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The Commercial Herding System among the Garri

メタデータ	言語: eng 出版者: 公開日: 2009-04-28 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: 佐藤, 俊 メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	https://doi.org/10.15021/00002971

12 The Commercial Herding System among the Garri

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INTRODUCTION

The Garri people live in southern Ethiopia, northern Kenya and southern Somalia (Figure 1). Generally speaking, they practise animal husbandry and rainfed farming of maize and beans. They herd camels, sheep and goats as primary livestock, and cattle and donkeys as secondary livestock. At the same time, many of the Garri are deeply involved in various commercial activities. They view themselves as camel herders. They raise a large number of camels, and livestock trade is central to their commercial activities. In this the Garri differ from their neighboring peoples, amongst whom one livelihood activity usually predominates. The Borana, to the north-west of Garriland, are primarily cattle herders, while the Gabra and Rendille peoples to the west and south-west are strictly camel herders.

This paper is on the Garri of southern Ethiopia and their commercial trade system. The Garri have experienced a long history of such trade. In the eighteenth century, they were already well known as outstanding camel breeders, supplying their camels to the caravans of Somali and Oromo traders who arrived at the Juba River basin (Cassanelli 1982: 46). In the middle of the nineteenth century, long distance caravan traders were active over a wider area from southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya through Lugh and Bardera along the Juba River to the Benadir coast. The Garri controlled the caravan traders who had come inland from Lugh.

From the 1920s to 1940s, however, the British colonial government constructed roads into this area and infiltrated the cash economy with various incentives to shopkeepers, while banning itinerant and barter traders. From then, the long distance caravan began to decline (Dalleo 1975: 143-146). Currently, caravans have been reduced to a supplemental means to vehicle transportation within the area.

In Garriland, the regional economy is composed of three sectors: the subsistence herders, the traders of livestock and other merchandise, and the livestock marketplace. The Garri lifestyle incorporates commerce and herding in a form of commercial herding, and this feature could be observed in Somalia as well (Lewis 1962, 1980; Dalleo 1975; Cassanelli 1982; Abir 1970; Little 1992). The Garri commercial herding has not been fully studied, although it is indispensable to the study of herding societies not only in northern Kenya but also in the Horn of

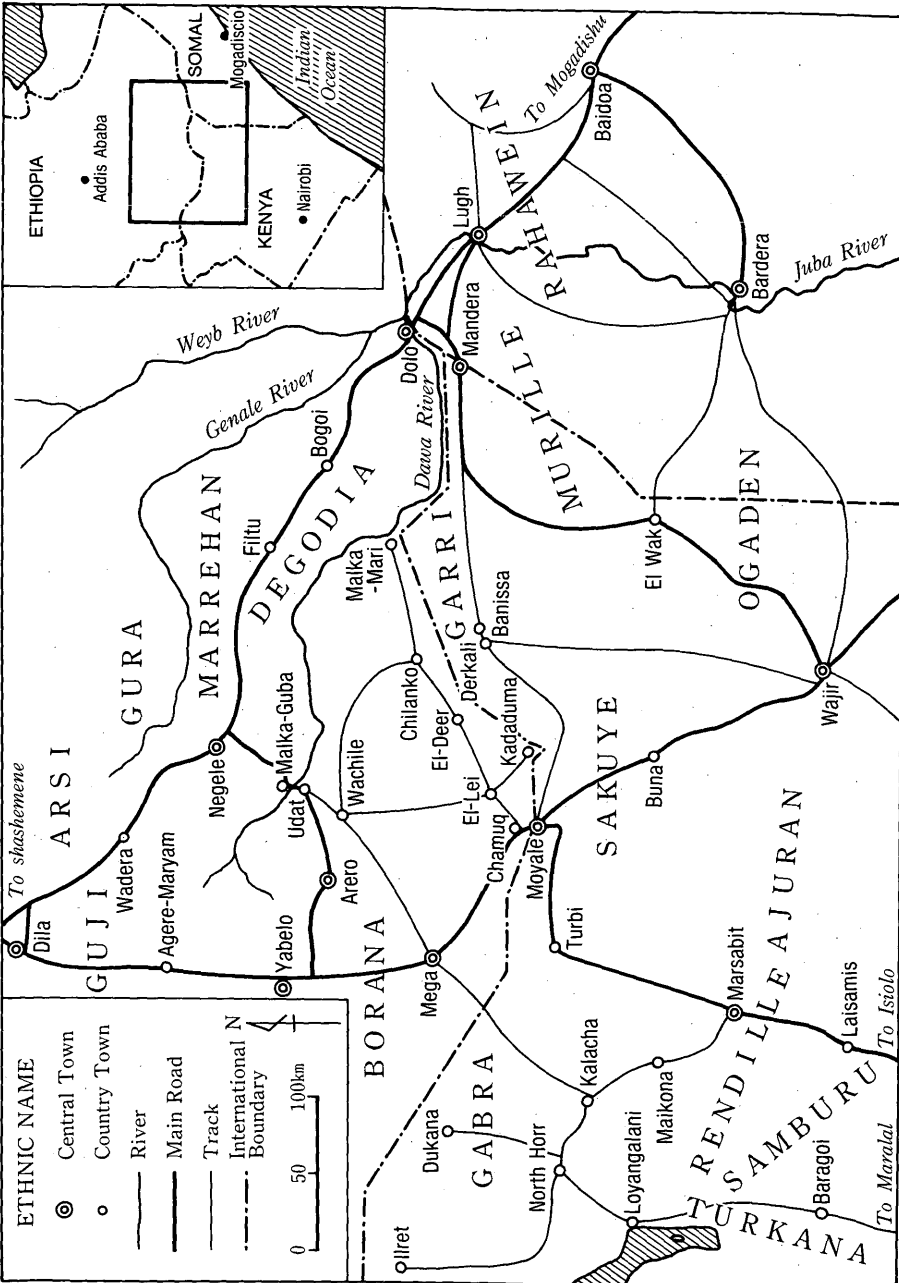


Figure 1. Garri land and the tripartite borders of Ethiopia, Somalia and Kenya

Africa.

