Anthropological Approaches to the study of Power and State formation and the relevance for the study of Development Intervention: Case Study of the Lower Omo Valley, Ethiopia

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Abstract: This article examines the development intervention and its impacts from the perspective of the concept of power and state formation. It looks into the dynamics of power and how it is played out to control the population and territorial integrity in the lower Omo valley of Ethiopia. The data was collected through in-depth interview, Focused group discussion and Observation during one year field work in the Study area. The findings show that the national state of Ethiopia and its system of governance continuously applied to control the agro-pastoralist population and the territory in the peripheries of Ethiopian lower Omo valley. This project of control and domination was carried out through development intervention as a civilizing mission to settle the unsettled pastoralist population. However, as power always encounters challenges this move of the state encountered resistance from the local communities which was later crushed by the state technology.

Keywords: Development Intervention, Power, State formation

I. INTRODUCTION

The question of power and state formation is so complex due to the elusive nature and dynamism of state and the spread of power in multiple dimensions. However, anthropological approaches to the study of power and state formation are relevant for the study of development intervention that is planned from above and implemented at the grass roots level. As a socioeconomic and political phenomenon development is embedded in the relationship of power and reproduced through different discourses based on ideology and hegemony. It also involves different institutions of power such as state or non-state institutions and actors such as development planners, implementers, the political leadership at lower levels and the local people with different structures of power. Furthermore, as a practice development comprises techniques of governance such as policy, planning, strategy and managed by the state institutions which are part of the apparatus of the state power.

This article elaborates and argues how development intervention is originated through the process of othering(the "poor", the "primitive", the "pastoralist" etc) and it is related to exploration, travel, exhibition and fair, and the process of empire building or the nation state in the 19th c Europe. Before they ventured out to experience the others in their original forms and places the Europeans built models and representations in their urban centers sometimes creating a kind of human zoo. According to Timothy Mitchell (1989) the 19thc Europe developed a new notion of the relation between representation and reality looking the "World-as- exhibition". The cultural exhibitions and fairs included ethnic villages designed to demonstrate the life of foreign cultures to the Europeans who later became travelers and colonizers, and the later day gazers of other cultures but keeping their own cultural 'superiority'. As Paul Tenkotte (1987) showed foreign cultures were considered as simple amusements as "kaleidoscopes" and the natives who were represented in the exhibitions were paid to have their pictures taken by the visitors. This shows how strong the link is between contemporary development and the otherness is related to the past. The representation in the exhibitions of the 19thc or the current development policy documents and plans not only objectified the others but also showed how power works through representation. As Europeans arrived in the 'Orient' after experiencing copies and models, as Timothy Mitchell (1989), puts it the modern day development advocates go to their destinations after gazing copies of the poor and primitive in pictures, museums, travel books, maps and the internet, looking for the original and to have direct physical contact with the 'exotic' the 'bizarre' and the 'erotic'. On the other hand, the representation of different cultures shows the idea of the states to be formed and controlled through colonialism and domination. One of the living examples of how nationalism and national identity was played out against the exotic other is the celebration of Norway's constitution. In 1914 when the 100th anniversary of Norway's constitution was celebrated a Congo cultural village was erected in Oslo. Similarly in the year 2014 a Congo village was

recreated in Frogner Park in Oslo for 200th anniversary of the Norwegian constitution. In such cases the event of the nation state used the same imagery of the savage other to consolidate itself. The development intervention of the now donor countries such as Norway is based on such imaginary and imagery of the other.

The activities of development intervention in the so called the third world are the transmutations of colonial past of othering, from the age of empires and it considers the way of life of other cultures as exhibitions not in the European urban centers as in the past but in their own places of existence. This is because of power which gives a privileged position to represent the others. Through development intervention the others (the backward) the poor, the illiterate are created and defined. The position to define through discourses indicates the nature of power involved in the very definition.

The immanence of power in every human relationship is affirmed by the expression that human beings are political, economic and social animals, which indicate that power cannot be simply reduced to a particular condition of human existence. Power is one of the fundamental aspects of human relationships and the dynamism of power in any society is the focus of anthropological studies of power. Anthropologists, defined power in different ways ranging from physical domination to symbolic power and empowerment and thought power as a human agency and influence reflected in various aspects of life. Some of these approaches emphasized on the notion of totalizing power, hegemony to think about the pervasiveness of the institutionalized power (Mcglynn & Tuden 1991).

