Sharing System of the “Scarce Resources” in Southern Ethiopia

Toru SOGA¹

There are increasing the conflicts among the pastoral societies in East Africa. At the present day, the mass media tend to report that rival pastoralists compete for the scarce resources such as livestock, green pasture and water in the semi-arid region. Such a way of explanation is also common in the academic discourses. In other words, both scholar and journalist reproduce the dogma that pastoralists make conflict over scarce resources. However, no explanation has been done on what is the scarce resource in the pastoral society.

Introduction

The pasture and the water point are the important ecological resources for the pastoral people in East Africa. Previous research have revealed that the pastoralist have vast territory, and have specific ownership right of the water point or fruit tree (Galaty 1994). Numerous attempts have revealed that the pastoralist change their moving pattern in accordance with the seasonal change in the distribution and amount of the ecological resources (Evans-Pritchard 1940, Gulliver 1955, Spencer 1965). Thus, ecological resources are important that is directly connected with the pastoral behavior.

There is fairly general agreement that pastoral groups have competed the ecological resources. Evans-Pritchard (1940) describes the relationships between the Nuer and other ethnic groups over ecological resources as competitive. He explains that the Nuer “wars against Dinka tribes have been directed to seizure of cattle and control of pastures (16),” and “Nuer war with the Dinka has been almost entirely offensive and directed towards appropriation of herds and annexation of grazing grounds (48)”

As we have seen above, there is a strong image that the pastoralists are fierce and warlike over ecological resources. However, such an image as pastoralist compete the ecological resources is derived from the data when the pastoral societies were exposed to the expanding Ethiopian empire and the colonial invasion. Johnson (1981) reveals that the Nuer, which Evans-Pritchard describes as warlike, maintained a good relationship with neighboring Dinka just twenty-five years before Evans-Pritchard carried out his field research, and the belligerence of the Nuer had been made under the complex interaction between pastoral groups and the Anglo-Egyptian Government. This suggests that the pastoralist do coexist with other pastoral groups over ecological resources so long as the external power do not affect.

New concept of arid land suggests that there was a coexistence system among the pastoral societies. Before, the arid ecosystem was understood as the equilibrium system. In these years, it has been established that the arid ecosystem is nonequilibrium that characterized by capricious rainfall and heterogeneous distribution of the green

¹ Hirosaki University, Faculty of Humanities. 1 Bunkyocho, Hirosaki, Aomori 036-8560, Japan. E-mail: sogap@cc.hirosaki-u.ac.jp
pasture, and so on. The large fluctuation in climate or unpredictable drought was not
the exceptional case in the equilibrium system, but the common phenomenon in the
nonequilibrium system. The dramatic paradigm changes from equilibrium towards
nonequilibrium spotlight on the traditional pastoral system. For example, pastoralist
used to move their livestock to far off distant foreign lands to prevent the severe
drought. Such pastoral movement is now understood as an adaptation to the
nonequilibrium arid ecosystem (Ellis & Swift 1988). This also suggest that pastoralist
survive the severe environment by coexisting with other pastoral groups.

In addition, there are some studies that support the coexistence of the pastoral
societies. Spencer (1973) clarifies the broad symbiotic relationship between the
Rendille and the Sambru. Schlee (1989) clarify the changes of the ethnic identity
among the pastoral societies, and Gufu (1996) describe different ethnic people access to
the Boran's well by changing their ethnic identities. Kawai (2004) observes the Dodoth
work together with their enemy Turkana at the well after they make peace, while they
raid each other for robbing the cattle in wartime. There is a possibility that the
pastoralist coexist over ecological resources, while they raid for robbing the livestock.

Although the pastoral conflicts have been understood as the competition over
ecological resources, it is rare to write the coexistence, sharing, and mutual help
between the pastoral societies, except for these recent works. This paper aims to
provide the coexistence system among the pastoral societies, focusing on the pastoral
Gabra Miigo\(^2\) and the Boran in Southern Ethiopia.

