (high temperature and epidemics), coupled with occasional security threats, and deterred them from moved to the areas in large numbers.¹⁰⁹

The large scale resettlement scheme undertaken in Ethiopia in the 1980s by the *Derg* regime and the current intra-regional resettlement program come in to this category. Both were based on the basis that resettlement can be a durable means to relieve environmentally degraded and drought-prone highland areas, and to utilize underutilized agricultural land in lowland parts of the country to ensure food security.¹¹⁰ The process of resettlement required the regional government to take several steps starting from recruiting resettles up to making efforts to move them to the

¹⁰⁷ Wolde-Selassie Abutte, "Resettlement as a Response to Food Insecurity: The Case of the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region", In: Pankhurst, A. and F. Pigeut (eds.) *People, Space and the State: Migration, Resettlement and Displacement in Ethiopia*, (Addis Ababa, 2004), pp. 75-87.

¹⁰⁸ Oberai, A.S, "An overview of Settlement Policies and Program", In Paolo Dieci and Claudio Viezzoli (eds.), *Resettlement and rural Development in Research, Training and Technical Assistance in the Beles Valley*: (Italy: Milano, 1992), p. 42.

¹⁰⁹ Moti Jaleta, Mekonnen Yohannes, Adugna Tolera, Mitiku Haile, Ansha Yesufe, Kindeya Geberehiwot, Kelemework Tafere, Yemane Gegziabher, and Mekonnen Teferi "Impact of Resettlement on the livelihood, food security and Natural resource Utilization in Ethiopia", *DCG Report No. 65*, (Norway, 2011), p. 18

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

destination sites. There have been different reasons as to why some households are being relocated and others are not. Some of the main regional criteria in recruiting the resettles were: the poorest of the poor households from drought prone areas and that are dependent on food aid, the younger population, those who are voluntary to be relocated, and households that are included in safety net program. The safety net program is aimed at providing food and other transfers to the chronically food insecure through a scheme that involves employment in public works in the community. Regarding this, the *kebele* officials are responsible in identifying the chronically food deficit families.¹¹¹

In Saasiggaa district, concerning the implementation of resettlement program, the main duty of the district and *kebele* administration was distribution of lands according to the program. At the time, distribution of land for government sponsored resettlement was too difficult, because the number of households who came to the area and the lands planned to be distributed for them did not match. As a result, the government officials took measures of displacing the re-settlers in the new area. This action also contributed to competition over grazing and farm land areas. Therefore, the planning process of resettlement program should be preceded by serious, comprehensive, in-depth economic, social, cultural and environmental feasibility studies.¹¹²

The official objective of resettlement schemes in Ethiopia, both in the past and current government, as stated in various documents, was to prevent famine (attain food security) by moving people from drought-prone and over-crowded areas to sparsely populated regions and unoccupied virgin lands.¹¹³ However, in the resettlement scheme, family members had a vital role in the decision making over the resettlement program during resettlement process. This is because the person who wants to re-settle has to transfer his or her temporary and permanent possession from the origin to the immediate relatives until he or she verifies the suitability of the resettlement area. The peers and neighbors influence also play a great deal on the decision to leave the area of origin. Elders and *kebele* leaders also have a big share in the decision making

¹¹¹ Geremu Taye, "Assessing the Rural Resettlement program in Ethiopia in Meeting the livelihood of the people: A case study of Metema Yohanes Resettlement Scheme, in the Amhara National regional State", (M A Thesis, Netherland, Institute of social studies,2010), pp. 17-20

¹¹² Ayantu, p. 59.

¹¹³ Gebre Yintiso, "Resettlement and Unnoticed Losers: Impoverishment of Disasters among the Gumuz in Ethiopia", *Human Organization*, (2003), pp. 50-61.

process of the settler to leave or remain in the home area. Regarding those who came to the study site, re-settlers were given orientation at *Woreda* and *kebele* levels. The aim of the orientation was to mobilize potential voluntary re-settlers in other parts of the region.¹¹⁴ The orientation also included discussions about the condition of the place where the re-settlers are going to settle. According to informants, during the discussion several provisions were promised to be fulfilled. Among the provisions and conditions promised to them as readily available were houses, schools, health services, mill services, and clothing, two hectares of land per family, three years of government support to basic needs and the right to change the site if it's unsuitable.¹¹⁵

Re-settlers have different understanding about the place where they are going to settle. None of the re-settlers had information about a place called Saasiggaa but what they knew was the name of potential resettlement administrative zones visited by individuals identified as *maanguddo* (elders) selected from the community. Some weeks prior to the implementation of the resettlement program, the government officials from the region selected elders to visit the area that aimed at proofing the decision-making power of the community. However, the in-depth formal interview informants from the government sponsored resettlement responded that the area they visited at the time was not in Saasiggaa district. According to informants from among the re-settlers, the elders had visited the sites in west Shewa, Ilu Abbabor and Jimma zones. East Wallaggaa sites were not included. The government officials then convinced them that, the site selected for new resettlement is fertile and rich in resources.¹¹⁶ For the sake of community discussion, the government officials met them to discuss their interests and problems. One informant said that:

They came to the meeting with interesting video images about the resettlement area. The image they showed us was a green area, which we had never seen before in our life at Hararge, and we expressed our willingness to settle in the site. But later what we saw in the video and what we saw on the ground are quite different.¹¹⁷

By taking the criteria mentioned above in to account, meetings were held with farmers on issues related with scarcity of cultivable land, insufficiency of food, drought proliferation in the area and the likes to persuade them about the resettlement program. Besides, to make sure whether

¹¹⁴ Informants: Nure and Kalid; Ayantu, p. 60.

¹¹⁵ Informants: Sayid Musa and Kalil.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ Informants: Shamsu Tsaga and Ahimedo Husen.

the area has a similar picture with what has been drawn by government officials during the advocacy of the program, some representatives of the resettles were sent to the receiving area. Following the opinion of the representatives the relocation of the people put in place. The issues that are pointed out above could substantiate the planned and controlled nature of the resettlement program while undertaken by the government.¹¹⁸ My informants said that in Saasiggaa district the mobilization committee, which is formed from different sectors in the district, had been working on awareness creation about the resettlement program for the host population before relocating the people. After consensus had been reached with the hosts, the relocation of the settlers was put in to effect.¹¹⁹

During resettlement process resettles use different sources to get information on the resettlement program and the situations at the sites where they are supposed to settle. For instance, most of them got information from government officials that were mobilizing people for the resettlement while about few of them got the information from mass-media (in most of the cases from radio).¹²⁰ It was further indicated that the resettles classify themselves into three groups, as *qubataa*, *gugataa* and *gubataa*. The terms are in *Afaan Oromoo* and *qubataa* refers to real settlers, i.e. those who are needy and really want to resettle and establish themselves in their new sites. The second group, classified as *gugataa* refers to those resettles who are in a dilemma, i.e. those who have property in both places and have not yet decided where to settle and hence transport between their original home and the resettlement site. The third group, the *gubataa*, refers to those who live in the resettlement site but create various problems in the community.¹²¹

Related to provision of house during resettlement scheme re-settlers from Tigray, Wollo and Amhara regions since 1980s, a typical residential house in the resettlement areas consists of a room whose wall is made of either wood and mud or wood and grass. Most of the time ceiling is made of thatched grass built in cylindrical or rectangular shape. Such a housing structure is better suited to the hot lowland areas. Less than a quarter of the houses in the settlement areas have corrugated iron roofing. But as the household economy improves, people are inclined to change the housing structure. Most settlers have one or two rooms. In Balo Bareeddu, renting out rooms

¹¹⁸ Alula Pankhurst, "Resettlement and famine in Ethiopia: The villagers' experience", Manchester and New York: (Manchester University Press, 1992), p. 65.

¹¹⁹ Informants: Nure and Abdo Eliyas.

¹²⁰ Informants: Dereje Gemechu and Kalid.

¹²¹ Informants: Kalil and Kuma Abdi.

to non-settlers for small scale business ventures and using the recipe for expansion is becoming a common practice nowadays.¹²² During the arrival of the newly settled people to the area two hectares of arable land, household utensils, seed, agricultural tools like sickle, plough and hoe, grass and wood to construct a house including about 500 m² of homestead land, oxen or money with fellow partners, and food aid for one year were some of the starter packets provided per household by the government and non- government organization. The house was constructed by the resettles after they arrived to the area in collaboration with the hosts' labor. In fact, the provision of oxen was in such a way that one pair of oxen is shared between four households among which two of them own the pair of oxen and the remaining two were received about 120 birr each instead of an ox. Actually this money is also paid back for the owners of the oxen in the group whom they plough the farming land in return.¹²³

Efforts have been made by the government and non-governmental organization to provide for the re-settlers with appropriate social services such as schools, health posts and, to some extent, drinking water supply. Although the provisions are far lower than the expectations. Currently, the Ethiopian government has identified education as one of its priority areas for intervention and hence significant strides have been made to provide basic education to citizens. Resettlement areas are no exception. There is a school at least for the first educational cycle in every resettlement area. Schools were initially built with government and non-government funds and settlers were strictly advised by government authorities to send their children to school. As more and more children got enrolled, the contribution of settlers in the construction of more classrooms became mandatory. Settlers themselves have participated in the construction of their own informal institutions and worship centers that are instrumental for social cohesion and facilitated community integration. This is manifested in the social and ceremonial gatherings and membership in voluntary community based organization.¹²⁴

Several authors have tried to assess the resettlement process schemes and identified practical evidences on factors affecting resettlement success or failure of land settlement scheme. The main factors behind success or failure of a resettlement program include proper planning, site

¹²² Informants: Getacho and Hailu Dereje; Ayantu, p. 40.

¹²³ *Ibid*; Moti Jaleta, Mekonnen Yohannes, Aduugna Tolera and et al, "Impact of Resettlement on the Livelihood, food security and Natural Resource Utilization...", p. 19.

¹²⁴ Informants: Dhaba Fayisa and Birasaw Fufa; Moti Jaleta, Mekonnen Yohannes, Aduugna Tolera, "Impact of Resettlement...", p. 19.

selection, size of land allocated to settlers, land tenure and farming systems, management and administration.¹²⁵ During resettlement implementation, in some areas resettlement goes wrong principally because of lack of proper inputs, lack of national legal framework and policies, and lack of political will, funding, pre-settlement survey, planning consultation, careful implementation and monitoring. The inherent complexity of resettlement includes cultural, social, environmental, economic, institutional and political issues, all of which are taking place in the context of imposed spatial change.¹²⁶

3.1.1 Relations between the Re-settlers and their Areas of Origin

However, at the beginning of the resettlement program, freedoms of movement were prohibited; some re-settlers managed to do so and were able to visit their place of origins. In addition, a fair number of re-settlers had also flown away from the settlement sites after they have gained money from the sales of produces during the post-harvest period. Further, though, a significant number of re-settlers have departed from the settlement areas after the 1991 political change and during early years of the transition period, lack of hopes to access land in place of origins and the security in settlement areas has made small number of re-settlers to return and join the settlement areas. According to information from the officials and experts of the office of Agriculture and rural development in Saasiggaa district, the main cause for returning for some of the resettles was related with the selection of the re-settlers. Besides, cases have been observed while re-settlers were sponsoring their own relatives to join them in the settlement sites when they went to visit their place of origins.¹²⁷

Although most of the re-settlers remain and become well established in the resettlement sites, some incidences of returnees have been reported. Later resettlement program has gave opportunity for those re-settlers who wish to return to their original home place by allowing them to keep their plots of land in their original home place for a period of three years. It was also indicated that some re-settlers want to operate in both places by leaving some family members behind. It was reported that some settlers return to their original home after selling the oxen they

¹²⁵ Gebregzihabher, T.B, “Resettlement from the Perspective of Environmental Protection”, *Ethiopia Herald*, Published by Ethiopian Press Agency, Vol. LX, No.2, (2004), p.74.