The history of the Garri has been studied in order to understand the formation and development of various ethnic groups in this area (Turton 1970; Schlee 1989). However, the ethnographic studies on the Garri have only been started recently by

Getachew (1982, 1990, 1991) and Konaka (1994). The goal of this paper is to investigate the complex structure of Garri subsistence herding and commercial networks from data obtained through field researches conducted for two weeks in September 1990, one month in October 1991, and three weeks in November 1994 in the Borana Region of southern Ethiopia, together with reference to related literature.

THE GARRI SOCIETY OF ETHIOPIA

Garriland is located on the tripartite borders of Ethiopia, Somalia, and Kenya. The Dawa, Genale, and Weyb Rivers flow through this area from the Ethiopian central plateau, merge at a town called Dolo on the border of Ethiopia and Somalia, and become the Juba River. To the southwest of Dolo, there is a border town called Mandera, and further to the west, there is yet another town called Moyale on the Ethio-Kenyan border, about 800 km from Addis Ababa and Nairobi.

Garriland straddles the border of Ethiopia and Kenya. It is bounded by the Dawa River to the north and extend to the line connecting Buna and El-Wak to the south. It extends to the west, to the line connecting Wachile and Moyale in Ethiopia to Buna in Kenya. To the east it extends to the line connecting Mandera and El-Wak. There are the Gabra and Borana peoples, who speak Borana as their mother tongue and practice herding, to the west and north. To the northeast and southeast, live the Marrehan, Degodia and Murille who speak a Somali dialect. To the south, there are the Sakuye who speak Borana, the Ajuran who speak both Somali and Borana, and the Ogaden whose mother tongue is Somali¹⁾.

In Garriland and its surrounding areas, the Borana Omoro follow a politico-religious system called *Gada* (Legesse 1973). Islam, introduced into the Benadir coast in the beginning of the tenth century, came into this area at the beginning of the sixteenth century. From the nineteenth century onwards, it was widely spread by the Somali traders and camel herders (Lewis 1966a: 255; Trimingham 1976: 146, 210). The Somali and Garri, as well as the Degodia and Marrehan, embraced Islam from earlier times, while in recent years, Islam has permeated among the Arsi as well as the Guji and Borana.

Christianity (the Ethiopian Orthodox Church) was first introduced to southern Ethiopia when the Ethiopian Emperor Menelik II (who reigned from 1889 to 1913) conquered this area at the end of the nineteenth century. Following pacification, a large number of people, such as the Tigre, Amhara, Gurage, and the Shoa Oromo from central Ethiopia, settled southern Ethiopia as mercenary warriors, officers, traders, and farmers. As a result, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, the state religion of Ethiopia, spread throughout this area. In addition, the Amharanization policy with the Ethiopian Orthodox Church as its core was further strengthened during the era of Haile-Selassie I (Regent 1916–1930; Emperor 1930–1974) and the revolutionary government (1974–1991).

Table 1. The patrilineal descent system of the Garri

Moiety (<i>gosa</i>)	Sub-moiety (<i>gosa</i>)	Clan (<i>balbal</i>)
Tuf	Ali	Sabdawa Kalula Taule
	Adola	Kalwina Reermuq Odomaya Meeda Tubadi Bursuni Kalmassa Makabile
Qoranyo	Asare	Banna Kilia
	Furkesha	Oitira Darawa Otokoya Birkaya Sukutire Urdekku Kalweisha

The descent group of the Garri is organized on the patrilineal principle. The descent groups are roughly segmented into three different levels: moiety (*gosa*), clan (*balbal*) and lineage group (*reer* in Somali and *wora* in Borana) (Table 1). *Gosa* and *balbal* are occasionally called *tolki*.

The descent groups are divided into two moieties: Tuf and Qoranyo. The former is subdivided into two sub-moieties: Ali and Adola. The latter is subdivided into two sub-moieties: Asare and Furkeisha. These sub-moieties are composed of two to eight clans. The genealogical depth of the lineage group is usually six to seven generations. The agnates are categorized as *abtirki*, and the cognates consanguines are categorized as *kharabiti*. The kins, both agnatic and cognatic, and affines are categorized as *aana* and *sodda*, respectively.

Presently, Garriland is separated into southern and northern parts by three states: Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia. The Garri are occasionally distinguished with different names by the region in which they live. The Garri who live mainly in Ethiopia are called Garri-Libin (the Garri of the Liban district), and the Garri who live mainly in the southern part from northeast Kenya to the border of Kenya and Somalia, are called Garri-Quufa (the Garri of the south). Garri people possess

their own language which is called Garri-qofan, but only a few can speak this language. Most of the Garri now speak both Borana and Somali languages in their daily life. The Garri-Libin are dominated by the Tuf moiety who mainly speak Borana. The Garri-Quufa of the Garri-Qoranyo moiety speak Somali. However, members of a moiety or clan are found all over the three regions. People of the Kalwina clan (Tuf moiety), for instance, live dispersed in southern Ethiopia, northeast Kenya, and south Somalia. Despite the differences in language they maintain a close relationship with each other and understand the language of the others.