The Dogma As Competition over Scarce Resources.

\(1-1. \ How \ the \ Pastoral \ Conflict \ are \ Described.\)

Let us start with how the pastoral conflicts are described in Mass Media, focusing on
two rival ethnic groups. They are the Gabra Malbe and the Boran. They are living in
both Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia. On 12th July 2005, there was a terrible
massacre in a small village called Torbi, in Northern Kenya. Early in the morning, the
well-armed Boran killed the Gabra Malbe villager. At least 76 people, including 22
children, were killed on the spot. BBC\(^3\) reports that the Gabra Malbe and the Boran
have feuded over water and pasture in the semi-arid region. Reuters\(^4\) also reports that
the fighting over scarce resources like pasture and water has been exacerbated by a
drought.

In June 2006, there occurred another conflict between the Boran and the Guji in
Southern Ethiopia. More than 100 people were killed, and 90,000 flew off. The Sudan
Tribune\(^5\) closes the article with the words that "Ethiopia’s arid southern region has been
a scene of repeated conflicts between pastoralist communities battling for scarce water
and pasture."

Judging from these articles, there is cliché that describe the conflict in the pastoral
societies. Many anthropologists presuppose this view. Those who wrote the

\(^2\) There are two groups identify themselves as "Gabra" along the border area between Ethiopia and
Kenya. One group lives mainly in Kenya and is called "Malbe" by the other Gabra group that lives in
Ethiopia; this Ethiopian group is called the "Miigo" by the Malbe. To avoid confusion, these two
groups are hereafter referred to as the Gabra Malbe (in Kenya) and Gabra Miigo (in Ethiopia).

\(^3\) http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4682117.stm

\(^4\) http://today.reuters.com/News/CrisesArticle.aspx?storyId=L06793993

\(^5\) http://www.sudantribune.com/article.php3?id_article=16160

358
ethnography of pastoral societies, innocently mention the scarcity of the green pasture, water, and labor forces.

1-2. *Question about the Dogma as Conflict over Scarcity Resources.*

However, this cliché is open to question. There are two questions arisen from both subject and object that concern this cliché.

The first is the object. Although many insist the scarcity of the resources, no one clarify what is really scarce in pastoral societies. We just regard such resource as water or pasture as scarce. As for Torbi of massacre, there is enough pasture, while no water. Precisely, the scarcity is difficult to define. That is comparative concept, determined by supply and demand. In case of the pastoral society, the degree of the scarcity of each ecological resource is changing depending on the season, place, the population pressure of both human being and livestock and the balance between the labor consumption and potential labor force. So, even if pastoralist make such conflict over scarce resources, it is still difficult for us to determine the real scarce resource over which they make conflict.

The second problem is the subject. The dogma as conflict over scarce resources circulates in biology and economics circles. In the biology circle, the actor who compete each other over scarce resource is the each individual. Therefore, it is difficult to apply the biological dogma to the ethnic based conflict, because the ethnic group cannot be the actor in biology circle. On the other hand, there are three kinds of actor who keeps accounts, such as the household, company and state, in the economic circle. In general, the pastoral society is regarded as the acephalous and has no institutionalized political leadership roles such as chiefs and kings. So, it is also difficult to apply the economic dogma innocently. Before applying the economic dogma, we should confirm that the concerned ethnic group have some institutionalized political leadership and calculate the some economic cost and profit.


In southern Ethiopia, there occurred many conflicts along the Regional State border area in these years. It offers the key to an understanding of how people are misled by this dogma for understanding the pastoral conflict.

The conflicts in southern Ethiopia were understood as the conflict over scarce resource. However, there is an important political background of these conflicts. Before 1991, the boundaries of the region were drawn along the natural divide such as big river. Thus, the region is not relevant to the distribution of the ethnic group. As for Somali people, they lived in three different regions in those days.