¹²⁶ Woldeeslassie, Abutte, “Gumuz and the Highland Settlers: Differing Strategies of Livelihood and Ethnic Relation in Metekel”, (Ph D Dissertation, University of Gottingen, Germany, 2002), P.51.

¹²⁷ Informants: Bule Nagasa and Asrat Kabada; Alula Pankhrust, “Long term Implications of Resettlement in Ethiopia”, In Alula, & P. Francois (Ed.)..., p. 126.

received as an incentive to resettle. Government administration of Saasiggaa district revealed that there were 15 settlers who left the resettlement site after selling their oxen and at the time of the survey there were 12 other settlers who have sold their oxen but were still in the resettlement area, particularly at Baloo Bareeddu site.¹²⁸ Another case that was reported from the same district was that some re-settlers who return to their original home sell their identification cards to other interested re-settlers. According to information obtained from settlers of Saasiggaa district, the number of households existing in the different resettlement sites in the district during the time of the survey was much lower than originally resettled. The difference could be due to the number of returnees and others who further resettled in other places. Some of the re-settlers from Adaa Guddinaa district got frustrated because of the water logging and health problems encountered on their arrival at the resettlement area, and returned to their original home place. The main cause for returning for some of the re-settlers was indicated to be related with the selection of the re-settlers.¹²⁹

3.1.2. Host Communities of the Study Area.

There is confusion over the usage of the term “host” and identifying who is host is difficult in the study area. My informants belonging themselves to the area and they categorize each other during the time of arrival in to the area and indignity to the area. The question of belongingness to the area arose with the establishment of state farms in the area. Before the establishment of state farm and the implementation of the resettlement in the area, the land was forested which attracted people for hunting animals. At the time of the ruling period of Leeqa Naqamtee, the lowland area of Angar and Didessa valley was used for hunting of big games and supplier of slaves to the royal family of the ruler and served as a major means of income to the zone. However, there is controversial idea on the indigenous people belonging to the area. One of my informants from host community said that before the establishment of the state farm enterprises in the area the land was deeply forested land. We, the highlanders before we settled here we came to the area for hunting, and in search of honey from the area.¹³⁰ Due to federalist approach to our country and recent demarcation of the land in the study area, there are mixed *kebeles* of

¹²⁸Informants: Bule Nagasa and Asrat Kabada; Alula Pankhrust, “Long term Implications of Resettlement in Ethiopia”, In P. Alula, & P. Francois (Ed.)..., p. 126.

¹²⁹Informants: Sayid Musa and Takale Ababa.

¹³⁰Informants: Siyum and Olana; Tasamma, “The Oromo of Wollega...”, p. 37.

Gumuz and Oromo. The Gumuz community consider themselves as indigenous to the area and lived in the area before no one came to the area.¹³¹The Oromo people who settled in the area after Oromo expansion of the sixteenth century also claimed the state farm for it displaced them from the area, because they consider themselves as hosts to the area. Those who are displaced from the state farm remained in the area and they refused to leave the area. They also categorized themselves as hosts to the area. Currently, due to resettlement program implemented under the government support in the area, there are around 4,153 households except the illegal settlers to the district in general. All re-settlers were implemented on the former state farm land, which is claimed by the community of the area and the neighboring Gumuz.¹³²

These re-settlers also call themselves as hosts to the area and powerful over the resources of the area, because they see the area as government is gift and the first inhabitants of the area, which depends on the idea that they came from their area of origin. According to the study, the term “host community” is specified to the people who lived in the area, before the closure of the state farms and after its collapse up to today. It doesn’t include the new comers to the area after the closure of state farms in the area. These “host communities” were predominantly Oromo communities who came to Saasiggaa district from east Wallaggaa and western Wallaggaa. They came to the area in search of jobs in the state farms.¹³³

3.2. Impacts of Resettlement in Saasiggaa District

The large scale resettlement program during the *Derg* regime and recently has been criticized for a number of problems. First, consultation between policy makers, implementers, the resettles and the host population was minimal. Second, implementing plan entailed resettlement often quelled through coercive methods, which thus undermined possibilities for commitment. Third, the resource and socio-economic support necessary for bolstering the chances of meeting the stated targets were not optimally rallied and disorganization and confusion was the result. In general, impact of resettlement could be classified in to two major categories these are social and environmental impacts.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Aynalem Getachew, *Inter-Ethnic Relations: The case of Gumuz and Oromo in Kamashi and East Wollega Zones*, (Addis Ababa, 2009), p. 41.

¹³² Ayantu, pp. 15-17.

¹³³ Asabe, p. 42.

¹³⁴ Kassahun Berhanu, “Resettlement and Quest for Food Security...”, pp. 2-7.

3.2.1. Social Impact of Resettlement in Saasiggaa District

Many studies have been carried out concerning the social impacts of resettlement in Ethiopia. Resettlement resulted many social impacts, especially if the ethnic and cultural composition of the re-settlers is heterogeneous.¹³⁵ Primarily, the scheme disintegrated the re-settlers social institutions and organizations, which bind their infinite web of relations and interactions in manifold. However, resettlement program disrupted the re-settlers production systems and impoverished their livelihood. As a result uncertainties and confusions may happen until painful adaptive adjustments may occur to the new environment. Resettlement can also bring about break-up of families.¹³⁶ The 1980s resettlement scheme caused many families to be broken. The schemes were carried out in lowland areas where the climate is completely different from their original homeland. As a result they experienced difficulties since the new climate is less hospitable that led to excessive mortality due to diseases. They were also suffering from increased control to prevent escape. Village to village travel was only possible through pass letters obtained from village authorities.¹³⁷

They were also subjected to lowland diseases such as malaria. Therefore, the scheme claimed the lives of many peoples. In larger settlements settlers resented imposed collectivization. Although in some cases partnerships were formed with local people, in many areas settlers faced hostile relations with indigenous inhabitants. The host community particularly the youth started to develop negative attitudes as they view resettles as competitors over the use of natural resources.¹³⁸ In the political arena, the regime change that took place in 1991 was with various implications in the resettlement and integration process of the re-settlers. Especially the regime change has brought in policy changes in land distribution, freedom of movement and the regionalization policy and the delimitation of regions on an ethnic basis that have been strongly affecting the lives of the re-settlers. This change has brought the re-settlers flight of away from resettlement areas given security threats. Besides, it has led the distribution of cooperative land to individual members and private farming. Further, the regionalization policy has led the

¹³⁵ Wolde Selassie Abute, "Resettlement as a Response to Food Insecurity: The Case of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region" In: Pankhurst, A. and F. Pigeut (eds.)...., pp. 75-87.

¹³⁶ Dessalegn, "Resettlement in Ethiopia: *The Tragedy of Population Relocation*...., pp. 39-41.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ Ahmed Mohamed, "Resettlement, Socio-Economic and Environmental Impact Evaluation: The Case of Haro Tatessa Resettlement Site", *Forum for Social Studies*, (Addis Ababa, 2005), P. 87.

viewing of re-settlers from other regions as of not belonging to the region and evacuating them.¹³⁹

3.2.2. Impact of Resettlement for the Host Communities

The resettlement program has both positive and negative effects on the livelihood of the host communities, and also the settlers. That is why it is necessary to analyze both parts in relation to natural resources, livelihood as well as the effect of the entire program. My informants from host communities at different sites indicated that they have benefited from the infrastructures developed due to the resettlement program. These infrastructures include: roads, schools, clinics (both for human and animals), clean potable water, and flour mills. At places like Baloo Bareddu, the host communities also benefited from health station and other public services established following the resettlement program, although the population of the whole Baloo district is mainly composed of re-settlers.¹⁴⁰

Moreover, host communities also benefited from the experience they shared from the re-settlers in agricultural practices. A case in point is the host communities around Milkii Guddinaa. Host communities in this area, in addition to their main activity in forest-honey collection, used to grow only maize using hoe-culture. But, after the arrival of the re-settlers, they shared experience from the re-settlers on agricultural practices and increased the number of crops they grow (like upland rice, finger millet, etc.), which resulted in better income from crop sale. Similarly, host communities around Adaa also learned production of soybean and animal fattening from the re-settlers. Also resettlement has given host communities an opportunity to develop a spirit of competition in income earning strategies.¹⁴¹ Improved access to markets is also another advantage. The data gathered through interviews and observation affirms that economic integration and diversification have already begun in the study area. The researcher observed the existence of market relations between the re-settlers and the host community.¹⁴² They buy and sell agricultural products and exchange goods. The host community learned from the newcomers about trading of goats and sheep in which the latter are experts. The host community also learned from the re-settlers how to feed their animals forage. Inter-cropping is also a new agricultural

¹³⁹Alula, “Long term Implications of Resettlement in Ethiopia...”, pp. 112-120.

¹⁴⁰ Informants: Alamayo and Dhaba.

¹⁴¹ Informants: Amsalu Tibabu and Bayisa.

¹⁴² Informants: Dachasa Kafale and Lema.

practice introduced by the re-settlers to the area. Therefore, the host community learned about producing different types of crops in the same season from the same farming land. The re-settlers also take their grains to the grinding mills owned by members of the host community. The host community also increased their value of cooperation from the spirit of hard working and cooperation of re-settlers. The re-settlers work not only for long hours but also cooperatively. In the long-run, it is clear that both groups can learn many things from each other. This indicates that an economic interaction is taking shape either directly or indirectly.¹⁴³

Members of the host communities also argued that they have learned new farming systems and practices from settlers while the latter are believed to have gained animal husbandry skills from the host population. It is also evident that the provision of social services such as schools, clinics, water and electric supply (which also benefited host communities) would not have been conceived without the resettlement program. A concentration of a good deal of people in the new settlements gave the regional governments reason to invest in social services. It was also reported that with the establishment of the new settlements, the host communities in Tigray, Wollo Amhara, west and east Hararge enjoyed better protection from the government, although security problems cannot be completely ruled out even today.¹⁴⁴

Resettlement also brought people of different identities into direct contact with each other, thereby promoting the spirit of dialogue amongst people of diverse interests. The introduction and expansion of petty-trade by the settlers had also benefited the host communities. Since consumable items were available in small shops throughout the week, the host community had easy access to goods. The availability of market and dry-weather road following the resettlement program enabled the host community to get a better market for their agricultural products. Such kind of benefit was also magnified by the host communities at Adaa Guddinaa site.¹⁴⁵ In the same resettlement site, it was reported that the hard working sprit of the re-settlers motivated host communities to bring a change in the farming activities. Results from the east and west Hararge zones revealed that resettlement projects brought together people of different backgrounds. The different social groups include host communities belonging to different ethnic groups such as the

¹⁴³Informants: Dachasa Kafale and Lema.

