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Livelihood of Rural Households in Resettlement Areas: the Case Study from Quara Woreda of North Gondar Zone, Amhara Region



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Master Thesis

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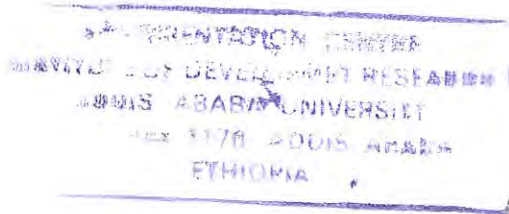
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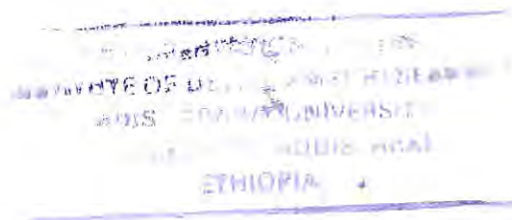
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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ANRS = Amhara National Regional State

ACSI = Amhara Credit and Saving Institution

DFID = Department for International Development

FDRE = Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

FGD = Focus Group Discussion

IFAS = International Food and Agricultural Sciences

IFPRI = International Food Policy Research Institute

IFRCRCS = International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies

MoFED = Ministry of Finance and Economic Development

ONRS = Oromia National Regional State

PA = Peasant Association

PASDEP = Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty

RRC= Relief and Rehabilitation Commission

SA = Settlement Authority

SNNPRS = Southern Nations, Nationalities and People Regional State

TNRS = Tigray National Regional State

UNHCR= United Nations Higher Commission for Refugees

UNICEF= United Nations Children Emergency Fund

UNESCO = United Nations International Science and Cultural Organization

WFP = World Food Program

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Abstract

Resettlement is an increasingly becoming attractive as a way of out of pressing problems caused by food shortage, land fragmentation, population pressure, rampant unemployment, marginality of land and decline in land productivity. With the aim to investigate the livelihoods of rural household and their strategies in resettlement area, the study was conducted using both quantitative and qualitative approaches. Based on data generated from household survey, focus group discussion, key informant interview and observations, the study revealed that the area studied have experienced higher population trends due to continuous and ongoing resettlement program. The program has two edges, one with positive and enabling for better livelihood options and the other with negative and destructive side. As a result, the livelihood assets are gained, lost and shaped. From critical livelihood assets, social asset, which is the most important livelihood asset of households is found to be the source of other livelihood assets and strengthened more by different social bonding mechanisms within and between host and settler community members. The physical asset of households in the area is very limited, while the natural assets are getting less and less and exacerbated due the resettlement program.

The dominant on-farm livelihood activities of households in the study area are crop cultivation and animal production being major and minor, respectively. Households have experienced the change in the livelihood activities to use better opportunities for better livelihood options and to minimize the risks involved from constraining factors of resettlement program. The change in the livelihood activities of households is manifested in three ways: the change within the same livelihood activities, from subsistence to commercial; seasonal shift between different activities, on-farm during rainy season and off-farm during dry season; and the complete shift from one type of activity to the other, which is from on-farm to off-farm income generating.

The result of assessment of food security situation indicated that settlers have shifted from aid seeking to household food self-sufficiency. In general, majority of households in the area have ensured household food sufficiency throughout the year. However, considerable numbers of households are still not attained household food sufficiency. Even though, most of households have ensured sufficiency of household food throughout the year, transitory food insecurity, particularly during the leafy stage of the crops is reported to occur in few households and it extends to better-off households during natural hazards.

Finally, this study recommended that resettlement programs should not be seen as panacea for all socio-economic problems of households other than solving short-term problems at the expense of natural resources and if it is to be durable and long-lasting development intervention, it has to ensure sustainability of livelihood of households.

***Key words:** Resettlement, households, livelihood, assets, and food security*

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Resettlement is an increasingly becoming attractive as a way of out of pressing problems caused by food shortage, land fragmentation, population pressure, rampant unemployment, marginality of land and decline in land productivity. It is often planned for broad category of people, such as landless, the unemployed, refugees in the country-of-asylum and returnees to the country-of- origin (Kassahun, 2000).

Ethiopia, like other developing countries, has embarked on planned resettlement undertaken since the late 1960s. Resettlement programs launched in all instances were directed towards easing pressing problems related to landlessness and unemployment and as a response to dislocations caused by such hazards as drought and conflict (Belay, 2004; Kassahun, 2000).

Over the last few decades, resettlement in Ethiopia has been adopted as a strategy to alleviate various socio-economic problems. The resettlement program that is in progress since 2003 is intended to provide food security for those suffering from a lack of food due to land shortage and the ecological deterioration of their home areas (Belay,2004). But in most literatures and empirical studies it has blamed that resettlement with its limited objectives couldn't solve complex and persisting problems of the households in particular and the country in general.

The voluntary resettlement program is one of the most important food security enhancing strategies of the Federal Government of Ethiopia under the general coordination of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development. The current resettlement program has been underway since the beginning of 2003 and has been implemented in four regions of the country, namely Amhara National Regional State (ANRS), the Oromia National Regional State (ONRS), the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State (SNNPRS) and the Tigray National Regional State (TNRS). The main objective of the current resettlement program is to enable 440,000 chronically food insecure households attain food security through improved access to land/voluntary resettlement and stand on their feet by reestablishing the new livelihood strategy (EFDR, 2003).

With this aim, Amhara Regional state has initiated an organized and voluntary resettlement scheme for the most chronically food insecure people from all zones of the region (except West Gojam), to Metemma, Quara and Tach Armacheho Woredas of North Gondar Zone and Jawi Woreda of Awi zone. Settlers in Quara are from North Gondar, South Gondar, Wag Himra, East Gojam, Oromiya, North Shewa, North Wello and South Wello Zones.

The study area (Quara Woreda) is located in North Gondar zone, which is at 1052 km from Addis Ababa and 548 kms from Bahir Dar.¹ Its administrative center is Gelgu; and other settlements include Tewodros Ketama. The woreda is among the selected potential areas of the region for resettlement and there has been continuous resettlement since the year 2003. It has an estimated population of 102,777, of which 62,913 is the host community and the remaining 39,864 are settlers.² The Woreda has 21 kebeles, of which 19 are major kebeles and the rest 2 are minor (*neus*) kebeles. Of the total kebeles of the woreda, about 8 are highland kebeles and the remaining 13 are lowland kebeles, where the resettlement program has been undertaking.

Regardless of some success stories in alleviating short-term problems, resettlement in Ethiopia in connection with sustainable use of environmental resources and sustainable livelihoods has been debatable issue. Resettlement programs bring different changes in the livelihoods of households as a result of increase in population followed by critical livelihood asset changes in areas where the program is undertaken. The settlers and the host community react to the new situations brought with such events. Therefore, this study is intended to see the livelihood experiences of the rural households and its dynamism in response to the program in resettlement areas in Quara Woreda of North Gondar Zone.

¹ Quara Woreda Finance and Economy Office

² Quara Woreda Administration Office

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The resettlement programs are most of the times aimed to realize the betterment of livelihoods for the people suffered from different problems caused by food shortage, population pressure, marginality and decline in productivity of land. However, resettlements as a strategy for rehabilitating the vulnerable groups and promoting different socio-economic objectives is become increasingly debatable issue. In line with this, Kassahun (2000) noted that Ethiopian experience on resettlement programs pertaining to validity/feasibility in solving pertinent problems has been the on-going debate. The limited objective of resettlement is also mentioned to be the sources of debates and failures by some authors. For instance, Belay (2004) underlined that the resettlement programs were driven more by the governments' political imperatives than by perceived economic, social, humanitarian and environmental objectives.

Tensions between settlers and local people were reported to have been mounting as the settlers began to compete for some resources such as wood land, water, and grazing lands (Dessalegn 2003; Belay, 2004). Nevertheless, some proponents argue that resettlement is instrumental in realizing efforts towards self-sufficiency (Clarke, 1986:42). He also argued that the advantage of resettlement is not limited to those directly involved alone but could benefit the whole country by increasing production, decreasing the number of people in the need of assistance and, hence diminishing relief-aid requirements. Such debates on advantage and disadvantages of resettlement by different writers and on how it has been perceived by both receiving community and settlers (new comers) require further studies and empirical evidences. In addition to this, the role of resettlement in the dynamism of livelihoods (change on the livelihood strategies) with the lens of sustainable livelihoods framework is not clearly understood and thus needs more investigation.

Resettlement has impacted the livelihoods of rural people in Quara woreda. As deriving force, its contributions in gaining the livelihood assets (human, financial physical, social and natural), strengthening the capabilities for livelihood activities, and its contribution in coping mechanisms during shock and stresses of rural households (both host community and new comers) and the extent to which change in the livelihoods has been experienced require rigorous study. In the government resettlement programs, the settler households would have intended to lead their livelihoods and attain household food security being engaged in farming

activities using the virgin land and potential of the area. But it is common to see the settlers being engaged in the nonfarm activities other than the intended farming activities. Whether the settlers attain the primary objective (household food security) and the reason why unforeseen livelihood activities are experienced by settlers is not clearly known and understood.

1.3 Research Questions

The study strives to answer the following questions;

- How the resettlement schemes have been perceived by both the settlers and the host communities?
- What are the opportunities of resettlement to the livelihoods of both host community and the settler households?
- What are the challenges faced by both host and settler households due to resettlement Program?
- What livelihood strategies are followed by households as response to resettlement program?
- Do settler communities achieve the household food security?

1.4 Objective of the study

1.4.1 General Objective

The main objective of the study is to assess the livelihoods of both resettled and host rural community households and the livelihood strategies experienced as response to the resettlement program.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study are:

- To see how the resettlement program is perceived by both the settled and host communities
- To assess the opportunities that resettlement brought to the livelihoods of both receiving and settled households
- To identify the challenges facing both receiving and settled households due to resettlement Program
- To see changes in the livelihood strategies of households of both communities as response to resettlement program
- To assess the household food security situations of settlers and their host community

1.5 Scope and Delimitation of the Study

The study attempts to assess the experience of rural household livelihoods in resettlement areas addressing small area, which may not be representative of the other areas. It considers the livelihood situation of household driven by resettlement program. There are different factors such as environmental, economical, social and political factors, which have direct influences on the livelihoods of households. However, this study mainly focuses on resettlement driven livelihoods of households to the target area and its respective population, which include both the settlers and their hosts.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The outcome of the study will have both theoretical and practical contributions to the area of concern. Theoretically, the study will contribute its part to the body of knowledge in the concepts and a theory of resettlement is concerned. It will help to draw lessons from area on how resettlement is affecting the livelihoods of the households and contribute its part in debates concerning resettlement schemes or programs. The outcome of study will also serves as the source of information for those who are interested to conduct study on the related issues in the area. In addition, it will help for the local planners, administrators and NGOs working in sustainable livelihood development and other development issues taking important lessons to solve the problems associated with the livelihoods of the rural households.

1.7 Structure of the Thesis

This paper is organized in to nine chapters. The first chapter introduces the overall picture of the study with its triggering issues and the frameworks. Chapter two looks into the concepts related with resettlement and Ethiopian experience in the resettlement program in the past regimes and reviews some empirical studies. The third chapter tells about the study area and methodology used. The socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the study population are presented in chapter four. Chapter five of the paper is concerned about the perception of people about program and the current situation and practices. Chapter six is about available livelihood assets of households and their relations followed by Chapter seven which presents about the livelihood activities and strategies experienced by households and dynamism of livelihoods as response to resettlement program. The food security situation of the households is presented in chapters eight. The final chapter is about the conclusion and forwards ways for policy implication based on finding of the study.

CHAPTER TWO REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Concepts of Resettlement and Experiences

2.1.1 Resettlement

Despite, the common understanding on objective that it is intended to bring better life in the place of new residence than the original place; resettlement has got different definitions and meanings by different writers and organizations.

Resettlement, land settlement, colonization, or transmigration all refers to the phenomenon of population either “planned” or “spontaneous”. In Ethiopian context, the first term seems to be the most appropriate as it suggests relocating people in the area other than their own. “Resettlement” implies moving people or people moving to the new location (Dessaegn, 2003:1). According to UNHCR (2004:2), resettlement is considered to involve the selection and transfer of refugees from a State in which they have sought protection to a third State which has agreed to admit them – as refugees - with permanent residence status. The status provided should ensure *protection* against *refoulement* and provide a resettled refugee and his/her family or dependents with access to civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights similar to those enjoyed by nationals. It should also carry with it the opportunity to eventually become a naturalized citizen of the resettlement country.

Resettlement scheme can be defined as planned project or program involving transfer of people most probably through selection or control from one region to another. When (re)settlers schemes are considered, government in developing countries, in general, and in Africa, in particular, make decision to when, where and how reestablishment should take place. Private agencies or national and international organizations such as World Bank can sponsor such schemes. Unlike, spontaneous process, movement in resettlement scheme is brought about by government policy either through voluntary or involuntary process (Mengistu, 2005).

Over the years, scholars dealing with resettlement research have formulated a sizable number of conceptual frameworks to analyze and explain the various impacts of the programs. Some have managed to develop theoretical models that could help in analyzing and explaining the impacts of “planned” population resettlement. Most of models have, however, failed to be

holistic in their approaches; but have instead focused more on subject specific impacts on socio-economic, behavioral (socio-cultural and/or psychological) or spatio-temporal aspects. Similarly, other scholars have given greater emphasis to the temporal and spatial dimensions of involuntary resettlement by ignoring other equal or more important dimensions. As result, each approach has its own weaknesses and strengths for the analysis and explanation of population resettlements that have taken place in different places and contexts (Tesfaye, 2007:31).

Over the past fifty years, millions of people have been provided with the opportunity to build new lives for themselves, and their families, through resettlement. Resettlement has also over the years produced secondary benefits other than to the resettled refugees themselves. In some cases it has sustained first asylum in the face of a continued influx of refugees, in others it has played a role in achieving comprehensive solutions and often been an expression of burden- and responsibility- sharing. Additionally, resettlement has often engendered support for refugees among the public of resettlement countries, and resettled refugees have also made important contributions to the countries that have received them (UNHCR, 2004).

2.1.2 The Ethiopian Experience in Resettlement

When undertaken by individuals, groups and communities, resettlement is most often aimed at the furtherance of objectives revolving around the betterment of the socio-economic positions of the beneficiaries. Governments' undertaken resettlement programs in order to address a wide variety of concerns apart from drives aimed at promoting the 'public good'. The driving force behind such an exercise by states could include strategic, demographic and politico-military interests (Kassahun, 2000:129).

By different writers, it is thought that the movements of population have been one of the major features of life in Ethiopia and has been practiced since Axumite times. Since population movements caused by different factors have been taking place without interruption, resettlement of people took place continuously, and the one feature common to all such acts has been the urge to realize betterment of livelihood in new place of residence. Such movements take into account the existence of relatively better conditions at the destination point as compared to the original place of domicile (Kassahun, 2000).

Ethiopia has had planned resettlement experiences over three decades (Dessalegn, 2003; Kassahun, 2000). All resettlement programs launched in all instances were directed towards easing pressing problems relating to landlessness and unemployed, and as response to dislocation caused by such hazards as famine and conflict. However, it is worthy to note that the focus, scope and intensity of resettlement undertaken by different regimes since the 1960s on the one hand, and the goals sought to be attained by such an undertakings on the other, vary significantly.

The Ethiopian planned resettlement experiences have seen as pre-revolution and post-revolution resettlement schemes. Organized resettlement before revolution occurred on ad hoc basis with little central planning or consistent over all directions. Schemes were classified to meet particular objectives as the need was felt. Although the ancient regime at times considered resettlement for different purposes, a common element in almost all the schemes was that agricultural development was the major preoccupation and population redistribution a secondary objective, if considered as all (Alula, 1988:8).

Since the post-revolution, resettlement has increased at considerable rate (Dessalegn, 2003; Alula, 1988). Three main factors explain the dramatic increase: firstly, the Land Reform Proclamation nationalizing rural land removed the biggest obstacles impeding the implementation of earlier plans and proposals; secondly, two successive nationwide famines within the spans and decades highlighted the need to seek long-term solution, and thirdly, the government established RRC and the settlement Authority (Alula, 1988:14). He also classified the Ethiopian post-revolution planned resettlement schemes into three phases: the first decade during which the RRC organized resettlement; the emergency phase (1984-1986), organized by the Workers' Party of Ethiopia; and the latest planned phase under a new Settlement Authority. However, Dessalegn (2003) has classified the post revolution resettlement experiences of Ethiopia into two phases: Phase I (1976-1983) and phase II (1985-1987).

Resettling people to less populous and moisture sufficient area has been one of the policy ideas that the Ethiopian governments have introduced to manage and prevent famines (Derese, 2009). The earliest Ethiopian resettlement policy initiative grew out of two principal concerns: the one economic and the other political. These concerns revolved around the question of how

to realize land use on government “owned” land and thus raise state revenue on the one hand, and on the other, how to provide additional resource to the hard pressed northern peasantry in the southern regions (where most of government land was located) which were mainly inhabited by subordinate populations. In pre-revolution period settlement schemes were always planned for the northern peasantry, and the needs rarely considered. The major assumption in this period (i.e. the late 1950s and early ‘60s) was that the government held in the form of state domain lands, vast property which ought to be employed for settlement households living in areas of serious land shortage. This was in fact to be double edged policy: it was to relieve population and land pressure in the over-crowded areas, and at the same time serve as a means to distributing land to the needy and those with insecure tenure. The rationalization of government land use was to be a resettlement program as well as land reform measures, and as such, was designed to reassure the landed classes that their economic power in the rural areas was not imminent danger (Derese, 2009).

Though, the objective of resettlement, which at the beginning was designed to be a form of long-term rehabilitation of famine victims, assisting poor and landless peasants, relieving the employment crisis in urban areas, accelerating the sedentarisation of transient populations, promoting resource conservation and sound agricultural practices in densely populated areas, and bringing under cultivation “under-utilized” land, government resettlement programs are blamed to be experienced policy inconsistencies and lack of purposeful goals orientation has characterized the country’s resettlement efforts in the whole period. Secondly, neither in the past nor in the post-revolution periods has the state, or other agencies provided an accurate inventory of the resources available for settlement. Thirdly, in periods as were implemented not by specialists (particularly, settlement specialists), but rather by run-off -the mill state functionaries; in fact, the programs themselves were entrusted (except for a three brief years) to a variety of state agencies, of as an appendage to agencies’ principal responsibility. Finally, in one form or another, politico ideological factors have often managed to distort the state objectives of resettlement programs as well as their implementation and subsequent evaluation. These four elements have been enduring aspects of Ethiopian resettlement and have had unhealthy impact on numerous programs through the years (Dessaegn, 2003:4-5). The literature on resettlement schemes in Ethiopia emphasizes the coercive strategies of the regimes that planned and enforced the schemes and political gains out of the schemes. While

the state and its political leverage to impose its policies are narrated about, little is known on how the “victims”- the farmers from drought stricken areas have perceived and reacted to this intervention (Derese, 2009).

Regardless of the previous failure and success stories of the country, resettlement program is still continued to be the main agenda of the government to assist the vulnerable and food insecure people in the country. It is also very important to see the main differences of the current resettlement program with that of the previous ones. The current resettlement program has the two distinct features which make it different from its ancestor programs. As it has been clearly indicated in the program document, the first and the main characteristic of the current program is it is voluntary and the second important feature of the current resettlement program is also it is intraregional (it has been implemented within the regions). According to the some authors, the current resettlement has been viewed as the right government intervention given the fact that millions of rural farmers are faced with chronic and acute food insecurity year after year, and it is also believed that it will help reduce rural poverty and food aid dependency. Compared to the previous (Derg’s) resettlement schemes, the current government’s schemes are considered to be the better in terms of it rationality and implementation. In this regard, Abraham (2003) noted that on the positive side, some lessons have been learned from the mistakes of previous resettlement programs. The current resettlement initiative is a way of moving people from the same ethnic, language and cultural background. Furthermore, they are all (at least in the first phase) from lowland areas so that they would easily adapt the hot climate at resettlement sites. Finally the settlers’ land at their place of origin will be reserved for the next two years and until then people are free to go back and forth between their new home and original localities. These provisions clearly show an important step forward compared to the Derg’s resettlement scheme where people from completely different cultural background were forced to live together, and movement of people out of resettlement areas was virtually impossible. However, the impact of the current schemes on the livelihoods settlers as well as the host community did not attract many researchers, and not investigated and clearly understood. Therefore, the focus of this study is the current schemes which are voluntary and intraregional, underway since 2003 in four regions of the country and particularly, in Amhara region.

2.2 Review of Empirical Studies

Resettlement as way to solve pressing problems of the people caused by either natural or manmade factors and to search better life in the place of the new resident, different governments of the different countries in the world including Ethiopia have implemented resettlement program or scheme since many year ago. In connection with it, different researchers have conducted research on the issue. In this section, the works of different researcher related to the resettlement and its nexus with the livelihoods of people is presented.

There are many factors that force resettlement and/or migration. People leave their ancestral homes for good, about one-third of them are environmental by nature. Included in these are recurrent drought, land and soil degradation, and declining soil fertility. The remaining push factors have a socio-economic and political nature and include social differentiation, weak traditional systems, greater exposure to risks, and increasing vulnerability and entitlement failures (Tesfaye, 2009).