Many anthropological studies of the dynamics and institutions of power until recently are characterized by the Western bias in which other systems of power usually described as variations or alternatives found in Western Industrial settings (Barfield, 1997). Due to this the study of power has been influenced by the issues of order and need for the state, which for early anthropologists related to the imperial dominance of the west, which also led to the emergence of anthropology.

The early anthropological investigation of power focused on the so called "stateless societies" through which anthropologists wanted to understand the structures of power and maintenance of social order. One of the classic examples of such anthropological study of power was the work of Evans-Pritchard on the Nuer (1940), in which he showed that forces in kinship and other social processes prevented a need for state in promotion of order implying that state forms are more a potential in particular historical circumstances as in invasion or colonial conquest of non-states systems.

Similarly many of anthropological studies of political processes and power in non-state systems based on the western state perspectives considering that the state systems as a "higher" political form. For example Pierre Clastres (1987) argued that many non-western systems of power are clearly directed against the emergence of centralized political structures or accumulation of power by certain individuals, because they recognized the socially destructive power of the state system.

In the study of power, many anthropological descriptions of political systems and power structures work within western models usually derived from Durkheim, Weber and Marx (Barfield 1997). However, in the later periods anthropological approaches increasingly emphasized on different cultural understandings of power and how it is obtained. For example, Dumont (1970) writing on Hindu India, argued that power rooted in such hierarchical institutions as kinship and caste is acclimatized within existing religious and ritual principles. Similarly, Clifford Geertz (1980) in his study of Bali has argued that centralized state understandings of power perceived from western historical viewpoints are "inappropriate". According to his argument in such non-European society power as might is more in command of local lords, who are "legitimated" through the spectacle and magnificence of the cosmic rites of the kings that are positioned at the center.

Furthermore, other anthropological studies of power concerned with exchange, interactionist or transactionalist perspectives to explore various institutional formations of power and imbalances of exchange, control and distribution of material wealth. One of such studies of relations of power was demonstrated by Fredrik Barth (1959), about the changing dimension of power alliance among the Swat Phatans and Edmund Leach's (1954) investigation on the shift between non-egalitarian and state-oriented hierarchical political institutions among the Kachin of Highland Burma. Both studies attempted to develop approaches that gave importance to the process of power in social institutional formations and production of values.

Recently, the perspectives of Marshal Sahlins and Pierre Bourdieu attained prominence as anthropological approaches to the study of power. For example, Sahlins (1985) has addressed the question of cultural forces which involved in the interaction and transformation of uniquely constituted cultural formations of power, which are important in understanding the cultural production of power and the effect on practical action.

On the other hand, Bourdieu (1977) articulated a more pragmatic position on the question of power than Sahlins. Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic power and violence have been influential in many anthropological works. Through symbolic power he has explored the regulatory and destructive sources of power that are situated in the institutional practices but may seem normal, progressive or disconnected from central apparatus of the state power. His examination of the "hidden" or invisible practices of power illuminated

the distinction between the symbolic power and the aspect of power exercised by the agents of official power positions.

The other recent influential work on the anthropological study of power is Foucault (1973, 1965, and 1977). His empirical works on medical discourses and forms of human incarceration and surveillance influenced many of anthropological studies of power. This is immanent in anthropological discussions of power discourse as in gender and ethnic identity, nationalism and colonial practices (1980). He clarified the constitutive and restructuring dynamics of power in multiplicity of discourses or practices that do not seem to be officially part of the institutions of government. For example, the discourses of medicine and crime regulation both as paralleling the discourses related to the creation of modern-day political system and mechanism of control.

Furthermore, in his later works Foucault, especially in the work related to the birth of bio politics, he coined the concept of governmentality to analyze power through historical construction or genealogy from Ancient Greece to the modern neo-liberalism. In his investigation of the "microphysics" of power, he showed power as strategic game, signifying the possible field of action of 'Others' (Foucault 2010). According his analysis of power governmental technologies exist between the games of power and the state of domination, which is a certain kind of power relationship that is constant and hierarchical, stable and challenging to reverse. In this case the technologies of government indicate the systematization, stabilization and regulation of power relationships that possibly lead to a state of domination and government which ranges from governing the self (technology of self) to governing "Others".

The anthropological studies of power are supported by ethnographic works, showing great variability of formations of power, yet there is no totalizing grand anthropological theory of power which is applicable to different systems and practices of power.