After EPRDF seized the power, they soon introduced the ethnic based federal system in 1994 and changed their regional boundaries. Thanks to this, the Somali people got their territory as a regional state of which shape roughly correspond with their living place. The regional boundary between the Oromia and the Somali State was provisionally drawn as the Fig. 1 shows. However, there are many Somali people living in the eastern Dirre area, where became provisionally an Oromia regional state. They are obliged to live under the Oromo administration.

The provisional boundary that allowed the Oromo’s annexation of this area triggered the Somali people’s opposition movement. The Somali began to attack the Oromo along the regional boundary between the Somali Regional State and the Oromia Regional State. For example, there occurred at least seven conflicts along the border area from 2001 to 2004. The Garre Somali attacked the Boran Oromo and the Guji...
Oromo, and at least seventeen people were killed. During a situation like this, local people began to understand such phenomenon as a resource conflict.

The Boran and Guji explain that the Garre Somali caused these conflicts to seize the land by chasing the Oromo people away from this area. It is regarded as the movement of territorial expansion by the Somali regional state. For example, they said that Garre Somali caused the conflict at Wachile in September 2001 in order to occupy the eastern side of the Wachile-Moyale road. As well, they said that the Garre Somali caused the conflicts before the local referendum that was held in October 2004. The government declared that the attribution of Moyale city, Arero town, and Wachile town to either the Oromia Regional State or the Somali Regional State would be determined by the result of the local referendum. They say the Garre Somali caused the conflicts for chasing away the Oromo people from the area to achieve a beneficial result in the local referendum. For maintaining the public order and security, federal government dispatched a troop to Southern Ethiopia, and tried to disarm the Garre Somali.

As we have seen above, the conflicts along the regional boundary are regarded by the local people as resource conflicts now. The Oromo people think that the Garre Somali have longing for expansion of their Regional State. In rivalry with the Garre Somali, the Boran Oromo and the Guji Oromo intellectuals also claimed their title to the land and water points. Now, the ecological resources such as land and water points became an object of exclusive occupation.

Moreover, we should not overlook the fact that the political post is now counted as an important resource. The intellectuals wish to obtain the political post such as governor, mayor, chief and other administrators. These political posts might be the real scarce resource. The local intellectuals, not only educated but also a person having a great knowledge of the national and international politics like a prosperous merchant, play an important role in a meeting. They understand the phenomenon in reference to the modern dogma as competition over scarce resource that circulates in the national and international politics. Consequently, they simplified the complicated concept of scarcity of resource and lump all ecological resources together, and regard them as scarce.

These conflicts over "scarce resources" differ from traditional raiding that aims to rob livestock of other ethnic groups. The conflicts in pastoral societies seem now indeed to be "resource conflicts" as Markakis (1998) described.

So far, we can sum up the distinct characters of conflicts in pastoral societies today. It is intellectuals who mostly live in the town that promote the conflict. They are absorbed in the expansionism, responding to the national policy such as federalism. They agitate people and rekindle the ethnic consciousness. While they show people that the land and water points are the scarce resources, the political post such as local administrator seems to be real resources that they wish to obtain. Thus, we can say that it is not pastoralist but the modern town living intellectuals who was born into families of pastoralist that make such conflicts today.

This drives us to the question whether pastoralists made conflict over scarce resources in past. For criticizing the dogma, and producing the academic counter discourse, we should study more on the past inter-ethnic relationship over ecological resources.
Reconstruct the Past Ethnic Relationship

From now on, we will examine the coexistence system of the pastoral societies over scarce water in past. First, let me explain the general information about focusing people, times and the method for reconstructing the past.

2-1. People

In Southern Ethiopia, the Gabra Miigo and the Boran lived in the Dirre, before. The Gabra Miigo are camel pastoralist, speak the Oromo language, have Oromo-Somali mixed culture. The population of the Gabra Miigo is estimated about 30,000. On the other hand, the Boran are cattle pastoralist, speak also the Oromo language, and they are proud of their Oromo culture. The population of the Boran is estimated about 200,000 in Ethiopia.