As far as migration and development is concerned, McDowell and Haan (1997), noted that in the past times, migration is not considered as the important thing for the development and not linked with it, rather polices and government interventions emphasis sedentary settlement as the only options for the development. But current intervention, by different countries including Ethiopian, have seen such linkages and pursued as one development intervention.

Many of resettlement schemes undertaken are successful in solving the short term problems of people and it very important to see some of the achievement by settlers in the new areas of residence. According to Tesfaye (2007:72-74), resettlement has brought dramatic change after they settled in the new place. He also noted that in addition to meeting their basic needs, people have engaged in different off-farm activities, such as trading, tailoring and weaving which were unheard in their place of origin. Here, it could be clearly noted that resettlement led people to use different livelihoods strategies. In connection with it, Maruyama (2003) stated that the residents living inside and outside the resettlement sites created a mechanism to utilize both of the welfare benefits and natural resources, through shifting residences, sharing, and cooperation in livelihood activities.

In most of cases, resettlement schemes have success stories in addressing household food security for most of resettled community in the country (Messay, 2009; Asrat, 2006). However, it should be noted that this happens when the area where people are settled is conducive for agriculture practices and if there is supportive rainfall and agro-climatic conditions to produce food crops. It also has been reported that in North Gondar zone resettlement sites, there were about 10,000 children at risk of malaria, diarrhea, kalazar and malnutrition (UNICEF, 2005). It is also believed that resettlement programs are considered to be panacea to solve short-term problems and for food self-sufficiency of the settlers, but the long-term issue of sustainability is still remained big issue which needs policy concern. In line with it, Alula has explained the issue of self-sufficiency and sustainability through resettlement schemes as follows:

After two and three years, the settlers have obtained their second harvest and most of new settlers are making towards short-term agricultural self-sufficiency. In some areas, water logging has caused problems, while in others insufficient water was found when bore-wells were dug. As a result, a number of sites have to be relocated. In many areas further land needs to be cleared since hectare per family has not reached the minimum requirement (0.9 hectare in that case). Despite such problems, the short-term survival of what were hopeless famine victims has been assured and the settlers have enough to eat. However, a number of long-term issues need to be addressed and policy choices need to be made (Alula, 1988:33).

There is no doubt that resettlement increases the population of the destination area of settlers and will have its own impact on the natural resource such grazing land, decrease in plots of farm land, degradation of forest resources. As response to such resource limitation, rural people use different livelihood strategies. In line with it, Tesfaye (2003:90) stated that diminishing farm size and decline in population pressure may encourage rural households to diversify their employment and sources of income. In rural areas, livelihood diversification is achieved for example by temporary and seasonal migration, wage labour, crafts and trades. He also noted that delayed marriage, and an attempt to control fertility by limiting births within marriage are important aspects of rural livelihood strategies in response to an increasing scarcity of natural resources.

The demand for more food rises as the population grows and/or household income increases. To meet the increased demand for food, change in the land use strategies is required. Bringing more land /forest land / under cultivation also called extensification (extensification can be considered as a special form of intensification), is one possible land use strategy to produce more food. Land use is intensified both spatially and temporarily to maintain per capita food production where the opportunity for further cropland is exhausted. Land use intensification is achieved in number of ways. These include reducing the fallow period or increasing the frequency of cultivation, spatial intensification such as intercropping, shifting to the production of high value crops, and labour and capital investment in land productivity-enhancing indigenous or external technologies. Soil and water conservation activities and the adoption of inorganic fertilizer, improved cultivars and selected agro-chemicals are examples of the later use intensification strategies (Tesfaye, 2003:93). Rural people use different types of strategies such as diversification to secure their livelihood. Regardless of the debates on advantage and disadvantage of diversification, some proponents of diversification argue that it is one key strategy to be used by rural households. In connection with it, Degefa (2005:235-236), described the mix of different livelihood activities and the extent to which the activities contribute to household earnings, and made distinctions between four types of livelihood systems or paths in his study: 1) sedentary mixed farming with crop major and livestock minor; 2) agro-pastoralism with livestock major and crop minor; 3) livelihoods largely relying on non-agricultural activities; and 4) livelihoods depending on transfers. Two important issues should be underlined here. First, the boundaries between the systems are not clear cut, and due to the dynamics of rural livelihoods, households can change from one system to another. He also noted that mobility can be a response to either livelihood improvement (by choice) or deterioration (as necessity). Second, there are inevitable interactions among the people making livelihood from different systems.

Resettlement merges together people from different area and who have different socio-cultural backgrounds. Due to differences in socio-cultural backgrounds and other factors, conflict is inevitable phenomenon in the area where the resettlement schemes have undertaken. As far as the cause of conflict is concerned in Ethiopian case, Tesfaye (2007) has identified different causes of conflict. According to him, environmental, political (e.g. Ethnic Federalism, anti-settlers by ethnic elites), the quest for self administration by settlers, and exclusion from

leadership, socio-cultural, legal and economic factors are found to be the underlying causes of conflict between settlers and the host community. The conflict has also resulted in loss of properties, displacement to the other areas, death of people and injury. With the same token, World Bank supported trans-migrant resettlement program between 1986 and 1988 in Indonesia has resulted in severe conflict was the land rights (Hancock, 1989: 133).

Resettlement has become debatable issue among different scholars as far as its advantage in solving the problems of people and ensuring sustainability in the livelihood and environment. Some scholars argued that resettlement schemes are destructive of resources and do not ensure sustainability (Dessalegn, 2003; Belay, 2004). In counterpart, proponents argued that it is panacea to solve the problems of people such as food security problems and increase the productivity (Clarke, 19860). In connection with it, Derese (2009), in his study identified some of the harms and benefits of resettlement and the victims to harm and the beneficiary of its benefits. As he noted, the harms of resettlement schemes are coercion, disease, particularly, the settlers' separation from extended family and kinfolks. Physically weak (children and elderly), returners from resettlement sites and cattle herders are found to be the victims of the harm situations of the resettlement. Access to irrigable land, construction of schools, and establishment of rural institutions are the benefits of resettlement schemes. The landless youth, farmers around river basin and people who have stayed in resettlement sites are found to be the beneficiaries of the schemes. People affected by resettlement projects always suffer losses. Conceptualizing these losses as "social costs" or "external costs," as if they were secondary factors, is not a satisfactory way of explaining them. Likewise it is not appropriate methodologically to regard the administrative acquisition of property, which is always part of involuntary resettlement, as a choice that takes place in a voluntary market exchange (Hiroki, 2003: 19-21).

Regardless of some success cases, the current resettlement program which has been experienced since 2003 in four regions has got criticisms. Some reports have also compared the current resettlement program with the previous ones and what is common in past and present resettlement programs is both have not improved food security. Human Rights Watch World Report 2005 for Ethiopia describes that Past and present resettlement programs in Ethiopia have not improved food security. The effects of past and present programs on

mortality, health and the environment have attracted criticism from donor agencies and countries. Criticism of the current program is, however, muted because of a perceived need to remain 'constructively engaged' with the Ethiopian government. The report also added that the objective of the 1984-6 program was the weakening of movements which opposed the Ethiopian government and depended on support from rural areas. Observations on the current resettlement program support the conclusion that its main objective is to strengthen government control and weaken opposition in the Tigray, Amhara, SNNPR and, especially, Oromia Regions of Ethiopia. Concerning the failures and the wrong aspects of resettlement, some writers have brought some argumentative ideas being optimistic about objective of resettlement. For example, Wet (2005:52) described that the overwhelming majority of cases in resettlement in Worldwide, including in Africa have not seen successful. He also identified two approaches for question "why things so often go wrong in resettlement?" According to him, inadequacy of inputs and inherent complexity are answers for the question posed above. The main characteristics of involuntary resettlement are: the involvement of imposed spatial changes, changes in patterns of people's access to resources, people find themselves in large and more heterogeneous settlements than previously, involvement of people in wider situation, and accelerated socio-economic change. Due to combination of factors, resettlement tends to lessen people's material well being, limit their choices and control over their circumstances and increase the presence of social tensions and conflict within new settlements (Wet, 2004).

As most of empirical studies reviewed above, this study focuses on the same issue, but in different area using the lens of sustainable livelihoods framework. The study also focuses on government sponsored voluntary and intraregional schemes which have undertaken since 2003 and its nexus with the livelihoods of the settlers and receiving community.



2.3 Conceptual and Analytical Framework

For better understanding and direction of the study, having the concepts of important issues of the study and analytical framework is highly important. In this section, it is attempted to give meaning to peculiar issues that are raised in this study and what analytical framework was followed for analysis.

2.3.1 Concepts

In this study, the concepts like household, livelihood, sustainable livelihood, livelihood strategy and livelihood asset (capital) are most frequently used and need further explanations for clear understanding.

i. **Household:** refers to the group of people residing in the same housing unit and sharing the same dining room. In this study, it includes all the households of the host community and the settled (new comers) due to the resettlement program of the government and the household may be male headed or female headed households.

ii. **Livelihood:** is the most important concept used in this study. The study shares the definition given by Chambers and Conway (1992);

“A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation: and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels in the long and short-term” (Chambers and Conway, 1992:7-8).

In line with the above definition, the components of sustainable livelihood (assets, mediating institutions, livelihood strategies, and livelihood outcomes) are key concepts of sustainable livelihood approach. The livelihood asset or capital includes human capital, social capital, financial capital, natural capital and physical capital. The details of each asset or capitals are discussed below.

iii. **Human Capital:** It represents aptitudes, knowledge, labor skills, and good health, which overall allow farmers to take on different strategies and achieve objectives in

terms of livelihood. Human capital can be increased through investing in education, health care, and training for work (World Bank, 2003).

- iv. **Social capital:** this includes the networks and connections (patronage, neighborhoods, and kinship), relations of trust and mutual understanding and support, formal and informal groups, shared values and behaviors, common rules and sanctions, collective representation, mechanisms for participation in decision-making, and leadership (Serrat ,2008; Kollmair and Gamber , 2002).
- v. **Natural capital:** the most important asset that the livelihoods of the rural households depend on it. It includes land and produce, water and aquatic resources, trees and forest products, wildlife, wild foods and fibers, biodiversity, environmental services etc (Serrat, 2008).
- vi. **Physical capital:** this livelihood asset embraces infrastructure (transport, roads, vehicles, secure shelter and buildings, water supply and sanitation, energy, communications), tools and technology (tools and equipment for production, seed, fertilizer, pesticides, traditional technology) (Gamber and Kollmair, 2002).
- vii. **Financial capital:** the livelihood asset which includes savings, credit and debt (formal, informal), remittances, pensions, wages etc (DIFD, 1999).
- viii. **Livelihood Strategies:** Livelihood strategies are organized sets of lifestyle choices, goals and values, and activities influenced by biophysical, political/legal, economic, social, cultural, and psychological components (Scoones, 1998; Ellis, 1999). In the context of the study, livelihood strategies are strategies, which both settlers and the host community households have experienced to lead the life using either farming or non framing activities. It is vital to note that the livelihood strategies of the households are influenced by different factors such as social, natural, physical, environmental and economic conditions. This implies that the livelihoods strategies of the households are strongly influence by the mediating institutions and livelihood assets or capitals.
- ix. **Mediating Processes:** - are institutions, organizations, processes, policies, and social relations that determine access to livelihood assets to pursue livelihood strategies. These are developed through formal and informal institutions (Serrat, 2008). In the context of the study area, formal mediating institutions includes the different administrative structure, laws, NGOs while informal once include Idir (financial and social association used for collaboration in the death of members), Iqub (financial

substitution) and the second type of relation is the relationship between assets and other components of framework. Assets are usually created and destroyed as result of the trends and contexts (asset and trends relationship) and institutions and policies of structures and process profoundly affect access to the livelihood assets (the relationship between asset and mediating institutions). As far as the asset and livelihoods strategies are concerned, the more assets tend to have the greater options and the ability to switch between ranges of livelihood strategies to secure livelihood (DFID, 1999). Therefore, resettlement as the major deriving force to access and control over available critical livelihood assets (being used as either opportunity or challenge to the households), has direct impact on the livelihood strategies (dynamism) and the outcomes.

CHAPTER THREE METHODOLOGY

3.1 Description of the Study Area

The study was conducted in Amhara Regional State, North Gondar Zone, Quara Woreda, which is among the Woredas of the region where voluntary resettlement has been taking place since 2003. The woreda is located in the Western Part of the region bordering to Sudan in the West, Metema in the North, Alefa woreda in the East and Benshangul Gumuz Regional State in the South. The Woreda covers about 858,588 hectares of land with annual temperature ranging from 25 to 35 degree centigrade and 600 to 1200 mm average annual rainfall.³ Before resettlement program, the area is considered to have considerable underutilized land, which is suitable for agricultural practices and for other livelihood activities of rural households and it was scarcely populated area.

According to Woreda administration office, in 2010, total population of the Woreda is estimated to be 102, 777 of which 39,864 are settlers. The life of most people in the area is dependent on agriculture practicing mixed farming; crop production and livestock husbandry being the major and the minor livelihood activities respectively are practiced as means of livelihood. Of the total 21 kebeles of the woreda, 19 are major kebeles and the rest 2 are minor or sub- kebeles.

The topography of the area could be classified into two broad categories namely the highland and the lowland. However, the data obtained from Quara Woreda Environmental Conservation and Land Use Administration Office showed that about 66% of the total land is plain area, 13% mountainous, 17 % hill sides and the rest 4% accounted for rivers and valleys. Regarding the current status of the land use, the same source indicated that about 262,104 hectares of the land is convenient for cultivation of the different crops, of which about 35% has been used for cultivation of different locally growing crops. Following the large cattle population of the area, about 11% has been used for communal grazing land. About 39% of land is estimated to be covered with bushes and natural forest, approximately 1% has been used for construction and only 4% of the land is not yet used and ready to be used for different purposes.

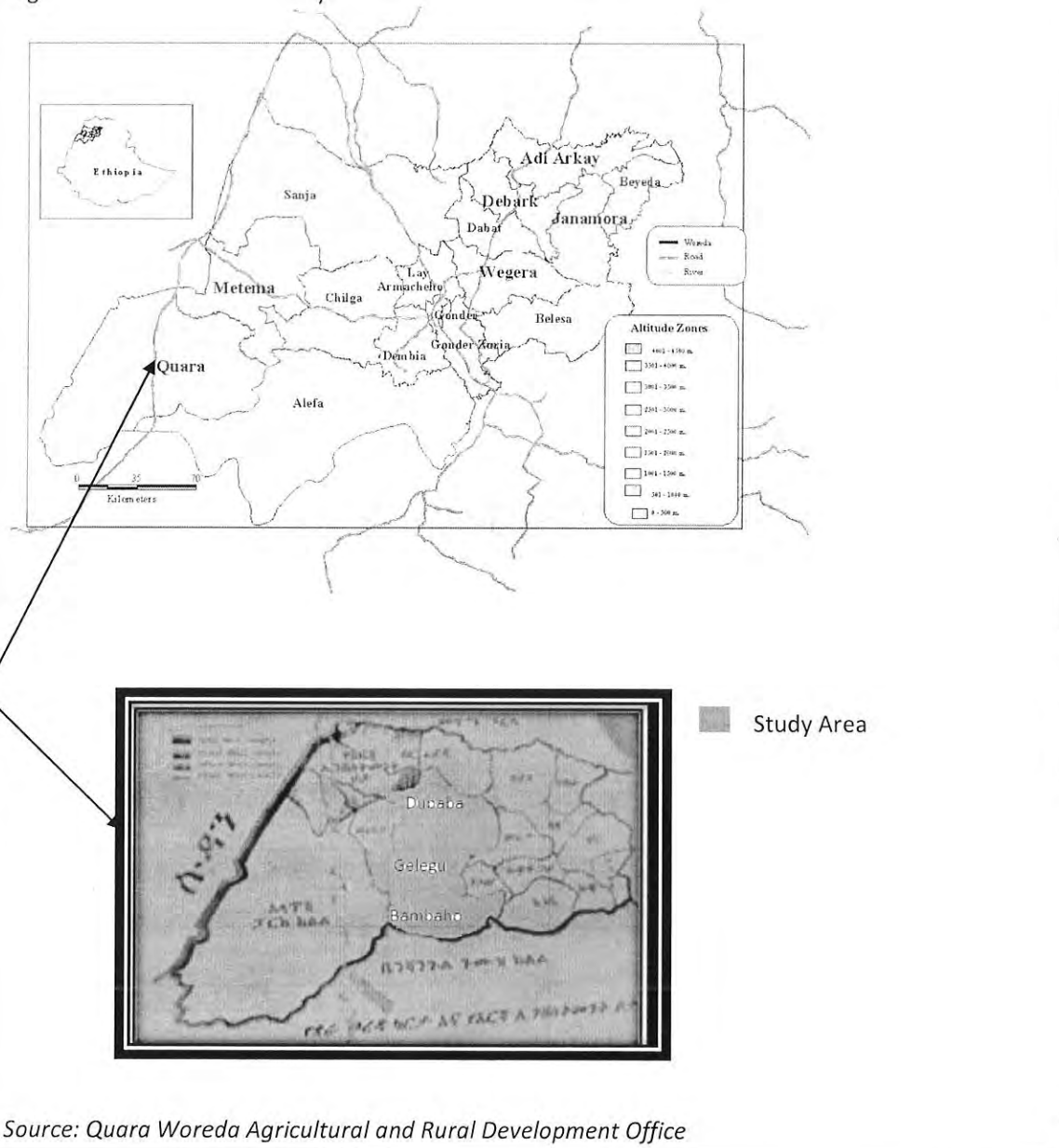
³ Quara Woreda Environmental Conservation and Land Use Administration Office

The resettlement sites in woreda have got different names in additions to the original names of areas. To mention some of the resettlement kebeles and their respective resettlement sites, Bedelal (Bedela resettlement site), Selferedi (Nebis Gebya no. 1, 2 and 4, and Aysega resettlement sites), Dubaba (Dubaba, Cherchir, Bignagna, and Mirtgelegu resettlement sites), Banbaho (Bemur, Agamwuha and Bambaho resettlement sites), Bermil (Bermil resettlement site), Mahadid (Mehadid resettlement site), Gumuz Wuha (Gumuz and Dizza Wuha resettlement sites), and Marwuha (Marwuha resettlement site).

The representative kebeles, where this study focuses are Banbaho kebele (with the resettlement sites Bemur, Bambaho, and Agamwuha), Gelegu Kebele (Gelegu resettlement site) and Dubaba Kebele (Cherchir, Bignagna, Mirtgelegu and Dubaba resettlement sites). The kebeles have population of 12735, 11303 and 9614 for Dubaba, Gelegu and Bambaho kebeles respectively. Of the above mentioned population, the new comers (settled population) account about 8,766; 1,977 and 3,687 for Dubaba, Gelegu and Bambaho kebeles respectively.

The reason why the three kebeles are purposively selected for this study is due to the fact that the kebeles are composed of both the new comers and the host community under the same kebele administration and found to be convenient to see how resettlement is affecting the livelihoods of both new comers and the host community.

Figure 1: Location of the Study Area



Source: Quara Woreda Agricultural and Rural Development Office

3.2 Study Design

To undertake this study, cross-sectional survey involving both qualitative (from case study, focus group discussion, key informant interview, and on spot observation using different checklists) and quantitative (mainly using survey questionnaire) or mixed approach by giving more emphasis to the qualitative approach was employed.

3.3 Sources of Data

To collect the required data for this particular study, both primary and secondary sources of data were used. The data from primary sources were gathered using survey, focus group discussion and key informant interview methods. The secondary data were also collected from secondary data source such as published and unpublished documents. The documents from Federal Food Security Coordination Directorate and Woreda Food Security coordination office were used as the major sources of secondary data about resettlement and its ongoing processes. Reports from resettlement sites, Woreda office and the Zonal department were also used as additional sources of information about overall process and situations of the program.

3.4 Sampling Technique

The subjects of the study were both male and female from host and settlers or new comer community households of the selected kebeles. The total sample size was estimated to be 100 households using the following sample size determination formula adapted from Israel (1992). $n = N / 1 + N(e)^2$ where; N = the total population that will be studied, n = the required sample size, e = the precision level which is = ($\pm 10\%$), where confidence level is 95% at $P = \pm 5$ (maximum variability)

The selected Kebeles are composed of 5,029 households. By replacing on the above formula, it becomes 98.05 approximately, 100 households. The distribution of sample size across the kebeles was 34, 34 and 32 for Dubaba, Gelegu and Bambaho kebeles respectively based on the size of households. As far as sampling technique is concerned, first, the settler and host community were identified using purposive sampling technique. Secondly, sampled households were selected using simple random sampling technique. 52 and 48 households were taken from host and settler communities respectively. In sampling original residences and new settlers of the area, equal proportion of the sample size according to the size of the population in respective communities and kebeles was kept so as to avoid the bias in generating the required data.

3.5 Instruments and data collection process

To gather the required data for this study, various instruments of data collection were used. To collect the first hand information household survey; Focus Group Discussion (FGD) to generate qualitative information; key informant interview with different government officials at different levels for detailed information; and case studies (stories) of households from selected households and on spot observation were conducted. The detail data collection process using the aforementioned techniques is discussed below.

A. Household Survey

For household survey of the study, questionnaire consists of both open and closed ended questions were the important data collection instrument. The questionnaire was prepared in English and was translated in to local language (Amharic). Before collecting the data, it was pre-tested. Using questionnaire, the data was collected from 100 sampled households drawn from selected kebeles (Dubaba, Gelegu, and Bambaho).

