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ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

MA Thesis

**Urban Expansion, Tenure Rights and Informality in Ethiopia: The Case of Shashemene
City and Its Surrounding in West Arsii Zone**

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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Tofik Mustefa, entitled: **Urban Expansion, Tenure Rights and Informality in Ethiopia: The Case of Shashemene City and Its Surrounding in West Arsi Zone** and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts (Social Anthropology) complies with the regulations of the university and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ADLI	Agricultural Development Led Industrialization
CSA	Central Statistical Agency
EIC	Ethiopian Investment Commission
EPA	Environmental Protection Authority
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
EPRDF	Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
GTP	Growth and Transformation Plan
IHDP	Integrated Housing Development Program
MoFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
MUDHCo	Ministry of Urban Development, Housing and Construction
PASDEP	Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty
Proc.	Proclamation
SADC	Swiss Aid for Development and Cooperation
SWFED	Shashemene Woreda Finance and Economic Development
TPLF	Tigry Peoples Liberation Front
UN	United Nations
UNECA	United Nation Economic Commission for Africa
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

Abstract

This MA thesis deals with some major outcomes of urban expansion, existing tenure arrangement, informal land transaction and house construction on the life of Former and current farmers, informal urban dwellers and the city administration in two Kebeles of Shashemene city of West Arssi Zone. Purposive and snowball sampling techniques were used to select research respondents from farmers, informal urban dwellers, middlemen and land speculators. Mainly qualitative research methods were employed. Data were collected mainly through FGD, in-depth interviews, informal interviews, document review, individual case studies and extensive observation methods. Gathered data were, analyzed and interpreted in order to answer research questions. The findings of this paper revealed that informal land transaction and the subsequent horizontal expansion are becoming major features of Shashemene city. The current land policy in contrast to its written goals and rhetoric has created large scale informal land transaction and house construction that resulted in peasants' displacement either willingly or unwillingly in the study Kebeles. In this regard, first government expropriation of peasants' land with a very low compensation rate and without facilitating alternative livelihood sources, and other socio-cultural and economic factors are forcing peasants to proactively sell their land. Secondly, urban residents were and are engaging in informal land transaction principally because of the current lease policy, progressive hike of urban land value, residential house price and preferential allocation of land based on political allegiance that sealed off their access to formal residential house. On the other hand, informality is not only limited to the above mentioned social groups but business men, land speculators, engineers, and government officials too are actively engaging in informal land market to expand their fortune. In all these process, peasants are the prime victims who lost and are losing their lifelong generational asset together with their land and subsequently have been facing challenges like homelessness and joblessness and their adverse outcomes. Though late informal land sellers are said to be in a better livelihood condition compared to early sellers, by investing their money in income generating business, the sustainability and success of their business can be difficult to predict. The outcome of unplanned horizontal expansion has not only affecting peasants but also informal urban dwellers by causing tenure insecurity and lack of access to services and infrastructures; and the city administration by denying free space, land and property transaction tax; peasants of neighboring weredas due to informality that created spillover effect on them. Thus, this study recommended that, unless horizontal informal urban expansion of Shashemene is managed properly, the outcome of informality will produce a series of socio-economic and political unintended consequences on the above stated stakeholders.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Urbanization both as a social phenomenon and a physical transformation of landscapes is one of the most powerful, irreversible and visible anthropogenic forces on earth (Masakazu, 2003; UN-HABITAT, 2008 in Tadesse 2008; Teshome 2014). Urban living has now become the overriding human experience across the world (Spooner 2015). Figurative report evidently showed how this change is accelerating over time at global scale. For example, in 1800 AD only 0.5% of global population was urban dwellers. Two century latter, this figure dramatically jumped to 50.5 percent and in 2050 it will reach to 70 percent (Teshome 2014; Noorloos and Kloosterboer 2018; Spooner 2015; Smart and Smart2003). Unprecedented level of urban growth is becoming the dominant feature of LDCs mainly Africa. According to Noorloos and Kloosterboer(2018) African urban population will almost triple in the coming 35 years, with more than 1.3 billion Africans living in cities by 2050 that will account 21% of the world's urban population(UN DESA 2014 in Noorloos and Kloosterboer2018). Both push factors (undesirable conditions), and Pull factors (opportunities and favorable conditions) are causing urban population to increase at alarming rate in either side of developed and developing nations(Ibd).

Urban expansion and development cannot be materialized in the absence of land. Hence, land plays crucial role for the construction of various urban structures and infrastructures. Urban and peri-urban land governance and management is one of the most challenging and the subject of socio-economic and political controversy across the world mainly in developing nations. Due to unfair and imperfect land tenure arrangements, around 940 million people, that is, 30 percent of the world urban population is estimated to live in slums and under informal land tenure system (ECA2004; UN-Habitat 2003; 2014;SADC2017).

Since land has greater socio-cultural, psycho-emotional, and politico-economic prominence, land tenure needs to be inclusive, socially acceptable, and economically viable (Achamyeleh 2014; Sayeh2015). Secure land tenure and property rights enable people in urban and rural areas to enjoy a range of socio-economic benefits, to improve their social wellbeing, to invest in

improved homes and livelihoods and to lead stable and peaceful life (Ibid; Muradu 2015; Sabita 2010 ;USAID2010;Mellese in Muradu2009).

Ethiopia is one of the least urbanized countries in the world. Only 20 percent of its total population lived in urban areas, which is the lowest in both global and African scale (54 and 34 percent respectively). However, the country has been registering one of the fastest and ambivalent urban developments at global scale at the rate of 5.4 percent annual growth (Teshome2014; World Bank 2017).

Land issue became one of the most controversial and pressing topic for the country's peasantry, academicians and university students since 1960s onwards and one of the causes for the downfall of the long stayed "Solomonic" dynasty rule in 1974(Bahru1991&2002; Bereket 2006; Crewette and Korf 2008; Balsvic2005).The subsequent government change had brought radical land reform in both rural and urban setting that aimed at freeing the country's peasantry and urban dwellers from extremely oppressive and exploitative feudal and semi capitalist system (Bahru, 1991 &2002; Balsvic 2005). The 1991 government change did not bring radical land reform that differs from the 1975 land tenure proclamation (Abebe and Melese in Muradu,2009: Achamyeh2014;Daniel2009).The framers of the 1995 Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopian Constitution, exactly divided in to pro and against private or state ownership of land camps while they were drafting the constitution. But, those who advocate the idea of state ownership of land succeeded in materializing their idea in the newly crafted supreme law of Ethiopia in(art. 40:3)of the1995 constitution (Muradu 2009)¹.

Since the promulgation of the 1995 FDRE constitution, different national and regional laws have been adopted to cement the basic tenets of the country's constitution. However, both legal and policy frameworks on land are still continue to divide the country's political and academic elites. According to many studies, the existing laws and policies failed to achieve their stated goals. Urban land issue is one part of this general debate that capture the attention of many researchers and ordinary citizens (Getnet 2009; Muradu 2009; Tesfaye2010; Achamyeh 2014; Muradu, 2015; Sayeh,2015; Mintiwab et al. 2015).The past two decades have witnessed unprecedented

¹ . Surprisingly, most of the current academic and political land related debates, arguments and counter arguments exhaustively debated between the pro-private versus public ownership camps among the framers of the current constitution. in Muradu 2009 by citing the constitutional commission minutes has presented details of such debate. For further see PP65-68

level of urbanization in Ethiopia in which urban land is becoming a source of fierce competition, irregularities and corruption (Teshome 2014; Achamyeleh 2014; Muradu, 2015; Sayeh 2015).

Despite its socioeconomic benefits, rapid, unplanned and uncontrolled urbanization coupled with the existing underdeveloped economic and service sector, high poverty level and bad governance system have posed multitude of socio-economic and ecological adverse impacts like interweaving congestion of linear facility networks (water, electricity, and roads), poor sanitation and degradation of the environment, the emergence of squatter settlements among others (FDRE, 1997; Achamyeleh 2014). Peri-urban areas face distinct land administration challenges because of the complex and rapidly changing nature of land tenure arrangements (UN Habitat, 2014). Moreover, irregular horizontal urban expansion has been posing existential threat and multifaceted challenge on peasants who lived adjacent to urban centers (Kelemu 2016; Abebe et al 2019; Daniel 2011; Achamyeleh 2014; Muradu 2014).

Shahsemene is one of the fastest growing cities of Ethiopia and it is the corridor and the trade hub of southern Ethiopian provinces. It is expanding at alarming rate in to all directions at the expense of peasants' farm land that forced them to dispossess their valuable and irreversible means of livelihood i.e. Land. Therefore, this study tries to explore the impact of irregular horizontal expansion of urban settlement on the life of peasantry, peri-urban settlers and the town administration itself. It also investigates paradoxes of existing legal frameworks and realities on the ground as well as the cause and course of informal land transaction and its major players.

1.2. Stating the Problem

The twenty-first century has been called the urban century in which the world's majority population is gravitating towards urban centers. In 1975, there were three megacities in the world: Tokyo, New York and Mexico City. In 2005, there were 20 such cities, of which 16 were located in the developing world. Cities and towns are now recognized as pivotal for development that offer greater life opportunities and create wealth. Cities contribute up to 55% of gross national product in low-income countries, 73% in middle-income countries² and 85% in high-

². According to (Keivani and Murphy. 2009,) the contribution of a single megacity, for example, Sao Paulo or Bangkok, can be as high as 40% of the gross national product while comprising only 10% of the population of their respective countries.

income countries. However, urban centers in developing world are characterized by economic inefficiency, lack of jobs, homelessness and large informal settlements, inadequate services and infrastructure (for further see Keivani and Murphy. 2009)

Urbanization is unavoidable aspect of future human life that needs to be managed consciously and scientifically. Well managed urban centers can act as engines and catalysts for growth and development. Contrariwise, when cities poorly planned and governed they become centers of poverty, inequality and social conflict. Informal settlement is becoming one of the common problems of the third and developed world states. Since informal settlements usually established on suburb urban areas at the expense of fertile peasants land, they pose real and existential threat on peri-urban peasant livelihood status (Nssir D. and Elsayed H.2017;UN Habitat2011; Abunyewaha2018;Fegue2007. Fernandes2011;James 2015 Giri 2018).

Throughout human history, land is one of the most important and valuable possession of mankind. The rules according to which members of society shared and used on land evolved over time with the changing socio-economic and politico-cultural dynamics. Tenure on land vary across time and society depending on production system, the degree of population pressure, technological advancement, change in way of life and governments' development policy preferences (Johnson 1972;Adams 1999;Tesfaye 2010). Since land is apolitical, economic and socio-cultural asset, it is one of the most important sources of social cleavages and controversies across the world (Tesfaye 2010;³Daniel 2013).