On the other hand, the anthropological studies were slow to undertake the state as an object of investigation due to its perceived nature, as the existence of the state is questioned as real or imagined. Regarding the problematic nature of the concept of the state (Krohn-Hansen & Nustand 2005), suggested that " the idea of what constitutes a 'state' not only contested: usage is also flexible, dynamic and far from uniform-hence the many adjectives applied to the state, ranging from 'capitalist', 'expansionist', 'totalitarian', 'democratic', 'bureaucratic' 'socialist' to 'postcolonial', 'soft' 'patrimonial', 'collapsed' and so forth. To be able to grasp the state analytically, we need some conceptual tidying up". Similarly Timothy Mitchell (1991) showed that, the state has always been difficult to define and delineate its boundary with society due to the 'elusive', 'porous' and unstable nature of the state. However, state and power are intertwined processes in the formation of the social and entrenched in the lived realties. As (Kapferer & Bertelsen 2009), discussed "power, no less a social fact than the state and continually created in social processes and always in excess of which the state can command or control…"

So much so, that state as a political assemblage endowed with various forms of power emerged in different ways in different regions of the world. Within state structures various hierarchies of offices which are related with specialized institutions of power are financed by political economy. In the complex societies states are characterized by social stratification and encompass the governing political and administrative institutions. States organize large population in hundreds of thousands or millions (Johnson & Earle 1987) usually representing many ethnic groups with unique historical traditions, economies, religions and cultures. To unify such a diverse population demands elaborate and specialized institutions of governance and domination which include administrative bureaucracies, legal systems and military and religious organizations each representing different sources of power; economic, political, military and ideological. However, the degree of sophistication and the interrelationship is different from state to state. For example as perceived by Wittfogel (1957) 'Oriental despotism' was based on strong centralized system and the state developed large scale irrigation system which enabled it to control other institutions of power.

However, many of earlier anthropological studies of state formation have emphasized on explanation of the "Origins" of state society or "civilization" (Flannery 1972; H. Wright 1978) than function of state apparatus of power. For example some such studies stressed the central management or coercive power of states (Service 1975), where the question of survival necessitated centralized management which could only be provided by the state as in irrigation system in the desert. Furthermore, scholars such as Sanders (1956) emphasized on community specialization, in ecologically diverse regions which have resulted in unified economy and market system and peace for market which is assured by the state. Whereas others assumed warfare as cause for state formation, as Carneiro (1970) pointed out competitive warfare required centralized organizational success and states with more powerful militaries conquered simply organized societies and expanded their territories. For example the European empire builders used military power and superiority to colonize others in Africa or elsewhere.

Thus, coercive political approach emphasizes in the dynamics of states and the larger political integration they represent and how they are fashioned out of military conquest and suppression. On the other hand, Marxist oriented anthropological studies considered the states function to maintain and prolong

domination by the ruling class (Haas 1982, Webb 1975) and also observed the internal dynamics of social structure (Friedman & Rowlands 1877) and ideology(Althusser 1971). As Maurice Godlier (1984) pointed out the state formation infers the prior consensus of the subjugated who accept their domination in exchange for protection from those who control the supernatural.

In their recent work on the crisis of power and reformation of the state (Kapferer & Bertelesen 2009) discussed changes in the organization of state power and appearance of the new forms of sovereignty and the war between the agents and organs of state power and the population whom they supposed to control. Employing the concepts of state and war machine they elaborated how state and private agents concerned so much in the protection of agencies of power from the societies of the population that the state comprises than the society of the state as it has been a trend in a high modernity. All the perspectives discussed so far shows us the complexity of the nature of state and power which all the time exists in it.

II.   DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTION, A MECHANISM OF POWER AND CONTROL

Development intervention as socio-economic, cultural and political phenomenon is part of the practices of the state locally and based on the global order of relationship of power. As (Kaomea 2000) showed in the case of Hawaii, for example development of tourism legitimizes the superiority of the western visitors as did in the colonial encounters with natives who serve as waiters, porters and companions to the visitors. The notion of exotic and otherness in development rationalize the cultural hierarchy and perpetuates colonial form of interaction and this show the colonial roots of development. The colonial imaginaries of exotic now used as form of intervention in development through 'human industrialization' reordering the world through manipulation of images, words and practices.