B. Focus Group Discussion

In addition to questionnaire, focus group discussion (FGD) was the most important data collection technique to generate the qualitative information. There were total of six FGDs, of which three were with the host community and the rest three were with the settled community members having two FDS in each kebele. The participants of FGDs were the influential and well experienced individuals from both communities and each group consisted of five to nine individuals. The independent checklists were used as the major tools to guide discussions.

C. Key Informant Interview

Key informant interviews were conducted with different individuals and officials in study woreda. The first three interviews were conducted with kebele administrators of sample kebels (Dubaba, Gelegu and Bambaho kebeles). The reason to have key informant interview with kebele administrators was due to fact that they have close relation with both community members and it was possible to get important information at grass root level. The fourth key informant interview was conducted with Woreda Food Security Coordination Officer. The Woreda Food Security Coordination Office has responsibility to manage, coordinate and

follow up the whole process of resettlement program. Information about the resettlement process, the challenges and opportunities, and whether settled households have met the primary objective of program (i.e. food security), was gathered from coordination office. The fifth interview was held with the woreda administrator to get the whole picture of the resettlement scheme and the administration procedures followed. So as to cross-check the validity information obtained from the official key informants, conducting the other key informant interview with individuals from the host community and settlers were the part of data collection process. For each interviewee, independent checklists were used.

D. Case studies and Observation

To supplement the information obtained using different techniques and instruments, the case studies (stories) of selected households and on spot observation were parts of data collection process. There were a total of six households for case studies. Of the six case households, three households were from the settler households and the rest three were from the households of the host community.

In addition to the case study, on-spot observations were also other components of data collection process. It included observation of the settlement patterns, farming activities, natural resources particularly forest management and its coverage in the area, social interaction at market places, churches and mosques, and housing conditions of both settlers and host community.

3.6 Data Analysis

The information gathered from different sources, were compiled in the way that is easy to management. The quantitative data was entered in Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 19 for analysis. The results of analysis are interpreted and discussed mainly in descriptive statistic. Mean (average), percentage, mode and other measures are used to express the quantitative findings of the study. The data obtained from focus group discussion, key informant interview using independent checklists and case studies were analyzed qualitatively.

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES OF HOUSEHOLDS: THE CONTEXT

To understand the livelihood experiences of the households, understating the context of the area in general and the households in particular is very important. Based on the data obtained from the household survey of 52 households of the host community and 48 households of the settler community, the chapter presents the context of the study area in terms of demographic characteristics such sex, age, marital status, family size, and socio-economic profiles such as educational status, occupation, and monthly income and its main sources across the two groups of community (the host and the settlers).

4.1 Age and Sex of the Respondents

The age of the respondents is found to be in the range between 23 and 70 years old signifying the minimum and the maximum respectively. The study also revealed that the average age of the respondents is 41.3 and 38 is found to be the modal age. The category of the age groups shows that the majority of respondents (67%) are found under the age category of between 31 and 60 year old followed by the age group between 16 and 30 years old, who accounted about 26% of the total respondents. Only 7% of the respondents are found to be above 60 years old.

Table 1: Age of Respondents (N=100)

Age category	count		Total
	Host	Settler	
Between 16 and 30	15	11	26
Between 31 and 60	33	34	67
Above 60	4	3	7
Total	52	48	100

Source: own survey result, 2011

From randomly taken sample households, about 84% of household respondents are male and the rest 16% of the respondent are also found to be female.

4.2 Marital Status and Head of the Household

The marital status of the respondents in the sampled households could be categorized as single, married, divorced and widowed. The data obtained from the household survey indicated that 7% of respondents are single, 84% married, and 4% and 5% are known to be divorced and widowed respectively. From this figure, it is could be learned that the vast majority of households in the study area are headed by the married individuals.

When we see the head of the households across sex, most of the households in the study area are headed by male. Only few households are headed by female and boys in their respective households. The survey result indicated that 85% of the sampled households are headed by male (husband), 13% headed by female, who are either divorced or widowed and very few (2%) of households are known to be headed by boys.

4.3 Family Size

In the context of sustainable livelihood approach, looking at the trends such as demographic trends, resource trends and government trends are the important elements to be considered (Kollmiar and Gamper, 2002:5). Due to continuous and ongoing resettlement, which has been undertaking since the year 2003, the study area has experienced higher population trend within five years, which was not ever seen in its history. In connection with it, looking at family size of the households, which is one of the manifestations of the demographic characteristics, is important. The family size of sampled household respondents is found to be between 2 (minimum) and 12(maximum) per household.

Table 2: Family Size of Households (N=100)

Family size	Frequency		Total
	Host	Settler	
Between 1 and 3	3	7	10
Between 4 and 6	25	27	52
Between 7 and 10	21	13	34
More than ten	3	1	4
Total	52	48	100

Source: Own household survey, 2011

The quantitative data obtained using survey questionnaire, indicated that the average family size of the households is 6.1 members per household with modal family size of 6 members.

As it can be seen from *Table 2*, more than half of the sampled households have the family size ranging from 4 to 6 individuals and only 10% of the sampled households have the family size of less than four per households, while 4% of the households have registered the family size having more than 10 individuals per household.

4.4 Educational Status of Respondents

The educational status of households, which is the most important and the determinant to access other livelihood assets of individuals and households is found to be minimal. About 42% of respondent in the study area cannot read and write followed by those who can read and write. The rest 58% of household respondents account those who can read and write, and who have attained the formal education from lower grades to the secondary education levels. The respondents who can read and write but not attained the formal education represent about 30% of the total household respondents. This indicates that considerable numbers of people in the area were not in a position to have access for formal education. When we see the people who have attended the formal education, about 16% of household respondents are found to be at primary level education (in grades 1 to 4) and 10% of the respondents are under category of those who have attended the junior secondary level (grades 5 to 8). Only 2% of household respondents were reported that they have completed grades 9 to 12 and no respondent was found attended and/or completed above grade 12.

The study also revealed that there is significant variation in education status across sex. The higher proportion of household male respondents are literate (can read and write) while higher proportion of female respondents are found to be illiterate (cannot read and write). The data generated from the surveyed households indicated that more than 60 % of male respondents can read and write and the above educational level where as higher proportion of male respondents are cannot read and write. It is also known that about 68.8% and 31.2 % of female household respondent are found to be cannot read and write; and can read and write and above levels respectively. There was no female household respondent who have attended above grade four.

This could be seen as indication for the fact that female in Quara as the other part of the country did not get equal opportunity for formal education in the past times and as a result lagged behind in relative educational status compared to male.

Table 3: Sex and Educational Status of Respondents (N=100)

Sex	Educational status										Total
	Cannot read and write		Can read and write		Primary level (1-4 grades)		Junior secondary (5-8 grades)		High school (9-12 grades)		
	Host	Settler	Host	Settler	Host	Settler	Host	Settler	Host	Settler	
Male	13	18	17	10	8	6	6	4	1	1	84
female	3	8	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	16
Total	16	26	19	11	10	6	6	4	1	1	100

Source: Own survey data, 2011

4.5 Occupation and Household Income

The major occupation of people in rural parts of Quara and the monthly income of the households and its main sources were assessed. The data generated from surveyed household respondents revealed that the main occupation for about 96% of sampled household respondents is found to be farming particularly, crop production and animal husbandry being major and minor respectively. Trading and working as daily labour are also found to be the main occupations for 2 % and 1% of rural households respectively in the study area.

Sales of grains from the granary stocks of the households, animal and their products, sales of cash crops such as sesame, cotton, sorghum and other off-farm activities such as shopping and service oriented activities are identified to be the sources of household income in the study area. Of indentified source of income for households, sale of cash crops is found to be the main source of income for about 74% of the household respondent followed by non-farm income generating activities, which is the main source of income for about 13% of sampled households. Animal and their products are found to be the main source of household income for 10% respondents and wage is also the source of income for 1% of households in the study area. With regard to animals, the study revealed that animals are not only the source of income but also means of saving and manifestations of the different socio-economic status in Quara (see also Ali, 2008 and the financial capital in this paper for more detail).

Regardless of minor problems in appropriate valuation of the household products and livestock prices, the income of the households was calculated based on the annual production of households. From all annual products of the households, the income per month in terms of birr is calculated to be between the range 300 and 4,150 birr per month per household for both

settlers and host communities. The average household income in the study area is also calculated to be 1,357.3 birr per month per household.

It is also known that the income of the households in the area studied significantly varies across the two groups of community. The host community members or those who have lived for longer period of time have higher income, where as the settler or those who have lived relatively shorter period in the area registered relatively lower income per household.

Table 4: Monthly Income of Households (N=100)

Income Category	Host n(%)	Settler n(%)	Total
Less than 150 birr	-	-	-
Between 151 and 500 birr	2(3.8)	11(22.9)	13
Between 501 and 1,000 birr	5 (9.7)	17 (35.4)	22
More than 1,000 birr	45 (86.5)	20(41.7)	65
Total	52 (100)	48(100)	100

Source: Household survey; January, 2011

As *Table 4* depicts, the host community members have registered the higher household income, while the settler community members have experienced relatively lower household income. About 86.5% of respondents from the host community have registered the monthly household income more than 1,000 birr and only 2.8% of households from the same community have reported that they have less than 500 birr per month per household, while 41.7 % of the settler community member respondents have registered the household income of more than 1,000 birr per month per household and about 22.9% of them have also registered household income of less than 500 birr per month per household. In the area studied, it is know that the income of households is strongly related with number of oxen in the households signifying that households with higher oxen number tend to register the higher household income. This implies that oxen in area are very important financial assets (See also financial assets). The important thing to be noted in the calculation of household income is that it does not include the income earned from the casual income generating activities and it was calculated from regular livelihood activities particularly, from crops produced, and animals domesticated and their products.

4.6 Summary

To sum up the socio-economic and demographic profiles of households, the study area has experienced the highly growing population trend, which was not ever seen in its history. The data obtained from household survey revealed that the family size of the study households is found to be 12 and 2 individuals for maximum and minimum respectively with the average of 6.1 members per household. About 42% of sampled households are illiterate (cannot read and write) and also significantly varies across sex signifying that the higher proportion of female respondents are illiterate compared to male.

Farming is found to be the major occupation for about 96% respondents and for the rest 4% of respondents, trading, daily labour and other income generating activities are the major occupations. Sales of grains from the granary stocks of the household, animal and their products, sales of cash crops such as sesame, cotton, sorghum and other off-farm activities such as shopping are identified to be the sources of household income in the study area. Of those identified sources of household income, sales of cash crops are the sources of income for majorities in the study area.

The monthly income of the households was calculated based on the annual product of the household excluding the casual income generating activities and it is known that 300 birr per month per household is the minimum and 4,150 birr per month per household is the maximum household income with average of 1,357.3 birr per month per household with significant variation across the two groups of communities. The host community members have registered the higher average household income, while the members of the settler community have experienced less household income compared to their host community members.



CHAPTER FIVE

Perception of People about Resettlement and Current Situations

As it has already discussed in chapter three under review of related literature, Ethiopia has experienced different planned resettlement programs since imperial time. Although, there are writer and organizations such as Human Rights Watch saying that there is no difference between the past resettlement schemes and the current one in terms of conditionality attached with it, some proponents and the current government argue that the present ongoing resettlement program is entirely different from previous schemes. As it has been stated in the program document, entitled the “Voluntary Resettlement Programme (Access to improved land): A New Coalitions for Food Security in Ethiopia”, the program is looked as the development program which aimed to let people to stand on their feet by reestablishing the new livelihoods instead of short-term and emergency response. Intraregional, voluntarism, iterative and learning process are the peculiar features of the current resettlement program. According to program document, it seems that it has learned different things from the success and failures of the past schemes and attempted to incorporate corrective measures based on the past experiences. As a result, one of the sources of debates in resettlement (the issue of the intercommunity conflict) that had been reported in money cases is not observed by this study.

In connection with it, looking the program from the view of the receiving or the host community and from new comers or settlers community is important. In this chapter, the initiation process made by government in both extremes (sending areas and receiving woreda), the rationale of settler community to be settled in the area, the rationale of the host community to accept the new people from different areas, the joining process and the welcoming experience of the host community with respect to the continuous nature of the program and its challenges and opportunities are briefly discussed.

5.1 Initiation

As it has been clearly indicated in the program document, relocating people from chronically food insecure areas caused by land shortage, drought, and other problems and to let about 440,000 households to attain the household food security and gain better livelihood opportunity by providing access to land from identified potential areas is the objective of the program.

Based on data generated from key informants and focus group discussions, the study revealed that the initiation and warp ups made by concerned local government bodies both in sending and receiving woredas were performed in the form of campaign. As if there is virgin land which has never been exploited and could help them to get out of chronic problems in very short time and the attractive incentives that the settlers would receive from government were some of the triggering factors used to convince the settler community. However, some exaggerated information about the new area such as conduciveness of the area for any kind of crop, the infrastructure facilities such as road, availability of electricity, telecommunication service, potable water and even the residence houses are ready made and waiting for the beneficiaries to be used, photographs and video shows which reflect only better features of new area were untrue and misleading information provided to the settlers. With this regard, Ato Miretu Molla who came from Wegera Woreda of North Gondar Zone and settled in Dubaba kebele, village two (*Mender Hulet*) settlement site reported in his wordings as follows:

When I came to this area, I used to think that I would just receive the key for me and my family's residence house, which has already constructed, being iron roofed. That is what I and my friends were told. But what I found is the house constructed being grass roofed with no properly fitted door.

With the same token, the initiation and convincing campaign of the local government was extended to the receiving community. Consultation with selected elderly people in Quara and conducting public meeting in selected receiving kebeles were parts of the campaign. However, the pre-resettlement forums were not including all peoples in the woreda. As a result, about 4% of household respondents from the host community members reported that they did not get pre-resettlement information when resettlement was planned to be there. But, the majority

of the receiving community members were already aware of upcoming government intervention.

The study also revealed that the consensus between the local government and local people in Quara was not achieved easily. There was resistance from the local people claiming that the land will be redistributed to the new comers, it will be challenging to rear livestock as usual and fear of confronting with the new people with different cultural backgrounds were some of the issues claimed. But later the cultural background of the settlers is found to be more or less similar to the pre-existing (hosting community) of the area. After the local people get convinced, each household in receiving kebeles get ready to accept the settlers by supplying different materials such as household utensils, construction material, grass and woods and by constructing residence houses from locally available materials. However, the case in Bambaho kebele, Bambaho resettlement site is found to be with no consensus between local government and people and the way they participated in accepting the settlers is reported to be different compared to people from the other resettlement sites of the study area. As result, people who have settled in Bambaho resettlement site did not get the warm welcoming from their hosts as settlers in the other area of Woreda.

5.1.1 Rationale of Settlers

To get out of pressing problems in their original land and the need to find better livelihood options in the place of destination using the opportunities created by the government and existence of unexploited resource in the new area were the reasons why the settlers have had chosen to be part of the program. As settlers themselves reported, people in their original area were noticed that the life reliant on the aid of government is no longer sustainable and looking another opportunities was the important triggering factor. Shortage of food, the existence of marginal land which is not capable of yielding sufficient food required to meet the demand of households are also another push factors of the area to be mentioned. On the top of all pushing factors, shortage of land in the original place of residence particularly, for youth group of population is found to be the major one. On the other side, Voluntary nature of the program, which let people to decide themselves with the room to switch on and off from the new destinations and grantee for plot of land in their original place for three years in addition to new farm land provided in resettlement area are also reported to be the opportunities used by the settler community. In addition to the above rationalities, the report of visit of the new

areas made by representative individuals of sending Woredas directed the decision of individuals and the households. As one elder person who was among the representative individuals from Adarkay Woreda of North Gondar zone and now resident in Gelegu resettlement site told that he and the members of the group assessed all the natural resources, the health situation and types of crops cultivated and potential of the area for the livestock production. He also added that they met and made consultation with the local people and studied the cultural practices in the area whether it contradicts or not with their culture. As result, they found that the area is assumed to be convenient to people in their woreda.

In general, the pushing factors in the original areas and attracting situations in the place of destination coupled with incentives made by government to support their livelihoods such as ration, oxen according to the family size of the households and farming material, the room to switch on and off from to the place of origin and back to the new area, and anticipation of better things in the new area based on huge advertisements made are what were considered by the settler communities to be part of the program. As documented information from Quara Woreda Food Security Coordination Offices showed, the origins of settlers are mostly from Adarkay and Wogera of North Gondar zone and Este, Gayint and Simada Woredas of South Gondar zone. However, considerable numbers of settlers have also originated from West Gojam and Waghimra zones.

5.1.2 Rationale of Host Community

After convinced that they should receive people from different part of the region, the local people anticipated good things out of the program. In the area, there was no affordable infrastructure facilities, such as road, health facilities except one health station with limited facilities and health professionals, school except one junior secondary school in Woreda town, market opportunities, pure water, banking service, electrification and telecommunication (see chapter six for more detail) were the constraints which were challenged the livelihoods of people and impeded the development of the study area for longer period.

Anticipating such facilities and services from the program, the host community played indispensable role in facilitating and coordinating the program. People in the study area, particularly in Gelegeu and Dubaba kebeles, have asked the resettlement to be around their dwellings and some individuals and households have also given their extra land to be

distributed to their new neighbors. The observations conducted about settlement patterns during data collection confirmed the fact. As it has been known from observation of the settlement patterns, or the way resettlement sites are designed is like fence of pre-existing (host) community surrounding the settlements of host community and new established towns.

Figure 2: Part of Resettlement Site in Dubaba



Photo by Genanew, 2011

The kebeles, where the study is conducted, the towns are surrounded by the setter houses or the new settlement sites. It is also known that the new established settlement sites in their respective kebeles are named with the name of the origin of settlers. For example, it is common to find sites (*Sefer* or *Meder*) called *Adarkay Sefer*, *Este Sefer*, *Simada Sefer*, *Wogera Sefer* and the like.

This pattern of settlement has helped the local people and the settlers to be benefited out of the program in terms of market, social interactions and welfare services like water and health services. But, it has also exerted its negative impact on the livelihood of the households particularly, associated with livestock production. For most of households surrounded by settlement sites, it is found that the outlet of the livestock to the grazing land and inlet back to home is challenging, especially in the muddy seasons.

It is with the above optimistic views of communities that the resettlement program and the settlers were warmly welcomed by the host community. In the following sections, the getting together situation of communities bridged by the program and the acceptance practice of the local people over time, the opportunities, and the challenges brought by resettlement program are discussed.

5. 2 Current Situation and Practices

In the study area, resettlement is continued to be the yearly practice, which is not uncommon to people and the local government officials since 2003. The data obtained from household survey, FGDs and key informant interviews showed that welcoming practice of the local people to settlers is reported interesting in the first times especially in the year 2003 and 2004. However, the practice was no longer sustained after a year and continued to the extent of not being aware of whether there is resettlement program or not, except the players of the program.

As it has been mentioned in the above sections, in the year 2003 and 2004, the local people highly welcomed the settlers by constructing house, and providing household materials. The introduction forums and welcoming coffee ceremonies in settlement sites were parts of the welcoming programs. The focus group discussions held with the local representative individuals in three kebeles and government officials in the area witnessed the fact. However, the practice has decreased from time to time as a result; the later settlers did not get such opportunities and warm welcoming of host community when they arrive to new place of resident. The people in the area studied also pointed that the practice of the host community towards the new comers is moving from warm welcoming of the settlers to resistance of the program claiming that it is going to be more than the capacity of the area and instead of bringing good things to the area, it has becoming the source of the conflict associated with natural resources.

Regardless of the good social exercises of the local people in the first times, the area is found to be by far different from what has been advertized to settlers. As the focus group participants in all kebeles reported, the promised services were not satisfactory. Due to lack of telecommunication services, people particularly, settlers have been isolated from communicating with their families and relatives. The higher temperature of the area, malaria, water logging in residence areas and farmland, provision of two hectare of land other than land given for residence, which is less than the expectation of most settlers and insufficiency to meet the demand of the settlers households, existence of other untold bad features of the area have disappointed most settlers and caused to exercise from voluntary resettlement to pushed repatriation to their original place of residence.

The available documented information obtained from Quara Woreda Food Security Coordination Office confirmed this practice of settlers. As documented information of the office indicated, since 2003 to 2009, the total of 31,281 households or 62,400 people were officially settled, but out of this population, only 4,078 households or about 35,554, which is almost half of total settled population is reported to be the permanently settled settlers of the area. The information obtained from selected key informants of the settler and host community members indicated that the reasons for repatriation of the settlers to their original place of residence are not only the disappointments from not getting the promised service, facilities and the harsh conditions of the area but also the existence of two houses in two area (in original and settlement area) with their plot of land are also mentioned to be additional factors. Disappointments from the program and associated reactions by households are not limited to the settler community members only, but also extended to the members of host community. The host community members have been also claiming that the settlers are more privileged and get more concern by government than their hosting community. The data obtained from key informants also revealed that even those who are considered permanent residence of settlers have two houses in both areas and the reason why they are found permanent is they have managed their two households and associated resources having the strong linkage with family members and relatives in the original place of residence. This has also opened an opportunity to exploit the livelihood resources specially, the land resources from two areas of residences.