According to FAO and UN-HABITAT (2002 and 2003 in Muradu2009:55-58)“there is positive correlation between inclusive land tenure right on one side and development, food security, gender equality , adequate shelter and housing on the other dimension....” Extreme poverty, high dependence, social instability ,mass rural out-migration, and many other negative conditions that humans have been facing partly related to ill-defined and unjust property right

³.Tesfaye Habiso (2010) by citing different comparative study reference materials gave detailed analysis on the negative socio-economic even political consequences of unfair and inequitable land distribution across the world. In his analysis, he elucidated how a few of land oligarchies managed to controlled global land resources elsewhere in the world. For example: one percent of western European capitalists owned 57% of European land, 86% of South Africa land is still owned by the white - minority population, 60% of El Salvador is owned by the richest 2% of the population, 80% of Pakistan is owned by the richest 3% of the population, 74% of Great Britain is owned by the richest 2% of the population. 3% of the population owns 95% of the privately held land in the United States. (For further see Tesfaye,2010)

regime on land (Feder et al.1988 in Sylvester2013;Di Falco et al 2016). Thus, land issue is one of the most sensitive topics that occupy the central apprehension of academicians, international organization, business establishments, governments and mainly poor citizens.

The matter of land is one of the thorniest and points of dissection among major stakeholders including academicians in Ethiopia. It is one of the topics that has extensively been investigated by Ethiopian and foreign scholars. The current studies and controversies on land mainly evolved in: the kind of tenure option; land size fragmentation; the EPRDF led government's extremely generous large scale land grant for domestic and foreign investors and its socio-economic and environmental impact⁴; irregularities and informalities related to urban land management and its implication on the life of peasantry; gender and land tenure; the issue of tenure insecurity in both settled agricultural and pastoralist land and its impact(Desalegn 2011; Samuel 2006; Birhanu et. al. 2003;Muradu2013;Witten2007;Alebel and Berihu 2016; Yigremew 2002; Girma 2011; Crewett & Korf2008;Solomon2015; Helland1999;Mintewab et al2014; Zemene2013; Daniel2013;Achamyeleh2014,Sayeh2014 ;Elias2015;Workneh 2006).

With regards to settled agriculturalists tenure insecurity debate, most scholars argued that there is clear and present tenure insecurity that hampered farmers' effort to improve their living status, long-term investment on the land and its conservation. However some scholars reject these arguments and stated that this debate is mostly influenced by ideological and political orientation rather than the real concern of major stakeholders i.e. farmers concern (for further see Brhanu et al 2003 ; Crewett and Korf 2008).

All the above scholars in one way or another have vocally criticized the way the country's land is managed and governed. Even some of them are calling the need for land reform to tackle the above stated problems and rip optimum benefit from the land sector. For example, Desalegn

⁴. Since the launching of PASDEP development policy in 2005/6, Ethiopian government shifted its attention in to large-scale commercial farms with the aim of increasing foreign currency sources, technology transfer, employment creation, infrastructural development and agricultural modernization. To achieve these goals, Federal and state governments hand over or prepared to hand over more than seven million hectares of land (equated with 38% the current all small holders land size) in which some scholars equated such land provision with the 19th c colonial land grab with the lowest market price and a very generous incentives. This government policy direction and action is being criticized by academic communities ,international humanitarian organization for various reasons mainly its botched down in fulfilling desired outcomes and for causing a far reaching socio-economic and environmental negative outcomes(for further see Desalegn2011 and 2013; Maru-Shete2011;Badasa2017; Tamrat2010;Getnet 2012).

Rahmeto proposed “associative land ownership” while Getnet (2006) and Solomon, (2015) recommended hybrid type of ownership that allowed private holding with all of its benefits.

In relation to urban and per-urban land management and its implications, a number of studies have been conducted by different scholars. All such studies questioned the legal aspects and social acceptability of urban land policies and legal frameworks which led to the increasing informal land transaction in urban and peri-urban areas and the subsequent mushrooming of irregular, unplanned and unauthorized private house construction deep in to farmers land in peri-urban areas(Zemene2013;Daniel2013; Sayeh2014 Teshome2014;Achamyeleh2015;Elias 2015;Begna2017).

Informality is becoming the typical manifestations of Ethiopian urban centers⁵ that could pose easily unresolved socio-economic, politico-cultural and environmental challenges(SADC,2017; Daniel, 2013; Achamyeleh 2014; Sayeh 2014; Abebe etal, 2019).Many scholars blamed government ill-defined, un implementable and unrealistic urban land policy for the acceleration of illegality across Ethiopian cities. According to Scholars(Daniel, 2013; Achamyeleh 2014; Sayeh 2014)government constitutional prerogative power to overtake land from its holders with insufficient compensation rate⁶ and lack of proper consultation in the name of development that violates the constitutional provision of “commensurate compensation in time of expropriation” forced peasants to take a pre-emptive measure to sale their holding for those who need land for various goals (Muradu 2015; Achamyeleh 2014).In addition to these, the expansion of urbanization and farmers increasing exposure to cash economy has its own impact on changing farmers traditional value on land(Teshome2014).Whilst urban poor, middle class families, land brokers and government officials have been using this institutional and legal imperfections as opportunities to achieve their respective interests and vigorously participating in informal land transaction (Daniel, 2013; Achamyeleh 2014; Sayeh 2014 Daniel, 2013).

⁵ . For example out of 43.000 houses that existed in Hawassa town only 23.000 of them had legal recognition (For further see SADC2017). (Daniel2011) also indicated that 30 percent of Bahrdar city houses lacked legal document.(Abebe et al ,2019), study further indicated that squatting urban settlement increased over the years from 29% in 1997 to 37% in 2007 and 41% in 2017.

⁶ . Studies by Achamyeleh2014; Sayeh2014 and Elias2015 show how far farmers were/are being victims of government expropriation of their land .For example, government pays only 20 and 12 birr per square meter but sale it by more than 8000 and 4000 birr in A.A and Bahir Dar cities respectively. The money they (farmers) received according to Achamyeleh “cannot feed their family in the face of increasing inflation and living standard.” Another study conducted by SADC2017 shows that Peri-urban farmers have been pushed by government to extreme poverty corners in Ethiopia.

From the above scholars' research result and realities on the ground, it is possible to argue that the Ethiopian government, besides its imperfect legal and policy frameworks, has failed to discharge its constitutional duties and powers such as regulatory, distributive and allocative functions and becoming major players or spectator for the growing irregularities that urban centers have been facing. The ever increasing irregularities and informalities can have wider spillover socio-economic and political crisis and undermine government effort to realize its ambitious urban development policies since most of peri-urban lands are already occupied by informal residential houses.

As stated above, several scholars studied irregularity and informalities in Ethiopian urban centers. These include Muradu(2015) focused on urban land laws; Danie (2013) and Achamyeleh (2014) on the insufficiency of expropriation compensation Sayeh (2015) ; Begna(2017) and Abebe et al.(2019) on the expansion of squatting settlement in in different towns and (Teshome2014) on the increasing comodiazation of land, the role of various stakeholders on it and farmers changing value of land). These studies focused on the negative implication of such policy directions. These studies did not give sufficient attention to what towns are/will be losing due to informalities, and the life condition and tenure status of informal urban dwellers. Hence, the current study attempts to comprehensively investigate both challenges and opportunities that farmers, informal house owners and Shashemene city administration have been experiencing. Furthermore, it attempts to investigate any city specific peculiarity that existed in the study city. Based on the above research problems, this study attempts to find answers for the following research questions.

1.3. Objective(s) of the Study

The major objective of this study is investigating effects of irregular urban expansion on the life of peri-urban peasants, squatting settlers and Shashemene city administration.

1.3.1. Specific objectives

- To investigate the informal land transaction in the study area
- Investigating the life condition of peasants who lost their land and those who built informal urban houses

- Investigating major outcomes of unplanned urban expansion on Shashemene city

1.4. Research Questions

1. What are the major reasons that forced peasants to sell their land?
2. Why are urban dwellers engaging in informal land transaction channels?
3. How does the informal land transaction process operate and who are the major actors?
4. What are the major impacts of selling and buying land on farmers, the city and informal settlers?

1.5. The Significance of this Study

Change for better or worse is inevitable. Experience in the 21st century show that world is increasingly heading towards urban way of life. Urbanization has its own wide range of positive and negative implications on human society. As stated in the introductory part informality and slum life is one of undesirable impacts of it. Ethiopia is part of this development and has been facing the negative pains of such experience. As stated by different scholars, development at the expense of others cannot be sustainable. Many of research papers that referred for this thesis reflect how Ethiopian urban centers are growing by pushing peasants to peripheral position and threatening their livelihood existence. At the same time, urban poor and middle class families are too have been pushed to such position as a result of imperfect tenure arrangement, inner cities redevelopment and renovations program. Reducing expected negative outcomes of urbanization need to be the concern of all stakeholders including graduate students.

Therefore, the presumed significance of the finding of this study could be: First, it can be an input for Shashemene city administrators to internalize the extent of the problem, to carry out further investigation and to take corrective measures in order to minimize the negative effects of informality in the City. Secondly, those who got a chance to read the thesis might be encouraged to carry out further investigation on the topic and can contribute their own input for the country's land tenure academic and political debate and come up with alternative policy direction in order to reduce problems related to urban land management. Thirdly, it can be referred by students of Anthropology or other disciplines who want to carry out their future research on property right and urbanization.

1.7. Scope and Limitations

This study was limited to Shashemene city two urban and their adjacent two rural Kebeles that are on the verge of losing their rural manifestations. With regards of time framework, the study focused on changes and developments since 2005 GC but the thesis was try to connect past historical impacts on current urban land tenure arrangement and urban informality. In relation to limitations that this research had encountered: First this research was based on information obtained from 3FGD, 12 in-depth interviews, intensive informal interviews with speculators and land transaction middlemen, and affected farmers in the above mentioned two kebeles as well as analysis, interpretation and review of primary data (Shshemene town socio-economic profile and national and regional legal and policy documents), and secondary data (research results on the topic and the city being studied). Thus, I feel that was not representatives in terms of study kebele and sample size in which the finding may not revealed facts and reality on the whole Shashemene city due to acute financial and time constraints.