According to oral tradition, the Garri originated from the Liban district of southern Ethiopia and were governed by the Borana Sabo. However, when Sheik Buur Hussein became chief (*boqor*), they decided to flee and moved east. The Garri who remained in the Liban district came to be called Garri-Libin. The Garri who escaped to Somaliland to the southeast were Garri-Quufa. Soon after, some of the Garri-Qoranyo returned to south Ethiopia as traders and immigrants. Then, they rejoined the Garri-Libin who had remained in their original homeland. This is presumed to be around 1800 (Getachew 1982: 24–26; Schlee 1989: 98, 110)².

The Garriland of southern Ethiopia has been involved in at least three political disturbances during the past fifty years. The first was the military occupation by Italy. The Italo-Ethiopian War (1935–41) ended with Italy defeated. Although it was a short period, this Italian occupation affected southern Ethiopia significantly. In order to confront the Christian Ethiopian government, the Italian colonial government adopted a policy of granting privileges to the Muslims (Lewis 1966b: 77; Trimingham 1976: 146). This resulted in the immigration of a large number of Somali and Oromo Muslims as mercenaries or traders to southern Ethiopia. Meanwhile, the Somali herders started a dispute with the Guji and the Borana Oromo for pasture and water. In the 1950s, in order to prevent the advance of the Somalis, the central government adopted a policy of privileging the Borana Oromo. The government supplied them with weapons and tried to govern the Sidamo Region of southern Ethiopia with their cooperation (Markakis 1990: 194–95). The revolutionary government, too, started to treat the Borana well throughout southern Ethiopia against the expansion policy of the Somali government (Clapham 1988: 215).

This policy encouraged the Oromo peoples, such as the Borana and the Guji, to intensify conflict with the Somali peoples. As a consequence, many of the Garri, in cooperation with the Muslims, such as the Gabra, Wata, Degodia, and Marrehan, revolted against the government. They revolted under the leadership of Alio Gababa in the Sifta War (1963–70), and joined the SALF (Somali Abbo Liberation Front) in the Ogaden War (1976–78) (Markakis 1990: 195–199, 226–232). However, their revolts were put down by the government army and the Borana.

After the Sifta War in southern Ethiopia, the Borana who cooperated with the government army plundered a large amount of livestock not only from the rebels,

but also from the herders in the pasture, and acquired numerous wells and a vast area of pasture. In addition, they were appointed to the higher positions in the local administration as surveillants of anti-government activities. The revolutionary government established in 1974 soon carried out the reform of the feudal estate and the education system of the country. However, the Borana were still appointed to positions of trust in southern Ethiopia. Also during the Ogaden War, the Borana cooperated with the government army to persecute the herders, such as the Garri, Gabra, and Degodia.

In order to avoid these two revolts and the following suppression by the Borana supported by the central government, many of the Garri escaped to Kenya and Somalia as refugees. The refugees from southern Ethiopia were not only the Garri, but also the Muslims, such as the Gabra, Guji, Degodia, Gura, Arsi, Marrehan, and Borana peoples, and all received the support of the UNHCR in Lugh and Bulhao as refugees. After the peace agreement was concluded between the Somali and Ethiopian governments in 1980, the repatriation of the refugees started in 1981. A huge number of returnees (*qohti*) again headed to southern Ethiopia from 1984, when the Somali civil war intensified.

These returnees were temporarily accommodated in returnee camps prepared by the UNHCR in various parts of the country, and after a while, some of them were allowed to go back to their home areas³⁾. The long stay in the Somali Republic had a far-reaching influence on many of the Garri refugees. Many of the returnees came to prefer the town life in which they could earn some money to the traditional life as herders in the pasture. They wore Somali-style clothes, lived in Rahawein Somali style housing, and ate Somali food. Moreover, those who had spent their childhood in Somalia as refugees were more fluent in the Somali rather than in the Borana language. As I have already mentioned, southern Ethiopia already had experienced a complicated history of Boranization, Amharanization, and Somalization. Somalization was even more intensified by the recent returnees from Somalia.

TRADE WITH THE OUTSIDE REGIONS AND THE TRADERS

The central trading area

The central trading area of the tripartite border region, including Garriland, is confined within the line connecting the five towns of Yabelo, Negele, Lugh, Wajir, and Moyale. Moyale is the transit town where the northern and southern trading routes meet. The former leads from Moyale to Addis Ababa via Yabelo. The latter leads to Nairobi via Marsabit. Lugh is connected with the northern trading route which passes through Dolo and Negele, and with Nairobi via Mandera and Wajir. Lugh also plays an important role as a transit town of the eastern trading route which is connected with the Benadir coast and Kismayo on the Indian Ocean via Baidoa and Bardera. Consequently, Garriland occupies the central part of the

trading area within the tripartite border region.

The merchandise carried into this region from the north consists of agricultural products, such as coffee, *chat* (*Catha edulis*), fruits, vegetables, other crops and Italian shoes. Goods from Kenya in the south are processed foods such as black tea, sugar, powdered milk, and margarine, industrial products, such as matches, soaps, rubber products, and plastics, and dyed fabrics. *Khamisti* (Muslim hooded clerical robes), *sure* (Muslim hood veil), and Indonesian fabrics are carried in from Somalia in the east. Of this merchandise, mainly fabrics, agricultural products, processed foods, soaps, and matches are consumed within the region, whereas the remainder are transported by trucks to the larger consumer markets, such as Addis Ababa and Nairobi. In contrast, rock salt, herbs, gold, livestock, and dried hides and skins are important exports.