Development in the third world is considered as part of modernization involving ideology, discourse and hegemony through which the unequal relationship of power is observed (Mowforth & and Munt 2009). In the part of the world labeled the developing world or the global south, its political economy reflects the dominance and control by developed world which is a global center of power. Due to this the relationship of domination manifested through development is conceptualized by some scholars as part of 'neocolonialism' and eco-colonialism. The argument is that all forms of development are related to the growth and expansion of capitalist relations of production due to the nature of 'intervention' and 'commoditization'. Moreover, for example tourism development demonstrates the developing world either by hiding reality or creating the exaggerated images. A kind of 'fetishism' and 'aeistheticization' involved in the process prompt travelling to the developing world.

From the perspective of everyday understanding tourism is associated with pleasure and holyday making. However, it takes place in the condition of great inequality of wealth and power (Mowforth & and Munt 2009). Thus the concept of power is significant in understanding the contemporary development which is related to different discourses such as globalization, sustainability and imposed on the developing world. As an aspect of power relationship development is based on ideology and through power it is linked to the "the production and representation of meanings that serve the interests of a particular social group. For example, UNDP, WB, IMF, the local governments, and NGOs have their own ideological orientations. The ideological dimension of development shows how different interests are involved in uneven and unequal power relationship. The term sustainable development has ideological base because it is from the developed world that consciousness and mobilization about the global environmental concerns are generated and serve particular interest groups (Mowforth & and Munt 2009).

Development involves particular way of making meanings and related to the regime of power and discourse formation. Discourse is closely interlinked to ideology as part of social life in which who is saying what and for what purposes. As suggested by Foucault(1980) discourse expresses how 'facts' can be communicated in various ways and how the language used to communicate these facts can intervene with the capacity to decide what is true and what is false. Discourse is more than 'mere' words (Foucault 1972); words as discourse provide the circumstances, practice, rules and regulations on thought. For example, this may include the power to interpret and represent the developing world through development plans and projects The knowledge of development intervention is produced through different discourses and indicates how certain subject or topic is talked, thought about and signified to others. Thus development discourse is one of the way power is spread and contested.

From dimension of power relationship development can also be discussed as hegemonic by which dominant classes pursue the majority of subordinate classes to adopt certain political, cultural or moral values, conforming to the power of persuasion. Development interventions in the developing world is a hegemonic practice, based on hegemonic strategies such as codes of conduct, responsible, appropriate or sustainable forms. Development is contested between different groups and different places and due to its practical strategy; hegemony is adopted by different interests such as states, international organizations or NGOs.

The different forms of power in development particularly in the developing world functions on the bases of unequal power relationship and affects the political economy in different ways. As part of the developing world's development strategy development have economic role and as economic and political practice it is controlled by the center in the global system of power. The activities of development involve both national states and transnational institutions and both of them used it for the purpose of governance to produce domination.

III. MATERIALS AND METHODS

Both primary and secondary data sources were used for the purpose of this study. Various data collection methods such as; observation, un structured and semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, and the secondary data was reviewed from different texts and documents. The field data was generated through fieldwork in the lower Omo valley and surrounding urban centers. During the fieldwork, the communities are considered as participants in the research process rather than objects of the research.

For the fieldwork, the field assistants were recruited . The field assistants were selected based on familiarity with the culture of the community, their knowledge about the geographical setting, and knowledge about the field of study. Informants were selected purposely based on the reliable information from field assistants and identification in the field. The preliminary fieldwork was conducted in the Omo valley for about six months. During this time general setting of the study area was observed and relevant documents were collected from *Kebeles* and *Woreda* offices and then intensive ethnographic fieldwork was conducted over a period of four months.

Observation

Participant observations was a valuable part of this study, as the researchers moved around the study area and gained better understandings of the lives and livelihoods of different communities and project sites. Observations were done continuously during the fieldwork both in the different villages among the communities and plantation areas. Moreover, participant observation of the study area enabled the researchers to understand the general setting of the area and the socio-economic and cultural impacts of development on the communities. Personal observation was based on visits to the residential areas, to ascertain at firsthand the real situation in the vicinity of the camps and witness the impacts on communities and to document the impacts. Through direct field visits, it was possible to observe and collect data on the socio-economic situations of the lower Omo valley communities.

Furthermore, the personal observation enabled to witness the visible positive/ negative impacts of developments on the socio-economic and cultural sphere of the communities, the efforts of the concerned bodies to alleviate the negative influences of development, and the interaction between hosts and the outsiders. Field notes were compiled on daily activities of the communities and development workers. A visited was made to schools, health posts, market place, development project sites, water points and environmental situation, and observation of developments over the positive/negative impacts on the pastoralist communities. This used to cross check the responses gathered from qualitative interviewees and enabled to capture the overall impacts and the condition of development in the area.