Second, I strongly believed that it was imperative to integrate the views, expertise and experience of Kebel administrators, professional and city officials. But they were not available for this study due to political crisis that the city had experienced at the time of data collection. Thus, this research failed to integrate city administration future plan and program to contain urban house informality, informal land transaction and the rehabilitation of disproportionately affected peasants as a result of government expropriation and urban induced problems. Thirdly, due to the sensitivity of the topic, getting the right person and the right answer for research questions among disproportionally affected farmers was very difficult. Only a few of them were willing to take part for individual interview. Finally, the current global COVID 19 pandemic also had its own adverse impact on data collection process.

1.8. Organization of the Thesis

This thesis expected to be organized in to seven chapters. Chapter two attempts to review empirical and theoretical literatures on basic concepts, ideas, and theories of urbanization and its discontents like squatting and slum settlement will be discussed, analyzed and interpreted in detail. Chapter three will give a brief description on the study area, the rationale behind for the selection of the study area, the socio-economic and administrative profile of Shashemene city.

Chapter four will dedicate to give a brief overview on land tenure history of the study area. This chapter also goes through evaluating past and current land tenure arrangement and its connection and implication on existing land transaction and informal house construction. In this regard, research documents that conducted by home based and expatriate scholars is carefully reviewed and narrated. Chapter five and six were focused on discussing and interpreting the data gathered through the above mentioned methods. The final chapter gives a brief conclusion.

1.9. General Methodological Underpinning

1.9.1. Research Philosophy, Approach and Design

The presumed research philosophy for this research is interpretivism. Advocators of this philosophy argue that reality is dependent on people's subjective experiences of the external world and is socially constructed. According to (Willis 1995) interpretivists who are anti-foundationalist, who believe there is no single correct route or particular method to acquire knowledge. (Gephart1999) argues that interpretivists assume that knowledge and meaning are acts of interpretation; hence there is no objective knowledge which is independent of humans thinking and reasoning. The interpretive paradigm is concerned with understanding the world as it is from subjective experiences of individuals. They use meaning (versus measurement) and rely on a subjective relationship between the researcher and subjects (Ibid). Interpretive research does not predefine dependent and independent variables, but focuses on the full complexity of human sense making as the situation emerges (Kaplan and Maxwell 1994 in Alemayehu,2014).

Qualitative research approach will be employed for this research due to the following major reasons: the first and foremost factor is my unfamiliarity with quantitative research method. Secondly, when I consulted different research books, I realized that it is a convenient approach to understand, interpret and examine social relationship and interaction, emerging issues and contemporary phenomenon. This approach in the words of (Brannen 1995 in Degefa2005) helps to 'view the world through the wider lens'. In this regard (Berg 1989 in Mulugeta 2012:70) also argue that qualitative approach used to "*unreconstructed logic to get at what is really real, the quality, meaning, context or images of reality in what communities actually do, not what they say.*" This study will apply case study strategies in order to investigate the outlined research questions in detail by using multiple data collecting methods. Case study forms the bulk of

qualitative methods based research (Yin 2003; Alamayehu 2014) is useful for “generating hypotheses, identifying key variables, building theories, and achieving high construct validity”(O’Neill et al,2013 in Alamayehu, 2014). (Yin,2003) explain the term case as ‘ an event, an entity, an individual, or a unit of analysis and social scientists in particular have made much use of the qualitative research method to examine contemporary real-life situations and provide the basis for the application of ideas and extension of methods(Ibid).

According to (Creswell,2008),Case studies are a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher explores in depth a program, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals. Cases are bounded by time and activity, and researchers collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time. He and other writers also further explained case study as a comprehensive understanding of complex instances obtained through extensive description and analysis of a whole or a part of the problem by gathering and analysis of rich information that comes from multiple data sources such as in- depth interview, FGD, observation, and document analysis and survey method (Yin, 2003; Stake, 1995 in Creswell, 2008).

1.9.2. Research Design

According to John Creswell (2009) research design is a plan and the procedure for research that span the decisions from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection and analysis. It outlines and depicts the overall decision involves which design should be used to study a topic. These include informing this decision should be the worldview assumptions the researcher brings to the study; procedures of inquiry (called strategies); and specific methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation. The selection of a research design is also based on the nature of the research problem or issue being addressed, the researchers’ personal experiences, and the audiences for the study (Ibid;Kothari 2004).This study as stated in unit one is a qualitative research design. The choice for this design is based on my educational background that is far from quantitative approach and the nature of the topic being studied. In addition, qualitative research is a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem and deals with interpreting social realities (Ibid).

The process of qualitative research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participant's setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data (Creswell 2009; Degefa 2005). According to (Brannen 1995 in Degefa 2005) qualitative research asks how the process works in a particular case or a small number of cases. The qualitative approach has been regarded as viewing the world through a wider lens.

Qualitative researchers collect data themselves through examining documents, observing behavior, or interviewing participants through multiple data sources such as interviews, observations, and documents, rather than rely on a single data source. Then the researchers review all of the data, make sense of it, and organize it into categories or themes that cut across all of the data sources. It is also considered as emergent design. This means that the initial plan for research cannot be tightly prescribed, and all phases of the process may change or shift after the researcher enters the field and begins to collect data. This design also gives a holistic account on issue under study. This involves reporting multiple perspectives, identifying the many factors involved in a situation, and generally sketching the larger picture that emerges. (Creswell & Brown 1992 in Creswell 2009). Thus, the current study explored, interpreted and described the cause and effects of the expansion of urban informal settlement in the study area based on actors' lenses and extensive desk review of both primary and secondary documents that related to the topic being investigated.

1.9.3. Sampling Methods and Research Participants

This research used purposive sampling techniques for both study site and respondent selection. Besides purposive sampling, snowball sampling techniques also were applied to identify appropriate research question respondents. The primary attention in purposive sampling is the researcher's judgments as to who can provide the better evidence to achieve the objectives of the study. (Kumar 2011 in Rahel 2018). Purposive sampling is used in cases where the specialty of an authority can select a more representative sample that can bring more accurate results than by using other probability sampling techniques (Kumar 2011 in Ibid). Thus, research participants and kebeles in Sheshemene were purposively selected to answer the research questions. Based on this, as planned in the proposal, 16 individuals (who represent different social groups like

religious and community leaders, informal settlers, got leaders with the total of 16 individuals (6,5,5) to carried out 3 FGD .

Participants were selected with the support of individuals who are working in the two kebeles. Participants of FGD in turn gave me the names and addresses of 18 individuals (six affected farmers due to informal land transaction; six well off farmers who sold their land and not affected by informality, and six residents (owners of informal houses) to participate in the interview. However, among six disproportionately affected former farmers only four of them take part in the interview session. Likewise, among the remaining affected groups, only 5 informal house owners⁷ and three individuals who have a success story by selling their land participated in the interview and six individual case studies. Yet, I was persuaded that information that obtained through FGD an in-depth and intensive informal interview and extensive observation was sufficient to depict realities on the ground partly due to similarity of responses obtained from the research participants with regards the two kebeles that this research was based on. Thus, the discussion section of this study is based on three FGDs, 12 in-depth interviews, six case studies, direct observation and review of primary data emerging from Shahemene town socio-economic profile and national legal documents and secondary data.

In the interview and FGD sessions both Oromiffa and Amharic languages were used based on respondents' interview language preference. Since I have limitation in both writing and speaking Afaan Oromo two of my research guides helped me to translate questions that were prepared in Amharic in to Afaan Oromo and carried out the FGD and interview in Oromiffa as interview language. The selection of research sites (the two kebeles) were also purposively wasr two reasons. Kebele 01 (better known by locals as Awasho) was selected for the reason that most of major social and administrative services provisioning institutions of the City are found in this section of Shshemene. These include city's main bus station, the newly opened branch of Medawolabu University, Farma-health College, West-Arsi zone and Shashemene Zuria woreda administrative bureaus and offices. Kebele 04 (or Dida-boke kebele) was also purposively selected because the Kebele is exhibiting fast rate of informal house expansion.

⁷ .Of the five informal house owners two of them are university instructors with MA status (one from Hawasa and the other from Dilla University and one individual who himself is government employee with MA educational status working in Assela town which is the seat of the neighboring Arsii zone.

1.9.4. Research Methods

Research methods involve the strategies of data collection, analysis, and interpretation that researchers propose for their studies. It is useful to consider the full range of possibilities of data collection and to organize these methods, for example, by their degree of predetermined nature, their use of closed-ended versus open-ended questioning, and their focus on numeric versus nonnumeric data analysis. This research employed both primary and secondary data in order to answer the stated research questions. Primary data was gathered through FGD, both structured and unstructured interview, policy and legal documents, Satellite image and direct observation. Secondary data will be gathered from research journals and books.

Though this study employed a qualitative research approach, it is imperative to gather both qualitative and quantitative data in order to answer research questions. Data for this research was gathered from peasants, community leaders, officials from rural and urban Kebeles, illicit urban dwellers, security personals (militias), land brokers and speculators by using different data gathering tools.

1.9.4.1. Focus Group Discussion

Focus groups discussion is a commonly used qualitative data gathering tool that could provide information about a range of ideas and feelings that individuals have about certain issues, as well as elucidate the differences in perspective between groups of individuals (Alamayehu 2014). The information and ideas that can potentially be generated through group discussion can provide the researcher with important research questions to follow in other groups and/or with other methods of data collection. Thus, the group interview can be an efficient means of helping the researcher begin to focus on the more salient aspects of the phenomenon under study. It helps to bring several different perspectives into contact through dynamic group interactions (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994 in Alamayehu 2014).

1.9.4. 2. Structured and Semi -structured Interview

Structured and semi-structured interview was conducted with peasants who disposessed their land, local *delalas*, informal settlers and one speculator. These informants were selected based on purposive and snowball sampling techniques.

1.9.4.3. Direct Observation

I carried out direct observation as a tool to gather information pertinent to the topic under investigation. Direct observation on the level of informal horizontal expansion of Shashemene town, types of informal houses, availability or unavailability of urban related infrastructures within informal houses and villages, the living conditions of those who are affected by urbanization process and environmental effects of urbanization were major objectives of my observation and I took some video and photographs in such sites.

1.9.4.4. Individual case study

According to (Benbasat et al. 1987:370 quoted in Turner, 2017), case study is necessary for study the phenomenon in its natural setting by employing multiple methods of data collection and the researcher can ask "how" and "why" questions, so as to understand the nature and complexity of the problem or the topic raised (Ibid). A case study approach thus provides a flexible environment to study complexity, details and context, and offers space to reflect upon the research strategies in order to contextualize these to the case setting (Alemayehu 2014). Moreover, case study is the most relevant strategy to study a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context' (Yin 2003 in Alemayehu 2014). It also allows to employ both qualitative and quantitative data through various data collection procedures (Stake 1995 in Crosswell 2008). Thus, case study is an appropriate strategy for the selected research topic since it intended to explore opportunities, challenges, and controversies related to urban land tenure and its implication on various stakeholders.