¹⁴⁴Informants: Dachasa and Lema.

¹⁴⁵Ahmed, p. 87.

Gumuz ethnic group in Balo, spontaneous settlers (i.e. those who came from the adjacent lowland areas on their own free will, in order to make use of opportunistic income earning activities), and as well as government organized settlers from different periods during the military regime and the current Ethiopian government.¹⁴⁶

Saasiggaa resettlement site is marked by a loose local administration before the arrival of the re-settlers. However, since the arrival of the re-settlers, the atmosphere pertaining to administrative and other services changed. The *kebele* administration and the security services of the host communities have been strengthened. One good example was the establishment of a police station in the area. Currently, the host communities' are not only getting administrative services but also have gained access to many services in other sectors. In order to bring a good social relation among the re-settlers and the host community in the study area, the district administrators provided an effective administration system by electing officials from both groups. For instance, in the study area (where re-settlers settled), the *kebele* administrators were selected both from the host community and the re-settlers. The main reason is not to involve the re-settlers groups in political affairs, rather for reducing disagreement and conflict between the two groups.¹⁴⁷

As studies regarding the impacts of settlement on hosts indicate, the presence of the re-settlers has a potential adverse effect on the livelihoods of the hosts. A case in point is the withdrawal of the Gumuz, Oromo and other lowland groups away from settlement areas due to the large clearing of land for the purpose of firewood and farm land. This has resulted in reduction of scope for game hunting, bee-keeping collection of wild fruits in turn forcing the host's compromise their livelihoods.¹⁴⁸ In addition there settlement in the district showed this massive effect on the livelihoods of the local people was because they had lost their farmlands and forestlands sites for the accommodation of re-settlers in these areas. Further, they also argued that the land dispossession had resulted in the food insecurity as the local people were deprived of their livelihood foundation that in turn limited their options of income sources.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶Ayant, p. 46.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸WoldeSellassieAbute, "The Dynamics of Socio-economic Differentiation and Change in Beles Valley", (MA Thesis, AAU, Sociology and Social Anthropology, 1997), p. 37.

¹⁴⁹Gebre, Resettlement and Unnoticed Losers..., pp. 50-61.

On the other ways cultural change resulted on the hosts as a resultant of the contact between the two groups. Cornering cultural changes brought about by the re-settlers' existence in the locality, the hosts have identified that major change in their crop farming system. Before the arrival of the re-settlers in the area they used to employ customary simple or rudimentary hoe farming technology for crop production. Meanwhile, the re-settlers' influx with customary oxen based farming technology has been began to be popular among most of the local people. However the re-settlers have been restricted from the act of illegally expanding their land holdings. Hence, this low level of illegally expanding land holdings by the re-settlers in the area might have reduced local conflicts with the hosts and making their adaptation in the settlement feasible.¹⁵⁰ The deprivation of local and native people from vital natural resources (land and common pool resources) had weakened their traditional livelihood, economic and habitat system.¹⁵¹

Between the livelihoods of the hosts and native people and natural resources has made their livelihoods deteriorated when the resettlement programs dispossessed their access to the important natural resources. The local economy was affected from the surplus of the re-settlers produce as prices for produces like maize and sorghum has fallen dramatically in the post-harvest period. This was because private traders were not allowed to purchase the surplus even after this prohibition had been lifted recently yet there was lack of ability and shortage of transport to collect the surplus. On the other hand, some efforts of successful settler traders to invest on sewing machines, mills, and generators have contributed to growth of small towns.¹⁵²

The other effect of the resettlement on the livelihood of re-settlers is culture change. A change in some cultural traits of the re-settlers could be felt from the beginning of the resettlement throughout the resettlement and integration experiences of the re-settlers. This adaptation process in turn might call for an inevitable culture change by the re-settlers. In terms of culture change the re-settlers to some extent have experienced some sort of culture changes in their efforts to adapt in the settlement areas. Most of re-settlers identified that they have experienced changes

¹⁵⁰Tewodros , “Long term Resettlement and Integration Experiences...”, p.74.

¹⁵¹ Dessalegn Rahmato, “Settlement and Resettlement in Metekel Western Ethiopia”, (South Africa, 1988), pp. 14-18.

¹⁵²Alula, “Resettlement and famine in Ethiopia: The villagers’ ...”, p. 65.

concerning their farming system. In other way because of the environmental conditions in the settlement, villages are different from the environmental conditions in the place of origins. As a result, they were forced to change their farming system. The new environmental conditions in the settlement area have made it difficult to carry on the customary farming system that the re-settlers used to practice in their old villages.¹⁵³

3.2.4. Impact of Resettlement on the Environmental

The environmental conditions that have been experienced year after year since the resettlement has taken place in 1985 have been with great implication in the resettlement and integration process of the re-settlers. The environmental change first had resulted in the resettlement area. Besides, even after few years, the environmental condition in the place of origins has improved while the returnees were not able to access land. Furthermore, in the late 1990s, the environmental condition of the highlands has caused droughts in some areas as a result; some relatives of the re-settlers were looking to join the settlement areas.¹⁵⁴ Resettlement schemes undoubtedly have serious impact on the environment. Land becomes seriously degraded due to over-concentration of people in the area when a number of re-settlers are added to the previously existing host community. This potentially causes environmental degradation, which in the long-run leads to desertification. In fact, the challenge of Ethiopian countries is identifying policy issues, which can put resettlement patterns in harmony with environment.¹⁵⁵

Ecological problems include serious environmental hazards such as land degradation, loss of wildlife and forest resources. Land degradation is a loss of soil and water. One of the problems of resettlement program is the abandonment of resettlement scheme by re-settlers. Even though there are many reasons for this, the services they got are not to the standard that they expect and the majority of them are not allowed to come to the resettlement area with their families¹⁵⁶ The land allotted to each household ranges from one to two hectares. The researcher observed that there was shortage of land in comparison to the average size of family each household has. The

¹⁵³Tewodros, "Long term Resettlement and Integration Experiences...", p.72.

¹⁵⁴*Ibid*, p. 22.

¹⁵⁵Cook, Cynthia C. (ed.), "Involuntary Resettlement in Africa: *Selected Papers from A Conference on Environment and Settlement Issues in Africa*, Washington, DC: (The World Bank, 1994), p. 210.

¹⁵⁶Dessalegn, "Resettlement in Ethiopia: The Tragedy of Population Relocation...", p. 51.

re-settlers are clearing trees for the purpose of agriculture, construction, firewood, and charcoal making. Currently, one cannot see a process of forestation taking place to replace the depleted forest resources. The host communities are also competing with the newcomers to use forest resources.¹⁵⁷ The hosts are highly concerned about the depletion of the natural resources of the area, particularly of forest. Before the establishment of the state farm in the area, the place was densely forested. The situation changed following the establishment of the re-settlement scheme in the area. Even, during the state farm, the community protected the forest. The community has great respect for forest and indigenous trees of the area. However, with the coming of the re-settlers to the area, the culture of preserving the forestland has changed. Competition over the forestland in the area has been increasing in the study area since the arrival of the re-settlers.¹⁵⁸ Anthropologists and cultural ecologists used different approaches in explaining the factors that affect right of access to natural resources. They have shown great emphasis on the relationship between farming practice and social organization.¹⁵⁹

The incompatibility between increased demand for resources and scarcity of resources could lead to depletion and degradation of resource base. In the case of inter-ethnic relationships between ethnic groups living in the same place and their competition over natural resources a number of models had been developed. In post-1991 Ethiopia conflicts were raised between settled minorities and regional majority on sharing regional boundaries. Such type of conflict was caused by division along ethnic line coupled with resource distribution and is the existing phenomena in horn of Africa.¹⁶⁰ The relationship of resource users is shaped by changes in production systems and scarcity of resources. As individuals or groups attempt to satisfy their own resource needs at the expense of others, previously established social relations would be affected in one way or another. In the absence of proper mechanism for fair allocation of resources among users, the competition for resources would degenerate conflicts that can be

¹⁵⁷Oberai, A.S, "An overview of Settlement Policies and Program...", p. 42.

¹⁵⁸Informants: Dagafa Bekuma and Bayana Araga

¹⁵⁹Steward, Julian, *Theory of Culture Change: the Methodology of Multi linear Evolution* Urban: (University of Illinois Press, 1955), p.31.

¹⁶⁰Ayant, p. 28; Ferguson, B, "Introduction: Studying War", In Ferguson (ed.), *Warfare, Culture and Environment*, (Orlando, Press Inc, 1984), p.55.

expressed at different levels and forms. Conflicts can occur between individuals, groups, and community, or even between communities and government or governmental organizations.¹⁶¹ In Ethiopia competition over natural resources among the ethnic groups and community has existed. Those competitions led to conflicts which resulted in loss of human life and destruction of resources. There are a number of factors that contribute for competition over accessibility to natural resources in the country. These include ecological problem, population pressure, socio economic conditions of the area and political factor.¹⁶² Planners sought to justify resettlement on the grounds that it would provide lasting solutions to the problem of food insecurity of the affected households. In fact, even if most settlers had remained in the resettlement areas, the removal of an overall average of 3% of the population in 1980s in the north would have had a negligible effect on reducing population pressure because the re-settlers abandoned the scheme and returned to their home areas. Resettlement was also claimed to provide a more rational use of available land, by readjusting man-land ratios. However, this assumption rested on the myth of vast underutilized lands. Different source indicate that resettlement schemes in Ethiopia, both planned and spontaneous, involved environmental impacts.¹⁶³

Government sponsored resettlement programs that were carried out during 1984/85 involved considerable environmental damage by clearing large areas of vegetation to build homesteads, to acquire farmland, and to construct access roads. He also indicated that the scheme failed to adapt farming practices to agro-ecological conditions of the lowlands, and as a consequence the environmental damage involved was quite considerable.¹⁶⁴ Likewise, spontaneous resettlement of people from drought-hit areas of West and East Hararge zones to Oromiyaa regional state East Wallaggaa zone Saasiggaa district may have also caused environmental damage to the new area. The reasons for their migration first and foremost resulted from years of cumulative effects and sufferings from gradual and consistent natural resources degradation in their home areas and

¹⁶¹ Costantinos Berhe and Zerihun Mohammed, "Natural Resource Competition, Conflicts and their Managements: Case study from Wondo Genet, South Central Ethiopia", *Center for Human Environment and Development*, (Addis Ababa, 1999), p. 3.