The northern trade via Negele is conducted mainly by Gurage and Somali traders, and northern trade via Yabelo, mainly by Borana and Garri traders. The eastern and southern trades are both conducted by Somali and Garri traders.

Commercial activities in the second half of the nineteenth century were by barter. For example, the Somali trader who came from Lugh country up the Juba River exchanged his fabric for Borana cattle, and then obtained ivory for these cattle from the inland hunters (Cassanelli 1982: 153). However, the traditional trade system was reorganized by the British colonial government that advanced to Moyale in 1905. Especially during the 1920s and 1930s, cash trading was encouraged by government policies such as the payment of tax in cash, encouragement of shopkeepers, and prohibition of peddling and barter. Cash trading became a common practice after World War II (Dalleo 1975: 143-46).

The present business transactions are settled by cash in this area. In the border region, the currencies of all three states are used. In October 1991, 1 Ethiopian birr was exchanged for 4 Kenyan shillings. At that time, the official exchange rate for 1 U.S. dollar was 2.07 Ethiopian birrs or 21 Kenyan shillings. In unofficial exchange, 1 U.S. dollar was exchanged for 6 Ethiopian birr or 24 Kenyan shillings. As of November 1994, 1 Ethiopian birr was exchanged for 6 Kenyan shillings. The official and unofficial exchange rates for 1 U.S. dollar at that time were 6.15 Ethiopian birr or about 40 Kenyan shilling, and 7 Ethiopian birr or about 43 Kenyan shillings, respectively. The Kenyan shilling was evaluated slightly higher. Consequently, the exchange rates of the currencies used within the border region were closer to the unofficial rates. Nevertheless, in October and November 1992, when the exchange rate marked its lowest point at 70 Kenyan shillings to 1 U.S. dollar, 1 Ethiopian birr was exchanged for 10 Kenyan shillings. In these three years the actual value of the Ethiopian birr against the Kenyan shilling sharply fluctuated between 4 shillings and 10 shillings.

Inter-family alliance of town traders and the development of commerce

The main commerce with the outside region is conducted by truck directly with the big cities, such as Addis Ababa, Nairobi, and Mogadishu⁴). The livestock bought

at Moyale could be sold in such big cities at two or three times the purchase price. Even with the transportation cost quite a large profit is obtainable by this long distance trading.

However, permission from the government is required for trading in Ethiopia and Kenya and a commercial license is costly. For example, 7,000 Ethiopian birr is required for a commercial license from the Ethiopian government. In addition, long distance trade cannot be maintained without a large capital investment. Therefore, only wealthy traders can launch long distance trade.

The wealthy traders are called *ganaasi-guddo*. They establish their residences in the town rather than in the pasture. Their relatives disperse over various towns to develop trading activities by family partnerships. For example, a Gurage trader of Negele, T.D. (born in 1940, a Christian) owns the monopoly license for liquor from the government. He is now a liquor wholesaler in the area from Dolo through Negele to Dila. He has five cars, a grocery shop, and a gas stand, and runs a hotel with a bar in Negele. His eldest brother also runs a wholesale liquor shop in Gurageland. Of his two younger brothers, one sells shoes in Addis Ababa, and the other, with a liquor monopoly license, carries out a large-scale wholesale business in Afarland in eastern Ethiopia.

T.D. has a wife, six sons, and six daughters, of whom five daughters are married. The eldest daughter is married to a Marrehan trader who has a business network in Dolo, Lugh, and Shashemene. The second and fourth daughters are both married to Sidamo traders in Arsiland. The third and fifth daughters are married to a Gurage university teacher and an Amhara veterinary surgeon, respectively. The eldest son is married to an Amhara woman and lives in Addis Ababa. The second son is married to a Garrimaro woman and runs a gas stand. And the third, fourth, and fifth sons transport merchandise as truck drivers for their father. Consequently, T.D. has formed marriage alliances with five ethnic groups and neighbouring traders. Together with the business development of his own brothers, T.D., with his base in Negele, has established a huge business network covering an enormous area that encompasses Afarland, Addis Ababa, Gurageland, Arsiland, Dolo, and Lugh.

He arrived alone at Negele at the age of sixteen. He purchased cattle in Dolo and Negele, fattened and sold them in Dila. After he had made a fortune in cattle, he moved on to monopoly liquor wholesaling, and became a successful trader. Because he is an alien trader in Negele, it seems that he has intentionally established various marriage alliances among the neighbouring traders, who belong to different ethnic groups.

In the border region and northern Kenya there are several wealthy Somali and Garri traders. They are all Muslim. For instance, the Abdi Seimed family (Ajuran Somali) of North Horr, regularly gives some business to family members who run businesses in five towns: Marsabit, North Horr, Loyangalani, Moyale, and Buna (Harako 1991). The Hajji Hussen Mohamed family and Hajji Mohamed Katin family are Garri traders with their base in Moyale. The former has a network

extending to Yabelo, Mega, and Addis Ababa in Ethiopia, and the latter in Nairobi, Shashemene, and Addis Ababa. Other wealthy traders are the Hassan Turkan family (Ajuran Somali) with its base in Marsabit, the Mohamed Halo (Ajuran Somali) with its base in Mandera, and the Mohamed Hajo family (Ajuran Somali) and Hajji Abshiro Hapi family, both of whom have their base in Moyale. All of them have their own business networks covering a wider region.

Harako (1991) studied the commercial activities of the Abdi Seimed family. The family is led by Alau, a Gabra woman. She came to Marsabit when she was young, and met an English executive officer. She married him and lived in Nanyuki. But after a few years her husband returned to England, leaving his wife behind with a small shop and some livestock. After a while she married a Somali, Abdi Seimed, who was working for another Englishman in Nanyuki. They opened a new shop in Marsabit. It was Alau that helped the shop prosper. Later, her husband took a second wife and stayed more often in Nanyuki. Taking this opportunity, Alau returned to her homeland, North Horr, with her children, to open another shop in 1945.