1.9.4.5. Primary and Secondary Document Inspection

In this thesis, Federal land tenure proclamations, Satellite images, policy documents such as PASDEP, GTP I and II, Ethiopian urban policy document were briefly reviewed and discussed in different parts of the thesis. This thesis also extensively reviewed books, journal articles and research results that related to the topic being investigated. Information that obtained from such sources carefully assessed, analyzed and interpreted to substantiate arguments and counterarguments in different parts of this thesis.

1.10. Data analysis and Interpretation

All data gathered through interviews, FGD, case studies, observations, and documentary sources, including visual images, were systematically coded, classified, compared, interpreted, synthesized, and thematically analyzed. The data analysis process also included manual tabulation into logical categories and processes of data interpretation, analysis, verification, and report writing. One source of information was used to substantiate and supplement evidence from other sources to increase the soundness of the findings. Data generated through the above different techniques from multiple sources had helped to triangulate the reliability of the information gathered. Due to the nature of the issue under investigation, the researcher mainly used narrative descriptions for qualitative data gathered from different sources. A few of descriptive statistics method was employed for presenting quantitative data in a manageable form.

1.11. Ethical Issues

Here due attempt was made to keep all research ethical guidelines. First, I got official permission letter from the city administration to conduct my research and carried out data collection. Second, I clearly and straightforwardly told my FGD and other informants about the objective of the study, why the data was needed, why they were chosen as informant for this study, and as their information only be used for the study purpose. I assured them to maintain their confidentiality by not disclosing their name. Finally, all narrations here bellow is solely based on information obtained from research participants, primary written sources and other scholarly research findings that I gave due acknowledgment for the information that I take from such research findings.

Chapter Two

Review of Theoretical and Empirical Literature

Introduction

In the contemporary world, urbanization is moving ahead more powerfully than at any other time in human history (Scott and Storper 2014). Cities are places of passion, hopes, dreams, and engine houses of socio-economic and cultural growth (James2015). Cities occupy only 0.5% of the world land mass but possess 70% of economic activity and 60% of energy consumption (Avis 2016). Housing in cities has a substantial socio-economic, politico- cultural and environmental role in the lives of individuals and society at large. However, due to socio-political factors and an ever-increasing housing shortage in the formal housing market to meet the demand of the growing urban residents have resulted in the proliferation of informal settlements that became the shelter of billions of population across the globe⁸ (Opoko2015; Nassir and Alsayed2017). Although informality has a global manifestation⁹ it is predominantly the reality of developing nations of Africa, Latin America and Asia(Ibid).It becomes one of the most formidable challenges of cities in the aforementioned regions (Banks etal. 2020; Ghasempour 2015;Giri 2018;UN-Habitat2016; Amado2018 and Abraham et al2018).This chapter attempts to review theoretical and conceptual perspectives and debates of urban house informality, its causes and outcomes on socio-economic political and cultural life of human society as well as its impact on per-urban farmers' life. In addition, Turkish experience on urban squatting and the cause, extent, impacts and policy responses on urban house informality in Ethiopian will be discussed in detail.

⁸.The problem is not limited to only LDCS rather is prevalent in countries like Eastern Europe, Turkey and even in more than 20 countries of the ECE region that affects the lives of over 50 million people in such region.For further see Tsenkova2008; Munk 2014

⁹. Though figurative data differ from literature to literatures by 2020 more than 2 billion global urban population is expected to dwell on informal settlements of which Africa, Latin-America and Asia will took the lion share of that figure. The problem of informality is very serious in some countries. For instance, in Cairo 5.5 million and in India over 46 million people lived in such settlements. For further see (Amado M.2018;Veisi 2015; Fegu,2007; James2015; Ghasempour 2015; Banks.etal2020). Abraham et al2018).

2.1. Basic Concepts, Definitions, Causes, Characteristics, and Contested views on Urban Informal Settlement

2.1.1. Concepts and Definitions of Informal Urban Settlement

Like many other social science concepts there is no commonly agreed single definition with regards to urban informal settlement among various academic literatures. This difference might emanate from the socio-economic, politico-cultural and geo-physical variations of each study is concerned. In this regard, (Fernandes 2011: 4) remarked that *“the definition of informality is imprecise and multidimensional, covering physical, socio-economic, and legal aspects.”* And (Harris 2017:268) also stated that *“the concept of informality has been much abused and misunderstood. It has been defined narrowly, loosely, and in various ways”*. The phrase itself has many similar terminologies in different literatures. Suburbanization, shack, slums¹⁰, squatter settlements¹¹, unplanned towns, shantytowns and Peri-Urban settlements (Adel 1999; Turok and Borel 2018; Matthew et al 2018). And it has different names in different countries.¹²

Before defining what urban informal settlement means, it is essential to give a brief description of peri-urban settlement and its definition, which is the main focus of this MA thesis. According to (Avis2016:2) *“Peri-urban areas are those that immediately border an urban area, between the suburbs and the countryside.”* (NarainandNischal2007 in Achamyeh 2015:14) gives detailed analysis on it .According to him, the word ‘*peri-urban* ’could be use to denote as a place, concept or process. **As a place:** it can refer to rural agricultural areas located between urban built-up areas in cities and predominantly rural agricultural areas. **As a concept:** peri-urban could be seen as an interface between rural and urban activities and institutions where rural and urban development processes meet, mix and interaction the edge of cities. As a process: it could

¹⁰. Though the above terms are used interchangeably, different literatures give a slightly different meaning for each words and phrases. For example according to (UN –Habitat2003:12) Slums are residential areas that characterized by “...a wide range of low-income settlements and/or poor and unhealthy human living conditions, deprivation, marginalization, insecure housing tenure, hazardous locations, overcrowding, poverty, and social exclusion ”

¹¹ .With regards of squatting Daniel 2006 noted that “squatting is the act of squat (setting on a piece of land without permission) or the act of occupying a given piece of public land in order to acquire title to it”.

¹² .Such settlements called moon light homes or ‘chereka houses’ in Ethiopia; ‘Gecekondus’ in Turkey; ‘Favelas and Clandestine’ settlements in Brazil; ‘Barriadas’ in Peru; ‘Katchi abadis’ in Pakistan; ‘Bidonville’ in the French colonies; ‘Barong- Barongs’ in Philippines; Callampas in Chile, Ranchos in Venezuela; ‘Colonias or Populares’ in Mexico (Jemal 2019 in Peattie and Haas 1981; Munk 2014; Rahel2018).

be thought of as the two-way flow of goods and services between rural and urban (Narain and Nischal 2007; Roy 2005 in Achamyeleh 2015).

Moreover, from the institutional point of view, it is difficult to establish clear and more or less permanent institutional arrangements that deal effectively with the peri-urban land. As a result, peri-urban areas are often characterized by converging and overlapping institutions and there are also some administrative activities which may fall outside the purview of rural and urban jurisdictions. As a result, the peri-urban zone encompasses a range of activities lying between strictly urban or rural jurisdictions, without falling clearly within the responsibility of either the urban or the rural government (Narain and Nischal 2007; Roy 2005 in Achamyeleh 2015).

In the Ethiopian context, “peri-urban land refers to agricultural rural land adjacent to municipal boundaries and held by local peri-urban land holders/farmers with holding rights (usufruct rights) for life”. However, there is a high rate of peri-urban agricultural land being converted into urban built-up property, due to the growing demand for land. Peri-urban areas in Ethiopia can also be described as incubation zones of new unauthorized/informal settlement areas without basic utilities (Adam 2014b in Achamyeleh 2015; Rahel 2018).

Peri-urban areas face distinct land administration challenges because of the complex and rapidly changing nature of land tenure arrangements. Some of the basic land governance challenges in the peri-urban areas include haphazard residential development within sufficient social services and infrastructure; land acquisition for speculative purposes; illegal and extra-legal and subdivisions and transactions; unauthorized land use change and transactions without the knowledge of the land administration authorities (Home 2004; Nkwae 2006 in Achamyeleh 2015).

When back to the definition of informal settlement, as noted earlier, it lacks a single definition among many literatures. However, there are common yardsticks to explain it within such literatures. Such as un-authorized settlements, subjected to tenure insecurity, lack of building permission, settlement out of land use planning, absence of legal ownership of land, insufficient provision of basic services, poor structural quality of houses, self-constructed shelters, lack of official title deeds for residents, and unmapped residential areas. Based on its comprehensiveness

and that can suit to the Ethiopian cases, I choose the definition that found on. The Vienna Declaration on National Regional Policy and Program on Informal Settlements in South Eastern Europe. The declaration defined informal urban settlement as:

Human settlements, which for a variety of reasons do not meet requirements for legal recognition (and have been constructed without respecting formal procedures of legal ownership, transfer of ownership, as well as construction and urban planning regulations), exist in their respective countries and hamper economic development¹³. While there is significant regional diversity in terms of their manifestation, these settlements are mainly characterized by informal or insecure land tenure, inadequate access to basic services, both social and physical infrastructure and housing finance (Vienna Declaration, 2004:1 cited in Bogdan and Daniel 2013 and Tsenkova,2008).

The University of Witwatersrand and its Informal Settlement Policy Research Center also define informal settlements with the following characteristics: 1.Land use is unauthorized; 2. the settlement pattern is unauthorized or not approved often this involves a high residential density¹⁴; 3. the construction is unauthorized and not to prescribed standards; 4. the occupation¹⁵originates from a land invasion (Fegue 2007:6).

2.1.2. Causes of Urban House Informal Settlement

As mentioned in other sections of this literature review, about 1 billion people currently lived in informal settlements that represent almost a third of the world's urban population and this figure could increase to 3 billion by 2050. Access to urban land, housing and utilities are among the most salient challenges facing the urban centers (UN DESA 2013 in Lucci 2015).Causes of urban house informality are associated with many and multidimensional factors and all reasons are directly or indirectly related to housing affordability (Da Mata2013). In some countries, informal settlements are directly caused by European colonialism that pushed indigenous people to live in marginal and hazardous places. In others', it caused by multinational institutions policy

¹³ .The idea it hampers economic development is not accepted by other literatures that will be discussed in next sub topics.