¹⁶² Seyoum Mengistu, "Natural Resource Competition and Inter-Ethnic Relation: A Case Study of Arsi Oromo and Alaba Ethnic Groups in Alagae, Southern Ethiopia", (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, 2001), p. 11.

¹⁶³ Berhanu Geneti, pp. 18-21.

¹⁶⁴ Informants: Kalid Najib and Ahimedo; Dessalegn, "Resettlement in Ethiopia: *The Tragedy of Population Relocation in the 1980s...*", p. 91.

secondly caused and initiated by recurrent drought conditions that made their livelihood conditions to be below subsistence, which allowed them neither survival nor livelihood improvements. In other words, for most of the people who decided to leave their homes in Western and Eastern Hararge the conditions did not leave them with any other alternative or option.¹⁶⁵

The number could be more because the flow of people arriving continued despite the regional government trial to stop these re-settlers movements. The government claims that such disparate movement of peoples initiated the pilot resettlement projects after which large scale resettlement schemes were planned to organize such movements. Likewise, the resettlement program launched during 2002/03 has been suspected for environmental damages. The environmental consequences involved in the current resettlement as follows. The smallholder farmers clear the area for house construction and agriculture. Selling of fuel woods by settlers was increased but the district officials banned this activity by using the police to enforce the ban. The settlement was experiencing extensive destruction of woody plants.¹⁶⁶

Resettlement programs conducted in different parts of the country involved environmental damages despite differences in scale which includes huge loss of natural forests with great impact on sustainability of the environment contrary to what has been set out in the implementation of manual of the scheme. Social tensions due to the recent resettlement have also arisen in one of the sites found in East Wallaggaa Zone of Oromiyaa Regional State, Saasiggaa district between the host communities and the re-settlers because of competition over natural resource uses.¹⁶⁷ The resettlement program has resulted in large damage to the natural forest of the resettlement areas as well as the killing and fleeing of wild animals. Some of the damages caused on forest and wild animals are not easily reversible, even may lead to extinction of some species.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶Getachew Berhan, Effects of Human Activities on Forests of Dry land of Western Ethiopia: *Dry land Biodiversity, Issue No. 6*, (Addis Ababa, 2005), p.17.

¹⁶⁷Ayantuu, p. 28; Misganaw Iticha, "Resettlement Dynamics: The Case of Gololle Nonno Resettlement Scheme, West Shewa zone of Oromia Regional State", *Forum for Social Studies*, (Addis Ababa, 2005), p. 39.

¹⁶⁸Ahmed, Resettlement, Socio-Economic and Environmental..., P. 87.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. ETHNIC INTERACTION IN SAASIGGAA DISTRICT (Aanaa)

4.1. Interaction between Re-settlers and the Local People

The relation between re-settlers and hosts communities was most important aspect to have long-term implication but did not get necessary consideration it needed by planners and implementers. The tension between re-settlers and local people has been mostly mediated by the use of natural resources. Further personal tensions arise as result of disagreements in the market places and in local alcohol, retail houses. In short, most of the relations between the re-settlers and local people in many of the settlement areas are limited in the economic arena. However, the relation between local people and re-settlers has gone in some cases beyond the economic exchanges to the social and religious interactions.¹⁶⁹

However ethnic similarity of the re-settlers and the host community appears to have contributed in reducing conflict over resources. Formerly, before the coming of government sponsored re-settlers (GSR) to the area there were other re-settlers or voluntary migrants to the area from Amhara region and other neighboring provinces in the area under study. Though the interaction of the host community with those new comers was not smooth, the Amhara were mostly interacting with the neighboring Gumuz community who settled in Saasiggaa district by farming their lands. Due to this, the host communities suspected the Amhara as the supporters of the Gumuz in the course of continuous Gumuz- Oromo conflicts in the area. The major source of conflict between the Gumuz and Oromo settlers were by analyzing their historical background to the current trends. The major unresolved conflict between the two group the land, the former state farm lands (the study area), in which they claim to have the area under their administration, Kamashi zone of Benishangul Gumuz.¹⁷⁰ Relation between re-settlers and indigenous community are most of the time looks like tension. Most of the time the re-settlers are perceived to have larger landholdings and better provision of social services. Feelings of jealousy are likely to arise among the host population if better services and housing are provided to the re-settlers.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹Alula, "Long term Implications of Resettlement in Ethiopia...", p. 122.

¹⁷⁰Aynalem,p. 54.

¹⁷¹Oberai, A.S, p.91.

Dessalegn argues that "the issue is not an easy as the resettlement program do not take into account the interest of the local inhabitants when it is originally planned." This has become the root cause of anxious relationships between re-settlers and host community tensioned relationship. Hence, neither the host communities should feel as if they are not ignored nor the re-settlers should feel as if they are more privileged in the intended development process of the program. In the Ethiopian case, solutions should be sought when to minimize re-settler-host community conflicts. Though what is taking place is intra-regional resettlement under EPRDF, there is no guarantee that the program could be implemented without friction. Therefore, host communities should be made to benefit from social amenities such as schools, drinking water, health services, etc. primarily planned for re-settlers.¹⁷²

The host communities expected to be beneficiaries from provision of infrastructure and social services designed for the re-settlers. If their expectations are not met the attitudes of hosts may be more hostile towards resettlement schemes. Consequently, to minimize conflicts and create a common interest in the success of resettlement program, planning for the provision of economic and social services must take into account the needs of the host and the resettled population.¹⁷³ However, their interaction was characterized by social re-articulation and livelihood reconstruction. Re-settlers re-establish relationships both within the resettlement sites and with neighboring host communities through work groups, religion, marriage, land exchange and friendship. Religious associations and leaders reemerge and elders start to play an important role again. Burial and credit associations reemerge again in a new form. Reciprocal work groups and mutual help schemes may be reestablished, and trade and markets might become important adaptive strategies.¹⁷⁴

4.1.1 Relation between the Host Communities

Concerning the general nature of the interactions between the Gumuz and the Oromo, the relationship between the two groups has a unique character that can be described by cooperation and conflict. In order to resolve conflicts, the two parties had also their own social networks

¹⁷² Dessalegn, "Resettlement in Ethiopia...", pp. 61-62.

¹⁷³ Wolde Selassie Abutte, "Resettlement as a Response to Food Insecurity: The Case of the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region...", p. 80.

¹⁷⁴ Alula Pankhurst, "Resettlement in Ethiopia: *A background paper*", (Addis Ababa University, 1988), p. 41.

integrate each other, such as *Michuu*, and others. However, the establishment of state farms in the area brought a negative impact on the existing social institutions.¹⁷⁵ The district is inhabited by people of different linguistic, socio-economic and cultural background. The inhabitants of the district included: Oromo, Gumuz, Wolloye, Amhara, and they had socio-cultural and economic interaction among themselves. Ethnic relations can be considered in various ways in different parts of the world. The relationships could be either positive or negative. The negative aspect of ethnic relations however, could be conflict among them.¹⁷⁶ The Oromo and Gumuz had a longer period of contact relatively than other ethnic groups in Saasiggaa district. The Oromo live in close contact with Gumuz in the low land area. They entered into conflict with the Gumuz due to raids and evictions. The major unresolved conflict between the two groups is the land, the former state farm lands (the study area), in which they claim to have the area under their administration, Kamashi zone of Benishangul Gumuz. Due to the federalist approach to our country and recent demarcation of the land in the study area, there are mixed *kebeles* of Gumuz and Oromo.¹⁷⁷

The indigenous Oromo of Saasiggaa district perceived that the Gumuz could cause drought by destruction of forests, called locusts according to Oromo perception and they also saw or considered Gumuz as they sent rats to destroy their crops using traditional medicine. Therefore, due to this perception, sometimes conflict has been happening between them. On one hand, there had also been close contact between Oromo and Gumuz through cotton trade relations. During that time, the relations of the Oromo in Saasiggaa district with the Gumuz people played a great role in providing cooperation which strengthened their relation. The Oromo were interested to adjust them to the new environment and this brought their good relation with the Gumuz of the area.¹⁷⁸ In addition to this, the economic interest of the Oromo people during the initial period of their settlement led to the formation of close relations in which they demanded cotton that was mainly produced by the Gumuz. The Oromo *michuu* (friend) institution started in the initial

¹⁷⁵ Aynalem, p. 51.

¹⁷⁶ Zelalem Teferra, "State Sponsored and Self-initiated Resettlement: Their impacts on the ecology of resettlement Areas, The case of Angar Gutin in Eastern Wollega", *In: Proceeding of 6th International conference of Ethiopian Studies*, (ed.) By Svein Ege, Harald Aspen, Birhanu Teferra and Shiferaw Bekele, Trondheim, (2009), p. 884.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ Aynalem, p. 54; Informants: Biratu and Amanu.

period of the Oromo settlements in Saasiggaa district. It was started that in the district the *michuu* institution which was practiced between Oromo and the Gumuz gradually stretched to the community of the settlers in creating close relations. From various traditional institutions important inter-ethnic relations emerged in the district.¹⁷⁹

In the area inter-ethnic relations marriage among the Walloyye, Oromo and Amhara people was practiced not with Gumuz in that district in the case of marriage it was not mainly applicable to the Gumuz of the district rather they were greatly treated by the *michuu* institution. With the exception of a few rural populations kept the cultural traditions in act most of the inhabitants of the Walloyye, in Saasiggaa district were assimilated to the Oromo culture through *madhichaa*. Various types of symbolic rituals were used in the adoption process.¹⁸⁰ Through this institution, the non-Oromo in Saasiggaa got equal protection and right with the Oromo farmers. On the other hand, those who opposed adoption were ignored and discriminated in the social interactions. For instance, it is impossible for them to sale their grain at the market. Moreover, there was also a pressure from the community to be adopted. In general, inter marriage was allowed between adopted community and the Oromo, which gradually brought complete assimilation because marriage facilitated the assimilation process.¹⁸¹

4.1.2. Relations between the Gumuz and the Re-Settlers

The relationship between the Gumuz and spontaneous settlers are characterized mostly by the hostility than friendly. Due to bad climatic conditions from their initial home bases, the re-settlers began to advance in to the Gumuz lands continuously for the sake of searching land and its resources. Their encroachments then created enmity with the Gumuz. Because of these and other related factors, the latter were being pushed from their original home villages towards the remotest areas of Saasiggaa. For instance, the Gumuz of Sooge, and other small villages were evicted from their land.¹⁸² Following the involvement of the elders from both sides, the day to day tensions and killing between the spontaneous settlers and the Gumuz timely minimized. However, no one was refrained its own hand from harassing one over another until their rifles were taken over by the government. Through the gradual process of change, the Gumuz and the

¹⁷⁹Aynalem, p. 54; Informants: Biratu and Amanu.