The interesting thing is that it is common to get people who have settled more than two times in Quara, simply by changing their name and the new place or resettlement site that they settled. As one development agent working with settlers told that he has found one person settled three times in Quara while he was distributing the ration to the settlers upon their arrival. As he noted, first, he settled in Selferdi kebele of the study Woreda, Nebis Gebeya resettlement site number 2; secondly, in Bambaho resettlement site; and thirdly, in the same kebele, Agamwuha resettlement sites just by changing his name. The study conducted by Teshome *et al* (2010) in same area of study including Metema, revealed that the problem coordination and management including inappropriate selection of settlers are found to be identified gaps particularly, in sending woredas. This study also confirmed the reported gaps.

The situation is more tactical in legalizing the settlement procedures and the link extends to original place of residence. The information obtained from Quara Woreda Administration Office has witnessed the situation indicating the reason for such illegal practice is loose and reluctant recruitment of sending woreda officials including kebele administrators who legalized identity cards of illegal settlers, who have owned more than one identity card and perhaps, gained additional land in the different settlement sites and incentives from government. The incentives given by the government up to the end of first production season and the room to switch on and off from the settlement area to original land are also mentioned to be contributing factors for such practices of some settlers. In this study, it is learned that mobility of individuals and households in different resettlement sites have been perceived as means of livelihood security. As they settled in different resettlement sites, they receive different incentives till one production season and land from government.

5.3 Opportunities of Resettlement

People in the study area have different perception about the importance of resettlement. Instead of the looking the advantages of such government interventions from top-down perspective, looking it from the view of the direct beneficiaries sounds good. In this regard, the question whether such planned resettlement programs are important or not for better livelihood options of rural households was the major concern of the study.

Of the total of 100 surveyed households, about 48% of respondents argued that resettlement program is important for better livelihood options of households followed by the group of respondents who perceive that resettlement having two edges (having both advantageous and disadvantageous effect).

Table 5: Perception of People about Resettlement (N=100)

Group of Respondents	What can you say about the current resettlement program?				Total N(%)
	Very important n (%)	Important n (%)	Important and destructive n (%)	Destructive n (%)	
Host	11(21.2)	12 (23.1)	28 (53.8)	1(1.9)	52 (52)
Settler	4(8.3)	36 (75)	7 (14.6)	1(2.1)	48 (48)
Total	15 (15)	48 (48)	35 (35)	2(2)	100 (100)

Source: own data, 2011

As it can be seen from *Table 5*, about 35 % of respondent reported that resettlement program is important for better livelihood options as well as destructive of some livelihood assets. A

smaller proportion of respondents perceived that resettlement programs are very important for the livelihood of the households and as well as for better advancement of the area. Only 2% of respondents reported that resettlement do not provide good things to people rather than its destructive and harmful effects on the livelihood assets.

The study also attempted to see whether there is variation with the two groups of community members as far as the importance of resettlement is concerned. The cross tabulation of survey data revealed that the majority (about 75%) of settler respondents said that resettlement is important to the livelihoods of households compared to 23% of host community respondents saying the same thing. However, the host community members are by far better to consider the two edges of resettlement, i.e. the importance and destructive nature. More than 53% of host community members have perceived that resettlement has both importance and destructive effect on some livelihood assets compared with 14.5% of members of the settler community.

Box 1: Perception of People about Resettlement

Host from Bambaho

We were expected good things when we allow the resettlement to be here, but what we found is it less than our expectation. Our children are walking on foot for more than two hours to get school as before resettlement. Only few people are benefited from the program.

Settler from Dubaba

If it would have been equal land holding with hosts, the settler would have been more beneficial from the program than the host community members.

Host from Gelegu

We are not given equal attention and privilege by our government as settlers

Host elder person from Gelegu

Resettlement is good, but the enemy of forest

Women Settler from Bambaho

The program was intended to us who were under chronic problems, but the more beneficial are found to be the host community. We settlers have become the cultivators of their crop and the keepers of their cattle.

Source: Case households



To see the positive sides of resettlement program in the context of Quara, it has brought about dramatic change in the life of settlers particularly and to people of the area in general. To mentions some of the good things, independence of the settlers in attaining the household food sufficiency, market opportunities, which triggered people to produce more than subsistence, establishment of the large commercial farms by the host community and other investors from different regions, the availability of high labor force for agricultural production which was very serious problem before resettlement, the job opportunity, even though it is limited, the supply of pure water around resettlement sites, construction of health stations and posts in different kebeles, construction of high school, construction of the road which connects to the other woreda, and establishment of new towns around the settlements, which are serving as socio-economic centers are some the good things brought following resettlement program. With regard to the market opportunity, an elder person whose name is Aba Melaku, who has lived in Gelegu kebele for more than 37 year, said that:

..... the current market opportunity is incomparable with the past times. We used to sell our surplus grains and livestock to Sudanese people walking at least for 4 days using donkey as means of transportation with no room to bargain on price and brought salt and cloth as exchange. Even the money itself was not ours. It was Sudan's Dinar. Before ten year I sold one quintal of sesame for 82 birr after two days on foot journey. But now, we can sell a quintal of sesame for 1,700 birr being at home without paying transport cost.

Following sesame and cotton production in the area, higher labor force is required particularly, during peak seasons such as weeding and harvesting times. In turn, this has created an opportunity for service providers and the workers. During weeding and harvesting times of sesame, the average daily wage is estimated to be 86 birr per day per person. Another important thing to be mentioned associated with the resettlement program in the area is the establishment of the new towns, which facilitate the socio-economic interactions. To name some of them, Bermil, Chercher, Mirtgelegu, and Agamwuha are some of the new small towns established following the resettlement program and currently they are serving as socio-economic centers. Having those good things in mind, who are more benefited out of the program was the question of this study. This was the important question which attracted the attention of the focus group participants from both groups of community members and

inspired hot debate. The result obtained from analysis of quantitative data revealed that about 40% of the respondents reported that the resettlement program benefits both host and settler communities, but more to the settler community members followed by 35% of household respondents, who claimed that resettlement program benefits both host and settler communities, but more to the host community. However, about 23% of respondents said that resettlement has equal benefit to host and settler communities and the remaining 2% of the respondents said resettlement program benefits more people who have more resources especially, more oxen, land, shop, milling machine, which help them to get more household income following the increasing population and demand for land and services. In one or another ways, it could be said that there are group of people who are losers and there are also group of people who gain more of the best things out the program.

5.4 The Challenges of Resettlement

As it has discussed from above sections, in addition to good things brought, resettlement program also has the other edge with challenging things to the households of settlers and their host community members. Following increase in population of the area, expansion of the theft practices which was uncommon to area before resettlement program, shortage of land, deforestation (see natural capital), shortage of the grazing land following the large livestock population of the area, decrease in productivity of soil, and water pollution are some of the challenges to farm households brought by resettlement program in the area studied.

As a result of quantitative analysis of the survey data, about 92% of household respondents reported that expansion of theft practice is becoming serious problem after resettlement program. As people from the members of the local community, who have lived for many years in the area told that before resettlement no one had experienced bringing of yolk and other plowing materials to home from farm fields unless plowing is completed but currently, this has been the story of the area. The case of theft is very serious on livestock such as oxen and donkeys. It is also known that an increase in the price of livestock associated with higher market demand around Sudan border particularly, for oxen coupled with the traditional open field grazing with no keepers have aggravated the theft practices to be serious and ever increasing problem of the area. In addition to the above factors, the shortage of the land which could support the livelihood of individuals and households might have forced people to exercise theft as mean of livelihood.

Shortage of the land is also mentioned as the major challenging issue and the severity of the problems is increasing from time to time. As a result, shortage of communal grazing land, and the problem of outlets and inlets of the livestock from home to existing communal grazing land and back to home are some problems associated with shortage of the land. The situation is found to be more serious around resettlement sites. The land shortage has also forced households in Quara to shift to the other livelihood activities (see chapter seven) and to exercise labour intensive agricultural activities in a given plot of land. Deforestation is also mentioned to be the most serious problem of the area following the resettlement program. The interesting thing with regard to deforestation is that among surveyed household respondents, almost all (99%) claimed that the resettlement program is the major cause of deforestation (see chapter six for more detail).

Intercommunity conflict is not reported as the challenge of the resettlement program as the past regimes' resettlement programs of the county. However, following the shortage of the land, grazing land, woodland and associated common natural resources are becoming sources of conflicts between people in different kebeles, but not between the two groups of communities.

5.5 Summary

To sum the chapter, even though, there are people and organizations attempting to make similarities with the past resettlement schemes and the present one in terms of conditionality attached with it, some proponents and the current government, on the counterpart claimed that the current resettlement program is entirely different from past schemes. With this regard, being the long-term development intervention rather than emergency response short-term intervention, intraregional based on the ethnic based federalism, voluntarism and aimed to bring better livelihood opportunities to chronically food insecure households by ensuring access to land are the peculiar features of the current resettlement program. On the other hand, besides objectives set and the directions indicated by government, the beneficiaries or target population of the program and receiving community have had their own saying and rationalities on the intervention. To become free of persistence and pressing problems of the area and the need to find out other livelihood options by using government initiated resettlement scheme is found to be the rationale of settler community to be part of the program. The data obtained from different sources show that there was resistance of the host community to accept the settlers from different parts of the region claiming to resources based

risks. However, after convinced that the resettlement program is vital to the area, they anticipated good things particularly, welfare services and infrastructure out of the program. It is also identified that settlers and host community did not find the program consistent with what has been said. Consequently, both settler and host communities have reacted on the program in different ways. The considerable number of settlers is subjected to repatriation to their original place, while the host community members have also experienced from the hot welcoming of the settlers to the resistance of the program.

The good things out of the program are found to be multiple. Even though, it is limited in term of addressing the need of people in the area, construction of health stations and posts, pure water supply in settlement site, job opportunity, availability of high agricultural working force, the opportunity to shift people from subsistence farming to large scale commercial farming, construction of schools, market opportunities in the near distance, construction of high school, and development of the small towns which are becoming the socio-economic centers are found to be the good opportunities gained from the program. Considering the good things of resettlement, the majority of respondents said that resettlement program as strategy to get out of pressing problems and to search better livelihood options is important and only few of the respondents have said that as if it has two edges having the advantage in one side and disadvantage or harmful effect on the other hand. In addition to good things brought, resettlement program is also has the other edge with challenging things to settlers and their hosting community members. Increase in population of the area, expansion of the theft practices which was uncommon to area before resettlement program, shortage of land, deforestation, shortage of the grazing land following the increase of livestock population, decrease in productivity of soil, and water pollution are some of the challenges brought by resettlement program to farm households in the area.

Bringing together both the opportunities and the challenges of resettlement making trade-off and judging the program whether it is advantageous or disadvantageous is very vital and logical. However, unless subjective judgment is made, with this limited information it could be bit difficult. According to this study, the opportunities of the program outweigh more than its challenges and it is more advantageous to the settlers than the host community members.

CHAPTER SIX

GAIN AND LOSS OF LIVELIHOOD ASSETS

People everywhere as well as in the study area require various types of livelihoods assets to achieve their self-defined goals. As it has been noted by Scoones (1998:7), the ability to pursue different livelihood strategies is dependent on the basic material and social, tangible and intangible assets that people have in their possession. However, no single capital or asset endowment can bring the desired livelihood outcomes. Therefore, for the livelihood of households, there should be the combinations of assets or the possibility that a certain livelihood asset can be shifted or switched to other assets so as to bring the desired outcome.

Assets are of special interest for empirical research in order to ascertain, if those, who were able to escape from poverty, started off with a particular combination of capital, and if such a combination would be transferable to other livelihood settings. Furthermore, it would be interesting to evaluate the potential for substitution between different capitals, for instance, a replacement of a lack of financial capital – as is often the case in the reality of poor stakeholders – through a better endowment with social capital (Kollmiar and Gamper, 2002).

Any development program or intervention which is aimed to improve the livelihoods of the poor is directly or indirectly concerned with establishment and/or strengthening of critical livelihood assets. The study has looked the resettlement program as one development intervention in opening the opportunities to access or gain different livelihood assets and in constraining them for rural households of both communities. This chapter deals with different livelihood assets such as human asset or capital, social assets, financial assets, natural assets giving special attention to land and associated resources, and the available physical assets in the context of the study area. Since there is no single asset which can independently support the livelihoods for the desired outcomes, the interaction between different assets is also incorporated.

6.1 Human Capital

It is the building block of other livelihood assets and could also be considered as the means and end of livelihood outcome. Even though, there are different definitions for this critical livelihood capital, this study shares the definition given in DFID's sustainable livelihoods guidance sheet. It is defined as "the livelihood capital which represents the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health that together enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood objectives" (DFID, 1999:7). In the same source, it is also noted that at household level human capital is a factor of the amount and quality of labour available; this varies according to household size, skill levels, leadership potential, health status, etc.

Pertinent to the above definition, the human capital of the people in the study area considerably vary from person to person. The types of skills acquainted by people of Quara (both settlers and their hosts) also vary across gender and the variation in skills practiced by people is not differentiated by nature; rather it is socially constructed division of work. As it has already discussed in the chapter four, regardless of the variation across sex, about 42% of the household respondents are found to be illiterate (who cannot read and write). Therefore, considerable numbers of the people in the study area are lacking one important human capital, in most cases, which is the source of other human, financial, and social capitals.

Table 6: Educational Status versus Skill of Respondents (N=100)

Educational status	Do you have special skills?			Total N(%)
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>I am not sure I have such skills</i>	
	n(%)	n(%)	n(%)	
Cannot read and write	24(57.1)	4(9.5)	14(33.3)	42(100)
Can read and write	14 (46.7)	6(20)	10 (33.3)	30(100)
Primary level (1-4 grades)	13 (81.3)	-	3(18.7)	16(100)
Junior secondary (5-8 grades)	8 (80)	-	2 (20)	10(100)
High school (9-12 grades)	2(100)	-	-	2(100)
About grade 12	-	-	-	-
Total	61 (61)	10(10)	29(29)	100(1000)

Source: own survey data, 2011

Eventhough, considerable numbers of the people are lagged behind from formal or non-formal education, they have experienced different skills consistence with their culture. About 61% of respondents reported that they have one or more skill which they gained through training or experience and about 29% are not sure whether they have such special skills. The rest of respondents reported that they do not have special skills other than

commonly practiced household activities which are associated with crop cultivation and animal husbandry. It is believed that education is very important to get other human capitals but, the correlation result of educational status and skills of individual indicated that in the study area there is no relation between educational status and human capital particularly, for the skills of the individuals. This implies that most of the skills exercised in the area are emerged from indigenous knowledge and transferred from generation to generation in tacit ways.

Weaving, tailoring, carpentry, house construction, covering the huts with grass, painting of house with mud, making grain store, basket making, chair and bed making, timber making, making different traditional music instruments such as *Masinko*, *kirar*, and *washint* are some of skills that male exercise. Pottery, *Tilf* (decorating cloths, bed sheet, and other household furniture), *Fetil* (making of treads from cotton which is used for weaving), *Sifet* (making of different household utensils such as storage of *enjera* in Amharic called *Moseb* from different treads and grass) are also some of skills practiced by female in Quara. In line with this, the data generated from household survey indicated that about 78% of respondent are sure that in the area there are opportunities to be used with the skills that they own if they are interested to put into practice and make it as the major livelihood strategy. They also reported that there is no difficulty to exercise the skills that they have but, 22% of household respondents have reported that there is no any opportunity to exercise such skills in the area claiming that lack of initial capital and unavailability of the required materials in the area are the major impediments. Eventhough, the majority of respondents reported that there are good opportunities and no difficulty to do with the skills they have, no one is found making it as the major livelihood activity instead of using it as means of income generating activity during spare times of their day-to-day regular responsibilities.

The good start up in the area is that following resettlement program, the schools and other related institutions such as Farmers Training Centers (FTCs), which are important for the capacity building activities of the households and the means of finding other human capitals are being constructed

6.2 Social Capital

Social capital refers to the networks (patronage, neighborhoods, and kinship), relations of trust and mutual understanding and support, formal and informal groups, shared values and behaviors, common rules and sanctions, collective representation, mechanisms for participation in decision-making, and leadership (Serrat, 2008; DFID, 1999).

Among the challenges of the resettlement program, conflicts among communities have been reported in many cases (see Dessalegn, 2003; Tesfaye, 2007; Belay, 2004). In most cases, the sources of conflict are identified to be resource base particularly; natural resources such as grazing land and wood. In the study area, the conflicts between the host and settler communities are not identified. For such smooth relation among the two groups of communities and within communities, the social networks, which are tied with different cultural practices, are the principal factor. With this regard, the current resettlement program which is intraregional seems to have learned from the previous mistakes in terms of avoiding intercommunity conflicts. More or less, the cultural backgrounds between the two groups of communities are similar. The similarity in cultural backgrounds has in turn contributed a lot for the smooth social networks between the two groups of communities and consolidated it more.

The majority of respondent do not agree that the resettlement program is affecting the pre-existing cultural practices of the local community, rather they believe that it has been networked and strengthen with the intermarriage between the settlers and host community, the commonly practiced religious practices, funeral ceremonies, friendship and working together in different socio-economic affairs, neighborhood, sharing of resources, and relation other than blood linkage or *wodajinet*, literally having relation based on affiliation. The details of such social relations between the two groups of communities in the study area are presented in the following sub-sections.

6.2.1 Intermarriage

Marriage is the major social linkers or institution and the base of establishment of new households. In the study area marriage is commonly practiced social phenomena and has been practiced in different forms. As it has been revealed by the study, it could be seen as the intra-host or intra-settler marriage, the marriage which has been practiced in the same group of

community, for example, the marriage between settlers or the marriage between the host community members; and intermarriage which has been practiced between different groups of community (in the case of this study, the marriage between settlers and their hosts).

The concern of this study is the intermarriage, which has significant role in linking the two groups of people in the area studied. The focus group discussions held with the representative individuals from both groups asserted that the practice in intermarriage is increasing from time to time. Intermarriage is not only social networking phenomena but also serves as the source of other livelihoods assets. Households who are linked with intermarriage have a possibility to get additional land for farm; oxen for traction power, financial resource by borrowing or gift, and additional labor during peak seasons of weeding and harvesting.

However, some gaps and limitations of intermarriage compared to the intra-marriage are identified. The data from all studied kebeles show that the intermarriage has got the following characteristics different from intra-marriage. The first distinguishing feature of intermarriage practiced in the study area is that it has been practiced as the second round marriage between individuals who were widowed or divorced. As the data obtained from focus group discussions and key informant interviews indicated that no intermarriage between the host and settlers community members is found to be as the first marriage between people linked, in the local term called *yehig gabicha*, in literally meaning, legal marriage (the marriage between girl who is virgin and boy practiced for the first time). The intermarriage between the settlers and their host community members has also lost some cultural practices and procedures such as *Macha* (the asset gift such as the livestock from the girl and boy family members which is considered as the establishment assets for the newly established household). Secondly, it is one-way. Most of intermarriage practices are reported to be “female from settlers and male from the host”. As it has been told by the host community members, the reason why such one-way intermarriage is the local community have no trust on the settlers due to the fact that most of settlers are observed to be on and off from resettlement areas. Therefore, they believe that it is risk for host community female in such situation to be the housewife of the settlers.

6.2.2 Funeral Ceremonies

Practicing funeral ceremonies together is also another social phenomenon which contributed for the social bonds observed between settler and the host community members. It is also identified that sharing of sorrows and happiness between people especially, between the settlers and their host community members in the area is mostly limited to people who have exercised the same religion, bonded by different social relation such as marriage and *Kirstina* (see the detail under being relative) and people who have become friends of each other.

6.2.3 Religious and Charity Practices

Having the same cultural background has contributed a lot to conduct other social practices in the study area. Orthodox Christian and Islamic religion are the dominant religions. In the study area, about 93% of respondents are Orthodox Christian religion followers and the rest 7% are found to be Muslims. The interaction in Churches and Mosques is common between the host and settlers. During Sundays and Saint Days in Orthodox religion followers, people communicate and discuss some socio-economic issues. In the study area of Gelegu kebele, it has been reported that the association which is called *Yehaimanot Abatoch Bego Adragot Mahiber*⁴, which involves Orthodox religion leaders from both community members is aimed to support orphans and elderly people. As one member of association whose name is *kes* or Priest Nigatu told that the association is permanently supporting about 71 orphans, by providing basic necessities such as food, cloth, shelter and educational materials. In addition to the *Yehaimanot Abatoch Bego Adragot Mahiber*, *Yesalm Abatoch Mahiber*⁵ is also another association established by the settlers and their hosts regardless of the religion differences and it is aimed to solve different conflicts among people of the area.

The important thing to be noted with such religious practices is that they are not limited to only conducting religious practices and charity activities, but have role in solving conflicts and conducting the traditional justice which is called *Shimgilna* to solve intercommunity and intra-community socio-economic problems

⁴ It is to mean Religious Leaders Charity Association

⁵ To mean Peace keeping Fathers Association which is established in the study area

6.2.4 Friendship and Working Together

Having friendship relation and working together are practiced between people in resettlement areas being one the cause to the other. In the study area, friendship and working together have been seen as both the social ties and the economic activity. The qualitative data of the study show that both settlers and host community work in different social and economic activities. People work together during; house construction, weeding, harvesting, security works (*Milisha*) and traditional conflict resolving or *shinglina* mechanisms.

Figure 3: People Interacting on Saturday Market in Bemur



Photo by Genanew, January, 2011

In addition to working together, interactions at the market places during Saturday markets are also found to be the important things of social solidarity and consolidate friendship among the same groups of communities, and between settlers and host groups of communities.