2-2. Focusing Times

We can reconstruct the past of Gabra Miigo by their accurate chronology (Soga 2006). According to their chronology, pastoral people in Southern Ethiopia prominently aroused their ethnic consciousness around 1963. There occurred a Robou war between the Garre Somali and the Boran in 1963-65. It was triggered by the Garre Somali who supported the movement “pan-Somalism” or Greater Somalia that aimed to unify the all areas populated by Somalis into one Nation, Somalia. Thus, our targeted time to analyze the ethnic relationship should be before 1963 to avoid the influence of the exclusive nationalism.

2-3. Method

Before reconstructing the past ethnic relationship, we should consider the appropriate method to reconstruct the past of preliterate oral society. In general, historian reconstructs the history of preliterate society from the past oral episodes as well as the colonial documents. The collective memory based on the past episodes has a framework of "narrative story." It is also structured by the opening and the ending as well as the plot line, and thus tends to neglect the trivial persons and events that are irrelevant to the plot line.

This method can reconstruct the "declarative" experiences. However, it is easily affected by the present political situation. Collective memory based on the “episode” is dynamically re-interpreting and re-constructing according as their political, economic, and social positions.

It is, however, not profitable for our purpose to reconstruct the past ethnic relationship. The Gabra Miigo today emphasize the cruelty of the Boran and how they have suffered from the Boran. So, we cannot depend on the collective memory based on the “episode,” otherwise we would reproduce their antipathy. Thus, we need another method for our purpose.

On behalf of the collective memory based on the "episode," I would like to propose another collective memory based on the "place." The collective memory based on the “place” has a framework of "scene" that is abundant with the trivial people, materials and events irrelevant to the plot line of story. Such detail data is useful to clarify the "non-declarative" experiences.

What's more, the collective memory based on the place seems to be unaffected by the present political circumstances, because it is far from the plot line of story. Thus, we can expect that the collective memory based on the place could reconstruct the past inter-ethnic relationship over ecological resources.
Massive Well Cluster in Southern Ethiopia.

We are now able to reconstruct the past ethnic relationship. Hereafter, we concentrate on the sharing system of the massive well clusters around Dirre area in Southern Ethiopia.

3-1. Dirre Area and Tula Massive Well Cluster.

There is no available river in dry season in Dirre area, and also the ground water level is quite low. Thus, people dug the massive wells, and have maintained for hundreds years. The massive well that has an exhaustless supply of water is called *tula*. Many *tula* wells gather in the groundwater veins that are unevenly distributed in Dirre area.

It is the Boran that possess the *tula* wells, and their ownership right is grounded in myth. On the other hand, the camel pastoralist the Gabra Miigo do not have ownership right on these wells. The Boran have a segmental society, and have some clans. Each clan collectively has an ownership right of *tula* well. For example, there are twenty *tula* wells in Igdali. These twenty *tula* wells have their own name, and each clan collectively own it. The Boran have developed unique rules for managing *tula* well. For example, they have two kind of manager of each *tula* well: the *qonfi* and the *hereega*. A man known as *qonfi*, or caretaker has a responsibility for maintenance and repair of the *tula* well, while a man known as *hereega*, or distributor who is appointed by *qonfi* has responsibility for managing the users.

The *tula* well is quite massive construction. There dug a sloop for guiding livestock downward, and the soil mounded around. The guide sloop is as long as 100-150 meters from the gateway to the body of the *tula* well. Both sides of the guide sloop are precipice, thus, it is encircled by the fence to prevent the stray livestock fall into the guide sloop from the ground.