¹⁸⁰Informants: Takala and Sori

¹⁸¹*Ibid.*

¹⁸²Informants: Siyum and Biqila; Ayantu, p. 40.

spontaneous immigrants tried to develop their friendship bond through the *michuu* system. Therefore, the immigrants were said to have obtained plots of land from the former through this traditional institution. Since then, they both started to help each other during the times of difficulties.¹⁸³ When the settlers asked the Gumuz for assistance, for instance, the land for grazing and cultivation, the latter said ok, without changing mind and in return the former agreed to give support to the latter either in the form of clothing or sharing crops or special support during the summer seasons when the Gumuz lacked daily supply like food.¹⁸⁴

4.2.Social Interaction of the Re-settlers with the Host Communities

During *Derg* regime at the initial stage of settlement, language was a big barrier to communicate with the settlers, particularly at settlement sites in Badhaasaa Jaarsoo *kebele* due to the fact that, settlers were from a different ethnic group and culture. But, later on, the settlers tried to learn some words from the local language *Afaan* Oromo. In the same area of Balo site, through time, the local communities also learned Amharic words which enabled them to communicate with the settlers. As an indicator of interaction, the host communities from Badhaasaa Jaarsoo/Gotto site indicated that the settlers were mixed with the host communities even on the higher ladder of power (head of the local administration).¹⁸⁵

Although the social relationship between re-settlers and host communities was smooth in general, there were cases where conflicts were reported. The major causes of conflict were competition over scarce resources such as farmland, grazing land, and forest products. Prior to the resettlement program, the host communities were known for their forest honey production. But, after the resettlement, the amount of honey was reduced due to clearing of the forest for settlement or the forest land being owned by settlers as part of their farm land and the local communities were denied access to hang their bee hives in such areas.¹⁸⁶ On the other hand the settlers believe that the existence of honey bee around their farm the agricultural activity, particularly cultivation, more difficult. According to the information from Adaa Guddinaa site, the conflict case was reported when a group of Gomboo youngsters (host communities) claimed

¹⁸³Informants: Siyum and Biqila; Ayantu, p. 40.

¹⁸⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵Moti Jaleta, Mekonnen Yohannes, Adugna Tolera and et al, "Impact of Resettlement on the Livelihood, food security and Natural Resource Utilization...", p. 42.

¹⁸⁶*Ibid.*

that the settlement site belongs to their ancestors. Conflict due to cultural differences was reported from Baloo Bareeddu site due to the fact that each ethnic group wants to have a local administrator from its own group and there is a feeling of being discriminated by the other ethnic groups. The conflict with host communities was magnified with illegal settlers. At Adaa Guddinaa host communities used to harvest a considerable amount of forest coffee before the arrival of re-settlers. But, after settlers settled in the area, there has been a competition on the forest coffee collection. As a result, host communities indicated that the re-settlers were harvesting the coffee berries before maturity stage.¹⁸⁷

It was also reported that re-settlers sometimes cut the forest coffee-tree branches to reduce the labor required for collection, i.e., maximizing short term individual benefit at the expense of long term productivity of the coffee plants and communal benefits. This tendency had a significant adverse effect both on the quality and quantity of forest coffee collections. Whenever there is a conflict between the host community and the re-settlers, the local community from both sides played a vital role to resolve through its informal groups, which consists of elderly people and religious leaders. When conflicts are serious, local officials and administrative bodies (*Kebele* administration) were directly involved. But, it was mentioned such kind of cases were not common at the resettlement sites.¹⁸⁸ The government has conducted a series of sensitization meetings among members of the re-settlers and host communities before the implementation of the resettlement plan. The host populations initially welcomed the new arrivals, and provided them with food and drinks. However, members of host communities later argued that resettlement schemes were not implemented in accordance with previous agreements entered with government authorities.¹⁸⁹

4.2.1 Market and Local Public Meetings

Market places were also the main avenues where people of different backgrounds interact. Markets at the study area contribute to social interaction. Each *Kebeles* in the study site have their market days. The different market days at each *kebele* provides the community the opportunity to participate in the exchange of products. Government sponsored re-settlers mostly

¹⁸⁷ Informants: Badhasa and Nure

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid*; Ayantu, p. 41.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid*.

engages in the selling of khat to the merchants who in return sell it to the urban areas and the local consumers. The market of each *kebele* shows the heterogeneity of cultures and ethnicity in which the Gumuz and the host community (Oromo) and government sponsored re-settlers exchanges their products. The similarity of their ethnic background among the recently government sponsored re-settlers from east and west Hararge and host community plays a great role in minimizing the tension between them. In Saasiggaa, there are limited non-farming activities that can help the settlers and the host community as a source of interaction.¹⁹⁰

Non-farming activities are mostly conducted by women. The trading items of the re-settlers are vegetables, home-made tobacco, Khat and other food items. The women of the host community highly depend on production of local alcohol, (*areqe*) and other local products. *Areqe* is the main local product highly demanded by the neighboring Gumz community on the market days. In market places of each *kebele* in the study area, there are special huts for drinking *areqe*. The agreements on the land leasing and share cropping between the Gumuz and the host community also are discussed in these *areqe* houses. These *areqe* merchants are mostly female household heads and young girls. Some of the illegal settlers and government sponsored re-settlers also engage in the selling of manufactured goods in small shops in each *kebele*.¹⁹¹ On the other hand local meetings held in the study area helped the re-settlers and the host community to interact smoothly. The local meetings held on the study area have a great role in resolving the resource-related conflicts through discussion including the unresolved border issues with the Gumuz. The administration system and structure of the *kebele* also paved the way for their interaction.¹⁹²

4.2.2. Marriage Relations

Marriage is also the other most important bond building instruments among the communities. According to the works of Assefa on the inter-ethnic relation of the host Oromo communities of East Wallaggaa zone, Haro Addis Alem and the re-settlers from Amhara region, the social bonds of those re-settlers and the host community were not strongly tied and marriage relationship among those parties were conducted in rare cases. Refusing the marriage relationship was mostly noticed from the Oromo side. The same holds true in the study area, Saasiggaa *woreda*, as the host communities were interested in establishing marriage relationship with the re-settlers from

¹⁹⁰ Informants: Amino, Guta and Abdi; Ayantu, p. 52.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² Ayantu, p. 41.

the Amhara region. In the case of the Hararge re-settlers, however, there is a small scale marriage relationship and interaction created between the host communities and government sponsored re-settlers mainly attributed to their socio-cultural similarity.¹⁹³ Like any other Oromo groups, the communities in the study area have their own cultural, marriage practices as well as religion. Before the coming of the re-settlers to the area, marriage was conducted between the Oromo and Oromo or non- Oromo employees of the former state farm enterprise. With the coming of government sponsored resettlement to the area, the hosts started to establish marriage relationship with the newcomers. Marriage arrangements are very simple among the re-settlers. A marriage can be arranged between the couples or it can involve elders and other family members. Marriage is practiced by the host community in accordance with the laws of the area in which the two parties or the groom and the bride or agree to live together by signing a binding agreement. This type of marriage is commonly named as “*firma*” by the local community, which is the most accepted practice among the host community.¹⁹⁴

4.3. Expansion of the Re-settlers towards the Gumuz land

Movements of people particularly from the resource scarce areas to the areas that have relatively resource full have been one of the coping mechanisms in the long history of the country. Moreover, even nowadays, the movement has continued in search of alternatives to places where resources seem to be available. Population movement could often be considered as a natural response of human beings to various changes related to land and environment. A large number of people migrated to the area from different corners of the region.¹⁹⁵ The dominant groups were those who came from the northern part of Ethiopia, Amhara region and Oromiyaa zones. The major factor contributing to the migration is the land of the former state farm enterprises. Following the closure of state farms, the East Wallaggaa zonal administration distributed most of the land to the investors; an event that attracted many migrants to the area to work as daily laborers. Currently, the migration of people to the area is increasing due to development projects undertaking there, resettlement and investment programs. The movement is characterized as a

¹⁹³Assefa Tolera, “Ethnic Integration and conflict: The case of Indigenous Oromo and Amhara settlers in Aaro Addis Alem, Kiramu Area, North Eastern Wallaga”, (M A Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of Social Anthropology, 1995), p. 56.

¹⁹⁴Ayantuu, p. 41.

¹⁹⁵*Ibid.*

seasonal migration.¹⁹⁶The contact of the Oromo with Gumuz started as a result of land scarcity and population pressure in the highland areas. Consequently, the Oromo were forced to migrate to the low lands and river valleys not only for occasional hunting but also for the exploitation of the available land and other resources.¹⁹⁷The characteristics of Amhara migration to Gumuz land in the Saasiggaa district could be categorized under seasonal migration, in which they worked there during the rainy season until the coming of harvest period. Following the establishment of state farms in the area under study, the migration of the Amhara to Gumuz land aimed at searching for a virgin land.¹⁹⁸

The majority of re-settlers in the study area have engaged in farming the Gumuz lands based on the agreements between the two parties. It is one of the contractual agreements conducted between the two parties, in which they agree up on the major premises. This type of agreement is usually based on the willingness of the two parties. The individuals in the study area were required to pay the promised money before harvesting. The payment for the land takes place before harvesting the yield. However, there are a number of problems related to this agreement. Using Gumuz land through sharecropping is the dominant practice in the area.¹⁹⁹Community migrants (seasonal) used the Gumuz land through contractual agreement. The main problem of this activity is the occurrence of conflicts between the two parties. When the time of harvesting was in the Gumuz (land holder) was starts to confront with the share croppers by aiming to withdraw them from the land in order to have the yield alone. Re-settlers also engaged in the expansion in to Gumuz lands, because the land given to them is not sufficient for feeding a large number of families. A given household of re-settlers could have only two hectares of land, which only includes the areas surrounding their houses. As a result, they are forced to search for land in the Gumuz area.²⁰⁰

4.4. Views of Host Communities towards the Re-settlers

In almost all resettlement sites in Saasiggaa district host communities believed that resettlement has brought some positive changes, particularly in terms of access to infrastructure. But, they

¹⁹⁶Ayant, p. 42.

¹⁹⁷Tesema, "The Oromo of Wollega...", p. 15.

¹⁹⁸Aynalem, p. 49.

¹⁹⁹ Informants: Garoma and Zarihun Gamachu.