6.2.5 Neighborhood

As it has been discussed in the Chapter Five, the settlement pattern in the study area has contributed to households to experience the neighborhood relationships between the host and settlers. This in turn helped people to share the experiences of each other and strengthened the intimacy between them. Since the settlers have exposed to the new ways of doing things different from their original place, they have been challenged to pursue their livelihoods in the new area. But the neighborhood relations helped them to consult the nearby host community members for the local indigenous knowledge associated with the livelihood activities. In relation to this, the woman who came from Wogera Woreda and now living in Gelegu resettlement site said that:

We used to think that things in the new area would be easily adaptable but, we found that the new things are not only the place and people, but also the way people are doing also differ from what we know in our previous locality and it has challenged us particularly, in the first year. The good thing is that the government does not isolate us and instead let us to live with people of the area, and the local people tell us everything whenever we ask them.

6.2.6 Resource sharing as Social Network

Sharing of resources such as land, oxen, and labor are also the important practices of the area which strengthened the social capital and access to the other livelihood assets. Resource sharing among households is not only the social networker, but also the important economic relationship. Following the disparity in land holding size and livestock population among people, sharing oxen with land to cultivate together, pairing of oxen (called *Kinajo*), and sharing labour between households to get certain amount of product *Siso* (which is one third of total product that hired person get for one production season work in some household's farm) are common resource sharing practices of the study area.

Such resource sharing in the study area, are kinds of win-win games. For instance, the one who has more oxen to be trained how to plough gives to the person who is in need of oxen for traction power and the person in need of oxen trains two oxen and will take one ox for himself free of rent for one production season. *Webera* (collaborative work), *Wonfel* (like *wobera*, but round wise) are some resource sharing practices of the area. Like working together, sharing of resources has both economic and social role among the people of Quara.

6.2.7 Being Relative

In the study area it is common to hear people saying this man or woman is my relative, even without having blood relation. These types of social ties take place in different forms. As it has been noted by Tesfaye (2007:75), settlers and host community are bonded by different social ties such as *Abelijnet* or God parenthood (a kind of social bond that is arranged when the newborn baby is baptized in Ethiopia Orthodox Church) and other forms of the relations.

The same is true in Quara and people have practiced such kinds of social relations or *zimdina*. The kind of *zimdina* or literally being relative is manifested in two ways. The first type of

zimdina is *Abelijinet* or God Parenthood, which is predominantly, practiced within Christian Orthodox religion followers'. If the newborn is boy, husband from other family will be the God father (*Kirstina Abat*) and if the newborn is girl, the wife from the same household will be the God mother (*Kirstina Enat*). The second type of *zimdina* or relation is the type of relation arranged regardless of being under the same religion. This type of relation is arranged by *tut metabat* or breast suckling (see also Tesfaye, 2005). Accordingly, the person may be called as *Yetut Abat* (breast father), *Yetut Enat* (breast mother) and *Yetut Lij* (breast son or daughter). The third type of relation is called *Wodajinet*, literally to mean affiliation between individuals and households without any procedural condition. In both kinds of relations, the arrangements are made based on the consensus between the two parties involved and it is manifested in socio-economic activities of households such as belongingness, cooperation and working together, and resource sharing. The survey data revealed that almost all of the respondents (99%) reported that such social relations are commonly practiced.

6.3 Natural Capital

Natural capital is the term used for the natural resource stocks from which resource flows and services useful for livelihoods are derived (DFID, 1999). Renewable natural resources, i.e. land, water, forests and trees as well as other forms of biodiversity, which meet the basic needs for food, water, clothing and shelter, have now deteriorated to a low level of productivity. In many areas of highlands of Ethiopia, the present consumption of wood is in excess of unaided natural sustainable production. Estimates of deforestation, which is mainly for expansion of rain fed agriculture, vary from 80,000 to 200,000 hectares per annum (FDRE, 1997).

Quara is one of identified resourceful Woredas of the region. Following the resettlement program, the natural resources particularly, land and forests are found to be source of everything. It has become source of conflict and the talk of the days in every parts of the study area. In relation to this, it is interesting to present here the statement which was expressed by one elder person who lives for 35 year in Bambaho Kebele, near Agmwuha resettlement sites. His expression reads as follow:

"There are remarkable changes in the life people in our locality since resettlement program is started, but nothing has come from elsewhere. All the changes are on the expense of natural resources".

Based on the data obtained during field survey of the study, the current situation of natural resource particularly, land, forest, water and grazing land with other associated natural resources is presented below.

6.3.1 Land and land use system

Land is the most critical asset of households in study area as well as in the other parts of the country. The information obtained from Quara Woreda Environmental Conservation and Land Use Administration Office revealed that of the total 262,104 hectares of arable land, only 4% is not still used for cultivation purposes. With regard to land holding, about 92% of household respondents have plot or plots of land to farm and the rest 8% have reported that they do not have plot of land to farm. When we see the land holding size of households, it varies from nothing to 40 hectares of land per household.

Table 7: Landholding Size of Households (N=100)

Size of landholding in hectares	Group of Respondent		Total N (%)
	Host, n(%)	Settler, n(%)	
Between 1 and 3	8(15.7)	40 (93.1)	48(51.1)
Between 3.1 and 5	8(15.7)	1(2.3)	9(9.6)
Between 5.1 and 7	4(7.8)	1(2.3)	5(5.3)
More than 7	31(60.8)	1(2.3)	32(34)
Total	51(100)	43(100)	94 (100)

Sources: own data, 2011

As rule of thumb, legalized land size for settler community members is not more than two hectares, i.e. one hectare being the minimum and two hectares, the maximum according to the family size of households. As it can be seen from *Table 7*, about 93.1% of settler households have registered the landholding size ranging from 1-3 hectares, where as about 61% of the host community households have the land holding size of more than 7 hectares per household.

It is also noted that the major difference between the settlers and the host community is land holding size. For this reason, most of settlers are claiming for plot of land to be increased in resettlement areas. As it has been reported by the settler community members, the most

serious problem of the settler community is shortage of land. The problem is also exacerbated due to the nature of land, which is unproductiveness after it is worked (cultivated) for two years and to be reused again, it should be fallowed at least for three years. Therefore, unless appropriate technology is designed the nature of land in terms of productivity especially, crop productivity does not ensure sustainability of production. In explaining the scenario, Ato Yegezu Fentie who came from Gayint Woreda of South Gondar zone, and living in Bambaho resettlement site said that:

To tell you frankly, we are equal with the host community in every aspect other than the difference that we have in land holding. The problems is not only with the size of land but also with its nature, which is like irrigation water that irrigates well the land on the above stream of the scheme but gets dry at the last sides. The good thing is that we can get the land by rent from host community members.

The other settler in Dubaba also reported that the land which he rented by four quintals of sorghum, yielded only 2.5 quintals, while the cost of other operational activities are out of calculation .However, the local government officials and the host community claimed that settlers have benefited more from land that has been granted for three years in their original area and the land they got in the new place of resident. Moreover, following the returnees of most settlers to original place, most of settler who stayed in the settlement sites have benefited by taking the land of returnees, which is of course not legalized by the concerned body.

As to the sufficiency of the land to satisfy the needs of the households, about 45% of respondents said that the land they owned is sufficient to meet the demand of their family, while the majority of the respondents reported that the land that they owned is not sufficient to meet the needs of their family. This situation has also forced households to search for other livelihood strategies such as non farm income generating activities to meet their household needs. In Quara, it is also identified that following the rapid increase in human population, the land is getting less and less. This in turn, affected the livestock production following the decrease in communal grazing land. About 64% of the respondents said that currently available grazing land is decreasing in very faster rate and could not feed livestock followed by 32% of respondents who reported that though, it is decreasing it could feed the existing livestock population. The problem of grazing land in the study area varies from one kebele to

the other. Shortage of grazing land is not the problem in Dubaba kebele but in Gelegu and Bambaho, it has become more serious problem. As people reported, it is exacerbated following the establishment of Alatish National Park, which was the major source of grazing land and forest honey production of households.

The land use system varies according to the natural resource endowment of the areas and the livelihood systems of the people. In connection with it, Ali (2008) has identified four types of land use systems. According to him, sedentary agriculture, agro-pastoral agriculture based on rain-fed agriculture, Pastoral, and agro-pastoral agriculture based on irrigated agriculture are the land use systems practiced in his study area. With same token, the land use system of Quara is classified into different systems based on the livelihood experiences of people. The data obtained from Quara Woreda Environmental Conservation and Land Use Administration Office indicated that of the total land used for various purposes, 11% has been used for grazing land, 3.9 % accounts rivers and valleys, 38.7% constitute forest including Alatish National Park, 30.6% used for crop cultivation , 0.9% settlement sites, and 3.8% is used for other activities.

Box 2: Case Narratives of Access to Land

Elder from Dbubaba Kebele

I have noticed that using the mountainous area for cultivation has exercised after the resettlement program

Host from Gelegu

I think I am the only person from the local people leading the life of my family from rented plot of land by giving my own land to be redistributed to settlers.

Settler from Dubaba

In rainy season, we are living in water like fish, because the land we received from government for residence is water logging

Host from Bambaho

Most settlers have got extra land even, more than the local people own by getting plots illegally from the land left by returned relatives.

Settler from Gelegu

I came with my brother as one of members of his family. I marry wife so as to get independent land, but conditions are not as I anticipated. Now I am leading my family by producing sorghum and sesame from rented land. For me, nothing is different from previous life in my area of origin as far as the land is concerned.

Source: key informant interview and case households

It is also known that due to decrease in the land resource, the land use system has been changed from time to time. Cultivation of the marginal land, such as mountainous areas and the areas which was not used before and cultivating crops which are new to the area are some of indications for the change in the land use system. In addition to using the marginal land for cultivation, an increase concern of the people towards land such as request for clear demarcation between kebeles, and for communal grazing land are also the important indications to the fact that the land is becoming big issue in Quara. It is also reported that it has been more serious issue since commencement of resettlement program.

6.3.2 Water Resource

There are different sources of water in the study area. Rivers and springs are the major sources. Eventhough, there is no problem with the sources of water; most of people in the study area are having different problems associated with water supply. In connection with it, Degefa (2005:169) identified that the problem of cleanness, accessibility, unbalance between water points and number of population and the longer distance between the homes and water points are the major problems in his study area. The same thing is experienced in Quara. One of reasons of the host community to accept the resettlement program and allowing the settlement pattern to be around their residence was the need to get access to pure drinking water. But, the available water points in the study area are not sufficient to meet the water need of households.

Figure 4: People queuing at one of Water Point in Dubaba and Fetching River Water in Gelegu



Photo by Genanew, December 2011

The unbalance between the population and water points in the study area subjected the local people to queue for longer time with their jars around water points. In addition to queuing for longer times around water points, it is also common to see people using different source of water other than protected water points. As observation conducted during data collection revealed that the problem in Dubaba and Gelegu kebeles is very serious and consequently, people are forced to share the river water with their cattle.

6.3.3 Forest

The data obtained from Quara Woreda Agriculture and Rural Development Office indicated that forest and bush-land coverage of Quara is estimated to be 38.7% of the total area. Of this figure, more than half is found in Alatish National Park, which covers approximately one third of the woreda's land coverage (about 266,570 hectares out of 858,588 hectares). The types of trees in woreda are entirely indigenous to the area.

However, it is reported that forest coverage of the area is getting decreased from time to time. The rate at which forest coverage is decreasing is mentioned to be in faster rate. The survey data revealed that about 80.4 % of surveyed households reported that forest in the area is decreasing in the faster rate, followed by 17.9 % of household respondents who mentioned that the forest coverage of the area is decreasing, but slightly. The qualitative data also confirmed that it is decreasing from time and exacerbated by the resettlement program which has increased the demand for house construction, fire wood, crop cultivation and grazing land. The issue of forest has attracted the attention of people in the area. As a result, people feel in different ways, and observed the situation in different perspectives. The observation during data collection also revealed that around settlement and farm plots, which were cultivated before, the dominant tree types are found to be thorny trees. The case was explained by one experienced elder person who lives in Dubaba kebele since 1980, saying that:

This is a testimony for what people traditionally said "Ager Siarj Jart Yabekilal" literally to mean that when the land gets old, it let to grow the thorny animal, which is called jart.

As he noted, the implication is not the direct one. It is used to explain the nature of the land in the study area that once the indigenous trees are cut off; there is no room for them to regenerate again, except for few types of species, unless they are replaced by their thorny

successors. But the good thing with such thorny species is that these tree species are complementary with locally cultivated types of crops such as sesame, sorghum and cotton.

Box 3: Views of People about Status of Forest Resource

Elder man in Bambaho

I have been here for more than 30 years and know well what the forest situation previously was and what is now. I have never seen such a worst situation on forest and the most serious problem has been observed within these 2 to 3 years.

Settler in Dubaba

In the first times, it was not possible to construct house without cutting trees and we used to do that, but now I have been observing that trees are being replaced by houses and people. I don't know what will happen in the future.

Famer in Gelegu

Why you people ask us about forest, bringing the enemy of what does stands for? What I know is that the wild animals that we used to catch with our hands are not seen now and migrated to our neighboring countries.

Settler from Agamwuha resettlement site

When I was settler in Jawi woreda of Awi zone, I observed that there was massive destruction of bamboo tree, here the same thing is being observed. I think settlers have such destructive syndrome.

Elder settler in Bemur settlement site

The people in this area have conserved the forest for about 40 years; our community members could not keep it even for 2 years.

Source: Case households

Why things go wrong with forest in study area? The following are identified causes for such fast decreases in forest coverage of the area associated with resettlement program.

6.3.3.1 Causes of Deforestation

In different literature, the principal cause of degradation of natural resources including forest is population pressure. The same is true in this study area, but it is too general to blame merely population as the major cause of deforestation instead, it is important to see specific causes. The study revealed that eventhough, the resettlement program is the principal cause, the farming practice of the area, natural gum and incense production, unwise use of natural forest resulted in the gaps of land certification, absence of clear demarcation between different kebeles and the room for settlers to switch on and off from the place of settlement are found to

be the principal causes of deforestation in the study area. Some of the causes are discussed in detail in the following sub-sections.

A. Cultivation Practice

Shifting cultivation is the dominant practice in the study area. This is due to the fact that the land in study area could not give the expected outcome after two years in a given plot. To minimize the risks involved in production decrease coupled with the higher market demand of locally cultivated crop varieties, people practice shifting cultivation. The first cultivated plot should be left to fallow at least for three years and another plot has to be prepared through clearing new land. This in turn, leads to extensification of land, which causes more trees to be cut off.

B. Natural gum and incense Production

Availability of natural gum and incense in the area has attracted different organizations to produce. The data obtained from Quara Woreda Agriculture and Rural Development Office indicated that other than the people who produced illegally, there are about seven producer companies involved in producing natural gum and incense scrambling all kebeles where the natural trees which yield such products are found. It is also reported that the operational practices of the production used by all producers is the cause to loss of the indigenous trees including economically productive species. The data generated from focus group discussions and key informant interviews added that practices used by producers to produce gum and incense do not ensure sustainability and that is why it is mentioned to be the cause of deforestation. The attractive income generated from this natural product is also mentioned to be triggering factor for some households to exercise natural gum and incense production and in turn, contributed for the deforestation.

C/ Unwise Use of Natural Forest

The need to get the best out of the program let people to exercise unwise use of natural resources particularly, the natural forest. The case could be seen into two different scenarios. The first scenario is seen due to the host community members need to get the best out of the program. The result of survey data indicated that following the shortage of land faced by the settler community members and the landless people in the area, the host community members

rent land around their farms to those who do not have land and to the settlers claiming that it belong to them. For such practices of people, the land tenure system which did not identify the exact land size of the households is blamed. The land tenure (land certification) does not clearly indicate the exact land size that each household owned other than giving registration card for a plot or plots of land that people particularly, the host community members owned in different places.

The second scenario is concerned with respect to the settlers, who are striving for good things. In this regard, both host community and settler participants of the study mentioned that settlers are the most destroyers of the natural forest compared to the host community due to the following reasons: the first one is that settlers want to compensate the problems of land shortage by selling the fire wood, timber, and wood for house construction. An increasing demand for forest products following the higher population growth has aggravated the situation. The second reason is that the settlers have two localities resident permission, in their wordings *yehulet ager newariworch*. The grantee in land holding in their original locality for three years and the room to be on and off from settlement area are mentioned as reasons that let settlers not to worry about sustainability of forest resource. The third reason is also mentioned to be the forest management practice experienced by settlers. The lack of familiarity and knowledge with local indigenous trees and lack of experience in cutting trees by the settler community members is also said to be the causes why settlers are more destructive than the host community. In relation to this, from the host community member whose name is Ato Yigezu Fentie from Gelegu, said that:

There is difference between host community and settlers. The host community members cut trees from branches like pruning by ax which permits the trees to grow new branch, while settlers cut the tree from bottom side mostly by fire, which let the trees to be disappeared permanently.

Both settlers and their hosts in the study area also mentioned that the local people have better knowledge about locally available tree species and identified which type of tree is to be used for particularly activity and services such as trees for shed, house construction, timber production and other purposes are clearly identified.

6.4 Physical Capital

The physical capital of the area, which include the infrastructure, tools and technology, could be said that under its infant stage of development. Eventhough there are unfinished good start ups in construction of roads and communication services, people in the Quara have confronted different challenges associated with it and hampered the fate of livelihood improvements.

6.4.1 Infrastructure

6.4.1.1 Road

Except the one which connects to Metema and Gondar, with its low standard up to Metema woreda, the road facility of Quara is very limited and the existing one was constructed following the resettlement program. It is also known that there are no roads which connect kebeles to Woreda town, except the dry weather roads found in the lowland plain areas. The existing dry weather roads are also functional only in dry seasons. In explaining the existing roads of the area, the settler who came from Wogera Woreda and now living in Gelegu resettlement site said that the situation was people leading the road instead of the road guiding the ways⁶. Due to the absence of road networks, people in the study area have confronted different socio-economic problems.

6.4.1.2 Health and Sanitation

People in the study area experience the worst situation in terms of health. The problem is found to be very serious for mothers and children. Almost all respondents reported that, eventhough there are observable buildings of health stations and posts in different kebeles, they are not equipped with necessary materials and professionals. It is also mentioned that people have to pay about 1,600 birr for delivery services in private clinics, where the issue of quality is unthinkable.

With regard to sanitation, the people in study area do not have good sanitation practices. Households, except around the resettlement sites, use river water for different purposes, even for drinking. The observation conducted during data collection revealed that, people nowadays in some households have started using pit latrine and some are also under construction as a result of the health extension package campaign.

⁶ It is to mean that available roads in area are constructed following the resettlement

6.4.1.3 Banking and Telecommunication services

People in the study area are not benefited from banking and telecommunication service except Amhara Credit and Saving Institution, which is serving as the bank in woreda town, Gelegu. The absence of such services coupled with the absence of electrification, has challenged the life of people. Eventhough, there are good market opportunities compared to previous times, absence of banking and telecommunication services have exposed the traders for the robbers along the roadsides and isolated them from up-to-date information. These problems have resulted in increase in price of important goods such as sugar, salt, soap and other consumable goods, which are supplied by traders to farm households.

6.4.2 Tools and Technology

The role of using appropriate technology has indispensable role to increase production and productivity. In line with it, the experience of households in the study area is not different from commonly used traditional farming practices. Using ox-plough method is continued to be the common practices for the majority of households to cultivate the crops. Even the existing large size of livestock population is not supported by the modern ways of farming. But compared to previous times, currently there are very limited exercises of farm households in using simple technologies such as pesticides, herbicides, and BBM (Broad Bed Maker) for crop cultivation. The data generated from focus group discussions held with the representative individuals in Dubaba and Bambaho revealed that there are households using tractor for cultivation of sesame and cotton other than those have registered as investors and the tendency of using herbicides and pesticides are mentioned to be increasing trends of the households for their crop cultivation. However, the large scale commercial farms have used tractors and other technologies.

6.5 Financial Capital

As it has been stated in DFID (1999), financial capital denotes the financial resources that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives. There are two forms of financial assets which include available stock and inflow of money. In the case of the study area, the first one in which resources are held in the form of cash and liquid assets such as livestock are found to be the dominant forms of financial resources.

6.5.1 Saving and Investment

Data generated from household survey revealed that about 82% of the households have experienced different forms of saving or investment, while the rest 18% of respondents reported that they do not practice saving other than striving to meet the basic needs of their household members. Saving in Amhara Credit and Saving Institute when there is surplus cash money, and investing on livestock such as cows, oxen, goats, sheep, donkey and camel are found to be the main means of saving in Quara. Of the mentioned means of saving, investing on cash crops such as sesame and cotton is the dominant saving practice in the study area. About 96% of those who practice saving said that investing on cash crops is the major means of the saving followed by depositing cash money in Amhara Credit and Saving Institution.

About 81% of household respondents reported that buying and investing on the livestock is one mechanism of saving instead of saving in bank. Following this experience of households, the area is marked to be with high livestock population (see also Teshome et al, 2010). Similar to the host community, the settler community members have also started accumulation of livestock particularly cattle, goat, donkey and camels as to the capability and labour of the households. Following the multiple role of oxen, the number of oxen that households own is considered as the indicator of household wealth status in the community as well as major financial capital of households.