Alau restored relationships with her relatives, who, in turn, took care of her livestock. She was an able proprietress and was trusted by the local people, and was generous to young people regardless of their family background. Among these young people, there was a boy from the Turkana who had been an old enemy of the Gabra. This boy grew up and made a great contribution to the extension of Alau's business in the pasture. Besides Alau's personal strength, the favorable relationship with the Gabra (Algana Phratry) of her origin played a very important role in her business success. In contrast to T.D.'s business, the Abdi Seimed family could be recognized as autochthonous traders.

Moreover, Alau married off her three sons to the daughters of the Somali trader of Moyale, the Mohamad Hajo family, while marriage took one of her daughters and one of her granddaughters into the Mohamad Hajo family. The Mohamed Hajo family is an extremely wealthy trader group with its base in Moyale. The business activities are large scale, including shops in Nairobi and Addis Ababa. The Abdi Seimed family has established a tight affinal relationship with the Mohamed Hajo family through bilateral marriages, which offered the Abdi Seimed family a foothold to expand into Moyale. The bond between these two families, intensified by their bilateral marriages and mutual cooperation, further developed their business. Presently, Alau's first and second sons run shops in Buna and Loyangalani, respectively. Her third son has succeeded to the headship of the Abdi Seimed family. The huge business network of these two families, backed by kinship, is well-established in northern Kenya. Alau's grandsons, taking advantage of this network, have gradually expanded their business activities. Some have started long distance trade between the Ethio-Kenyan border region and Maralal, and others work in Nairobi as truck drivers for the Hajo family.

Harako (1991) has written that Somali business is constantly activated with the energy to extend outwards by the network of personal relationships. The Somali

traders ally, cooperate, and marry each other in order to pursue family interests rather than the collective interests of the tribe or the territorial group. Their personal relations are supported by family, friendship, and also Islam.

The business extension of the Abdi Seimed family is quite different from the aforementioned T.D.'s. Certainly, both have established a wide ranging business network through marriage alliances between the trading families. However, T.D.'s alliances are with ethnically and religiously different trader families, whereas Alau's alliances are with the Hajo family of the same ethnicity, Ajuran Somali, and the same religion, Islam.

The marriage alliances of wealthy traders may be thus classified into at least two types. The difference may lie in the fact that T.D. is an alien trader, unlike Alau who is autochthonous. It may be concluded that the trader's family background in the region of activity is a factor in determining the type of marriage alliance.

COMMERCIAL HERDING SYSTEM

Town-dwelling traders and subsistence herders

In the tripartite border region and its surrounding area, one finds traders who live in town and pursue trading profits, also herders pursuing a subsistence-oriented herding way of life in the pasture. They herd camels, cattle, donkeys and small stock (goats and sheep), practising what is called multi-stock herding. However, there are various cultural values in the types of livestock desirable for individual and/or collective identity, and social values in the types of livestock given higher value as food or objects of social exchange. The Oromo herders, such as the Borana and Guji, and the Para-Nilotic herders, such as the Samburu and Turkana, esteem cattle the most, whereas the Somaloid, such as the Garri, Gabra, and Rendille and the Somali, such as the Degodia, Murille, Ajuran and Ogaden, esteem the camel the highest.

The subsistence herders maintain a communal society of their own in the pasture and all the family members are engaged in herding. They live embedded in the pasture. For them the town is a place to replenish crops, consumer goods and cash by selling livestock. Livestock is sold in order to supplement their immediate needs without much heed to the market price. The herders do not seem to be driven by a need to integrate the town into the domain of their traditional lifestyle. For them, the town is dangerous and uncomfortable, where they suffer from a milk shortage. In a town, there is full of thieves and prostitutes who victimize them, policemen who treat them harshly with spiteful questions and greedy merchants who deceive them. Those herders who live in the pasture think of the neighboring town as a completely different world.

Commercial herding

In southern Ethiopia, a town is the center of commerce and administration, and occasionally there are small farms around the town. The town is often located at a key point along the main road. No matter how small the town is, there is always a small shop where groceries are sold and black tea and coffee with snacks are served to the guests. Also, herders drop in to give water to their livestock, to purchase necessities, or to sell milk, goat skin and livestock.

In the village or the town of Garriland, there are, without exception, a *dukusi* (Quranic school) and a *masujit* (small mosque). In Moyale, there is a big *masujit* built of concrete, whereas the *masujits* in country towns and villages are small wooden one-storied houses. A *masujit* committee (*jalsa masujit*) is organized in every town. In the vicinity of the *dukusi* and *masujit*, there is usually a clinic and a tin hut public toilet.

The Garri have three types of housing. One is a single-storied rectangular house which is called a "mud house" (*min-biye*), with all the walls and the roofs daubed with mud (*biya*). This is a typical Ethiopian private house and is used as a private residence, as well as a warehouse or a retail shop.

The second type is a conical house (*min-guutore*), made with one thick column as a prop and surrounded by a circular wall made of mud. The roof is thatched with thin branches bundled closely together and placed radially from the central column. This house is an imitation of the farmhouse of the Rahawein Somali and was introduced into this area by the returnees from Somalia. It is mainly used as a private residence for a family.

The third type is a hemispherical structure called a "straw thatched house" (*min-dasse*). This house is made with a framework of flexible branches, covered externally with fiber-mats (*dasse*). This is the traditional Garri house used in the pasture. The town-traders normally use the single-storied house as their retail shop and build the conical house or straw-thatched house at the back for their private area.