Semi-Structured and Unstructured Interview

To make sure that the right people involved to get reliable data, the interviewees were selected through the non-probability or convenience sampling technique. This was useful to collect firsthand data from the locals, who are the major participants in the in depth interview. The data on the socio-economic status of the communities ,measures taken to alleviate the influence of development , positive /negative impacts on the communities, and the nature of relationship between the communities government representatives. Totally, twenty informants were selected and interviewed based on their knowledge and familiarity to the topic and settings. To go through interview, procedures were followed; firstly, clear presentation on the purpose of the study objectives and their level of engagement. Followed the consent of participates in the study was secured. Finally, the interview on the place preferred by the participants as per the time and dates scheduled. Each interview was recorded from, informants selected among the locals (men and women, ranging of different ages). Moreover, in market days women and men , a *Kebele* chairman, teachers from school, and youths were interviewed. In addition, informants, from sugar plantation, were selected and interviewed. Semi-structured questionnaire was developed for the *informants* emphasizing on their perception of the types of impacts of development, visible socio-cultural and economic impacts of development on the communities (both positive and negative) , and the issue of interaction, reasons for the conflicts, challenges of the project implementation and strategies employed in coping.

Focus Group Discussion

To support the responses acquired during the observation, and semi-structured and unstructured interviews, focus group discussion was conducted. Focus groups discussion is very well suited to the research topics, which entail contested or controversial issues as in the studies of development intervention. The group discussion was conducted in villages among the Bodi and Mursi, individuals who are expected to have knowledge about the impacts of development in the study area. Four different focus groups each group comprising of six persons in the discussion were held. Total numbers of individuals involved in the group discussion in the study were twenty four among whom sixteen men and eight women among the local communities.

Thus, the data which were collected by observation and semi structured and unstructured interviews were crosschecked and triangulated by FGD. During the FGD significant data were generated on the socio-economic status of the communities, actions taken to accommodate the effects of development on the locals , positive impacts on the communities , and situations of relationship between both the local and the outsiders. To make the group discussions fruitful, attention was given to the selection of the members for FGD based on non-probability convenience sampling to include important participants among communities and partners communicating directly key informants and field assistances as necessary.

Secondary Data

In addition to the primary data which are collected through observation, qualitative interviews , and focus group discussions, the secondary data relevant to the study on the impacts of development intervention the communities, on populations, the physical background, project sites and infrastructures in the Omo valley was obtained from various sources. Different literature (ethnographic accounts), official documents (unpublished reports and project documents), and statistical records , are reviewed and incorporated into the study. The academic and non- academic, published and unpublished written secondary sources as well as the internet sources relevant to the topic are reviewed. The background information on the subject matter was reviewed from books, journal articles, reports and workshop proceedings. In addition to these, publications of the Central Statistical Agency(CSA) 2007 population and housing census about the Omo valley is reviewed.

Methods of Data Analysis

As this study is a qualitative study, the qualitative data is analyzed in a form of transcription and descriptions. The process of analysis took place both in the field and post field seasons.. The data analysis and interpretation took place following the development of thematic organization of the data. The process of analysis was based on the conceptual framework and related literature. Finally the data on the impacts of development on the communities, is presented in readable and understandable manner. To explain some data in detail in the analysis numerical data on population number, and land was used.

IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION
4.1 The Genesis of the Ethiopian state(an African case)

Many of pre-colonial African societies were stateless and the condition of state formation in Africa is different from that of Europe. State as a political body metamorphosed in Africa as the result of European colonization except few cases that existed in the pre-colonial times. As a historian John Markakis (2011) pointed out the "state in Africa emerged fully formed from the colonial womb". However, in the post-colonial period, after many years of hopes for 'political development' and anticipation over 'waves of democratization', political life in the continent is characterized by pathologies of violence. As argued by scholars the existence of fully functioning state which has consolidated its territorial boundaries is uncertain. Many African states are internationally recognized but do not function as state and they are states on maps and papers (Markakis 2011).

A war played role in the process of state formation in early modern Europe (17th & 18th c), however, it did not lead to the state formation in pre-colonial Africa. The pre-colonial tribal warfare in Africa lacked eclectic strategies and broader aims, so that it did not have significant role in molding the state in post-colonial Africa (Markakis 2011). Thus, the modern state in Africa was formed and its boundaries demarcated without the intervention of war. Due to this some observers attribute the failure of post-colonial state formation in Africa to the absence of war and believed that state building in Africa can best be achieved through war and even going further to welcome the ongoing violence in the continent as part of a process of state formation (Markakis 2011).