Table 8: Number of Oxen per Household (N=100)

Name of kebele	Number of oxen						Total	
	0		1-3		More than 3			
	Host	Settler	Host	Settler	Host	Settler	Host	Settler
Bambaho	0	6	1	9	10	4	11	19
Gelegu	1	2	7	7	25	1	33	10
Dubaba	4	2	1	16	3	1	8	19
Total	5	10	9	32	38	6	52	48

Source: survey data, 2011

The maximum number of oxen reported per household, is found to be 31 with average of 3.8 oxen per household. But, the numbers of the cattle including calves, excluding oxen per households significantly vary across households. The maximum number of cattle excluding oxen per household from the sampled households is found to be 113, while the minimum is zero. The average cattle size of the households in Quara is calculated to be 12.4 cattle per household. However, the numbers of cattle population significantly vary across the two

community member households. To see the difference between host and settler community households, the household survey data show that the maximum cattle population is registered in the host community members. The maximum and minimum cattle size excluding oxen from sampled host community households is found to be 113 and 0 cattle per household respectively with average cattle size of 22 per household. The cattle size of sampled households from settler community is also calculated to be between 0 and 20 signifying minimum and maximum respectively. The average cattle size excluding the number of oxen in settler community households is found to be 2.8 cattle per household.

Goats and sheep are important financial resources of households in the study area. Compared to sheep, goats are commonly domesticated and found in most households. Based on data generated from households, the average goat size of the household is calculated to be 7.7 goats per household. From households involved in the study, the maximum goat number is reported to be 58 and, but only 19% of household respondents reported that they have domesticated sheep in their households.

The role of donkey in supporting the livelihood activities particularly in serving as means of transportation is not uncommon in the study area and it is found in the majority of households. From sampled households, about 72% are reported that they have donkey. The average donkey size of the households in the study area is 0.87 per household. However, camels are not found in most household. Only 21% of sampled households owned camel.

Figure 5: Donkey transporting water in Bambaho



Photo, by Genanew, 201

6.5.2 Access to Credit

People in the study area need credit for various purposes. To do with income generating activities, animal production and fattening, buying oxen, for farming operations, constructing houses in the near town, for irrigation development and to buy milling machine and for various income generations purposes are mentioned why credit is required for people in the study area. In relation to the need for credit, about 30% of respondents said that they need credit to income generating activities such as shopping, tea making, and other small enterprises, followed by 25 % saying that credit is required to buy oxen. Only 8% of respondents reported that they want credit for livestock production. The people who said for farming operation particularly during the peak seasons of weeding and harvesting, to construct house in the near town, to buy milling machine, and for irrigation all together account for 28% of household respondents. But, there are people who reported that the reason for the need of credit depends on the conditions such as the market and conditionality attached in getting credit from its sources.

To the question, whether there are enabling opportunities or conditions to access credit, about 67% of household respondents told that there are favorable conditions to access credit in their locality, while the remaining said that there are no favorable conditions to get credit for various purposes. In the study area, Amhara Credit and Saving Institution (ACSI, hereafter), churches, and local money vendors (They call it *Arata* or *shel*) are the main sources of credit.

Table 9: Sources of Credit (N=100)

Name of kebele	Source of Credit						Total	
	From ACSI		From relatives		From other sources		Host	Settler
	Host	Settler	Host	Settler	Host	Settler		
Bambaho	8	13	0	0	3	6	11	19
Gelegu	24	10	1	0	8	0	33	10
Dubaba	5	14	1	1	2	4	8	19
Total	37	37	2	1	15	10	52	48

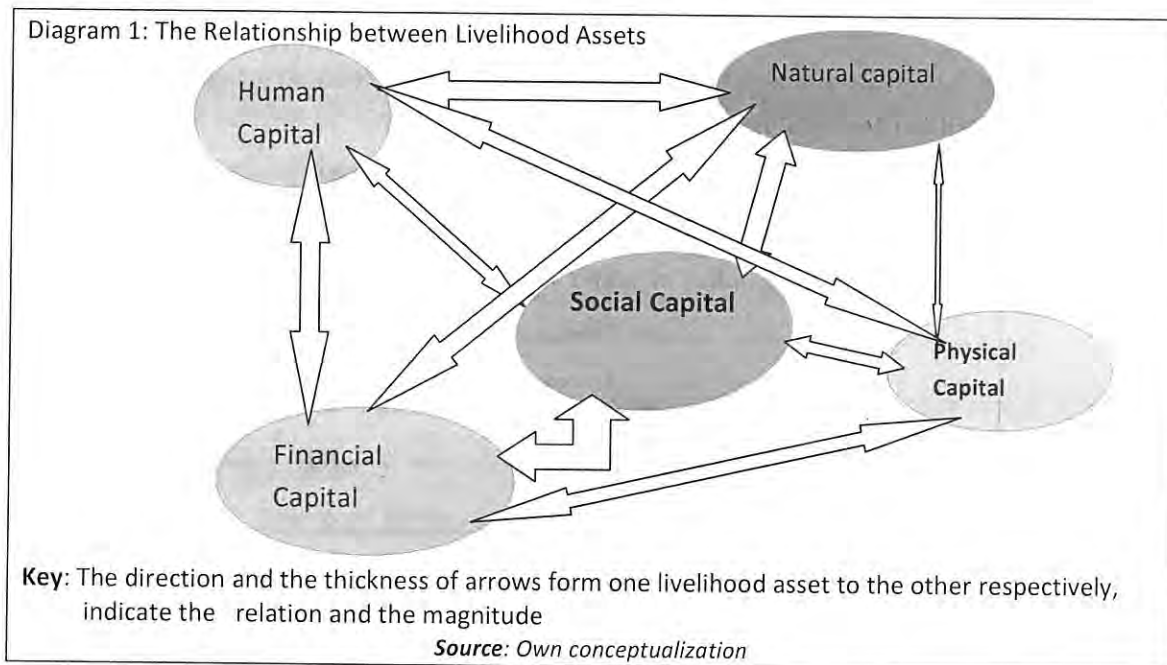
Source: own survey, 2011

For about 74% of households, ACSI is found to be the source of credit and other sources such as *Arata* or *shel* and from relatives are found to be credit sources for considerable number of households. The reason why people go to local money lenders and other sources of credit is mentioned to be the procedural conditions attached to access credit in formal institutions such as ACSI.

6. 6 Relation between Assets

There is no single type of asset which helps the households to exercise the livelihood strategy and to meet the anticipated household objectives. Assets are interrelated to each other and the more assets are related, the more additional chance is there to get the same or other type of the assets. The interaction of household assets could be intra-assets (within the same types of assets) and inter-asset (between different types of assets).

In the context of the study, the social asset is found to be the central asset being the major sources of the other livelihood assets. The households or individuals with more social assets tend to have more livelihood assets. As this study revealed, people who have networked with intermarriage and by the other social bonding mechanisms (discussed under social asset of this chapter) have the possibility to access financial assets such oxen, and natural asset such as land from people who are related or bonded and their relatives.



The availability financial asset such as oxen is also found to be the source for additional financial resources such as cash money and to get natural capital (for example, the household having oxen can share land with the household with land). Friendship (social) opens the opportunity to be networked with the other people and to find other resources such as land (natural), and money by borrowing or gift (financial).

Resettlement as driving force in accessing and gaining different livelihood assets has been identified as the major determinant factor and consolidated by social bonds. It has opened the room for people to be interacted each other within and between community members to get different livelihood assets.

In general, from the interactions of assets and the way livelihood assets are gained in the study area is mostly determined by the capacity of the households to generate new livelihood strategies, the natural endowment of the area and the interaction with different households within or different community members.

6. 7 Summary

People in the study area have different assets used to exercise their livelihood strategies so as to meet the desired outcomes. Eventhough, considerable numbers of people are illiterate (who cannot read and write), people in the study area are acquainted with different human assets, particularly associated with the skills. But the types of skills vary across sex and practiced in accordance with existing cultural practices the study area.

The most important asset of the households in Quara is social asset, which served as the source of other livelihoods assets. Due to the fact that the social asset is very important for acquisition of other livelihoods assets to pursue the livelihood activities, people in the study area have practiced different social bonding mechanisms. Among social bonding mechanisms, intermarriage between settlers and host community member, practicing the religious activities together, working together in different socio-economic affairs, neighborhood, sharing of resources particularly resources associated with land and livestock, and being relative other than blood relation, which is practiced either within the same religion group such as *kirstna* or within different religion members such as *tut metabat* or literally suckling of breast, and *Wodajinet* (relation based on personal affiliation) are some to be mentioned.

Land, forest and water are among the important natural assets that the study investigated. Since land is the most critical livelihood asset of the rural households in the study area as well as elsewhere, it has becoming source of not only for the livelihood assets but also the source of conflict and other disputes in Quara. The land holding size of households varies across the two groups of community and reported to be the major difference between the settlers and

their hosts. Following the nature of the land and the larger livestock population of the area, shortage of land has become the problem in the area particularly, for settler households.

Water was among promised assets of households following the resettlement program. Eventhough, the area is naturally rich in water resource; the need for drinking water is not satisfied. There are many water points around settlement sites, but they are not sufficient. As a result, people are forced to queue for long time and/or share the river water with their cattle.

The other important natural asset of the households in Quara is forest resource. It has been reported that about 38.8% of land of the study area is covered with bush and natural forest. However, the data obtained from different sources revealed that the forest resource of the area is decreasing in very faster rate. As a result, associated resources such as wildlife and honey production are reported to be decreased. The physical resource of the area is very limited consequently, exposed people for different problems associated with it. Except limited access to water supply and health services around resettlement sites, and single road which connects to Metama and Gondar, the area is not privileged with clean and adequate water supply and sanitation, affordable energy, access to information (communication) and access to banking service.

The financial resource of households in the study area is mainly in the form of available stocks particularly, in the form of livestock instead of regular inflow of many such as salary and remittance. Saving cash money, investing on livestock and investing on cash crops such as sesame, cotton and sorghum are some of means of saving commonly practiced. People need credit for different purposes to pursue their livelihoods. As to access to credit, majority of households reported that there are favorable conditions to get credit, and the only formal source of credit in the area is found to be ACSI. However, the local money lenders, Churches and relatives are also found to be the sources of credit for considerable number of households.

Generally, keeping the human asset variation among individuals, the physical asset is under its infant stage. The social asset is gained more and consolidated due to existence of different boding mechanisms. The financial asset of households is getting more and more on the expense or loss of natural resources particularly land and forest.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LIVELIHOOD ACTIVITIES IN RESETTLEMENT AREAS

The context in which people are living and the critical livelihood assets which are determinants of the types of livelihood strategies are presented in previous chapters. The livelihood strategies comprise a range and combination of activities and choices people undertake in order to achieve their livelihood goals (see Kollmair and Gamper, 2002; DFID, 1999; Elis, 1999). The available livelihood assets are directing forces of the livelihood activities exercised by households. The three broad categories of livelihood strategies are diversification, intensification and migration (see also Degefa, 2005).

People have been debating on the livelihoods diversification versus specialization. As it has been noted by Iiyama (2006), diversification has been analyzed as a rational response by households to lack of opportunities for specialization, and was initially considered not the most desirable option. However, some writers suggested that it is preferable livelihood strategy that rural households experienced and should be encouraged. It is also noted that instead of being exercised as response to the lack of opportunities for specialization, it is strategy designed by rural households to minimize the risks involved in exercising specialization particularly in farming activities (Degefa, 2005). Households in the study area exercised diversification instead of specialization. Different activities of households under broader category of livelihood strategies based on available assets are experienced in Quara by the two groups of communities. In this chapter, the livelihood activities under category of regular livelihood activities of on-farm and casual or seasonal income generating activities are presented.

7.1 On-farm Activities

As many parts of the country, on-farm activity as part of the livelihood activities is the dominant one in Quara. As it has been indicated under demographic and socio-economic profile of the households, almost all the respondents are farmers in their occupation and their life is also dependent on farming. Crop production and animal husbandry as the major and minor on-farm activities respectively are the two sub-activities. Almost all livelihood portfolios of the households under on-farm activities are diversified and no specialization of

livelihood activities was found in the study area. The two on-farm sub-activities of household are discussed below.

7.1.1 Crop Production

Crop production is the dominant livelihood activity in the study area and people experience in different ways. It is the major livelihood activity for most of households in the study area. Households cultivate different varieties of crops in the area studied. For the sake of clarity, they are discussed under cereals, oilseeds, tubers, vegetables, fruits and cotton from industrial crops and the details are discussed as follows.

A. Cereals

The commonly cultivated cereal crops of the area are sorghum, maize, *teff* and finger millet. However, cultivation practices in terms of area coverage and priority vary across households and the type of the crops cultivated. Sorghum has been cultivated as the main food source for most of households particularly, around resettlement sites.

Figure 6: Ato Dessie harvesting his sorghum in Dubaba



Photo by Genanew, 2011

In terms of area coverage, it is the second crop next to sesame but the yield per a given plot of land is very high compared to other crop types cultivated in the area.⁷ There are also different varieties of the sorghum cultivated in the study area. According to the local nomenclature to mention some of sorghum varieties commonly cultivated, *Tetiron*, *Bizaya* (*Wodehakhir*),

⁷ Quara Woreda Agriculture and Rural Development Office

Debar, Bekilojirat, Wodehimam, Wodarba and others. Each variety has especial quality for different purposes. For example, *Tetiron* and *Debar* are preferred with their better quality for *enjera*, and *Bizaya, Bekilojirat* and sometimes maize are used for preparing traditional beer called *Tela*. *Bekilojirata* has also special quality to prevent itself from bird infestation.

Another important cereal crop cultivated is maize. It has been cultivated around homesteads and used for consumption purpose mostly consumed when it is green and roasted. At its dryer level, it is used for feeding of domestic animals particularly donkey and used as breakfast during funereal and coffee ceremonies.

B. Oilseeds

Sesame is the most important crop from oilseeds and cultivated in almost all parts of Woreda particularly, in the lowlands. Due to this, Quara is marked under sesame producing areas of the region. Sesame is mainly used for the market purpose and found to be the most important source of the household income from all crop varieties cultivated in the area followed by livestock. Niger seed is also another oilseed cultivated in the area, but most of the times it has been cultivated in the highland area of Quara.

C. Tubers

Ginger, garlic and onion are among tubers cultivated in the study area. However, except for some irrigation schemes of the lowland areas along Shaho River basin, garlic and onion are limited to the highland areas. They are cultivated both for household consumption and market purpose.

D. Vegetables

The data obtained from focus group discussion indicated that cultivation of the vegetables in the study areas was not commonly practiced in Quara as previous times. However, after few years particularly, after the resettlement program, people started cultivating different varieties of vegetables such as cabbage (mostly intercropped with maize), pepper, tomato, and pumpkin (intercropped with maize). Vegetables were cultivated for the household consumption, but nowadays the demand in the market has initiated the households to produce for market purpose and the practice has been increasing from time to time.

E. Fruits

Banana, papaya, lemon, avocado, mango and orange (in the highland areas) are found to be the fruits cultivated in the study area. Fruits have been commonly cultivated crops along Shaho river basin and becoming the most important source of income for the households. As people who have been living in area for long period of time reported, it was unthinkable to get fruits in the area, except lemon. But since the development of irrigation schemes since the past five years, people have started producing different fruits as a result, they available in the market. The data obtained from interview with Woreda Administrator also confirmed this. As he reported, some households are able to get up to 200,000 birr per annum per households from the sale of fruits. From industrial crops, cotton is also widely cultivated and used as supplementary sources of income for considerable households in Quara.

7.1.2. Animal Production

Of mainly practiced on-farm activities, livestock production is the most important next to the crop production. Livestock has both economic and social values and they are means of establishing social relationships and exchange (See also Ali, 2008: 161-162). Livestock in the study area is considered as indication for the wealth, source of income and means of livelihood security, used for traction power, important assets given to newly established household as establishment asset and in some households inherited asset to the family member. As it has been discussed in the financial assets of the households, different types of animals are domesticated in the area. Cattle, goat, sheep, donkey and camel are the most common domestic animals. However, except few households, donkey and camels are not reared in the area. From sampled households, only 2% of households reported that they have experienced rearing of the donkey as cattle and goats. However, current land use system is reported to be not encouraging livestock production as previous times.

Although, the livestock number per household is decreasing from time to time, the total population in the area compared to previous times is getting larger following the higher population growth. In other words, the total population of livestock in the area is getting higher, but the number of livestock per household is generally decreasing. Shortage of the grazing land as a result of shortage in land is found to be the major factors for decreasing of livestock population per household in the study area. Consequently, the contribution of

livestock and their products for the household food items is reported decreasing. The contribution of livestock in households income generation, abandon of using livestock for saving purpose, and an increase of the price of oxen used for traction power are also reported as the consequence of the livestock decrease per household following the resettlement program.

Figure 7: Herd of Cattle under Tree Shed in Gelegu



Photo by Genanew, January, 2011

However, the focus group discussion held with representative individuals from both community members revealed that investing on livestock as means of saving considerably vary across the two groups of community members. The host community members tend to abandon using livestock as means of saving, while the settlers tend to exercise using livestock as means of saving for livelihood of their households. Regardless of the practice variation across communities, the area is potentially favorable for livestock production.

7.2 Casual Income Generating Activities

In addition to the regular activities such as crop cultivation and animal production, there are different activities pursued by the people of the study area to support the livelihoods of their households. Such activities are casual and not practiced in the regular ways. Casual income generating activities are predominantly non-farm activities. However, there are also casual incomes generating activities which are on-farm. In the study area, individuals work on the others' farm to generate additional income and to overcome financial constraints in their households. Such activities are not planned and they are pursued in irregular ways.



Weaving, tailoring, shopping, fishing, honey production from natural jangle and others are some of the activities exercised in irregular basis in Quara. But, honey production is now reported to be abandoned activity. The data generated from key informant interviews indicated; the causal income generating activities are mostly practiced in spare times when the regular activities get completed and determined by seasonal situations particularly, market and conducted if the individuals are interested.

7.3 Changes in the Livelihood Activities

Increase in human settlements has brought about different livelihood opportunities and challenges. Within the context of households in the study area, resettlement have brought opportunities such as large agricultural labor pool, market opportunities, access to some physical assets (road in some areas) and other encouraging things. In contrary, it has also brought about the shortage of land, deforestation, shortage of grazing land, theft, and other constraining things. According to existing context, designing other livelihoods activities is logical and expected from rural households. Using opportunities created as pulling factors and the constraining things as pushing factors, people started to exercise different livelihood strategies whether to use the best things out of opportunities and to minimize risks involved with constraining factors.

As response to an increasing in land shortage, renting of additional land from others, using marginal and mountainous areas, cultivating new type of crops, which were uncommon to the area, working on the others' farm for additional income, exercising off-farm income generating activities are found to be the emerging and increasing activities pursued by households. About 67% of household respondents reported that they are renting additional land to solve the problems associated with land shortage. Renting land as strategy to solve the land shortage varies with host community and settlers. 77% of settler respondents said that they rent in land from other household who have excess land to lead their households, while 36.5% of respondents of the host community members said that they rent in land to compensate the land shortage that they are facing.

Another livelihood activity pursued as strategy to get out of problems of land shortage coupled with high daily payment for daily labourers is found to be the major reason why people work on the others' farm. This is common during the peak season of weeding (June,

August and September) and harvesting (end of September to November for sesame, and December and January for cotton) times and during these seasons; people are paid up to 95 birr per day. Working off-farm income generating activities such as house construction, rural transport services and supplying construction materials such as sand and stone particularly, in the form of youth association are also found to be the activities pursued as response to the land shortage and increasing market opportunities in the study area.

Using the market opportunities and as response to constraining factors due to resettlement program, people have tended to shift their livelihood activities from one form of production to another form of production. In the process of searching the better livelihood option, people have explored new ways of doing using the existing natural resources. Ali (2008: 158) noted that the large scale farms in his study area and subsistence irrigated crop cultivation have been possible due to the existence of river water. Similarly, households in Quara have practiced using irrigation along Shaho River. Exercising large scale farming instead of subsistence farming, from animal production to entirely crop cultivation, from traditional ways of farming to the modern ways of farming are some of livelihood activity changes within farming activity. The establishment of irrigation association in Gelegu and Dubaba is also reported to be the new experience to the area. Preparation and using of natural fertilizer (compost), using herbicide and pesticide chemicals, and using broad bed maker (BBM) technology, have been practiced by farm households. In addition to change within farming activities, farm households have undertaken farming in the rainy seasons and trading (generating income) in dry seasons. The shift from cultivating only crops used for household food consumption to cultivating cash crops such sesame, cotton and groundnut are practiced by farm households.

Figure 8: Irrigation Scheme along Shaho River in Gelegu



Photo by Genanew, 2011

However, practicing crop cultivation as the major and livestock production as minor livelihoods strategy is still the dominant livelihood activities of farm households in the study area.

Eventhough there are attempts to produce honey, it is not the same with the previous times. Honey production has been abandoned by the farm households due to the following reasons. The first reason is mentioned to be deforestation. Forest was the source of the flower for the honey bees to suck nectar so as to prepare honey and the main source of materials for beehive making. Therefore, decrease in forest is the major constraint for the loss of honey production in Quara. The use of herbicides in farms is also mentioned to be the second reason. The grass species which attract honey bees have disappeared due to herbicide spray on crop farms as a result, the production of honey is decreased. People who have been living for many years in the area reported that in some households, it was possible to produce up to 20 quintals of honey per household per year. But now, people are unable to get even five kilo grams of honey per a year. Honey producers used to produce three times per year in range of four months. One production season is called “one flower” based on types of flower in a given production seasons. Accordingly, the honey produced in different season is classified and graded as *yesene mar* (honey of June), *yetikimt mar* (honey of October) and *yemegabit mar* (honey of March). Currently, there is no possibility to produce honey in four seasons except inside Alatish National Park.