²⁰⁰*Ibid.*

were all worried about the prospects of having to accommodate unoccupied land in their locality. This was exceptional at Baloo Bareeddu where the host communities indicated low availability of farmland that could accommodate additional re-settlers. But host communities at Adaa Guddinaa and Badhaasaa Jaarsoo/Gotto sites expressed their concern about the pressure being created on the host communities by the resettlement program.²⁰¹

They said that if there is land they do not oppose resettlement of people from overpopulated and degraded areas. But they are against any additional settlers coming to their area. They indicated that there is no adequate land even for their children and that they also needed to be resettled elsewhere, if there is sufficient land. They also emphasized that continuing the resettlement program is likely to lead to further destruction of the remaining forests and wildlife, creation of loophole for illegal settlers, drying up of rivers due to destruction of forests, in turn forcing people to travel long distances in search of potable water.²⁰² Moreover, areas that could have been used for resettlement have already been allocated for private investors. They indicated that part of that land should have been allocated for needy landless farmers in the area. If that is done it could save further clearing of additional forest due to resettlement. The farmers also complained that the government structures, from *kebele* up to the higher levels, have not given due attention to the problem caused by the illegal settlers. Some of the host community members also associate some social problems such as rape of women and girls with the resettlement program. They indicated that such social problems were unheard of in the past.²⁰³

Resettlement sites are not problem-free. In some cases, re-settlers moved to new sites where there were no human settlements before. These places are well known for their lack of basic infrastructural developments like roads, safe water, health services, vet clinics, etc. Under such circumstances, it is expected that re-settlers have diverse problems related to their different and specific sites. As most of the resettlement sites are located in warm and humid lowlands, human and livestock diseases like malaria were the major health problems encountered at the initial stages of the resettlements. This is due to the fact that, the vegetation and the weather conditions of the areas are conducive for multiplication of mosquitoes and tsetse flies, vectors which

²⁰¹ Informants: Garbi and Kuma.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ Informants: Getachew and Lulu ; Ayantu, p. 63.

transmit malaria.²⁰⁴ It is worth noting that, a major problem at a given region or site could not be the same for the other. It is particularly important to note that, most of the re-settlers in Saasiggaa resettlement Balo site which is one of the recent ones, cited shortage of farmland as a major constraint. Although to a minor extent, a similar situation of shortage of farmland regarding the increasing human population was indicated as a problem in Milkii Guddinaa resettlement site. Thus, one may ask whether the resettlement program has achieved its target of providing access to improved land to the settlers. The host communities around Baloo resettlement have expressed their grave concern regarding the pressure created on the natural resources, particularly forests, trees and rivers of the area as a result of the resettlement program.²⁰⁵

They also expressed their concern that there is no room to accommodate their youngsters due to the increased pressure on the agricultural land. Shortage of grazing land was cited as an emerging problem. The host communities also expressed their disappointment with the resettlement program as they have been denied access to common use resources such as access to nearby forests where they used to cut handles for their farm tools. While resettlement has brought the aforementioned peripheral benefits to host communities as well, little deliberate host-community centered efforts were made to compensate for the loss of resources.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴ Ayantu, p. 63; Informants: Getachew and Lulu.

²⁰⁵ Informants: Dachasa and Bayisa.

²⁰⁶ Informants: Gudata, Biratu Akkuma and Faqada.

CONCLUSION

There was a resettlement process and ethnic relationship between the host community (former settlers) and the migrants from different parts of Ethiopia to the east Wallaggaa Saasiggaa district. The establishment of resettlement centers in Saasiggaa district during *Derg* regime and current government were the main factor for the problems currently unfolding in the area. In addition to the resettlement process in the district, the former establishment of state farm caused a high influx of highland Oromo communities and the Amhara migrants in search of jobs in the farms. This process eventually led to the heterogeneous character of the communities of the study area. Those settled in the area following the establishment of the state farms were predominantly Oromo communities who refused to leave the area even after the closure of the state farm.

There are also illegal settlers, who came to the area within their family, relatives, and friends. These illegal settlers have further aggravated the resource competition and conflicts among the hosts of the area and the government sponsored re-settlers in the area. The resettlement program does not consider the needs of the local communities of the area. The reason is that the government does not recognize these communities as legal inhabitants. The government insists that the local community have been compensated and had agreed to leave the area. That is why the government does not want to discuss with the communities about the resettlement programs implemented in the area. On the other hand, the local communities claim that the land originally belonged to them and argue that no compensation was given to them following the closure of the state farm. They claim to have been using the land until the coming of this government resettlement program. They have been also paying government tax for the agricultural lands they used.

However, the government officials argue that the land reserved for them is enough and decline to make any discussion with them about the resettlement programs. The consequence of this is that it led to competitions over resources between the re-settlers and the local communities of the area. The reason is that, the land given to the re-settlers have been used and farmed by the host communities for years before the coming of government sponsored settlements and illegal settlers. Before the implementation of resettlement program, the higher (regional) government did not make any assessment about the condition of the area. Instead, they relied on the report of

Woreda administration, which indicated that the land was free and unoccupied after the collapse of the state farms. This study shows that the resettlement program had lacked proper planning and implementation. Even, the re-settlers themselves complain that they are not satisfied with the implementation of the program. The study also indicates that the government's failure to fulfill its promises on various points increased the magnitude of their complaint towards the government. This also led to competition over natural resources and consequently to the arising of conflicts between the local communities and the re-settlers on the social service. Before they departed from their places of origin, the re-settlers were told by the government officials that they would be re-settling on free/virgin lands, which of course made them feel that they are the sole owners of these lands. This attitude of the re-settlers indeed made them assert a strong sense of superiority in the area. In contrast, it brought a feeling of powerlessness among the local communities of the area.

In addition to resettlement program, agricultural investment on its part affected the local communities' livelihood and aggravated the level of conflicts over natural resources in the study area. It made the local people landless as the land given to the investors also included the residence areas of the local communities, their grazing lands, and sites for their social services. In generally speaking, shortage of agricultural land, inaccessibility natural land, increasing human population to any other natural resources of the area eventually aggravated disagreement on the use of natural resources and working in co-operation between re-settlers and host communities.

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III. LIST OF INFORMANTS

No	Name of Informants	Age	Interview		Remark
			Date	Place	
1	Abdisaa Guddata (<i>Obbo</i>)	56	May/08/2020	Hora Guddina	He is good knowledge about settlement of Oromo people in the region and their administration in Saasiggaa district during the past regimes.
2	Abdii Mohamed (<i>Obbo</i>)	62	May 09/2020	Sanbata dure	He knows much about the re-settlers especially about those who came from eastern Hararge
3	Abdurhaman Nasiroo (<i>Obbo</i>)	69	June 01/2020	Sanbata dure	He knows historical back ground of re-settlers from eastern Harge in Saasiggaa district,
4	Ahimed Husen (<i>Obbo</i>)	57	May 08/2020	Hora Guddina	He know much about the introduction of Muslims in to Saasiggaa district, and the administrative system of the past regimes
5	Alamayyoo Ganatii (<i>Obbo</i>)	91	May 09/2020	Sanbata dure	He was one of the re-settlers come from Leeqa dullaachaa, he know more about the settlers come from neighbor provinces.
6	Amiin Mudasir (<i>Obbo</i>)	65	June 02/2020	Angar	One of the local re-settlers in Angar, he know very well about the condition of the re-settlers in the area.
8	Argataa Geetachoo (<i>Obbo</i>)	81	June 02/2020	Qarsaa Mojoo	He is one of the local settlers, he know the natural resources of the area.

9	Asrat Kabade (<i>Obbo</i>)	87	May11/2020	Gallo	He has important information about the introduction Orthodox and the role of missionary during the old regime in Saasiggaa district.
10	Bayyisaa Kasasaa (<i>Obbo</i>)	69	June 03/2020	Gammane	He is local settlers of the study area, he knows very well about the climatic condition the area under study.
11	Bule Nagasaa (<i>Obbo</i>)	75	June 01/2020	G/Janja	He knows about history of Saasiggaa and the relationship between Gumuz and Oromo peoples.
12	Bayu Duuressoo (<i>Obbo</i>)	48	July 08/2020	Nekemte	He is good informant, he knows about the Oromo's settlement in the Saasiggaa district and the administration of land in the border areas of Oromo and Gumuz.
13	Birratu Akkumaa (<i>Obbo</i>)	62	May 09/2020	Bredu	He is one of the re-settlers come from neighbor provinces, he know situation during resettlement scheme and after resettlement program.
14	Birasaw Fufa (<i>Obbo</i>)	52	July 07/2020	Sanbata dure	He is one of the <i>kebele</i> officials in Sanbata dure. He knows about the situation of State farm and the closer of state farm and resettlement.
15	Bayana Araga (<i>Obbo</i>)	83	June 03/2020	Odda	He is a good informant, he knows about peasant association, resettlement and all about the administration during the <i>Derg</i> and taxation system of the district.

16	Biqila Taganye (<i>Obbo</i>)	51	July 08/2020	Haro fola	He is one of government official who supported the re-settlers during resettlement Scheme.
17	Badhasaa Girmaa (<i>Obbo</i>)	65	May 12/2020	Qarsa mojoo	He has very good knowledge about the history of Saasiggaa district. He is a leader of peasant in the district.
18	Camadaa Qannoo (<i>Obbo</i>)	74	June 02/2020	Gallo	He has good knowledge about the early Oromo settlement in Saasiggaa district and new re-settlers in the area under study.
19	Caalaa Lataa (<i>Obbo</i>)	68	July 06/2020	G/Janja	He is one of the former host communities in the area
20	Caalii Yaadata (<i>Obbo</i>)	80	May 13/2020	Tokkumma	He is the owner of coffee farm lived in the area for a long period of time.
21	Dhaaba Fayisaa (<i>Obbo</i>)	76	June 16/2020	Hora Guddina	He is one of the local elder he knows most of the self-sponsored re-settlers who come to the area before re-settlement program.
22	Dareje Gammachuu (<i>Obbo</i>)	57	May 03/2020	Gallo	He knows more about the relationship between the re-settlers and host communities. And their competition over natural resources.
23	Dachasaa Kaffale (<i>Obbo</i>)	53	May 07/2020	Balo bareda	He is one may informant know about the process of resettlement which took place by recent government.
24	Daggafaa Beekumaa (<i>Obbo</i>)	64	June 05/2020	Angar	He is a good informant in the Angar area, he knows very well about the condition of re-settlement program at that time.

25	Fayisaa Alamu (<i>Obbo</i>)	56	July 07/2020	Gallo	He has good knowledge about the former religion of Saasiggaa communities. He is native in Saasiggaa district.
26	Faqqadaa Hayilu (<i>Obbo</i>)	71	July 07/ 2020	Gammane	He is one of the <i>Kebele</i> officials who participated through facilitating resettlement scheme during resettlement program.
27	Geetachoo Dojaa (<i>Obbo</i>)	58	May 04/2020	Tokkuma	He has good knowledge about the role of host community during resettlement program in the area under study.
28	Gammachuu Gannatii (<i>Obbo</i>)	56	May 03/2020	Sanbata dure	He is good informant, he knows about the agro ecology of the area before resettlement and after resettlement and its fluctuation.
29	Gaaromaa Nagaash (<i>Obbo</i>)	75	June 09/2020	Gotto	He is one of the re-settlers come from neighbor provinces, he know situation during resettlement scheme and after resettlement program.
30	Guutu Taraka (<i>Obbo</i>)	59	July 12/2020	Sanbata dure	He is a good informant, he knows about peasant association, resettlement and all about the administration during <i>Derg</i> and taxation system of the district.
31	Guutuu Tujubaa (<i>Obbo</i>)	60	May 06/2020	Angar	He has good knowledge about the early Oromo settlement in Saasiggaa district and new re-settlers in the area under study.