In contrast to the other parts of Africa however, the process of state formation in Ethiopia followed different trajectories. The state formation in Ethiopia is conceived as the result of war and territorial expansion as it was the case in other parts of the world. Ethiopia engaged in incessant and continued war both with internal and external rivals. For example one of such decisive wars in relation to the state formation in Ethiopia was the battle of Adwa (1896) where Ethiopians defeated the European colonizers who could have ended its indigenous

process of state formation. As (Markakis 2011) puts it "Unlike the rest of the continent, European Imperialism met its match in this corner of Africa". During the European colonial conquest and expansion, Ethiopia was in its own territorial expansion which made the Christian kingdom an empire and enabled it to compete successfully in the imperialist partition of the region. Defending the expansion of imperialism in the North Ethiopia practiced it in the south, took part in the 'scramble' by subjugating the people in the periphery. In this case the Ethiopia state was built through an imperialistic expansion as the case of the European empires.

The process of state formation in Ethiopia is initiated and managed from an expanding center of power which controls the peripheries and uses the resources through administrative networks. The center is defined by the monopoly of power and by hegemonic positions it occupies in the state system. On the other hand, the Ethiopian periphery is characterized by powerlessness, economic exploitation, cultural discrimination and denigration, and harsh form of marginalization(Markakis 2011). The process of state formation in Ethiopia continuous as its structures and practices are social facts produced in social processes and in particular historical circumstances.

4.2 Development Intervention in the Lower Omo valley
Ethiopia is not only known for defeating the European colonizers and maintaining its sovereignty and territorial integrity but also for natural and cultural diversities that have become attractions for foreigners. It is known for its rock hewn churches, medieval castles, ancient monasteries, mosques, holy shrines and walled cities. Its natural wonders stretch from Semen Mountains in the north to Danakil depression in Afar in the north east, which is also home to the famous Lucy(Dinknesh as locally known) a hominid declared to be the ancestor of all human beings. Ethiopia's landmass comprises pre-historic caves and a number of national parks and game reserves with numerous flora and fauna some of which are endemic to the country. Moreover, Ethiopia is also known because of the variation in climatic zones, and called the country with 13 months of sun shine on tourism posters and coffee table books. Despite its beauty and wonders, Ethiopia is also known for extreme poverty and human suffering sometimes even more than its treasures. It is because of poverty that the government of Ethiopia adopted development strategies to exploit its natural and human resources to change the negative image of the country at the global level.

The Omo valley in the south west Ethiopia is the region known for ecological and ethnic diversity, comprising about 16 ethnic groups many of whom are pastoralists and agro-pastoralists with distinct cultures and languages. They kept their customary ways of life partly due to marginalization and subordination by the Ethiopian political system and the center of power. The Omo valley is where the Omo and Mago national parks, game reserves, hunting safaris are established in the 1960s/1970s as attractions for foreign tourists. However, after the down fall of the Imperial regime in the 1970s the western visitors were rarely allowed to visit this part of the country due to the Marxists-Socialist ideology which was a principle for governance under the military regime.

However, after the fall of the military government and ascension of the former rebels known by the name, EPRDF into power, in the 1990s the political ideology was shifted to the western form of market economy. With this change conservation and environment based tourism was resumed and ethno-tourism began in the Omo valley opening up the region not only for visits but also for other forms of development. This was facilitated through the new road which connected the local town to central parts of the country. Through the road not only loads of visitors arrived in the Omo valley but also the highlanders who were looking for economic opportunities. Both international and national oil operating companies, development agents with civilizing ideas in their minds of the life of agro-pastoralists arrived in the Lower Omo valley.