El-Lei and Chilanko, two of the typical country towns of Ethiopia, are located along the main road which runs from Moyale to Malka-Mari. It is 30 km to El-Lei and 150 km to Chilanko from Moyale. The town of Banissa in Kenya is 40 km from Chilanko to the south.

El-lei has fifty-one houses arranged in a line. All are single-storied houses. Forty-one families, who belong to ten clans, live here. Twenty-four families (59%) belong to the three clans: Kalwina, Sabdawa, and Banna. Chilanko has 105 houses including retail shops, arranged in two rows along the north and south sides of the main road. The north and south rows of houses are composed of fifty-two and fifty-three houses, respectively. There are forty-six retail shops. Fifty-eight families who belong to fourteen clans live in this town, out of which twenty-seven families (46%) belong to three clans: Birkaya, Odomaya and Reermuq (Table 2).

The autonomous organization of the town is not necessarily composed only of

Table 2. Clan affiliation of family-heads in Chilanko, El-Lei and El-Deer

Name of clan (moiety)	Chilanko town	El-Lei town	El-Deer village
Birkaya (Qoranyo)	13 (22%)	1 (2%)	
Darawa (Qoranyo)	3 (5%)	5 (12%)	3 (7%)
Oitira (Qoranyo)	2 (3%)		1 (2%)
Sukutire (Qoranyo)	2 (3%)		
Banna (Qoranyo)	1 (2%)	6 (15%)	10 (22%)
Urdekku (Qoranyo)	1 (2%)		
Kilia (Qoranyo)		4 (10%)	
Otokoya (Qoranyo)			2 (4%)
Odomaya (Tuf)	7 (12%)		
Reermuq (Tuf)	7 (12%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)
Kalwina (Tuf)	4 (7%)	12 (29%)	21 (46%)
Sabdawa (Tuf)	4 (7%)	6 (15%)	
Taule (Tuf)	3 (5%)	2 (5%)	
Meeda (Tuf)	3 (5%)		
Bursuni (Tuf)	2 (3%)	1 (2%)	
Makabile (Tuf)	1 (2%)		
Kalmasa (Tuf)		1 (2%)	2 (4%)
unknown	4 (7%)	1 (2%)	6 (13%)
Burji people	1 (2%)		
Borana people		1 (2%)	
Total	58 (99%)	41 (98%)	46 (100%)

town-dwellers. A number of Garri herders and farmers who live in the pastures adjacent to the town also form part of the autonomous organization of Chilanko. The council which takes charge of autonomy is composed of ten councillors (*jalsa* or *hayyu*). A councillor's term of service is three years. One or two councillors are appointed from each residing clan. Among the councillors of Chilanko in 1991, for example, ten were appointed from nine clans, of whom six resided in the pasture, and the remaining four in the town. The council of El-lei was composed of four councillors, of whom three were town-dwellers and one lived in the pasture.

Chilanko town is incorporated into the commercial region of Moyale. The residential traders procure merchandise by organizing camel caravans to make round trips of six or seven days to and from Moyale. (Also, traders are sometimes given a lift on the truck which runs between Malka-mari and Moyale.)

Uncastrated camels are used to carry loads for the caravan. One camel load is about 100 kg to 200 kg of goods. At present, camel herders, such as the Rendille or the Gabra, in general use castrated camels for carrying loads⁵⁾. This is because the male camel, once castrated, becomes very tame and easy to handle. Yet the Garri, who have long experience with frequent and constant caravan trade, use

uncastrated camels. They claim that the castrated camels are not strong enough.

The Garri classify their camels into six types⁶⁾.

Hoorki-baetu: This camel has a big and stout body and provides much meat and milk. Physically the strongest of all the types, it is most suited for caravan trade and breeding. However, it weakens during the dry season.

Hoorki-sagare: This type is of medium physique and does not provide much meat. The female produces a fair amount of milk throughout the seasons, although the strength and milk-producing capacity is much affected by the dry season.

Hoorki-kharabgoi: This type also has medium physique. The female camel produces a good amount of milk all through the seasons. It easily gains weight in the wet season but weakens in the dry season.

Geirab-eidamidi: This type is the largest in size. It fattens easily and is comparatively tall with the largest amount of meat and milk, but is very weak during the drought.

Geirab-siifdaar: This type is the thinnest and tallest of all. It does not produce much meat and has small mammary glands, but is relatively strong during the drought.

Geirab-sigaar: This type is the smallest in size. It has small mammary glands and produces the smallest amount of milk, but is strongest during the drought.

The Rendille and the Gabra mainly breed this type.

The Garri give importance to the camel's physical strength, the amount and stability of milk production, and resistance to the drought. Camels are essential for the caravan trade and the Garri pay close attention to the physical strength of the camels. Apart from the classification mentioned above, mature male camels are classified into three types: *korma*, *rocho* (pl. *oro*), and *kobra* (pl. *kobrot*). *Korma* is the stud-camel and *rocho* is the uncastrated camel used in the caravan. *Kobra* is normally fattened for meat but is occasionally trained to carry loads. Since camels are considered to weaken once they are castrated, uncastrated camels are used in the caravan to carry heavy loads over long distances. The uncastrated camels of the strongest *hoorki-sagare* type, become *rocho*, after being trained for about one to four years after birth. Castrated camels are occasionally used to carry furniture, the handicapped, or water-containers.