32	Garbii Tolaa (<i>Obbo</i>)	63	June 16/2020	Qarsaa moja	He knows the pre- condition of Saasiggaa district before resettlement scheme implementation in Saasiggaa district.
33	Guddataa Jannee (<i>Obbo</i>)	72	May 03/2020	Balo baredu	He has important information about the introduction Orthodox and the role of past regime in Saasiggaa district.
34	Hailu Dareje (<i>Obbo</i>)	64	June 05/2020	Angar	He knows about the background of the re-settlers in Saasiggaa district. Especially who come from east and western Hararge.
35	Ifaa Olumaa (<i>Obbo</i>)	87	May 02/2020	Tokkuma	He is good informant; he suggested the impact of resettlement process on environment as well as its effect on natural resources.
36	Kumaa Abdii (<i>Obbo</i>)	61	July 07/2020	Gallo	He is one of the agents in Administrative offices of Saasiggaa district for a long period of time, As result he knows much about the resettlement of Saasiggaa district.
37	Kalid Najib (<i>Obbo</i>)	56	July 07/2020	Balo baredu	He knows much about the introduction of Muslims in to Saasiggaa district and the implementation of resettlement program in the Saasiggaa district.
38	Kalil Abdo (<i>Obbo</i>)	63	June 09/2020	Oda	He has important information about the Classification of land in the district for the settlers during resettlement scheme. And other administration of the district.

39	Lulu Ambacho (<i>Obbo</i>)	74	May 05/2020	Angar	He is one of re-settlers community well know about the condition resettlement site and competition between re-settlers and host community over natural resources.
40	Lammaa Guteta (<i>Obbo</i>)	80	July 04/2020	Gotto	He is one of the re-settlers know the provision of social service for re-settlers during resettlement scheme.
41	Nure Mohammed (<i>Obbo</i>)	62	May 10/2020	Oda	He is one of the re-settlers in Odaa resettlement site he know the relation of re-settlers within their areas of origin.
42	Olaanaa Qannoo (<i>Obbo</i>)	56	July 11/2020	Gallo	He is one of the leader of protestant religion who know the early introduction and expansion of protestant religion.
43	Sayid Musa (<i>Obbo</i>)	69	May 7/2020	Balo bareda	He is one of the re-settlers come from eastern Wollo Dese area. He knows the process of resettlement during resettlement scheme and its advantage and disadvantage.
44	Shamsu Tsaga (<i>Obbo</i>)	82	June 13/2020	Angar	He is one of the re-settlers come from eastern Hararge. He knows the process of resettlement during resettlement scheme and its impact on them.
45	Siyum Guddataa (<i>Obbo</i>)	63	July 05/2020	Balo bareda	He is one of the leaders of Orthodox Christianity. He knows the early introduction and expansion of Orthodox religion.
46	Soorii Daannoo (<i>Obbo</i>)	65	May 08/2020	Tokkuma	He is one of the re-settlers who engaged on the coffee farm, he know

					very well agreement during coffee harvest.
47	Tadasa Hayilu (<i>Obbo</i>)	56	May 07/2020	Sanbata dure	He know very well about relation between re-settlers and host communities in the area under study
48	Takale Ababa (<i>Obbo</i>)	71	June 12/2020	Gotto	He is one of the local communities; he is follower of Indigenous Oromo religion. He knows early expansion of foreign religion and resettlement in Saasiggaa.
49	Tasama Gammachu (<i>Obbo</i>)	72	May 04/2020	Oda	He knows about the background of the re-settlers in Saasigaga district. Especially who come from east and western Hararge come to Saasiggaa district in the 2003/2004
50	Zalalem Sanbato (<i>Obbo</i>)	62	July 11/2020	Angar	He knows more about the relationship between the re-settlers and host community. And their competition over natural resources conflict with host communities.
51	Zarihun Gammachu (<i>Obbo</i>)	76	June 03/2020	Gotto	He is one may informant know very well about the process of resettlement which took place by recent government took place in the area under study.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1.A letter written from the Governor of Wallagaa, to the workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE) office in Nekemte on March, 10/ 1983 G.C.(1991). It is about religious dispute in the area

ጠየር 2869/1756
10/7 ቀን 1983

ለወለጋ ለሰ/አዛ/አሠፖ ስጦተ ጸ/ቤተ
ጎ ቀ ም ቷ ፡፡

ጉዳዩ ሃይማኖት ነገ በሆኑ ጉዳዮች ስለተፈጠረ ለሰጠገባባቸዎት
ከላይ በርዕሱ ስለተጠቀሰው በ25/6/83 በጠየር ወዘግ/979/11.።
የተጻፈልን ይመለከታል፡፡

በሌሊት ጉዳይ ስህተት ቀደም ከሌሎች የሚነሱት ም/ቤተ ጥር 2/1983
በጠየር H40_210/24 በተጻፈ ደብዳቤ በአገልግሎት ለሰጠገባባቸዎት የአምነት
ተቃራኒ መካከል ለሰጠገባባቸዎት እየተከሰተ በመሆኑ ተጠቅሶ ይህ በወገኖቻችን መካ
ከል የሚፈጠረው ለሰጠገባባቸዎት ከፍተኛ ቅሬታ ወደሚጠየቁት ሁኔታ ለገደብገገር
ከወላኑ መፍትሔ መፈለግ ጥገኛ ማድረግ አስፈላጊ መሆኑ የተገለጸለን በመሆኑ
ይህን ተግባር ስህተት ማፍትሔ በመፈለግ ሁኔታውን ለገደብገገ ማድረግ
እንደሚገባልን በ8/5/83 በጠየር 2241/1756 በተጻፈ ደብዳቤ 20 ምቹ
የለውኑን ለስተዳደር ጸ/ቤተን ለገደብገገ ማድረግ መሆናችንን ለማሳደስ፡፡

ኢትዮጵያ ተቀደም
8-03-07-83

ከሰጠገባባቸዎት ተሰማ
የወለጋ ለሰጠገባባቸዎት ሰጠገባባቸዎት
የሚፈጠረው ከሆነ

It is about the arrival of re-settlers from different zones to the area

ጥቅምት 9/709.ፎ

ለሕገግብር ባርታ ሥራ ድርጅት
አዲስ አበባ

በወለጋ ክፍለ ሀገር የሕዝብ ማሰራጨር በሌሎች ግዛቶች ለአሰራረው በፋሪያች ወይም ለሚያሰፍራቸው በፋሪያች በታ አገራዊነት በጠየቀው መሠረት በተጠቀሰው ክፍለ ሀገር ተገኝተን የተጠየቀውን አገልግሎት በቀጥታ ከ3/41/1 የኪቲት 16/699.ፎ በተጻፈው መሠረት፡

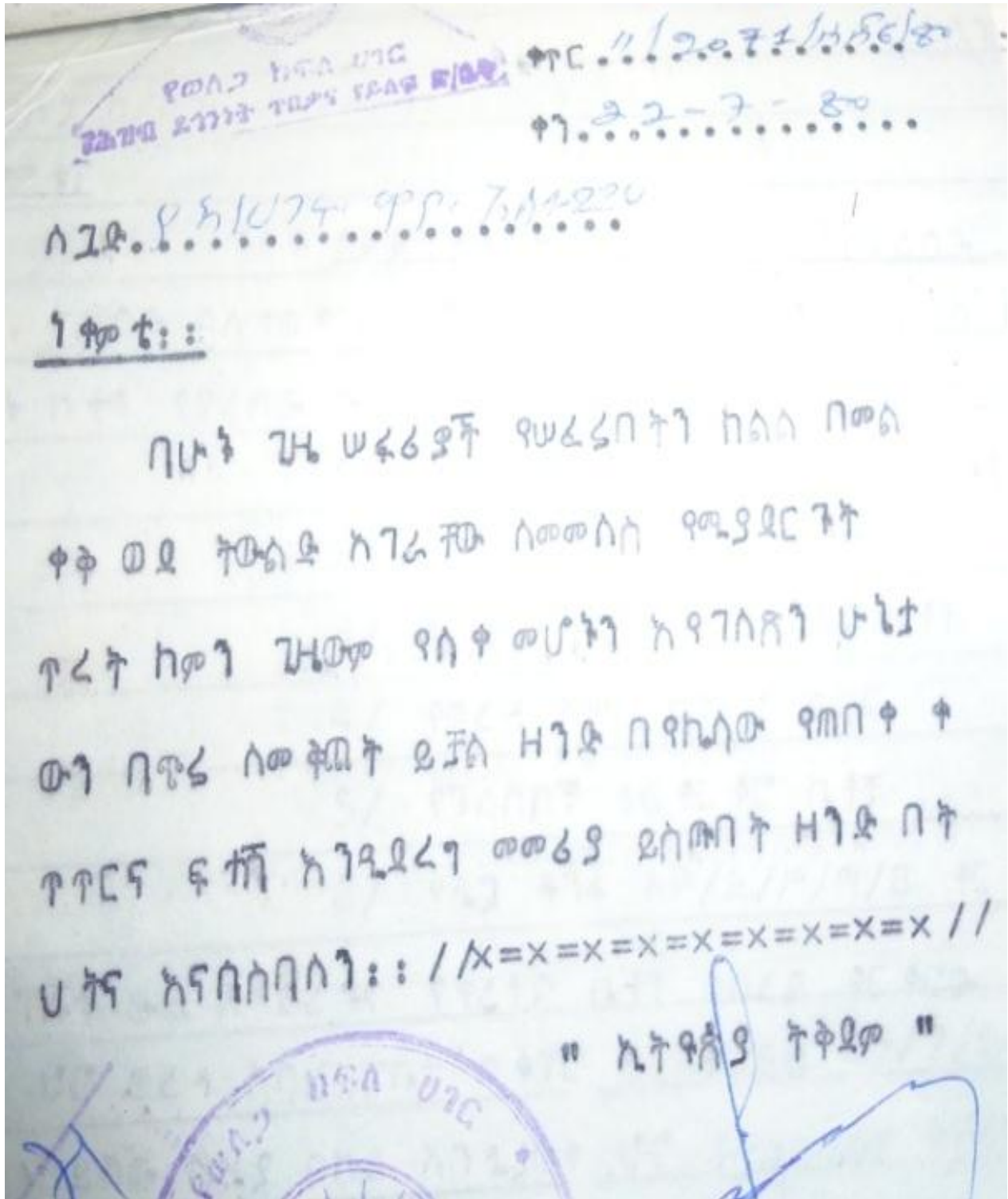
1ኛ / ልዩ ስሙ ቀርሞ የከተሰጠው በታ ወይም ለሚያሰፍሩት ለ50 በፋሪያች የሚሆነውን በታ ተቀይሮ የተገኘው 88 ህክታር ከ5608 ሜትር ካረ ከሆነው ውስጥ ለያገላ ገብ በፋሪያች ለቤት መሥሪያ የሚሆን 2000 ሜትር ካረ ለ50 በፋሪያች ተሸጋግሮ እና የውስጥ ግንባታ አጠቃላይን አስረክባል፡