It has been about a decade and a half since Ethiopia embarked on running its comprehensive national development programs of its agriculture-led industrialization policy. Particularly, in the last decade, the government has been putting in place development plans, called *Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP)*. The first GTP ran from 2011 to 2015, and the second is underway for the period of 2016 to 2020. The Growth and Transformation Plans have always been over ambitious and over-stretched, and as a result the performances are generally concluded as positive and successful without serious scrutiny and scientific debates. The mega projects have resulted in

This research investigated the impacts of the over ambitious development projects undertaken by the Ethiopian government and the socio-cultural costs hinged up on the indigenous communities of agro-pastoralists and shifting cultivators in southern Ethiopia, especially in the Omo valley, a homeland to many minority groups with cultural and linguistic diversity and certain shared livelihood mechanisms. The indigenous communities range from having members of hundreds to thousands. Moreover, the indigenous communities can be classified into agro-pastoral and hunter-gatherer modes of livelihood strategies. These communities inhabited and used, and continue to inhabit and use, the land for grazing and other economic activities maintaining their traditional ways of life for the time immemorial; arguably, probably they are the last remaining in the world with strong attachment to their environment. In the course of time, however, perceptions with stark contrast about the land

and environment in the area appeared from the government. The government viewed the land in that particular corner of the country as barn and no-man's land. With this environmental ideology, the government came up with the idea that land had to be converted into a national economic development source. To that end, the government came to the area with government-run mega projects of sugar cane plantation and production of sugar intended mainly for foreign markets to enhance the national economic growth.

4.3 The Commencement of Mega project(Sugar cane plantation and Sugar production) and its impacts

The mega sugar project initiated as development intervention is known by the name KURAZ I & II in the area inhabited and used by the pastoralist Bodi and Mursi communities which also they use for grazing and shifting cultivation. For the purpose of sugar cane plantation the government appropriated thousands of acres of land by removing and resettling the agro-pastoralist Bodi and Mursi communities. The land acquisition for the project was carried out based on the promises of infrastructure, economic opportunities, such as employment and rehabilitation in the cases of displacement. However, the mistrust between the government and the local communities led to the killings of the employees who work in the project and the drivers who thought to have transport the high Landers to the location of the project.

After the implementation of the project the security threat in the area increased and the situation has become more complex. The communities resisted the implementation of the project in an attempt to forsake their cultural values, to protect the grazing land and in opposition to resettlement programs. Moreover, lack of the promised service delivery and infrastructure, insufficient involvement of the Bodi and Musrsi communities at different stages of the project are reasons for opposition which later on crushed by the government through military operations. This on the other hand shows the effort of the government to control the pastoralist communities and peripheral territories of the state through development but it created more security challenges where the traditional conflicts with the neighboring ethnic groups transformed into new dimensions.

The total area of Selamgao woreda where the Mursi and Bodi ethnic groups administratively belong has 4,511.12 Sq, kilometers which is equivalent to 451,112 acres of land. The farming land of sugarcane plantation in KURAZ I and cultivated is 156 square kilometer, which is equals to 15,600 acres and according to the project plan it may extend to 25,000 acres or 5.54 percent of the total area in the woreda acquired for sugarcane plantation. As the discussion with the local people and community leaders indicated there is no boundaries that mark the project area and the area for the use of the communities. Lack of transparency and rumors that the government was going to acquire all the land in the area created confusions which later led to violence in both sides.

The development intervention has negatively affected the norms and customs of the Mursi and Bodi communities. According to key informant elders among the Bodi community, the project implementation has taken away the land used for cultural practices and traditional ceremonies without the consent of the community. On the other hand one of the informants indicated the cultural influence of the project in relation to cattle and payment for marriage, in the following way; *"Remember among the Bodi community if a young man wants to marry a wife he must pay 28 heads of cattle but now how could he do this? from where can he get such number of cattle?"*

Furthermore, unable to keep cattle due to the loss of land for plantation development the Bodi young men engaged in raiding cattle and robbing the neighboring ethnic groups which led to the recurrence of inter-ethnic conflicts. Similarly the informants indicated the danger of the influx of people from the high lands as a threat to their cultural identity. The key informant indicated the fear of the community regarding the coming of new people and their strange culture as follows; '

Our way of life is in a threat. Many new culture and people came from the high lands. We are confused by their belief system, clothing style and working practices. In our culture men have only the role of herding cattle and other duties are carried out by women."

Because of the fear of others and their cultural practices the communities in the lower Omo valley are hostile to the outsiders which is shown by a number killings and conflicts partly due to the intentions of self-preservation and protection of their culture and ways of life.