On the watering day, the herd of cattle brought in a *tula* well is held at the gate. Both sides of the gate are tightly put a wood fence to prevent and control the rushing thirsty cattle. The gatekeeper allows 10-15 cattle going to the well at a time. Going downward the narrow guide sloop, you can find the hall. Here, you can give your cattle water. At the end of the hall, there is a trough made of clay. Lined cattle drink water from the trough. Beyond of the trough, there is the main body of the well. The mouth of the well is very small, and it is very deep. The ground water level is so low that the bottom of the well reaches 30-40 meters from ground. From six to twelve workers get into the main body of the well, and draw the bucketful of water in relay. In total, thirty to sixty workers are needed for watering livestock, because some should control the rushing thirsty animals at the gateway, some should care the watering livestock at the hall, and others should draw water. I would like to emphasize the exhausting labor of the watering day.

3-2. Sharing Water between Boran and Gabra Miigo.

From here, let us examine the coexistence system between the Boran and the Gabra over the *tula* well, based on the collective memory based on the place.

3-2-1. Inter-Ethnic Relationship

Gufu (1996) reveals that there were three ways for utilizing *tula* wells by different ethnic groups. First, individuals could access to the *tula* wells, if he became a clan member of the Boran through a certain ritual ceremony. Second, the other ethnic group’s clan or lineage could access to the *tula* wells, if they affiliated to a particular
Boran clan. Third, those who had patron-client relationship with the Boran could access to the *tula* wells.

As Gufu reveals, the Boran did not possess their wells exclusively. The *tula* wells were semi-open for other ethnic groups through three ways.

For the moment let us look closely at the first and second indications. In a narrow sense, the Boran do not seem to allow other ethnic people or group to access the *tula* well unless they become the Boran. However, the Boran sometimes allow other ethnic people to access to the *tula* well, although they do not become the Boran. As Schlee (1989) clarified, there are many inter-ethnic clans among the pastoral societies in Horn of Africa. People have been moved freely across the permeable ethnic boundary and they established the inter-ethnic relationship by creating the new lineage, or affiliating with particular clan. This is important, because pastoral people can utilize this inter-ethnic relationship to access to *tula* well without changing their ethnic identity. Schlee (2004) suggests the existence of cross-cutting ties, or inter-ethnic clans opens up the possibilities for the pastoral people to access to the well, although it cannot always succeed.

Judging from the above, the Gufu’s first and second indications imply an existence of wider sharing system among the pastoral societies.

### 3-2-2. Patron-Client Relationship

Turning now to the Gufu’s third indication: patron-client relationship. As for the Gabra Miigo, they use mainly this way to access to the *tula* well. Let us examine the patron-client relationship between the Gabra Miigo and the Boran, by the collective memory based on the place, taking special note whether the Boran strictly apply this rule. I interviewed a Gabra Miigo man who was born in 1940. In 1961, he stayed near Web in Dirre area and use the tula well called Gorooto. I asked him many questions, focusing on the many places of the well. When I asked the watering scene at the hall of the well, he answered me that they watered cattle in three days cycle. Then he remembers the watering scene of first and second day of the watering cycle. The table 1 shows the users of the Gorooto well of the first day and Table 2 also shows the users of the second day. The Name shows the owner of the cattle herd. The names are arranged in the order of watering. Camel watered after cattle. There are sharp contrast between the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Clan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dana Boru</td>
<td>Boran</td>
<td>Kanyu</td>
<td>Wako Doba</td>
<td>Boran</td>
<td>Kanyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godane Gali</td>
<td>Boran</td>
<td>Kanyu</td>
<td>Jib Age</td>
<td>Boran</td>
<td>Kanyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gugale Wachile</td>
<td>Boran</td>
<td>Kanyu</td>
<td>Dur Azero</td>
<td>Boran</td>
<td>Kanyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adano Jilo</td>
<td>Gabra Miigo</td>
<td>Magale</td>
<td>Boro Ado</td>
<td>Boran</td>
<td>Kanyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yami Aga</td>
<td>Boran</td>
<td>Kanyu</td>
<td>Wako Dula</td>
<td>Gabra Miigo</td>
<td>Adolilo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wato Liban</td>
<td>Boran</td>
<td>Kanyu</td>
<td>Boro Jaw</td>
<td>Boran</td>
<td>Kanyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godane Adi</td>
<td>Gabra Miigo</td>
<td>Kabelet</td>
<td>Daacbacha Dide</td>
<td>Gabra Miigo</td>
<td>Adolilo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borna Bescia</td>
<td>Gabra Miigo</td>
<td>Magale</td>
<td>Gugale Gaukela</td>
<td>Boran</td>
<td>Kanyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chafa Gaye</td>
<td>Boran</td>
<td>Kanyu</td>
<td>Jib Ano</td>
<td>Gabra Miigo</td>
<td>Adolilo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dilo Racca</td>
<td>Gabra Miigo</td>
<td>Magale</td>
<td>Jib Gay</td>
<td>Boran</td>
<td>Kanyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdi Boru</td>
<td>Gabra Miigo</td>
<td>Artawin</td>
<td>Ali Boru</td>
<td>Gabra Miigo</td>
<td>Kowa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdi Achana</td>
<td>Gabra Miigo</td>
<td>Kowa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Boran and the Gabra Miigo in the varieties of their clan. All of the Boran users belong to Karayu clan, while the Gabra Miigo belongs to different clans.