Remarkable changes such as the shift from agricultural (production) to services which were uncommon to the area and induced by higher demand following market opportunities to service providing are also observed. The data obtained from FGDs, Key Informant Interviews and observations confirm this. Opening shops around resettlement areas and in the near town, establishment of milling machines, construction of houses for rent which was uncommon to the area, opening of bars and hotels, and giving transportation services etc. are some of the livelihood activity changes pursued by households following the resettlement program. Such shifts are not limited to the host community members only but, the settler community members have also registered such remarkable changed within not more than five years. As it can be clearly understood, there is tendency to move from subsistence agriculture to income generating activities.

In general, the shift in livelihood activities of households in the study area could be classified into three. The first type of livelihood activity shift is the shift within the same type of the livelihood activity (shift from on-farm to the other on-farm, for instance from subsistence to commercial and market oriented, and from animal husbandry to crop cultivation). The second type of livelihood activity shift is found to be the shift between different activities on seasonal basis (on-farm in rainy season and off-farm income generating activities in dry season) and the third type is the complete shift from one way of activity to the other type of livelihood activity (from on-farm to off-farm livelihood activities).

7.4 Summary

The context where people are in coupled with the available livelihood assets has shaped the livelihood activities pursued and strategies followed by the farm households. The livelihood activities practiced by rural households in the study area could be classified as the regular activities such as on-farm activities and casual or seasonal income generating activities.

Crop cultivation and animal production are dominant on-farm activities. People in the study area undertake the crop production as major and animal production as minor. The types of crops cultivated are sorghum, finger millet, maize and *teff* from cereals; sesame and nigger seed from oilseeds; cabbage, pepper, tomato and pumpkin from vegetables; ginger, garlic, and onion from tubers; avocado, mango, lemon, papaya, banana and orange from fruits and cotton from industrial crops. From cereals, sorghum is found to be the most cultivated and used as the source of households' food. There are also different types of sorghum varieties cultivated. According to the local nomenclature, *Tetiron*, *Debar*, *Bizaya*, *Wedehimam*, *Wodarba*, and *Yebekilojirat* are some of locally cultivated varieties of crops and each variety has special quality.

The second important on-farm activity in the area is rearing of the livestock. Livestock has strong linkage in socio-economic aspects of the households. They are indicators of wealth, source of traction power for crop cultivation, used as assets given to the newly established households, the assets inherited to household members next to land and important source of household income. Cattle, goats, and sheep are predominantly domesticated animals.

The study also revealed that the livelihood of the households is under dynamic momentum. The change in the livelihood activities of households are attributed to the existence of

enabling opportunities for better livelihood options such as higher labour pool, market opportunities, access to some physical assets, and the constraining factors such as shortage of the land, deforestation, increase in theft that are brought by resettlement program. As result of these main deriving forces, people have adopted different new livelihood activities to get the best from the enabling factors and to minimize risks involved in constraining factors.

The change in the livelihood activities is identified to be in to three scenarios. In the first scenario, people have experienced the change in livelihood activity within the same livelihood activities. The shift from producing only crops used for household consumption to producing cash crops (or from subsistence to surplus), from exercising small scale farming to large scale commercial farming, from traditional way of farming to the modern (using irrigation, herbicides and pesticides), using marginal and mountainous areas for cultivation of crops, cultivating new types of crops which were never previously cultivated in the area are some of identified changes within crop cultivation practices. Secondly, households exercise two types of livelihood activities on seasonal basis such as cultivation of different crops in the rainy season and working in income generating activities during dry seasons. The third scenario of livelihood dynamism is found to be the shift from one type of livelihood activity to the other. Following the good opportunities created and the higher demands from market (as pulling factors) and constraints (as pushing factors), households have shifted their livelihood activities from on-farm activities to off-farm income generation activities. Instead of crop cultivation and animal production, people tend to buy milling machines, opening shops, bars and hotels, construction of houses in nearby towns, and transportation service, are few of shifts experienced in the livelihood strategies of households in the study area.

CHAPTER EIGHT

FOOD SECURITY SITUATION

Poverty and food security which are interrelated each other are indicators of whether the livelihoods outcome of households are desirable or undesirable. Food security is defined in different ways and more than 250 definitions and 450 indicators are identified (see Hoddinoot, 1999). In line with it, Maxwell et al. (1991) have listed about 32 definitions of food security and insecurity which were used between the years 1975 and 1991. The one adapted by the first World Food summit in 1996 states that: "Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and health life". The issues of sufficiency, access, security and temporal dimension are important things in dealing with food security (see Degefa, 2005; IFRCRCS, 2006; and Maxwell et al, 1991). In dealing with household food security, knowing the nexus and the difference between food sufficiency and food security is very important for analysis. With this regard, Degefa (2005) noted that food self-sufficiency is subset of the food security, signifying that food self-sufficiency deals with the availability while food security is broader and encompasses the issues of access, utilization, security and variability.

One of the triggering factors of the current government to design and implement the undergoing resettlement program is the issue of food security problem and as it has been stated in the program document, the main objective of the resettlement program is to let about 440,000 chronically food insecure households attain their household food security through access to land and stand with their feet by establishing new livelihood strategy. Eventhough, the concern of resettlement program is settlers; the food security situation of the host community member is also assessed and incorporated in this study.

Based on data generated from survey and key informant interviews, the finding of the study is presented in the following sections. Most of households in the study area, particularly the settlers could be said that they have attained the household food self-sufficiency, but the issues of security require further rigorous study. In the following subsequent sections of chapter, food self sufficiency of the settlers, the availability, access and security issues of food security of both communities is presented.

8.1 From Aid Seeking to Self-sufficiency

As it has been discussed in the above sections, among the problems which triggered the resettlement program to be in place is the problems of food security caused by land degradation, drought, high population pressure, low input subsistence agriculture, small farm size and landlessness (FDRE, 2003).

It was assessed whether the settlers have attained the primary objective of the program or not in the study area. The data obtained from Resettlement Program Coordinator of Federal Food Security Coordination Directorate, indicated that the current resettlement program in terms of its primary objective (i.e. attaining household food security) is highly successful. As coordinator reported from documented source, at country level, 95% of settlers have achieved independent food sufficiency. With the same token, the information obtained from the Quara Woreda Administration Office revealed the 100% attainment of household food security in the study area. As it was mentioned by Woreda administrator, people have moved beyond household food security and some households have opened new business enterprises such as irrigated farming, buying car, hotel service, and in turn created job opportunity for the others in the area. The important thing to be noted with information obtained from Woreda Administration is that the distinction between food sufficiency and food security is not clearly understood and known.

However, the data obtained from survey of households revealed that about 92% of the household respondents reported that all settler community members have attained independent household food sufficiency through own production, where as the rest 8% of the household respondents said that all members of settler community have not attained their household food sufficiency. The problem is more serious in the female headed household, elder people, and disabled people leading their life alone.

Nevertheless, the information obtained from Quara Woreda Food Security Coordination Office, is found to be different from what have been reported from Federal Resettlement Program Coordinator and Woreda Administrator. The interview held with the Woreda Food Security Coordinator Officer, showed that all settlers do not attain their household food security. As she reported, eventhough, there is no exact figure which shows food secure and insecure households, the coordination office is sure that at least more than half of settled

households comprises both food sufficient and food secured. The officer is technical in explaining food security and related issues. According to her, the settlers are categorized in to three groups, being those who have attained household food security, those who have attained household food sufficiency and those who are food insecure. She also said that the households who attained food security and households who have attained their household food sufficiency all together account about 60% of the total settled households. The rest 40% of settlers are categorized to be food insecure households. The same with the data obtained from the surveyed households, she also mentioned that the food insecure households are the elderly people who are leading life alone, disabled people, and women headed households. The important thing to be noted in her report is that, the mentioned figure includes those who are new comers and live in the area for not more than eight months i.e. not experienced one production season.

The settler themselves witnessed that they have attained food self-sufficiency. With regard to this, Ato Degu, who came from Wogera woreda of North Gondar zone, and now living in Dubaba Mender hulet resettlement site said that:

I can say that it is big privilege of our government to let us to be independent. I was one of people in Wogera receiving food aid from government for my family. Even I did not have cloths to change except the dirty one which was attached to my body. But now, thanks to God, my granary is full of sorghum and my wife is selling it in the market, I have also oxen, cows and one donkey. I can say that the year 1996 E.C was year of new birth and freedom.

8.2 Availability and Access to Food

Food availability means the physical presence of food items in the area. The availability of food because of it has been produced, processed. Manufactured and/or imported (IFRCRCS, 2006). Accesses to food refer to entitlement to produce, purchase or exchange food or receive it as a gift. Households access food by various means and the livelihood activities that sustain them depend on a range of assets and enabling systems (WFP, 2005).

In the study area, the food items are available in the household stores, and markets. As to availability of food items in the local market, 96% of the survey respondents said that food

crops such as *teff*, sorghum, spices, fruits and vegetables are available. The data generated from focus group discussions indicated that most of crops in terms of price, except sorghum, which is commonly produced almost by all households as major food crop, are not affordable for most of households particularly, for female headed households. Other than the crop types cultivated locally, the existence of crops such as bean, *teff* and other complementary food items such as table salt, sugar, and oil in the market are limited and/or their price is very high. The data generated from focus group discussions indicated that availability of food crops in the households' stock is mostly found in male headed households than female headed households. Households in the study area access food mainly by producing on their plots. As it has been mentioned under the section of on-farm livelihood activities, sorghum is predominantly produced as food crop. According to its role in household food security, it stands the first crop produced for about 48% of respondents followed by sesame and maize. However, the contribution of sesame in food security of households is not direct as sorghum.

The sufficiency of the food crop produced varies from household to households. In most of households, the crops produced from their plots is enough to feed all family members, while in few households it is not sufficient and thus people buy it from locally available market. As the local people reported, in most cases, they produce more than subsistence and sell it in the market and/or exchange by the other crop or livestock. According to the quantitative data of the study, it is known that about 93% of household reported that food crops produced in the households' plot is sufficient to feed the household members, while in the remaining 7% of households respondents said that the food crops produced from their households is not sufficient to feed members of their household.

However, the challenge with producing from households' plot of land is that in any case, the production per a given plot of land when it is frequently cultivated is getting decreased. In the case of sorghum, which is the most important food crop in the area, if it is cultivated frequently in one hectare plot of land is told to be decreased. About 83% of household respondents said that it decreases by more than two quintals per hectares, while about 15% of respondents said that generally it decreased but it varies from time to time and the type of crops cultivated. For this reason, people experienced shifting cultivation. But, such type of cultivation practice is also challenged with increasing problem of land shortage.

8.3 Food Security and Temporal Dimension

Security is the balance between vulnerability; risk and insurance (Degefa, 2005; Hoddinott, 1999). Bringing all together (both settlers and their hosts), about 94% of the households have not shortage of food throughout the year. Very few households in the study area experienced the seasonal food shortage in their households. About 6% of household respondents said that they suffer seasonal food shortage. July, August, September and November are the months of the year when households suffer seasonal food shortage in the study area.

Table 10: Temporal Dimension of Household Food Security (N=100)

	Are food items in your household sufficient through the year?		Total
	Yes, n (%)	No, n (%)	
Host	49 (94.2)	3(5.8)	52
settler	45 (93.75)	3 (6.25)	48
Total	94 (94)	6(6)	100

Source: own survey data, 2011

The seasonal shortage of the food during mentioned months of the year is associated with the fact that it is the leafy stage of most of food crops locally cultivated and the problems related with the muddy condition of the area, when there is constraint of transportation to supply food items to the market and to move from place to place. The problem of food shortage is reported to be very serious and extends to the other better off households during times, when there are natural hazards such as water logging, flooding, drought and erratic rainfall. As to the severity of the problems caused by such natural hazards, it varies from one hard to the other and the extent of its impact on food security is also reported to be dependent on the intensity and magnitude.

The extent of the consequence of natural hazards on the households' food security is reported to be very high (30 %), highly affect (54%), moderate consequence (14%) and low consequence (2%) of household respondents. The capacity to withstand the consequences of such hard is also varies across households, for example in the time of erratic rainfall, respondents in all sampled kebeles said that even the existence of it for one time will extremely affects the households, but 1% of respondents said that it will not exert such serious impact on their livelihoods, instead they need it for their livestock and hence its impact on their household food security is also minimal. In general speaking, it could be understood that

the problem of food security in study area during hazards is becoming serious and the food security of households is also dependent on rain-fed agriculture if and only if it is under normal and regular pattern.

Taking the availability, sufficiency, preference and temporal dimension into consideration, the sampled households were asked to categorize their households in terms of food security status under four categories; ‘who could get sufficient and preferred food at any time’, ‘who could get sufficient food at required time, but not preferred’, ‘who could get food at needed time, but not sufficient and preferred’, and ‘who could get sufficient food, but not preferred and at required time’.

Table 11: Categories of Households by Food Security Status (N=100)

Name of kebele	Category of households according to their food security situation								
	Get sufficient and preferred food at needed time		Get sufficient food at needed time, but not preferred		Get food, but not sufficient and at needed time		Get sufficient food, but not preferred and at needed time		Total
	Host	settler	Host	Settlers	Host	settlers	Host	Settler	
Bambaho	1	0	10	10	0	4	0	5	30
Gelegu	2	0	30	8	1	2	0	0	43
Dubaba	0	0	3	9	3	7	2	3	27
Total	3	0	43	27	4	13	2	8	100

Source: own survey data, 2011

As a result, 70% of the households are found to be under the category of the households who could get sufficient food at needed time, but not preferred, followed by the households under category of those who could get food at required time, but not sufficient and preferred. From the total sampled households, 17% of households are found to be under category of those who could get food, but not sufficient and at needed time. Only 3% of households reported that they are under category of those who could get sufficient and preferred food at required time. The rest 10% of the households are also found to be under category of those who could get sufficient food, but not preferred and at needed time.

Theoretically, the households are considered to be food secure when all members of the household could get sufficient and nutritious food at needed time based on their preference. According to these criteria, only 3% of households from both settler and host community members in the study area are found to be food secure.

8.4 Summary

With the aim of assessing the resettlement program in terms of achieving the household food security, the food security situation of households of the host community was looked in addition to settler households. The data generated from household survey revealed that most settler community households (92%) have attained self food sufficiency or moved from the seeking food aid to household food self-sufficiency. However, about 8% of the settlers are still not attained their household food sufficiency and the problem is found to be very serious in the female households, elderly and disabled people who are leading their life alone. The current resettlement program in terms of attaining independent household food sufficiency, but not food security could be said successful.

Looking all together (both settlers and their hosts), households in the study area access food from different sources in different ways. The major source of the food for the households is found to be from own production of crops. Sorghum, which is predominantly cultivated in Quara, stands first in terms of its contribution in the household food security. There are also different food items available in the local market. However, except those produced locally, the price of food crops such as *teff*, bean and other complementary food items such table salt, sugar, and oil in the market are found to be unaffordable to farm households. The problem has been exacerbated due to the decreasing trend of productivity per a given plot of land. This is associated with the nature of the land; as a result, people have pursued shifting cultivation. But, the challenge with shifting cultivation is the problem of land shortage due to in increasing population trend.

The majority of household in Quara have ensured sufficient availability of food throughout the year. However, considerable numbers of households are still experiencing the seasonal (transitory) food short during leafy stages of most of crops cultivated locally. July, August, September and October are the months when households face transitory food shortage. Such transitory food shortage may extend to the other better-off households during natural hazards in the area. The effect of natural hazards such as flooding, erratic rainfall, drought, and others on household food security is identified to be very series. And the extent it affects is also dependent on the intensity and magnitude of natural hazards. The study also indicated that the majority of the households get sufficient food at needed times, but not the preferred one

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS AND WAYS FORWARDED

The central objective of the study was to investigate the livelihood of the rural households in resettlement area and the livelihood strategies pursued as response to the program. Based on data generated from surveyed households, focus group discussions, key informant interviews, and cases of households, the finding of the study are presented in the forgoing chapters. Based on the finding of the study, this chapter also draws conclusions and presents some ways forwarded for policy implications.

9.1 Conclusions

Following the resettlement program, the study area (destination of settlers) has experienced different socio-economic and demographic trends. Population growth is the major demographic trend, which is increasing in very faster rate and become faster due to continuous resettlement program and fertility. In this regard, as the other parameters of demography, resettlement program is the important determinant of population dynamism having reducing impact on the origins of settlers and additive effect on the final destination of the new area.

Resettlement programs are planned and implemented aiming to bring the better livelihood options to the target people. In addition to rationalities and assumption made by planners, people particularly the settlers and their hosts have perceived in different ways and the study has looked the perception of the people (both the settler and their hosts) about resettlement program. The findings of the study indicated that the need to search better livelihood options and pushing factors from original place of residence and pulling factors in the new place of destination coupled with government initiation are some of the rationale and triggering factors of the settler community to be part of the program. Eventhough, there were resistances against the program, the host community members have anticipated good things such as access to road; pure water, health services and other welfare services and are also triggering factors to play the important role in facilitating and coordinating the program. However, both settlers and host community members did not find the program consistence with what has been said. Exaggerated and unrealistic promises and information provided to settlers and receiving community from concerned bodies of the program have disappointed both communities. As a

result, considerable numbers of settlers were found to be subjected to repatriation to their original place of the resident, while the host community members have also experienced from the warm welcoming of the settlers to the resistance of the program. From this, it could be learned that the current resettlement program is over exaggerated in term of bringing better livelihood options to the target population and this has in turn resulted in unexpected reactions of the settlers and their hosts on the program and lack consistency in bringing the anticipated livelihood opportunities.

The five livelihood capitals or assets which are the determinants of the livelihood activities and strategies pursued were assessed. Resettlement as deriving force in the study area has shaped and reduced livelihood assets. Assessment of human asset indicated that eventhough, the majority of the respondents are illiterate, people are acquainted with different skills, which vary across sexes. The social capital is found to be very important source of other assets of livelihoods. The settlers and the host communities have bonded by different social bonding mechanisms which include intermarriage, being relative other than blood relation, working together, practicing religious activities together, sharing of resources, celebrating the funeral ceremonies and others. The study also revealed that the intra-regional nature current of resettlement program and the similarity between settlers and their hosts in terms of socio-cultural background have contributed to creation of trust and reciprocity. The physical capital of households is very limited with no adequate water supply and sanitation, affordable energy, access to information (communication) and access to banking service and as a result, constrained households' livelihood exercises.

The financial resources of households are mainly in the form of available stocks particularly, in form of livestock instead of regular inflow, such as salary and remittance. The means of saving in the area is found to be different. Saving cash money, investing on livestock and on cash crops such as sesame, cotton and sorghum are some of means of saving pursued. As to access to credit, there are favorable conditions to get credit. The only formal source of credit in the area is the Amhara Credit and Saving Institution. However, the local money lenders, churches and relatives are the sources of credit for considerable number of households. Therefore, eventhough, the form and type of saving vary from place to place, the rural people have exercised saving with the context of the local settings and according to the existing physical assets.

As far as the natural assets are concerned, land, forest and water are among the important natural assets. Since land is the most critical livelihood asset in the study area, it has become source of not only for the livelihoods but also the source of conflict and disputes among people. The land holding size of households varies across the two groups of community and is reported to be the major difference between the settlers and their hosts. Despite, the area is naturally rich in water resource; the need for drinking water is not met. Available water points around resettlement sites are also not sufficient and thus people are forced to queue for longer time around water points and share the river water with their cattle.

Resettlement program is the destructive of natural resources. In the study area, the natural forest is decreasing from time to time in alarming rate and the resettlement program is mentioned to be major cause. As a result, people have lost associated resources such as honey production which was widely practiced in study area. Though, the resettlement program is the principal cause, the farming practice of the area, natural gum and incense production, unwise use of forest resource and absence of clear demarcation between kebeles are found to be the causes of deforestation.

Different challenging things to settlers and their host community members are also reported. Following the rapid increase in population, shortage of land, deforestation, shortage of the grazing land following large livestock population of the area, decrease in soil fertility, and water pollution are some of the challenges to farm households.

Other than its destructive effect on the natural forest, the resettlement program has also brought about good things to the farm households. Eventhough, it is limited in term of addressing the need of people, construction of health stations and posts, water points in settlement sites, job opportunity, increased labour supply, construction of schools including high school, access to market, and establishment of small towns are found to be opportunities created as result of resettlement program and this is what could be considered as the constructive side of resettlement for the better livelihood options not only for settlers, but also for their hosts.

The context where people are in and available livelihood assets have shaped and directed the livelihood activities experienced and strategies pursued by the farm households. Crop

cultivation and animal production are found to be the dominant on-farm livelihood activities of households.

The opportunities and challenges brought by resettlement program have made households use prevailing different livelihood options and strategies in order to use available opportunities and minimize possible risks involved in challenges, and thus the livelihood of households is found under momentum. Resettlement as driving force of livelihoods has exerted its impact on the livelihood strategies of households as result; rural households changed their livelihood activities according to the context and available livelihood assets.