¹⁴ .The characterization of informal settlement in to overcrowded area may not be similar in all such kind of settlements. For instant, in some part of Ethiopia, such settlements have different picture.This will be discussed under Ethiopian sub-topic.

prescriptions such as Structural Adjustment Program and Neo-Liberal market liberalization¹⁶ economy for the third world nations that forced such nation to downscale their social and welfare commitments to the bulk of their population that intensified and reproduce poverty, high-rate of unemployment and socio-economic inequality across such nations(Ehebrecht 2014).

In most cases, informality is caused by internal developments such as industrialization¹⁷, urbanization, modernization of agriculture¹⁸ as well as mining sector and the subsequent labor flock from rural areas to urban centers which caused an acute human shelter deficiency. Moreover, ill-defined property right regimes and tenure insecurity¹⁹, state capture²⁰, wide spread of corruption²¹; absence of well -functioning land administration, legal response, transparency and public participation; market imperfection; social networks²²; high cost of formal land in urban centers and cheap land market in peri -urban areas; lack of affordable housing and credit for low and middle income families; man- made and natural disasters are the most cited derivors of informality (Thirkell1996;Tsenkova2008; Lindner 2014; Billig2011; Ayelu2018; Ajanaw2019). Above all, absolute poverty and social exclusion are key drivers behind the formation of illegal settlements in most countries. In support of this (Ehebrecht2014:27) rightly stated that: *“informal settlement are ... not only result from but also represent and/or reproduce socio-economic inequalities and exclusion...”*

¹⁶ .Ehebrecht2014 .by citing Davis 2007; UN-Habitat 2003a and Gilbert 2009 explained how SAP affected African economies. According to him SAP resulted in “capital flight, collapse of manufactures, marginal or negative increase in export incomes, and drastic cutbacks in urban public services, soaring prices, and a steep decline in real and informal wages.

¹⁷ . Uzuna B.etal.2009, associated Turkey’s agglomeration of informality with the emergence and expansion of Industrialization.

¹⁸ . Coy et al 2018 and Da Mata 2013 Traced the emergence of Brazilian slums with the beginning of agricultural modernization.

¹⁹ . Fernando De Soto in this regard argues that the poor definition and enforcement of property rights among the urban poor acts as a deterrent for them to invest in their dwellings (De Soto 2000 in Giri 2018).

²⁰ . State capture refers to “a situation where powerful individuals, institutions, companies or groups within or outside the country use corruption to shape a nation’s policies, legal environment and economy to benefit their own private interests” (Transparency

International 2009 cited in Lindner2014).

²¹.(Lindner2014) gave an in-depth empirical evidence to what extent political clientism and corruption affected Ethiopia’s urban land and housing sector and its management. This will be discussed in detail under Ethiopian sub topic.

²² .This is true in the Ethiopian case. For instance, in the country’s capital Addis Ababa, there are ethnic based housing enclaves in different parts of the city and such informal settlement renamed by specific ethnic groups such as “Dorze Sefer”;Gurage Sefer” and “Silte Sefer”

2.1.3. Characteristics of Urban Informal Settlements

From literatures that reviewed for this thesis, there is no big peculiarity in most of informal settlements across the world but not slums. That it mean such settlements more or less share similar features. It is possible to categorize the basic features of informality in relation to legal, socio-economic, physical, political and geographic aspects. Legally speaking, all informal settlements build in one way or another in violation of property right laws. In this regard, the land in which the house is built can be either government, private, communal but either occupied by illegal invasion or through illicit land transaction with-out legal formality. The house that constructed by informal dwellers violates urban housing plans and not fulfill quality standards .Thus, informal settlements built in contravene with many aspects of specific national laws and regulatory frameworks and subjected to high tenure insecurity (Tsenkova 2008; Firew2010; Berhanu2015; Beka 2016;Giri2018;Harris2017;Lemanski and Marx 2015;Opoko2015; Elias 2015; Avis 2016; Ehebrecht 2014 and UN Habitat 2011a).

Socio-economically, most literatures came in to consensus that informal settlements are residential areas of most of the poorest of poor section of global south urban population.²³Due to this fact, such settlements characterized by over crowdedness, lack of ventilation, lack of hygiene and other basic services such as access to safe water, electricity, health and educational institutions, and absence of viable employment opportunity as well as they are hubs of drug trafficking, prostitutions and crime(Ibid).

Geographically speaking ,informal settlements found either at the peripheries of cities and towns or physically sensitive and dangerous landscapes such as hillsides, coastal areas, river and lake banks, water reservoirs, areas prone to landslides and flooding, protected forests, landfill and industrial waste disposal areas, which lead residents of informal settlements to multitudes of concomitant problems associated with such areas(Ibid).

Politically, residents of informal settlements basically marginalized and excluded from the political sphere. They subjected to political manipulation and machination and became the

²³ .Though it will be discussed in the next sub-topics by citing Ethiopian case, according to Giri 2018 informal settlement areas are not only ghettos of poverty but also settlement areas of affluent groups.

concern of politicians in time of national or local elections to garner their political support and vote. Physically and infrastructural wise , most of housing unit especially at the initial stage of settlement, built by poor quality of building materials, with lack of the above mentioned social infrastructure as well as very narrow roads, lack of transport facilities, lack of green and entertainment spaces , shanty and hazardous conditions etc. In general, though there is little variation on conjoint characteristics of across informal settlements at the global level²⁴ , most of informal settlements share all or some of the above common manifestations (Tsenkova 2008; Firew 2010; Berhanu 2015; Beka 2016;Giri 2018;Harris 2017;Lemanski and Marx 2015;Opoko 2015; Elias 2015; Avis 2016; Ehebrecht 2014 and UN Habitat 2011a).

2.1.4. Contending Views on Merits, Demerits and Major Players on Informal Settlements

There is no consensus in literature on the merits and demerits of informal settlements. For example, some authors coined the following terms to express negative side of informal urban settlements “Cancer or Malady”²⁵, “fungus to the urban development”, “the evils of uncontrolled capitalism”, “muddy city, “Dumping site” , “beggars zone”, “ghetto sites” , “poverty stricken settlements”, “breeding spaces of crime” ,“ places of legal apartheid”, “urban hyper growth” are commonly found derogatory phrases and terminologies which categorically attaché to urban informality (Ibid). In general, informal settlements or *“physical and unbalanced development of urban, have followed by far reaching undesirable economic, social and physical consequences* (Naghdi & Sadeghi 2006 in Veisi 2015:233).

In the contrary to the above pessimistic views of informal settlements, other scholars consider them as spring board for expansion of cities in developing world; one of easily available opportunities for poorer urban population to break-up legal apartheid; the easiest and fastest solution to housing problems; a path to prosperity through affordable access to urban opportunities; sites of remarkable aspiration, resourcefulness and self-sacrifice; the masses of

²⁴ . For instance, Turkish informal settlements have multi-store buildings (see Biling 2011). Some of informal settlements in west of Addis Ababa are relatively well-planned by residents themselves, built by quality construction materials with vast compounds compared to formal houses and have access to electricity, water and roads infrastructure, as well as health, education and religious institutions.(personal observation and see also Minwuyelet2005).

²⁵ . For instance, the current Turkish President ones remarked that “our biggest ideal was to eradicate the ‘gecekondus’ that have surrounded our cities like a tumour...” (Munk 2014 in Kuyucu2013: 15).However, the same leader in contrast to this stand, in his local election campaigns in 1994, when asked whether he would demolish ‘gecekondus’, he said “no, I myself live in a ‘gecekondus’ ” This is a clear indication how informal settlements used as political manipulation. For further see Özdemirli 2018.

impoverished people's *'heroic entrepreneurship'* and their *spontaneous as well as creative response to the state incapacity to satisfy housing need*(Roy 2005: 14 in De Soto2000); shoddier people heroic resistance and response not to be excluded from urban housing; areas of induction for rural migrants to be familiar with urban environment and menses of survival for billions of urban economically disadvantaged people (Ibid).To strength the above arguments (Turok Budlender, and Visagie 2017:24) remarked that:

"... such settlements may foster human progress by linking rural-urban migrants to the services, contacts and livelihoods concentrated in cities". Turok and Bore2018 also stated that informal houses "lift households out of rural poverty and onto a path to prosperity through affordable access to urban opportunities."

Furthermore (Abrhams,1966 in Fegue 2007: 450) indicated that:

"The poor are just rational as the middle and upper-income classes in terms of their response to a situation... the squatter shack is a rational step on the way to self-improvement... Shelter is the prime step and the foundation toward empowering the poor to live up to sound ecological and anti-poverty solutions...."

With regards to major players and residents of informal settlements, most of literatures associated such sites with poorer and disadvantaged sections of global urban population²⁶. However, there are many players who take part in such settlements to achieve their respective diverse goals that emanates from a mere satisfaction of basic needs i.e. shelter to amassing huge economic gains and attaining political ambitions (Teshome 2014).In respect to this idea, (Roy and Alsayed2004 in Roy 2005:149) stated that: *"In recent years, it has become obvious that informal housing and land markets are not just the domain of the poor but that they are also ... the middle class, even the elite, of Second World and Third World cities."*

(UN-Habitat 2016:134) also stipulated that *"the poor, the middle class and even some wealthy individuals benefit from construction and commerce that skirts formal legal requirements."*

Moreover, by citing the Turkish case (Sadikoglu etal. 2018:78) gave detailed description on the active involvement of the ruling class and its apparatus in the informal housing sector. They rightly mentioned that *"... 'officials' are both rule-makers and rule-breakers of urban informal*

²⁶ .The issue of urban informal settlement in Ethiopia is complex and players are many and not limited to the poorer section of social group. For instance, in Hawasa theseat of Ethiopian southern region ,there is a place called "Dato" that I personally familiar with it .The lion share of the city informal settlement existed there. In that settlement site, university teachers, government employees and officials too have taken part on informal land transaction either for resource accumulation or securing their shelter.

housing sector s...” emphasis is mine. Further (Harris 2017: 276 by citing Ren 2017 and Roy 2011 and others) indicated that:

...one or more government agencies might allow squatters, builders, developers, landlords, or other property owners to act illegally ...developers and corrupt drug networks visibly and “effectively employ[ed] the authorities... together with such groups politicians wants to build “elite informalities” or recognize settlements whose residents are powerful ...wants to embrace those whose leaders can mobilize the vote....” emphasis are mine.

To sum up this section, though there are different benefits of informal settlements for the poorer urban society as stated earlier, according to UN Habitat “**informal settlements continue to be geographically, economically, socially and politically disengaged from wider urban systems and excluded from urban opportunities and decision-making**” (UN-Habitat 2015 in Elias2015).