Table 3 is made up by these two tables, and shows the percentage of the users arranged by clan. The Gorooto well is collectively possessed by the Karayu clan, and all of the Boran user belongs to Karayu. So, the Boran seems to use their well. On the other hand, the Gabra users consist of six clans. Though I cannot check all of these men, because they are scattered over a large area, at least three of them have no patron-client relationship with the Karayu clan of Boran. Only those who are Adotile clan have patron-client relationship with the Boran. Although, it is partial data, this is important.

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boran</td>
<td>Karayu</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabra Miigo</td>
<td>Magale</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kowa</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adotile</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kabarier</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uhroot</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Clan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mobareto Dolo</td>
<td>Gabra Miigo</td>
<td>Kowa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edin Utbe</td>
<td>Gabra Miigo</td>
<td>Kabarier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julo Debele</td>
<td>Gabra Miigo</td>
<td>Kabarier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gila Gojgu</td>
<td>Gabra Miigo</td>
<td>Kowa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasare Guyo</td>
<td>Gabra Miigo</td>
<td>Atenko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isako Jilo</td>
<td>Gabra Miigo</td>
<td>Uhroot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abudo Atane</td>
<td>Gabra Miigo</td>
<td>Kowa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jarde Tache</td>
<td>Boran</td>
<td>Maliyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jarde Ula</td>
<td>Boran</td>
<td>Maliyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarri Liban</td>
<td>Boran</td>
<td>Maliyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumale Sora</td>
<td>Boran</td>
<td>Karayu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Let us now return to table 1 & 2. These tables clearly show that the Boran watered their cattle before the Gabra Miigo. It was a result of the competition. People wanted to avoid watering their cattle in the evening, because on the way to a settlement, the wild beasts such as lions often attacked the cattle in night. So, they competed to watering cattle earlier than others. To achieve this, they tried to influence hereega, or distributor by bribery such as goats. The Boran who keep a lot of cattle that is needed watering every three days more eager water than the Gabra Miigo who rather keep camel that can survive more than nine days without water. However, those Gabra Miigo who kept a lot of cattle joined to this competition. Here, we just need mention that it was household who join this competition, according as their pastoral situation. Ethnic group was not the actor who competed water in those days.


Now, there is a further point that needs to be clarified. The Boran approved the Gabra Miigo who have patron-client relationship for utilizing the tula well. However, if the Gabra ride freely on someone's patron-client relationship, such an approval becomes meaningless, especially if they wish to exclude non-related persons. Why did the Boran also approve such free riders?
The answer is in the table 4. This table shows the workers who draw water together at Gorooto well. The Gabra Miigo cooperated with the Boran in drawing water from the well. From the view of the Boran, it is profitable for them. As I mentioned previously, the tula wells are so deep that many labor forces are needed. Watering livestock is exhausting labor. People should prepare more people as pool of workforce. So, the Boran needed the Gabra Miigo labor forces.