The change in the livelihood strategy is manifested in different scenarios. The change within the same type of livelihood activities, for example, within crop cultivation using new way of doing and/or from traditional way of farming to modern way of farming, from subsistence to commercial, and from animal rearing to crop cultivation is one type of livelihood change identified. Secondly, the livelihood change is found to occur by switching from one type of livelihood activity to the other. It is found that households in the study area have undertaken cultivation of crop in rainy season and income generating livelihood activities in dry seasons. Complete shift in livelihood activities or from one type of activity to the other type of change is also identified to be the third type of livelihood change in rural households. In this regards, people tend to exercise from crop cultivation and animal production to service providing such as shopping, bar and hotel services, milling machine, and other income generating activities i.e. the livelihoods shift from on-farm to off-farm income generating activities.

Resettlement is instrumental to realize efforts towards household food self-sufficiency. Most of settlers have moved from aid seeking to household food self-sufficiency. However, considerable numbers of households are not still attained food sufficiency and the problem in female headed households, elders and disabled people is more serious. The issue of the food security is not only the issue of the settlers, but also it the issue of their hosting community. As some households in settler community members have suffered from the problem of food sufficiency, there are also the host community members experiencing the same problem. But relatively, the host community households are better in term of food self-sufficiency than the settler households. In dealing with household food security, looking the temporal dimension of the household is one aspect and it is also reasonable to suppose. In this regard, the majority

of households in the study area have ensured sufficient availability of food throughout the year. But, there are still households experiencing the seasonal (transitory) food short during leafy stages of most of crops cultivated locally. July, August, September and October are months when households face transitory food shortage. It is also known that the transitory food shortage extends to the other better-off households during some natural hazards.

9.2 Some Ways Forwarded

Based on the findings of the study, the following are some of ways forwarded which could be important inputs to the local government, planners and implementers of the program.

- The study has revealed that lack of proper study and inappropriate information about the area, has resulted both community members to react in unexpected ways such as resistance of the program form the host community and forced repartition of settlers to their originals place of residence. Therefore, before implementing resettlement programs, it should be studied well and appropriate information based on the fact should be provided, and instead of implementing based on the rationality of planners and implementers or top-down approach, it should consider the felt needs of beneficiaries and their rationalities.
- Resettlement program has two edges; one with the good and encouraging, and the other with destructive effects. Therefore, in intervening with resettlement as development program, instead of looking only the positive sides of the program, negative things should get equal weight and the trade-off should be made between identified opportunities and challenges and have to be implemented based on opportunities exceeding challenging things.
- The resettlement program in the area studied has brought about improvements in life of the settlers and their host community households by bringing enabling opportunities for better livelihood options. However, the positive changes registered by rural households are found to be on the expense of natural resources. If the resettlement program is to be seen as development intervention, it has to ensure sustainability of livelihoods. To do so, higher concern should be given to the environmental issue and besides, there should be participatory natural resource management intervention, encouragement of agro-forestry

practice and appropriate technology such as fuel saving stoves are recommended to be designed and disseminated to rural households.

- Loose and reluctant recruitment of the beneficiaries in the original place of the settlers by concerned bodies is known to be the cause for settlers to settle more than one times in different settlement sites and is the cause for unwise use of natural resources particularly, forest. If it is really to address the socio-economic problems of the needy people and to avoid associated financial losses in running the program, there should be strong supervision of the program and sending and receiving woreda should work together.
- Livestock in the study area and other part of the country are important financial assets and also have both economic and social role in the livelihoods of rural households. But, in the case of study area, the resettlement program has challenged the practice of rearing of livestock particularly, around settlement sites and exacerbated due to shortage of land. Therefore, in implementing such program the existing livestock population should be considered and modern way of production such as forage development technologies and cut carry system should be introduced.
- The study has asserted that resettlement program in solving short-term problems such as reducing the number of people in the need of aid by letting them to increase production, and ensuring household food sufficiency is very important. However, this is looked with respect to the direct beneficiaries of the program (settlers), but it has affected the livelihoods of the host community members. If it is to be durable solution for socio-economic problems of people, it should be designed and implemented in ways to ensure sustainable livelihoods of both settlers and receiving community.
- The study has seen only few aspects of the livelihood of rural households driven by resettlement program with limited scope in terms of area coverage and issues addressed. But there are different things affecting the livelihood of the households in the study area as well as in the other parts of country other than resettlement program. To have more understanding of the rural livelihood situation, more empirical studies are highly required especially, on the issues related to household food security and environment.

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Annexes

Annex 1

Household Survey Questionnaire

Part I: Demographic data

- 1.1 Date of interview: _____
- 1.2 Name of Kebele : _____
- 1.3 From which community you are? 1) The host community 2) Settler
- 1.4 Age of respondent: _____ 1) below 15 2) 15-30 3) 31-60 4) more than 60
- 1.5 Sex of respondent: 1) male 2) female
- 1.6 Marital status:
1) Single 2) married 3) divorced 4) widowed 5) others (specify) _____
- 1.7 Head of the household:
1) Man 2) Woman 3) Son 4) Daughter 5) other (specify) _____
- 1.8 Family size: _____
1) 1-3 2) 4-6 3) 7-10 4) more than 10

Part II: Socio-economic data

- 2.1 Educational status
1) Illiterate 2) Read and write 3) Primary level (Grades 1-5) 4) junior secondary level (Grades 8-9) 5) High school level (Grades 10-12) 6) 12+ and above
- 2.2 Which religious follower?
1) Orthodox 2) Muslim 3) Protestant 5) others (specify) _____
- 2.3 What is your main occupation?
1) Farmer 2) merchant 3) wage labourer 4) others (specify) _____
- 2.4 Monthly income of household (in birr): _____
1) Less than 150 birr 2) 151-500 birr 3) 501-1000 birr 4) more than 1000 birr
- 2.5 What is the major source of income for your household?
1) Sale of grains 2) Livestock and their products 3) Cash crops 4) Off/nonfarm activities

Part III: Perception about resettlement

- 3.1 Were the local people well-informed when the resettlement program was planned to be in this area? 1) Yes 2) no
- 3.2 What is your perception about the resettlement which has been undertaken in this area?
1) It is very important

- 2) It is important
 - 3) Important as well as destructive
 - 4) It is destructive and harmful
- 3.3 To whom do you think resettlement is advantageous?
- 1) It benefits both the host community and settlers, but has more advantage to the settlers
 - 2) It benefits both the host and settlers, but has more advantage to the host community
 - 3) It has equal advantage to the host and settler communities
 - 4) It only benefits those people who have more access to resources
- 3.4 Can you mention some of the opportunities brought by resettlement program to the livelihood of the households in this area? (Please list down some of the opportunities)
- 1) _____
 - 2) _____
 - 3) _____
 - 4) _____
- 3.5 What are the challenges brought by resettlement program in the livelihood of household in this area? (Please list some of the challenges faced by people)
- 1) _____
 - 2) _____
 - 3) _____
 - 4) _____

Part IV: Livelihood Assets

Human capital/Asset

- 4.1 Do you think that you have skills to lead yourselves and your family?
- 1) Yes 2) no 3) I am not sure
- 4.2 If your answer for the question number 4.1 is yes, Please mention skills you have
- 1. _____
 - 2. _____
 - 3. _____
 - 4. _____
- 4.3 Do you have the opportunities to put the skills you have got by experience or training into practice? (multiple response is possible) 1) Yes 2) No
- 4.4 If your answer for the above question (4.3) is no, what do you think the reason is?
- 1) Shortage of initial capital
 - 2) There is no market demand to the product
 - 3) The necessary inputs are not available in the locality
 - 4) Others (specify) _____
- 4.5 Do you think that school and other training facilities have been constructed due to resettlement program? 1) Yes 2) no

Social Capital /Asset

- 4.6 "Due to the resettlement program, pre-existing local culture is affected." To what extent do agree with this statement?

- 1) Strongly disagree 2) Disagree 3) Unable to decide 3) Agree 4) Strongly agree
- 4.7 Do the following social relations are practiced between the local people and settlers?
Please mark (✓) that you think is practiced or not practiced in the following table (1 stands for “practiced”, 2 stands for ” not practiced”)

No.	Type of social relation	1(practiced)	2 (not practiced)
1	Intermarriage		
2	Sharing funeral ceremony		
3	Religious practices		
4	Friendship		
5	Business coalition		
6	Working together		
7	Neighborhood		
8	Sharing resource(such as oxen and land)		
9	Being relative (other than blood relation)		
10	Others(specify)		

Natural Capital/Asset

- 4.8 Do you have plot/plots of land to farm? 1/ Yes 2/ No
- 4.9 How many hectares of land do your family own?
- 1) Below 1 hectare
 - 2) From 1.1 – 3 hectares
 - 3) From 3.1 – 5 hectares
 - 4) From 5.1 – 7 hectares
 - 5) Above 7 hectares
- 4.10 Is the indicated land sufficient to satisfy the demands of your family? 1/ Yes 2/ No
- 4.11 If the land you have could not satisfy the demand of your family, what strategies are used to fill the gap? (Rank them according to their importance by saying 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th)

No.	Strategy use	Yes used	Rank
1	Getting additional land by rent		
2	Working on the others' farm land to get additional income		
3	Engage in off-farm activities		
4	Others (specify)		

- 4.12 Do you think that the land use system has changed due to resettlement program?
1/ yes 2/ no
- 4.13 Do you think that the current land use system has affected the livestock production?
1) Yes 2) no
- 4.14 If your answer for the question 4.13 is “yes”, what are the negative consequences?
Please Indicate by saying affected or not affected

No.	Consequence	Affected (1)	Not affected(2)
1	Loss of grazing land and fodder		
2	Decline in livestock population		
3	The income from livestock has decreased		
4	The contribution of livestock products for food has decreased		
5	The price of oxen used for traction power has increased		
6	People could not save their capital in the form of livestock		
7	Others (specify)		

4.15 What can you say about communal grazing land since resettlement program started?

- 1) There is sufficient grazing land to feed the livestock
- 2) It is decreasing but enough to feed the livestock
- 3) It is decreasing and not enough to feed the live stock
- 4) Others (specify) _____

4.16 Since resettlement program, what can you say about access to water resources?

- 1) There is enough access
- 2) There is limited access
- 3) The same with that of before resettlement program
- 4) Access to water is decreasing

4.17 Is there communal forest land in your locality? 1) Yes 2) no

Financial Capital

4.18 Please indicate the number of livestock population that your household own

No.	Type of Animal	Quantity in number
1	Oxen	
2	Cattle including calves	
3	Goats	
4	Sheep	
5	Donkeys	
6	Camel	

4.19 Of the following which is/are practiced to get financial capital? Please Mark (✓) for saving practices you experienced

No.	Ways of saving	Your experience
1	Saving surplus income	
2	Livestock as saving	
3	Cash crop production as saving	
4	Others (specify) _____	

4.20 Do you have access to credit in your locality? 1) Yes 2) no

4.21 For what purpose you need credit? (Circle the number that is your choice)

- 1) To purchase farm oxen
- 2) To purchase improved seeds
- 3) To fatten livestock
- 4) To do some income generating activities

- 5) others (specify) _____
- 4.22 What is the source of credit in your locality? 1) Amhara Saving and Credit institution
2) NGOs 3) Relatives 4) others (specify) _____

Physical Asset

- 4.23 Is there road facility which connects all kebeles to Woreda? 1) Yes 2) no
- 4.24 The roads constructed are? 1) Functional throughout the year 2) functional only in dry seasons 3) not functional throughout the year
- 4.25 What infrastructural services are available in your locality? Please Mark (✓)

No.	Infrastructure	Available	Not available
1	Telecommunication service		
2	Health service nearby distance		
3	Pure water supply		
4	Electric power		
5	Banking service		

Part V: Livelihood Strategy

- 5.1 Do you think that people have changed their livelihood strategies due to resettlement program? 1/ Yes 2/ No
- 5.2 If your answer for the question number 5.1 is “yes” which new strategy of livelihood used? Please mark (✓) the strategies experienced from the table given

No.	New livelihood strategy	Your answer
1	Practicing intensified agriculture	
2	Working on others' farm	
3	Engaged in small scale business	
4	Working as wedge laborer	
5	Others (specify) _____	

- 5.3 What types of farming activities are practiced different from before resettlement? Please mark (✓) by saying different from and the same with that of before resettlement program. (1 stands for “differently practiced” and 2 stand for “practiced the same with before resettlement”)

No.	Farming activities	Practiced differently(1)	The same with before resettlement (2)
1	Farming of food crops		
2	Livestock raring		
3	Bee keeping		
4	Cultivating cash and high value crop		
5	Mixed farming		
6	Others (specify) _____		

- 5.4 Do think that people are forced to work on the others' farm other than their own due to resettlement program? 1/ Yes 2/ No

5.5 If your answer for question 5.4 is yes, what do you think the reason behind? (Circle the number that is your choice)

- 1) Shortage of plot of land
- 2) To get additional household income
- 3) Shortage of agricultural inputs
- 4) Others (specify) _____

Hazards and/or loss of assets and household of withstanding capacity

5.6 In the following table some of the natural hazards and/or loss of properties are listed. To which extent these hazards and losses can affect the livelihoods of your household? Level according to their severity and withstanding capacity of the household (1 stands for seriously affect and we can't withstand it, 2 stands for it affects but to some extent we can withstand it, 3 stands for it affects but we withstand it, 4 stands for it do not affect)

No.	Type of hazard and/or loss	Its severity and withstanding capacity of the household			
1	Flooding	1	2	3	4
2	Drought	1	2	3	4
3	Pests infestation	1	2	3	4
4	High winds	1	2	3	4
5	Loss of oxen	1	2	3	4
6	Erratic rainfall	1	2	3	4
7	Human epidemic diseases	1	2	3	4
8	Animal epidemic diseases	1	2	3	4

Part VI: Opportunities and Challenges

6.1 Do you think that the following lists in the table are opportunities brought by resettlement program? (1 stands for “yes” and 2 stand for “no”).

No	Opportunities	Yes (1)	No(2)	Remarks
1	Roads			
2	Market opportunity			
3	Construction of health infrastructure			
4	Clean water supply			
5	Ease access to labor force in peak times			
6	Job opportunity			
7	Construction of schools			
8	Development of towns			

6.2 Do you believe that the following are some of challenges faced by people in the area due to resettlement program? (1 stands for “yes” and 2 stands for “no”)

No	Challenges faced by people	Yes (1)	No (2)	Remarks
1	Conflict			
2	Expansion of theft			
3	Land shortage			
4	Degradation of forest			
5	Overgrazing/decreasing of grazing land			
6	Water Pollution			
7	Decrease soil fertility			
8	Loss of common properties and shared resources			
9	Loss of integrity and identity of indigenous culture			
10	Higher population density			

Part VII: Food Security Situation

7.1 Do you think that all the new comers (settlers) have secured food for their households?

1) Yes 2) no

7.2 What types of crops are produced in the area? Put rank wise as your household produce by saying 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th ... 8th and indicate by marking (✓) their role in food security

No.	Type of crop produced	Rank	Its role for household food security		
			Important(1)	Very important(2)	Not important(3)
1	Sorghum				
2	Sesame				
3	Maize				
4	Cotton				
5	Teff				
6	Lentil				
7	Chilly				
8	Ground nut				
9	Other (specify) _____				

7.3 Is the crops produced enough to feed the household members? 1) Yes 2) no

7.4 Is there sufficient supply of food crop in your locality? 1) Yes 2) no

7.5 Could you find all the required types of food items in the market? 1) yes 2) no

7.6 If you do not have food crop produced in your household, can you buy from market?
1)Yes 2) no

7.7 Is your family sustained food security through the year? 1) yes 2) no

7.8 If your answer for the question no 7.7 is no, in which months your experience food shortage? From _____ to _____

7.9 How do you express the consequence on the household food security when there is erratic rainfall, flooding drought and the like natural hazards? 1) extremely high 2) high 3) moderate 4) small 5) no consequence

7.10 Under which category do your family fall as far as the food security is concerned?
(Circle the number you choose)

- 1) Could get sufficient and preferred food at any time
- 2) Could get sufficient food at any time, but not preferred
- 3) Could get at any time, but not sufficient and preferred
- 4) Could get sufficient food, but no preferred and at any time

- 5) Others option (specify) _____
- 7.11 In a given Plot of land you own, the annual production is, 1) Increasing 2) decreasing
- 7.12 If your answer for the question no. 7.8 is decreasing, for example in what amount sorghum per hectare decreases? (Circle the number that is your choice)
- 1) Decrease by one quintal per hectare
 - 2) Decrease by two quintals per hectare
 - 3) Decrease by more than two quintals per hectare
 - 4) It decrease but, production varies from crop to crop

Part VIII: Natural Resources and Environmental Situation (only for the host community)

- 8.1 What could you say about the forest coverage of the area compared to five year ago? (Circle the number you choose)
- 1) It has highly decreased in faster rate compared after five year
 - 2) It is slightly decreasing
 - 3) There is no change in forest coverage
 - 4) The forest coverage is increasing
- 8.2 Since resettlement program is started, the indigenous trees are
- 1) They are almost distinct
 - 2) They exist but decreasing in their number in faster ways
 - 3) Slightly decreasing
 - 4) Increasing in number
 - 5) No change in their number
- 8.3 The Productivity of soil after five years is: (Circle the number you choose)
- 1) Becoming very low in its productivity
 - 2) Experiencing low productivity
 - 3) Slightly decreasing
 - 4) No change in its productivity
 - 5) Its productivity is increasing
- 8.4 What type of environmental problems are observed which has never experienced before resettlement (Please mark (✓))

No	Environmental situation observed	Mar (✓)
1	Increase in temperature	
2	Strom and winds	
3	Flooding	
4	Soil erosion	
5	Increase in temperature	
6	All have been experienced before and after the program	

Thank you for your Participation!

Annex: 2

Checklists

Checklist to guide focus group discussion among the host community

- 1) Were the local people voluntary to accept people from other areas of the region by resettlement program or was there consensus between government and the local people?
- 2) Could you discuss the advantages and disadvantages of resettlement both for new settlers and the host community?
- 3) What are the opportunities of resettlement to the host community?
- 4) What are challenges brought by resettlement to the local people?
- 5) Does resettlement program force the local community to change their livelihood strategies? If so from which strategies of livelihood to which did people shift? And how do people switch to the new livelihood strategies?

Checklist to guide to focus group discussion among settled community

- 1) What was the reason to come in this Woreda as settlers?
- 2) How do find the new area compared to your original place?
- 3) Do you think that you have got good things/opportunities due to resettlement (What opportunities have you got?)
- 4) Could you discuss some of the challenges faced by settler community due to resettlement program? If so, let us mention some of the challenges that the settlers are faced
- 5) Do you think that the resettlement has changed the livelihood strategies of households? If so, please mention the new household strategies used

Checklist to guide Key Informant Interview with Individuals

- 1) Were you voluntary to accept the resettlement program?
- 2) Can you mention some of the opportunities of the resettlement to host and settler community?
- 3) What are the challenges faced by people due to resettlement program?
- 4) Do you think that the resettlement causes people to change their livelihood strategies? If so can you mentions some the new livelihood strategies experienced in the area?

Checklist to guide key informant interview with Kebele administrators

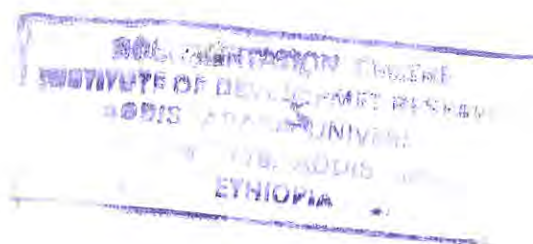
- 1) How do people in this kebele perceive resettlement program?
- 2) How resettlement benefited both new comers and host community? Could you please explain? Who do you think is more advantageous out of the scheme (the settlers or the host community)?
- 3) How do you see social, economic and political participation of settlers and the host community?
- 4) What looks like the socio-economic relation between settlers and host community?
- 5) What opportunities are there in the area due to resettlement to both communities?
- 6) What are the challenges faced by the local people due to resettlement program?
- 7) Do you think that resettlement has changed the livelihood strategies of people in the area? If so, what types of new livelihood strategies are experienced?
- 8) How do you see the impact of resettlement scheme on environment?

Checklist to guide Key Informant Interview with Woreda food Security Coordinator

- 1) What was the basis to select this Woreda for resettlement program?
- 2) How do you see the perception of the host and settled community about resettlement program?
- 3) What are the duties and responsibilities of the food security coordination office in relation to resettlement?
- 4) Could you tell me the contribution of resettlement scheme in attaining household food security in this Woreda?
- 5) What could you say the achievement in attaining household food security through resettlement program?
- 6) From your experience, within what period could settlers achieve household food sufficiency?
- 7) What kind of aid the government should provide till settlers attain their household food sufficiency?
- 8) What are the benefits of resettlement program to the host community?
- 9) What are the challenges and opportunities of resettlement in attaining household food security?

Check List to Guide Key Informant Interview with Woreda Administrator

- 1) What was the basis to select this Woreda for resettlement program?
- 2) How do you see the perception of the host and settled community about resettlement program?
- 3) What are the opportunities of resettlement for both the host and settled community?
- 4) What are the challenges faced by people due to resettlement program in this Woreda?
- 5) How do you evaluate the achievement of resettlement program?
- 6) What could you say about the environmental impact of resettlement in this Woreda



Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Declared by:


GENANEW AGITEW



Candidate

Confirmed by:

ALI HASSEN (PhD)



Advisor