2.2. Theories of Informal Settlement

Various theories have had been developed on urbanization, causes and management of urban informal settlements by different scholars since 1930s onwards. All the above theories have forwarded multiple and sometimes contradictory views on informal settlements in particular urbanization in general.²⁷ In support of this (Leitner and Sheppard, 2015 in Veisi 2015:25) argued that: “... *no single theory suffices to account for the variegated nature of urbanization and cities across the world, without asserting the necessity of different distinct theories for different contexts.*”For relevance to the topic that this MA thesis dedicated only the central themes of the following theories

2.2.1. The Chicago School Theory

The Chicago school theory was the first in its kind that dealt with urbanization and population settlements in urban enclaves. This theory first appeared in 1920s and 1930s, based on the work of the Chicago School of Urban Sociology. Scholars like (Park et al. 1925; Wirth 1938 and Zorbaugh 1929) who contributed for the emergence of this theory. These scholars linked the pattern of urban settlements according to socio-economic and racial variations. Those groups

²⁷ .For instance post –Colonial theory rejected all other theories for their relevance to colonized third world nations due to western model views and suffers from intellectual parochialism. Thus, it rejects such theories universal applicability. For further see Maboodi M, 2016.

made a fierce competition to get valuable and more proper land in urban centers. Thus, socially bordered urban neighborhood with more or less similar socio-economic and ethno-racial background together with associated mentalities and behaviors have been created by such groups. However, this school of thought begun to be challenged and dismissed by critics like Castells (1968).Hence, by the early 1970s, the main traces of the Chicago School were being swept away by a powerful stream of Marxist and Marxisant approaches (Ayelu2018; Maboodi 2016 and Scott and Stopper 2014).

2.2.2. Poverty Culture Point of View

This theory first presented by Oscar Lewis in 1959. Lewis argued that poor people have decadent and backward values in which they share it to their children. As a result, they insist the perseverance on living in slums and shantytowns and do not accept their socio-economic and political development and upward mobility. Poor people are resistant of change and their life improvement. According to him suburbanization associated with the culture of poverty and most residents often are immigrants, poor and came from the more or less the same cultural background and also are different from other resident of urban area. In general, the view supports the idea that poor people are poor because they are poor and the food and education of the poor kids is bad and in appropriate and thus, they learn their culture from their families and elders to accept poverty as their destiny (Amiri and Ghanbari 2016 in Lewis 1982 and 1998).

This theory is basically ethno and Euro-centric plus hegemonic and biased discourses like modernization theory that viewed traditional society as poor, irrational and rural. According to (Norman Long, 1992 in Lewis and Gardner1996) *“people in poor countries are open to change and ‘life improvement’ if they perceive it is to their best interest”*. For Sen poverty is not the sole production of culture that transmitted from generation to generation rather is the product of lack of entitlement and deprivation of basic entitlement (Sen1976).In fact , poverty, no doubt hurts, degrades and drives people into desperation. But it is neither transmitted nor inherited through good will of thepoorer section of human society.²⁸

²⁸ . In this regard, Herando de Soto 2003 inPan and Sobotova,2015) argues that the poor in low- and middle-income countries do not lack capital to change their miserable situation, but their poverty is primarily rooted in the lack of opportunities to benefit from what they ‘possess’ informally and to transform the ‘dead capital’ to an active one.

2.2.3. The Marxist Urban Theory

As stated earlier the Chicago school of thought begun to be challenged by scholars like Castells that gave way for the development of Marxist approaches in 1970s with regards of urban informality. Besides to Castells (1972) other scholars like Lefebvre (1970) and Harvey (1973) contributed for the development of Marxist urban theory. These scholars viewed cities as a theater of class struggle, centered on land markets as machines for distributing wealth upward and associated political claims from below about citizenship rights to urban space and resources (Banks,2020).Marxist academics saw the informal sector (both in terms of labor and shelter) as integral to capitalist dynamics. Over the subsequent decades, three divergent schools of thought have emerged in which informality being positioned within a dualist (that is marginal economic activities for low-income households distinct from modern capitalism), ‘legalist’ (that is excluded from the modern economy due to adverse bureaucracy), or ‘structuralist’ framework (that is subordinated economic units adversely related to formal enterprises within a capitalist economy(Banks,2020 in Chen, Vanek, & Heintz2006; Rakowski 1994; Burgess1978; Moser, 1978;Ghasempour ,2015).

2.2.4. Liberal Theory of Informality

This theory associated rural-urban migration and economic marginalization with that of capitalist economic system as a cause of informal settlement. According to (Todaro 1987: 381 in Amiri and Ghanbari 2016), “*rural to urban migration as aggravating factors of urban unemployment that in fact, shift rural poverty to urban poverty with all its deprivations.*” Thus, this theory considered urban poverty that caused by marginalization and massive rural migration to urban centers as the principal factors for the emergence of informal settlement. The theory also does not regard both rural –urban migration and informal settlement as a problem rather as essential for desirable economic development that supply labor force for industries as well as the ways and solutions to optimize living conditions for marginalized section of society (Veisi 2015; Amiri and Ghanbari 2016 in Sheikhi, 2001; Sarrafi & Mohammadi 2005).

2.3. Common Approaches to Handle Informal Settlement

Policies, strategies, and approaches to manage and respond to informal settlements varied from state to state²⁹, regimes to regime³⁰, time to time³¹ and begun to evolve through multi-national institutions intervention and policy prescription mainly by world Bank and UN(Lemanski and Marx2015;Jemal2019).Socio-economic, political and environmental considerations have greater impact on governments' measures on urban informality. For stance, (Giri 2018) outlined measures to handle informal urban settlements as: negligence, self-help policies, site and services, enabling policies and participatory upgrading approaches. On the other hand (Mensah 2010 in Jemal 2019) presented: laissez faire, site and service, slum upgrading, enabling and security of tenure policies across time.(Fegue2007) also identified: eviction-and-demolition, low-cost housing, sites-and-services, aided self-help and slum upgrading schemes. Based on my preference, the latter approach will be discussed in brief as follow:

2.3.1. Eviction-and-Demolition Schemes

According to Fegu 2007, the first kind of governments' action on informal settlements across the world was and still in some counties including Ethiopia is eviction and demolition of shelters and other informally erected structures. This government direction can also be divided in to hard and soft eviction-and-demolition schemes. The hard scheme does not contain compensation plan for the occupants. The occupants perceived as undesired criminals and need to be getting rid off. The soft scheme slightly differs from the hard one in the sense that it is accompanied by resettlement plan (in the city outskirts mostly) or includes a modest compensation package. Both alternatives of the eviction-and-demolition measures understand the slum dwellers and the squatters as the problem and not as the solution. This policy direction was and is justified by governments according to (Berner 2001: 295 in Billing,2011) *“on the grounds of improvement and beautification of the city, removal of centers of crime and health*

²⁹.There is big differences among nations based on their governments' policy orientation to protect and promote their citizens basic rights, social welfare and security. For instance, while some counties have adopted more or less an accommodative policy, China and India followed the policy of intolerance towards informal settlements and used bulldozers to demolish such settlements. For further see Jemes,2015

³⁰ .See Turkish and Brazilian cases in the next sub-topic

³¹. There are five chronological time frames with regard to government respond to informal settlements. Thus, the 1950s and 1960s witnessed laissez –faire policy, 1970s, manifest site and service programs, slum upgrading program was the fashion of 1980s, 1990s exhibited era of empowerment and tenure security and Cities without slums action plan begun to introduced since 2000s.For more seeMensah 2010 in Jemal, 2019.

hazards, and more intensive and lucrative use of land in strategic locations.” However, the eviction and demolition policy is consistently opposed by many human right organizations and scholars due to the negative effects of trauma it creates and the tearing down of social networks that residents build over years(Ibid).In this regard (Fernandes2011:22), critically opposed such policy direction for *“humanitarian ethical, religious, socio-political, economic, and environmental grounds.”*

2.3.2. Low-Cost Housing Provision Programs

This strategy was launched with the aim of solving acute housing scarcity as well as eliminating informality across Asia, Africa and Latin America by constructing and making available low-cost houses to low income families in urban areas as it has been implemented in Ethiopia. The program according to (Fegu 2007)come up with some success story in Singapore and Hong-Kong but failed a promising result in African state except in countries like Senegal, Tanzania and Ivory-cost as a result of financial constraints, corruption and bureaucratic red tapes(Ibid).

2.3.3. Sites-and-services schemes/land-and-utilities schemes

This approach was emerged in the 70s, and promoted until 1990s as a result of the increasing recognition of informal settlements as a durable and structural phenomenon (UN 2003; Benton, 1994 in Giri 2018). The sites and services approach consisted basically in the provision of serviced plots of land for the families relocated from informal settlements, so they could build their homes progressively (Brakarz & Jaitman2013). The WB was its main promoter, influenced by Turner’s idea that, if the right incentives were given, slum dwellers would be more efficient than the state in providing housing for themselves (Ehebrecht 2015; Ward 2012; Abbott 2002 in Giri, 2018).

This Approach according to Fegu,2007, had four major goals:First, residential building plots (so that individual households may build their own dwellings); Second, public utilities such as water, sanitation, electric lighting, sidewalks, paved roads;Thirdly, neighborhood facilities (schools, markets, police, fire protection, parks, community centers, religious and cultural centers, etc.);And lastly, contractual arrangements (legal relationships between the government and the residents: land tenure, responsibility for basic services, land use regulations).Thus it was more comprehensive and efficient policy measure than the previous ones (ibid).

2.3.4. Aided self-help/Mutual -help strategy

According to Fegu 2007 this policy was influenced by the work of Abrams and Turner and the 1970s-1980s leftist ideology in Africa that opposed ‘pseudo-Western middle-class standards of housing and environmental plan. It advocated the use of local products, materials and traditional techniques to build houses (Ibid).

2.3.5. Slum/Squatter Upgrading Schemes

This program consists of urban physical, social, economic, and environmental improvements with active involvement of informal residents and other stakeholders. Like Sites-and-services schemes, it has multi- pronged objectives which include basic services provision, mitigating environmental hazards, regularizing security of tenure, providing incentives for community management and maintenance, and improving access to health care and education. These basic services can involve water and sanitation, garbage collection and disposal, surface drainage, roads, foot paths, electricity supply. To sum up, the program success is dependent up on good governance, grassroots democratic participation and community driven development (Fegu, 2007).