Retail shops profit from the price margin created between Moyale and Chilanko. The retailers engage mainly in the brokering of small livestock and dried hides, the sale of foods, such as sugar, black tea, coffee beans, and corn flour, and rock salt to feed livestock. For example, a goat hide purchased in Chilanko for 10 Kenyan shillings will be sold at 15 to 20 Kenyan shillings in Moyale. A goat obtained in Chilanko for 150 to 200 Kenyan shillings will be sold at 200 to 300 Kenyan shillings in Moyale. Black tea (100g per pack) obtained for 7 Kenyan shillings in Moyale is sold at 9 shillings in Chilanko.

Aden Ali Jiro, a local retailer, lives in Chilanko with his wife and runs a grocery shop. His father, Ali Jiro, makes his first wife live in the pasture to care for

the livestock, while he himself lives with his second and third wives in Banissa in Kenya, running a grocery store. He also has other sons and their wives living in three other towns, each of whom runs his own shop.

This example shows a family group living apart in the town and in the pasture to rear livestock and manage shops. In Garriland this type of commercial herding is generally observed, whose important activities include retail, organising the caravan, and stock-rearing. The Garri do not acknowledge the town and the pasture as completely separate worlds, but rather, as a continuum of making a living and leading an integrated lifestyle composed of commerce and stock-rearing.

The herding way of life among the Garri

Garri villages vary in their construction from those with a strong tendency towards permanent settlement to those which a family or families happen to assemble for just a short period of time.

El-Deer is a sedentary village located in the pasture between El-Lei and Chilanko. It is 70 km from El-Lei. In El-Deer (and El-Lei), *dukusi* and *masujit* buildings are in the north of the village and a tin-hut public toilet is built nearby. At the time of research there were fields on the outskirts which three villagers had cultivated for five years.

In El-Deer village there are around forty-six families living in sixty houses. Out of these sixty houses, thirty-four (57%) are of the conical type, sixteen (27%) are of the rectangular type, and the remaining ten (17%) are hemispherical mat houses. The conical and hemisphere mat houses are used as residences, whereas the rectangular type is used for either warehouses or retail shops. The residents of this village belong to seven clans, of which twenty-one families (46%) were of the Kalwina clan, ten (22%) of the Banna clan, and the remaining fifteen (32%) belonged to five other clans (Table 2).

Among the villagers, 50% of the married women (twenty-eight women) were from the Kalwina clan, and the women from the Banna clan comprised only 9% (Table 3). Moreover, men from the Bukei lineage of the Kalwina clan formed 28% (thirteen men) of the total, women from the same lineage formed 25% (fourteen women) of the total. Therefore, it can be said that members of the Bukei lineage of the Kalwina clan form the core of El-Deer village.

When I stayed in this village (early November 1991), many of the villagers had already gone to the herding camp, and not only were all the shops closed, but most of the houses were left vacant. During my stay, villagers continued to move out to the herding camp, leaving only five families in eight houses behind in the village.

The Garri keep some milking stock around the village, and take care of the remaining livestock in the herding camp. They separate their livestock into the camel herd, the cattle herd and the small stock herd. But they never bring the livestock into the vicinity of their village. Even during the rainy season, the herding camp is located more than an hour on foot from the village and is never incorporated into it. As the dry season deepens and the pasture retreats, the camp

is perpetually moved.

The villagers, when they move to the herding camp, take with them the construction materials for the mat house either from store or by dismantling the mat house of their residence. The material is loaded onto camels and taken to the herding camp. After the villagers have all gone, only deserted conical and rectangular houses are left behind.

El-Deer village appears just like Chilanko in that it has a *dukusi*, a *masujit* and a public toilet. But with regard to the villagers' way of living, it is more a residential area incorporated into their nomadic life.

For example, Mwalim' Mohamad Hassen exemplifies the manner of residence and subsistence activities. Although he has four wives, he lives just with his third one in El-Lei town, 70 km away. He is a member of the town council, and his third wife sells sugar and black tea in a street stall. The other three wives all live in El-Deer. He entrusts his livestock to the son of his first wife, who lives in the pasture. One of the sons of his second wife runs a business with his family in Addis Ababa and another son engages in brokering livestock in Chamuq, four km from Moyale, with his family. The family members live separately in four places, for commerce and stock-rearing.

The nomadic homestead is the other type of Garri village that is a basic unit of subsistence activity, with a residential area and stock enclosures adjacent to the houses. The Garri nomadic village is an encampment of homesteads at any one location. Within the general area of the village, the distance between individual homesteads varies from ten meters to 100 meters.

Konaka (1994) conducted his field research for nearly six months on a nomadic group of Garri who took care of camels near Banissa and Derkali in northern Kenya. He focused on the family of Mwalim' Mohamad and sequentially observed the thirteen families who travelled with that one. There were eight homesteads which moved together for these six months without breaking up. The composition of livestock type was known for seven homesteads, out of which four herded camels and small stock at the same time, and two, only camels. The remaining one homestead herded some cattle in addition to camels and small stock.

All seven homesteads which lived together with Mwalim' Mohamad's, separated after six months. Thus, the size and the membership of a nomadic village is smaller and more flexible than that of a semi-permanent village.

The average composition of a nomadic homestead was 1.6 families (1.9 households) including 8.6 members. The homestead was quite often composed of a single family, whereas a cooperative homestead would be organized around a core family relationship, such as a father and his married son, a married elder brother and his unmarried brother, and a father of the wife and his son-in-law. Moreover, the shortage in manpower for herding was made up by close relatives who lived in the village or the town. It is because both the unmarried and married members of the family are engaged in herding livestock that the Garri small-scale family is able to maintain an independent nomadic life. This arrangement is in striking contrast

to the case of the Rendille, where unmarried persons carry out herding tasks through a division of labour based on the age system and clan (Sato 1980, 1984).