2ኛ / ከላይ በተፈቀደ 1 በተጠቀሰው በታ ቀይሮ ገብ ለ200 በፋሪያች ለየአገላገላቸው የጋራ አርባ ተሰጦ ~~ፊ~~ ህክታር በቀያሰ ተሸጋግሮ ተሰጥቷቸው የነበረው አርባቸው ሲታረሱ ወሰኑ በመጥፋት አገልግሎት አገራዊነት በመሰረት የ200 ሰዎች ይዘቱ የነበረውን በድጋሚ በኪርታው መሠረት ተቀይሮ ወሰኑ ተደርጎ አስረክባል፡

3ኛ / አገገር ዲሞክራሲ ከመገንጠት አርባ አጠገብ የሚገኘው በታ 100 በፋሪያችን ለማሰራጨር የተቀደሰው መሠረት ለቤት መሥሪያ 500 ሜትር ካረ የጋራ አርባ 5000 ሜትር ካረ በድቅ የአገራዊ ስራ ድርጅት 5500 ሜትር ካረ ሲሆኑ ለ100 ሰው 550,000 ሜትር ካረ ወይም 55 ህክታር የሆነውን በታ ተቀይሮ የውስጥ ግንባታ ወጥተው ተሰርተው አገራዊ ስራ ተሸጋግሮ አልቋል፡፡

በ1 ተፈቀደ እና በተፈቀደ 2 ለተቀረጹት መሠረቶች የመሠረቱን አጠቃላይ

Appendix 3.A letters written from Wollega kifile Agar, on 22/07/80. It illustrate several new settlement sites opened in the area.



Appendix 4. Sasiga *woreda* disaster Prevention and preparedness office data, on 13/ 01/ 2020. It is about the illegal settlers settled in the area after re-settlement program in the area.

Ragaa Qubattoota Seeraan Alaa Gargaarsa Jala hin jirree

Lakk	Maqaa Gandaa	A/Warraa			Maatii			Ida'ama			Ibsa
		Dhi	Dub	W/G	Dhi	Dub	W/G	Dhi	Dub	W/G	
1	I/Bareedaa	615	81	696	1872	1811	3683	2487	1892	4379	
2	N/Cuddinaa	173	26	199	478	479	957	651	505	1156	
3	H/Baleo	267	46	313	831	781	1612	1098	827	1925	
4	B/Baleo	566	195	761	1131	1448	2579	1697	1643	3340	
5	M/Jaalataa	737	59	796	1324	1667	2991	2061	1726	3787	
6	H/Waataa	171	16	189	483	412	895	6012	448	3050	
7	O/Guddinaa	261	30	291	809	718	1527	1070	748	1818	
8	W/Shonkoorsa	358	22	380	817	756	1573	1175	778	1953	
	Ida'ama	3148	475	3625	7695	8092	15787	16231	8567	19408	

Ragaa Qubataa Seeraan Alaa W/G Aanaa Keenyaa

Lakk	A/Warraa			Maatii			Ida'ama			Ibsa
	Dhi	Dub	W/G	Dhi	Dub	W/G	Dhi	Dub	W/G	
	4706	610	4310	9113	9950	19063	12815	10541	23360	

Appendix 5. Sasiga district disaster Prevention and preparedness office data, on 13/ 01/ 2020. It is data of illegal settlers settled in the area.

Ragaa Qubattoota Seeraan Alaa Gargaarsa Jala Jiranii

Lak	Maqaa Gandaa	A/Warraa			Maatii			Ida'ama		
		Dhi	Dub	W/G	Dhi	Dub	W/G	Dhi	Dub	W/G
1	L/Bareedaa	215	27	242	606	857	1463	821	884	1705
2	M/Guddinaa	25	12	37	123	125	248	148	137	285
3	H/Baloo	66	12	78	124	192	316	190	204	394
4	B/Baloo	117	28	145	149	215	364	266	243	509
5	M/Jaalalaa	58	29	87	222	224	446	280	253	533
6	H/Waataa	37	4	41	87	107	194	124	111	235
7	O/Guddinaa	40	24	64	107	118	225	147	142	289
	Ida'amuu	558	136	694	1418	1838	3256	1976	1974	3950

Ragaa Qubattoota Seeraan Alaa Gargaarsa Jala hin jirree

Lak	Maqaa Gandaa	A/Warraa			Maatii			Ida'ama		
		Dhi	Dub	W/G	Dhi	Dub	W/G	Dhi	Dub	W/G
1	L/Bareedaa	615	81	696	1872	1813	3683	2487	1892	4379
2	M/Guddinaa	173	26	199	478	478	957	651	505	1156
3	H/Baloo	267	45	313	831	781	1612	1098	827	1925
4	B/Baloo	560	195	761	1131	1448	2579	1687	1643	3340
5	M/Jaalalaa	737	59	796	1324	1467	2791	2061	1726	3787
6	H/Waataa	171	16	189	433	412	805	601	448	1050
7	O/Guddinaa	261	30	291	809	718	1527	1070	748	1818
8	B/Shonkoorma	358	22	380	817	756	1573	1125	778	1903
	Ida'ama	3148	475	3623	7695	8092	15787	16294	8567	19408

Ragaa Qubattoota Seeraan Alaa W/G Aanaa Keenya

Lak	A/Warraa			Maatii			Ida'ama			Dha
	Dhi	Dub	W/G	Dhi	Dub	W/G	Dhi	Dub	W/G	
	1706	630	4219	9213	9290	19043	12815	10541	23260	

Appendix 6. Sasiga district disaster Prevention and preparedness office data, on 13/ 01/ 2020. It illustrates the support of non government organization (NGOs) for settlers during re-settlement in the area.

የጋራ ማዘንጊያ ለገር ውስጥ የደ/ጭ/ማመ/የግል ትራንስፖርት
 Kefel Mariam Mazengia Local in land Private Freight Transport

ጳ 0911-20 57 14/0939-09 34 52
 አዲስ አበባ , Addis Ababa
 የጭነት ማዘዣ
 FREIGHT ORDER

Date: 13/01/20
 No: 0132

ገንጠል 22 21A ተሳቢ 21 362 ጎን ቁጥር Side No. የመጣን ችሎታ በኩንግ Capacity

ጭነቱ የሚጓጓዝበት ቦታ

ክፍለ ሀገር Kefel Hager	መድረሻ Destination	ከተማ City	ክፍለ ሀገር Kefel Hager	አስጣኝ Shipper	ተረኪ Consignee
የጭነት ዓይነት Commodity	መጠን በኩንግ Quantity	ርቀት በኪ.ሜትር K.Meter	ታሪፍ በኩንግ Tarif		
V. 011	3.6A				
ገቢ Time	ቀን Date	ጭነት Sign	ወደ ተረኪ የደረሰበት Arrival	ቀን Date	ገቢ Time
			የተረኪ ስም Received Name	ጭነት Sign	
የኮንደንተር ስም Driver's Name & Sign	ተጨማሪ ግምገማዎች Additional Remarks				
ጭነት ስም Sign	ጭነት ስም Sign	ስም ራሱ የተጠናቀቀበት Dispatch Completed			
		2ኛ ኮፒ ለተረኪ 3ኛ ኮፒ ለሃላብ መጠየቅ			

Appendix 7. Sasiga district disaster Prevention and preparedness office data, on 13/ 01/ 2020. It illustrates the support of government organization for settlers during re-settlement in the area.

ሥራ ምክርቤት ለጥገና ጥበቃ ዘርፍ
 Ministry of Agriculture
 Disaster Management & Food Security Sector
 የዕቃ ወጪ ማደረጊያ
 ISSUE TICKET (A) LCY 01891

የምርመራ ቤት/የወንጌ ስጦታ ቤት
 Warehouse No. 5/10/10 የጥገና ቁጥር 11
 የምርመራ/የጥገና አይ.ኤም.ኤም. ቁጥር
 Job Order No. 11742
 የጥገና ቀን/ወር/ዓ.ም.
 Date 24/1/2020
 የጥገና ስም
 Name የምርመራ ቤት
 የጥገና አይ.ኤም.ኤም. ቁጥር
 Job Order No.
 የጥገና ስም
 Name
 የጥገና አይ.ኤም.ኤም. ቁጥር
 Job Order No.

የጥገና አይ.ኤም.ኤም. ቁጥር
 Job Order No. 2066
 የጥገና አይ.ኤም.ኤም. ቁጥር
 Job Order No. 372

የጥገና አይ.ኤም.ኤም. ቁጥር Job Order No.	የጥገና አይ.ኤም.ኤም. ቁጥር Job Order No.	የጥገና አይ.ኤም.ኤም. ቁጥር Job Order No.	የጥገና አይ.ኤም.ኤም. ቁጥር Job Order No.	የጥገና አይ.ኤም.ኤም. ቁጥር Job Order No.	የጥገና አይ.ኤም.ኤም. ቁጥር Job Order No.
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የጥገና አይ.ኤም.ኤም. ቁጥር
 Job Order No. 2066
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GLOSSARY

<i>Abbaa Gadaa</i>	leader of Gada
<i>Ancootee</i>	potato
<i>Areqe</i>	local bir
Arfee	the confederation of four
Awuraja	administrative unit; sub province
<i>Baddaa</i>	highland
<i>Badda daree</i>	middle highland
Cicataa	manure
Dagal saaqii	pioneer of forest
<i>Dallaa loonii</i>	kraal
<i>Digdamii afur</i>	twenty four
<i>Duree</i>	begin
Erbo	one fourth
<i>Gaagura</i>	hive
<i>Ganna</i>	summer, rainy season
<i>Gammoojjii</i>	low land
Guddifachaa	child adoption
<i>Gubataa</i>	former settlers in the resettlement site
<i>Gugataa</i>	re-settlers who are in a dilemma
Handhuura	core/center
Harma hodhaa	sucking the breast
Lafa gaaguraa	land to prepare hives and to produce honey
<i>Marxoo</i>	short skirt
<i>Maanguddoo</i>	elder
Madhichaa	adoption of a clan in to an Oromo ethnic group
<i>Michuu</i>	friends
<i>Qabiyyee</i>	possession

Qubataa	real settlers
Sadachaa	the confederation of three
<i>Sanbata</i>	Sunday
<i>Waaqa</i>	creator God
<i>Waradaa</i>	district

DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work, and it has not been submitted for any award. I also declare that all source material used for the thesis has been duly acknowledged.

Name: Moti Merga Debel

Signature: _____

Date: _____