2.4. Turkey’s Experience on Informality

Informality is the typical manifestations of different countries in the world. It is a more prevalent problem for cities and towns of countries like India³² and Kenya³³ whose sizeable urban population lived in slams and informal settlements. This sub-part attempts to discuss Turkish case in brief because its experience to handle informal settlement is applauded by different literatures and could be the lesson to Ethiopia in management of its growing urban informality.

³². India’s mega cities like Mumbai and Delhi are the two of the worst urban places for living specially for urban poor. Informality and slum life are the typical manifestations of Indian urban centers. According to the 2011 census, there are 13 million slum houses which are the home of 65 million people(For further see Chandan 2019;Adhikari and Deb undated;Satpati 2019 and James 2015;Prakash 2011 in Satpati 2019 .

³³ . Informality is one of the frequently pronounced and serious urban problems in Kenya. More than 12 million of Kenyan societies have no houses and nowhere to live rather than residing in country’s slam areas. Some 70% of the total urban population lived in informal settlements. The problem is more acute in capital Nairobi in which around 1.5 million its residents confined only on 5 percent of the city Kibara is the largest slum site in Nairobi that hosts 700000 to one million residents in which politicians or government officials own over half the land (Fox , 2014 in Chandan,2019 see also the above authors; and Alde, 1995;UN-HABITA 2007).

Turkey is one of the better urbanized states in which some of its cities like Istanbul are assumed a mega city status that hosted above 14 million residents. Informality³⁴ is the typical characteristics of Turkish cities. Industrialization, mass rural to urban migration between 1945 and 1985 and poverty became the principal causes of informality in Turkey and squatting become serious urban problem in which cities like Istanbul i.e. a global city, half of its residential homes categorized in to informal houses(Türker-Devecigil 2006;Veisi2015;Amiri and Ghanbari 2016; Billig2011).

Turkish squatter settlements are unique among other parts of the world informal settlements because they are integrated into the pattern and fabric of the city and have had provided with infrastructure and other social facilities. The squatter areas have become very populous over time and formed a political power. Such areas are centers of battle grounds among political parties during election in which the nationalist and leftist attempts to gain the support of informal residents and there is shifting political sympathy and allegiance among its political figures with regards to it (Ibid).

There have been innovative measures to solve squatting problems in Turkey in which series of laws and policy measures adopted and most of informal homes gradually accorded legal status and owners allowed to build more than one store buildings that enable informal areas incrementally to be improved by resident themselves. Thus, Turkish squatter settlements are often seen as an evolution in the formalization process that producing something more livable situations in terms of sanitation, building materials, government representation, infrastructure and open space. Because of these, Turkish handling of informality is often seen as a model for other nations dealing with informality (Ibid). In this regard in the world UN-Habitat conference in 2005, the head of the UN agency Anna Tibaijuka remarked that:

“...Turkey, since the mid-1960s, has adopted a comprehensive legislative and policy framework regarding slums. This has enabled Turkey to accomplish many successful initiatives in slum upgrading and low-cost housing. ... There is much to learn from the experience of Turkey that is relevant to many developing countries ... (Tibaijuka, 2005 in Billig 2011:2).

³⁴There is identical naming between Ethiopian and Turkish informal housing. According to all the above reference materials ,Turkish informal houses are named as “Gecekondu” that derived from two words i.e Gece means ‘the night’ and kondu ‘landed’, hence gecekondu translates as ‘landed at night’ or homes that built overnight like Ethiopian ‘Chereka’ or Moon light houses.

From the above literatures, it is possible to conclude that Turkish model on handling informality and its policy and legal measures to integrate residents in to cities political, economic and social life as well as the incremental improvement of informal homes by residents themselves can be one of the best experiments that developing nations can draw a lesson on managing their informality problems.

2.5. Empirical Literature on Ethiopia's urban Informality: Causes and Implications

Ethiopia is one of the most predominantly rural states in Africa even by sub-Saharan standard in which only 20 percent of its current population is urban dwellers. However, the country has been registering one of the fastest urban growth rates on in the world which is currently estimated at 5.4 percent per year. Its cities are growing and expanding both in size and in numbers ³⁵(Endalew 2013; Jemal 2019;Dejene 2020).Fast rate of urbanization in Ethiopia is largely accompanied by unplanned and informal housing across the country's cities and towns. Empirical data from different research finding shows that informality is a critical problem for Ethiopian cities that hosted the third highest informal house residents in Africa next to Tanzania and Mozambique ³⁶(Ibid).

According to (Achamyeleh 2014) the urban growth strategy of Ethiopia is quite backward and lacking adherence to good international practices. Thus, informality becomes one of critical socio-economic, demographic and environmental planning and management challenges (Berhanu 2015;Abraham et al. 2018; Abebe et al.2019;Berhanu et al.2019; Takele 2019). This section attempts to review empirical, policy and legal literatures as well as documents on the cause and implications of urban informality in Ethiopia in brief.

2.5.2. Urban Land Policy Since 1991

Lease as a mode of urban land holding system was introduced in Ethiopia for the 1st time in 1993. The proclamation classified urban land in to those lands allotted before the issuance of the

³⁵. In 1970 there were 171 towns with population of 2,000 to 20,000 this total had grown to 229 by 1980. For example the urban growth of Adama city increased by 293% from 1984 to 2015 and Fresenbet town expanded from 354 hectare to 774 hectare between 2009 to 2016. Moreover, the coming years will show greater increment of urban population. For instance, Hawassa's 2010 population will grow more than 6-fold by 2040, Mekeles' will almost 5-fold of its 2010 population, and Adama and Bahir Dar will almost 4-fold their population within the specified period. For further see also Abebe 2007; Berhanu et al., 2019; Achamyeleh, 2014 and Ajanaw K.,2019.

³⁶. For instance, 80% of the country's capital population is living in informally developed housing units and informality in Jima city also increased from 29% in 1997 to 37% in 2007 and 41% in 2017. Study conducted by Daniel revealed that 30% of Bahirdar city lacks legal document.(For further see Yewoineshet2007;Daniel,2011; Mathewos et al.,2011 and Abebe et al.2019).

proclamation for the construction of dwelling houses, land allotted before the proclamation for the purpose of other than dwelling houses and land to be allotted for any purposes after the issuance of the proclamation. Based on this, the 2nd and 3rd categories of land were to be governed by the provisions of the new lease proclamation while 1st category was out of the scope of the lease system and governed by permits system adopted by the military regime. The proclamation laid the framework for the grant of urban land through auction, negotiation, and lots. And the allocation of lease land determined for fixed period on the bases of grade of the place and purposes. i.e. 99 years for dwelling houses and 50 years for industries, dwelling houses for rent ,education, science and technology(for further see proc. no 80/1993).This proclamation amended in 2002 and 2011.

2.6. Causes of Informality in Ethiopian Cities

It is possible to classified causes of informality in to social, economic, political, cultural and institutional. To start with politics, modern Ethiopian regimes had have adopted wrong and unfriendly policy directions that exacerbated housing problems across the country's towns and cities. For example, the imperial period characterized by the monopoly of the Ethiopia's rural and urban land by small group of political, military and religious groups³⁷ and relegated the vast majority of Ethiopian society from acquiring the right to ownership (Assefa 2010;Beka 2016;Bahru1991; Balsvic 2005).On the other hand, though the military government had taken radical measures to promote both historical and egalitarian justice in both urban and rural areas, its command and control policy had created an acute shortage of homes in urban areas. The EPRDF led government unclear³⁸, corrupt³⁹, ineffective, elite based preferential policy directions⁴⁰ became a breeding ground for unprecedented proliferation of inform houses across in Ethiopia in the past 27 years (Ibid).

³⁷. As frequently mentioned in most of scholarly works, in feudal Ethiopia more than seventy percent of the fertile land was owned by only one percent of entire population. See also the above scholars

³⁸. See Lindner, 2014.

³⁹.Corruption is becoming endemic in Ethiopia. For instance, sustained corruption is one of many factors that have caused widespread unrest in Ethiopia since 2015 that put the country on the brink of collapse. Some studies show that it is nearly impossible to get a plot of land without bribing city administration officials. See World Bank 2012a in Lindner, 2014 and Misganu, 2019.

⁴⁰. Present land delivery system excludes 96% of the population (Yewoineshet, 2007) and Linder, 2014 by quoting freedom House report indicated that in the aftermath of the 2005 election, a substantial amount of land in Addis Ababa was allocated based on political allegiances and officials from the ruling party tend to receive preferential access to land leases and credit and the private sector also resort corruption as a means of getting land. For further see Yewoineshet, 2007; Linder 2014.

The second most prominent cause related to informal expansion of housing among Ethiopian cities is associated with social factors such as rural to urban migration⁴¹ caused by natural, political and economic factors⁴², the prevalence of high unemployment rate, population increment within cities and town, extreme poverty, displacement⁴³ as a result of war and natural causes like famine and social networks⁴⁴ are among others. In relation to the level of poverty in Ethiopia (Assefa Jaleta 2010:68 by citing CSA 1997 and WHO 1998) report rightly narrated that:

...Ethiopia is one of the three poorest countries in the world, and its per capita income was only 116 USA. dollars in 1997. Life expectancy is only 45 years. The mortality rate for children less than five years is 177 per 1,000 live births. The infant mortality rate is 113 per 1,000 live births. The maternal mortality rate is 1, 400 per 100,000 births. Millions of people die of a simple disease because of lack of medical treatment. Less than half of the population has access to basic sanitation, and only 25 percent of the population has access to clean water (WHO 1998).

The third critical cause that cited by many literatures is the existence of ineffective, inefficient, unstable and fragile urban institutions. This is the typical manifestation of Ethiopian state institutions that characterized by inefficiency, preferential treatment, corruption and lack of implementation capacity.

In this regard, (Linder 2014:15)by citing the World Economic Forums' 2013/2014 report and World Bank 2012b reports stipulated that:

... the assessment of Ethiopia's institutions has been falling over recent years across almost all indicators, including property rights, ethics and corruption, undue influence and government efficiency.... the Ethiopian land administration system is troubled with a high degree of informality. One of the main causes of this is the absence of clear legislation as well as confusion about the applicability of legislation...

The above argument supported by Misganu2019 and Jemal2019 in which both argued that the post-1991 urban land governance, policy and legal regimes open fertile grounds for corruption due to its contents lacking clarity and non-transparent implementations that appeal many in

⁴¹ .For instance the majority (81.7 %) of informal house holds on Jemal's,2019 study in A.A. are migrants.