CONCLUSION

In the tripartite border region of Garriland local commercial networks are developed into three sectors: trade with the outside region, trade within the region, and subsistence-oriented herding. The mutual relationship between these three sectors has not been thoroughly clarified in those studies that have placed emphasis on the characteristics of individual societies. The traditional typology of pastoral nomads, for instance, was based on criteria such as whether they cultivate farms by themselves, the relative contribution of livestock products to the diet, or the extent of contact with the outside economy (Baxter 1975: 207; Jacobs 1965: 146, 148-149). Subsequently, nomads have been classified into either full-time, who concentrate on stock-rearing, or part-time, who combine stock-rearing with farming and foraging (Sato 1984). The social and economic characteristics which are commonly recognized among these nomads make up a subsistence-oriented economy (Dyson-Hudson and Dyson-Hudson 1969: 76). Such nomads, even if they have peripheral contact with the surrounding societies through market exchange, never seem to take it as a given.

In a subsistence-oriented economy, livestock are utilized as a means of social exchange to develop and coordinate personal relationships, rather than as mere merchandise for sale in the marketplace. In other words, the economy of subsistence-oriented herders is embedded in society, and not determined by the market principle. The Garri sell their livestock in the marketplace or directly to the livestock traders only when they are in need of cash or goods which they cannot produce by themselves. Furthermore, when the stock traders come to sell large livestock such as camels, cattle, and donkeys, they exchange their less desirable kind for the more desirable. This is how nomads trade in the marketplace and elsewhere. Galaty has observed that under favorable conditions, herders engage in what might be called a "target-sale," where the objective is to acquire a certain cash sum for tax payment or other specific purpose. The herders exploit the marketplace to exchange livestock for their immediate needs (1981: 8-9).

However, in the course of this study, I was able to discover that the Garri are more commercial herders than subsistence-oriented herders. The latter hold herding activity to be a principal factor in their own identity, and lead a lifestyle tied to the pasture. In contrast, the former, sharing the Muslim sense of values, manage family businesses that combine stock-rearing and commerce.

Needless to say, commerce is composed of cash and the open market. Conceptually, it seems to contradict the subsistence-oriented economy. However, herding and the market economy are compatible. Livestock resemble currency as a vector of value as well as a means of exchange. Therefore, herders are able to obtain cash by selling livestock and are also able to re-invest it in livestock (Myint

1969: 99; Galaty 1981: 9). The Garri lead two different lifestyles that complement each other, by stock-rearing, and at the same time, pursuing profit from exchange for agricultural products and other merchandise.

Most Garri are, in fact, not necessarily strictly commercialists as the town traders are. At the same time, the Garri are not at all restricted to local kinship relationships as are subsistence-oriented herders. In fact, loose commercialism and kinship relations are complementary. We should not interpret Garri commercial herding as a form of compromise between two different lifestyles, but rather consider it as a unique lifestyle. From this concept of commercial herding, we would be able to further clarify the complex regional structure of pastoral societies.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study was the result of a project sponsored by a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (No. 02041012) of the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports and Science. I would like to acknowledge all the cooperation offered by the staff of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University during the course of this study, including the Directors, Dr Taddese Beyene and Dr Bahru Zewde. I also would like to express my special appreciation to my research counterpart, Mr Getachew Kassa, for his encouragement and suggestions.

NOTES

- 1) The patrilineal descent groups of the Somali have been classified roughly into six clan-families: Dir, Isaaq, Daarood, Hawiye, Rahanwein and Digil (Lewis 1961: 4-14). The Marrehan and the Ogaden are said to have a genealogical affinity with the Daarood clan-family. The Garri, Degodia, Ajuran and Murille are said to have some genealogical relationship with the Hawiye clan-family (Mohamed 1993: 114). However, Schlee proposed that, before the Oromo expansion in the sixteenth century, the Gabra, Rendille, Sakuye and Garri shared the same Proto-Rendille-Somali Culture (PRS) (1989: 6).
- 2) Getachew called the northern Garri Garri-Libin and the southern Garri, Garri-Gallana (1982: 2). Schlee wrote that the "Kofar" of Garri-Kofar stood for the southern part of the east of Juba River where the refugees from Borana domination lived (1989: 40).
- 3) Most of the Garri were accommodated in the returnee camps established in Hudat, Chilango, El-Gof, Kadaduma, El-Deer, Malka-Marri, Jara, Chamuq, Arero, Burur, Katama and Moyale (Getachew 1991).
- 4) The first truck and the first car came to Wajir from Kisumayo in 1920 and in 1927, respectively. By 1927, many of the shopkeepers had trucks. The number of cars which came to Moyale averaged three per month in 1927, whereas it increased to an average of five per week in 1928. In Isiolo, one hundred and ten trucks passed through the town in June 1946. In northern Kenya, motor traffic grew heavier from around 1927-28 (Dalleo 1975: 148-50).
- 5) Since there was no marketplace in Marsabit and Isiolo at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Rendille used to visit Meruland and Dasanetchland in order to obtain maize,

sugar and tobacco. They organized camel caravans for round trips of twenty days to and from Meruland or Dasanetchland, using uncastrated camels for this purpose. But, as the British colonial government and the Meru traders penetrated into Rendilleland, long distance trade by the Rendille went out of use.

- 6) Wilson classified the Somali camels into five types: *dolbahante*, *guban*, *ogaden*, *mudugh*, and *benadir*. According to this classification, the Garri camels belong to the *benadir* type (Wilson 1984).

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