4.5 Resettlement as part of Civilizing and Modernizing mission

In order to implement development projects different tribes in the Omo valley are branded through competing discourses and production of backward and poverty images. For example the Hamar people are exaggeratedly reproduced as cattle jumpers, ebagandi dancers, elegant and a true representative of pastoralists and where sex is free and unregulated. On the other hand, Mursi are reconstructed as 'savages/ a 'primitive' tribe who wear lip-plates, ferocious warriors who love AK- 47 with the instinct to kill, and sometimes also referred as cannibals by the outsiders. Through such discourses, fetishism and aestheticization the Omo valley has become and depicted as the 'Last Frontier', the 'untamed Ethiopia' the 'wild world' that must be civilized and modernized through development intervention. This demonstrates how development discourses are created

in certain ways for modernizing and civilizing mission. It also reflects ideology, hegemony and unequal relation of power in the practice of development in the Omo valley.

Other than the construction of Omo valley people through development as discourse, the unequal power relationship is also observable in the day-to-day interaction between the development planners, implementers and the pastoralist communities. As the development practitioners are predominately from the center of power in the highland Ethiopia the pastoralist communities exist in the periphery and the former have power in symbolic and practical form, to exert the influence that leads to control and domination. In this process of interaction between the local people and development implementers decision is made by the later that hold the upper hand due to political and military power. The inequality of power is reason for tensions and conflict that exist in the lower Omo valley of Ethiopia where the pastoral communities are resorted to violence due to intimidation and force.

One of the debatable issues regarding development intervention in the Omo valley is the so called "Voluntary Villegization"(Resettlement) which is based on the developmental policy of the Ethiopian government in the pastoral area. The assumption is that resettlement/ villegization would transform the pastoral communities into the modern way of life. After implementation of the resettlement programs the government could not provide the promised infrastructures such as health services, modern agricultural technologies, transportation facilities, food aid etc. Furthermore, the resettlement program led confrontation between the community and the government as it is not inconformity with the cultural values and ways of life of the Bodi and Mursi people. According to the informants no economic change both at the household and community levels observed after inception of the resettlement program.

The presence of the state institution as the source of power is also observable in the lower Omo valley. Because the presence of military and security forces in the area of project indicates the spatial and temporal power of the state and its readiness to perform violence. According to the officials this is because of the resistances of the Bodi and Mursi communities against state run project and to protect their identities from being engulfed and assimilated to the outside culture and values. As where there is power there is resistance, the and communities opposed the project seems to be supported by transnational organizations such as human rights group and other international NGOs, with their own ideological interests and hegemonic discourses. In this encounter we observe different forms of power relationship and the resistance it as a form of power.

Apart from direct ethnic domination the Ethiopia state implemented a new form of the strategic power as a game in the Omo valley in the name of development and social change. This process is related to development and modernization of the agro-pastoralist and pastoralist population in the Omo valley where the state claimed large plot of land for sugarcane plantation. To this end the local officials as agents of the state informed the communities who are pastoralists and the agro-pastoralists to sell off their livestock and resettle in the areas where infrastructures are said to have been built and start cultivation which would make them 'civilized' subjects of the state. Regarding the forced removal and promised infrastructures one of the key informants, made the following statement:

Even if the water points are developed by the government, it doesn't serve us as we need and promised during the construction of the channel. We need water particularly in the dry seasons in points in addition to the channel. However, we are not allowed by the security officers to access and use water points. Our community has culture of movement from place to place searching for better places for water and grazing areas. But now the government located us only to specific point for which we did not agree.

As it could be understood from the discussion with informant, the development intervention and unfulfilled promises not only caused disruption to the socioeconomic structures and social fabrics of the people of the Omo valley but also turned them into daily laborers in the sugar plantation. To cope up with the new realities the youngsters have become wage workers instead of cattle keepers and proud pastoralist.

V. CONCLUSION

The anthropological approaches to power and state formation, show us not only the power relations embedded in development as socioeconomic, cultural and political undertaking but also a form of power and its effects on individual's everyday life. In the Omo valley the effects of the state facilitated by its agents such as local leaders, administrators, security and military apparatus etc. Furthermore, the Omo valley is a place where different forms of power relationship is observed, based on ideology, discourse and hegemony and each contend for supremacy. It is the region where, the state, international NGOs, Oil explorers, investors, missionaries, anthropologists, and tour operators vie for ideological, political, economic, academic and other interests. In all these contention we observe the relations of power and how power is so complicated in terms of human relationship and no matter whether the state is concrete or imaginary it manifests itself through different forms of power. In lower Omo valley the state exerted its power on the local communities through development

intervention which disrupted their cultural values and ways of life. However, the development intervention enabled the Ethiopian state and government control the pastoralist communities in the lower Omo valley and secure territorial integrity in the peripheries.

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