This fact implies that the scarcity of the labor forces was bigger than that of water for the Boran. A Gabra Miigo man says, they boycotted drawing water, if there occurred some misunderstandings or problems between the Gabra Miigo and the Boran. Such words also reinforce this implication.

Lastly, we focus on another scarce resources; that is green pasture around the well. The each well cluster is separated from by 15-40 kilometer, and thus, people can widely use pastures as a whole in Dirre area. Looking closely at the ecological facts, however, settlements gather around the well cluster and the pastures around the well cluster tend to be poor condition. Especially, affluent water of the well clusters such as Web, Igdali and Daas in central Dirre area attract more livestock, which cause overgrazing and therefore there lack pastures, while the pastures around the well clusters such as Igo, Gorile and Dubluk in western Dirre area where there are small amount of water is rather better (Gufu 1998:20). There was a shortage of pasture in the central Dirre area where the Gabra Miigo and Boran coexisted. So, we have another question whether the Boran competed over pasture around the well to which they allow the Gabra Miigo access.

The competition over pasture was avoided by the spatial compartmentalization. Helland (1980) suggests that the Boran settlement locate within a 15 kilometer radius of the well and they take cattle for day-trip herding within a 15 radius of the settlement. The Gabra Miigo settlement locates further from the well. They say that the Boran are supposed to live near the well, because the calf cannot walk a long distance. The calf constitutes a limiting factor for the Boran of the residential pattern. The Gabra Miigo also have small number of cattle. They can, however, carry enough water for their calf from the well to their settlement by camel. The Gabra Miigo can use pastures further from the well. As a consequence, the Gabra Miigo and the Boran are spatially compartmentalized and they can avoid the competition over scarce pastures around the well.

4. Conclusion
To sum up, the patron-client relationship also give other people a stepping stone to access to the tula well. In exchange for Boran’s favors, the Gabra Miigo provided labor forces. Lastly, I wish to add little more information and try to criticize the dogma as “conflict over scarce resources.”

In past, the Gabra Miigo and the Boran developed a flexible inter-ethnic relationship. However, their ethno-scapes were different each other. From the Gabra Miigo’s viewpoint, the patron-client relationship provided a great opportunity to access to the tula well. Even those who had no patron-client relationship could be free riders. On behalf of that, the Gabra Miigo provided their labor forces.

From the Boran viewpoint, the patron-client relationship was important when the qonfi, or caretaker began repairing tula well in large scale. On such occasions, the clan members of the Boran were supposed to donate their livestock as a food for the
repairing workers. The Boran also distributed a certain amount of repairing expense to the client Gabra Miigo. The patron-client relationship clearly shows the extent of the responsibility for this duty. On the contrary, the Boran approved even non-related Gabra Miigo in daily use, just because of their labor forces.

Now, we can say, pastoralists developed the sharing system of the ecological resources in past, and the dogma as pastoralists make conflict over scarce resources is doubtful. Also, as I described in section 1-3, it is those town intellectuals that have realized and simplified the phenomenon by this dogma. Again, they are the one who have realized this dogma in the pastoral societies today.

Lastly, I'd like to mention a little bit about the theory for future coexistence. When I visited at the border city Moyale in August 2006, I found a lot of friends became refugees. They were chased away from their homeland by the Guji Oromo. The same observation applies to this case. Behind of the back, there was a politician who agitated the pastoral Guji. We should not overlook that this dogma have high affinity with the conflict, and both the mass media and scholar reproduce this dogma. It is very harmful to reproduce the dogma out of hand. We should rather produce the counter narrative, or academic statement that reveals the coexistence of the different ethnic groups and their sharing system over scarce resources.
References