⁴² .Ethiopia has been experiencing one of the highest rural to urban migrations. For example, the capital city forced to accept more

than 120.000 rural migrants annually. For further see Yewoineshet, 2007

⁴³ . For instance in Addis Ababa's north eastern part in the place called Kotobe large number of Eritrean evictee have occupied informal land and houses. Recently, nearly millions of displaced people from Somali regional state have settled in different towns of Oromia region including Burayu town (term paper that done by me and my classmate on evictees in Burayu town). See also Abrham et al.2018 .

⁴⁴ .See the foot note of page 5

political and administrative circle exercise malpractices such as partiality, favoritism, working with illegal brokers and corrupt officials. Thus, issuance of laws and proclamation failed to contain the expansion of informality. For example in Kolfe-Keranyo sub-city in Addis Ababa, there was 40% or 30,000 increment of informal houses after the promulgation of regulation to stop informality. Furthermore, only 0.5 GDP is allocated to the housing sector (Abrham et al. 2018). Finally, the last but not the least factor is associated with culture in which some individuals want to have big compounds which cannot be accessed in the formal market (Jemal 2019; Gondo Undated; Yewoineshet 2007; Gebre 2008; Tamirat 2016).

2.6.1. Implications of Urbanization on Peri –Urban Farmers

It is a conventional wisdom that most of urban centers in Ethiopia including the capital Addis Ababa founded by displacing local farmers (Assefa 2010). More recently, the fast rate of urbanization coupled with the above mentioned factors has posing real and existential threats that greatly impacting peasants' livelihood status all over the country's Peri-urban areas. Especially, towns and cities which have political and economic significance have been expanded at the expense of surrounding farmers land. Peasants in such centers forced to lose their primary physical, cultural, social, and economic assets⁴⁵ either forcefully⁴⁶ or willingly due to several factors. Some scholars accused mainly the current government constitutional prerogative power on the ownership of land and then its unjust expropriation of farmers land with meager or no compensation in the name of promoting common public good without creating alternative livelihood opportunities for them (Tamirat 2016; Fekadu 2014; Efa and Gutema 2017; Abebe et al. 2019; Beka 2016; Ajanaw 2019).

According to Crewett, Ayalneh and Korf 2008, the EPRDF government used such constitutional power on land as an arm to advance and maintain its political goals. In this regard, they argued that *“coercive actions of state organs against local peasants at the dawn of the 2000 elections*

⁴⁵ . Loosing property mainly land for predominantly agricultural society has a great repercussion on those who lose it. Since property related to wealth, power, identity and values that affecting each of them and social, political, economic organization, command over wealth, and governance. Especially land embodied relationships pertaining to food, water, and modes of production, culture, religion, gender, succession and conflict. (Benda-Beckmann et al, 2006: Macpherson, 1978: 4 in UN-Habitat, 2015). For further see UN-Habitat, 2015

⁴⁶ .For example, majority of farmers in Mekele city forced to handover their agricultural land without compensation. For detail see Sisha, 2011).

whereby peasants were threatened that their land would be taken away if they voted for opposition parties” (Crewett, Ayalneh and Korf 2008).

Though, the country’s supreme and subsidiary laws theoretically granted the right to proportionate compensation for farmers in time of expropriation of their land by government for various purposes, such laws practically failed to address farmers’ interest. This is attested by various research literatures carried out in major cities indicate the majority of farmers have grieving their dissatisfaction and resentment in many cities⁴⁷.The compensation process too characterized by partiality, favourism, corruption and protracted bureaucratic red tape⁴⁸(Beka 2016 ;Abebe et al.2019; Efa and Gutema 2017; Tamirat 2016; Ayelu 2018; Ajanaw 2019).

Furthermore, the country’s legal and policy guidelines failed to address the post compensation scenario and simply let peasants to led precarious life situations. Due to these factors, peasants’ age long livelihood assets ruined, their social capital has been destroyed, forced to be vulnerable for food insecurity, abject poverty and other associated social crisis. Even some of them and their families became street beggars, homeless and at the worst case committed suicide(Ibid).In this regard, Gebre Yentiso(2008) criticized the way the county’s urban development process went on and remarked that *“It would be against development philosophy to create a new poverty regime while proclaiming to abolish/ curtail it”* (see also Endalew 2013; Fekadu 2014;Zenebe 2010; Muradu2013;Girma 2011; Achamyeleh2014; Elias2015; Daniel2013;Sayeh2014;Mathewos et al.2011;Ayelu 2018;Kebede 2019; Ajanaw 2019).

Due to the above mentioned existing realities on the ground, the rest of farmers who are living in many of peri-urban areas increasingly have felt tenure insecurity and then they have been taking a preemptive measure by selling their valuable land for whomever who need it despite there is legal and constitutional sanction to do so in Ethiopia. Hence, according to the above studies, this

⁴⁷. For example, 97.2% farmers who lost their land in Fresenbet town by government expropriation appealed to court by opposing compensation rate. In addition, Bahir Dar City administration paid for farmers only 12 birr per square meter but transfer the same amount of land by 4000 birr on average. The money farmers received according to Achamyeleh “cannot feed their family in the face of increasing inflation and living standard” for further see also Ajanaw ,2019. Elias,2015 and Achamyeleh,2014.

⁴⁸ .Tamirat ,2016 discussed detailed of such issues in his study on Jimma city. According to him some farmers with the same background received only 9000-12000 ET. Birr, while others 50000-500000ET. Birr. This preferential compensation payment disturbed existing social relationship among farmers. For detail see Tamirat ,2016:322.

precipitated both informality and the sufferings of farmers in such study sites. Informality based on the above studies, progressively growing over-time⁴⁹(Ibid;Assefa2010).

2.6.2. Implications of Legal, Policy and Administrative frameworks on Informality

2.6.2.1. Legal Frameworks

The EPRDF led government introduced series of proclamations in 1993, 2002, 2005 and 2011 to govern urban land and urban houses. Lease as one kind of urban land tenure arrangement was formally introduced in to the Ethiopian legal system in 1993, by proclamation. Number 80/1993 and was revised in 2002 by Proc.272/2002. However, these two proclamations were not as such centers of controversy like proclamation no 721/2011. This section will review Proc. no721/2011 in detail because of its far reaching implications on mushrooming of informal houses, skyrocketing of urban land price and consequently exacerbating the suffering of per-urban communities in different urban centers of Ethiopia.

Proc. no721/2011 has attracted the attention of many Ethiopians ranging from ordinary urban dwellers to politicians and academic community. Many research works criticize the proclamation in terms of its compatibility to the country's constitution, social acceptability, equity, tenure security and economic viability (Achamyeh 2014; Elias 2015; Muradu 2013; Araya 2013). For instance, study conducted by Araya, revealed that the proclamation did not follow the formal law making procedure. It was present neither for public discussion nor genuine parliamentary members' debate. It was ratified even without thorough discussion of the concerned standing committee of the House of people's representatives (Araya 2013).

Many observers argued that this legal document and its application practically sealed off the possibility of getting urban land for low and middle class groups. Based on my own assessment and understanding Article 6, 19, 20 and 22 of the proclamation are the most controversial

⁴⁹ .I got a chance to watch Amhara TV on March 21/2020 and Ethiopian Television on Au.2/2020 which broadcasted the issue of urban house informality that focused on Bahirdar and Addis Ababa cities respectively by inviting different stakeholders like farmers, government officials, scholars and informal house owners. In such cities Land according to panelist is becoming "*yematnetif lam*" which means milking cow for land speculators, government officials, and brokers. They boldly claimed that the involvement of such groups mainly government officials make the problem more uncontrollable and the law became toothless. Due to this, informal houses are dominating Ethiopian cities. For example, according to one official, recently in Addis Ababa city only in one site more than one hundred informal houses were built within one night. In all these process, mainly farmers and urban poor who look their shelter are major losers in which no one has concern for their life.

articles. The central tenets of this proclamation are equity, efficiency, effectiveness, accountability and responsiveness in the management and administration of urban land and landed property based on free market principles which ensure the rights and obligations of the lessees and the lesser. However, some scholarly works and realities on the ground indicate that such ideal principles of the proclamation unable to achieve its intended objectives beyond helping the government to collect a large sum of lease revenue (Elias 2015).

One of the visible impacts of the proclamation and its implementation is the soaring of the land price from time to time in most of Ethiopian cities. For example, for one land presented to lease auction by the Addis Ababa City, on Oct.31, 2012, presented 355,550 ET Birr for one m²land. This figure indicates that how far the land price is progressively soaring from year to year and making the city land one of the most expensive in the world even compared to world metropolitan cities like London, Hong Kong, New York, Geneva, Singapore and Paris (Elias 2015).

The sky rocketing of land price in the country's towns and cities is showing a clear indication for unreachable polarization of wealth gap between and among Ethiopian society. It is clear that the current land policy is effectively eliminating the middle and the lower class from formal urban house and land markets. Thus, such classes forced to turn their focus in to the informal land market to build their residential house in the face of the ever increasing urban house rent and the impossibility of accessing land from formal market. Study conducted by (Abebe et al. 2019) indicated that since the application of this law informality has increased by 33% in Jima town and 88% of their study respondents also believed that the law is more aggravating informality in the town(for further see, Ibid,2019).In due course, Peri-urban peasants have been seriously affected by the outcome of this unjust law in which it allowed the state to expropriate their land and fetch the lion share of benefit by auctioning it⁵⁰(Asfaw2018;Achamyeh2014;Elias2015). In support of this, Dejene and Bhangoo 2018: by citing SADC 2017 stated that:

⁵⁰ .The law paved the way for the state and its apparatus to become more beneficiaries. For instance, Farmers in Addis Ababa and Bhardar compensated only 20 and 12 ET birr permeter² but, Municipalities of such cities transfer the same size land on average 8000 and 4000 respectively. For Further see Achamyeh, 2014;Elias, 2015.

...the compensation policy lacks other alternative packages, for instance entrepreneurial skills development which helps affected households to integrate with urban setting as expropriation leads to destruction of existing property system and agricultural livelihoods and many farmers who were previously displaced from agriculture are getting poorer than before...

2.6.2.2. National Policy Frameworks outcomes on Urban House Informality

Ethiopia has launched series of development policy programs such as SDPRP2002-2005/6; PASDEP 2005/6-2010;GTPI,2010/11-2015 and GTP II,2015-2020) with the aim of achieving UN sponsored MDG2000-2015 and SDG 2015-2030 programs and enabling the country to join Lower middle income states club. These policies gave greater attention for agricultural Led Industrial and Service Sector Developments. Within these broad development policy frameworks, different urban related policies and strategies have been adopted. For example, in 2005 Integrated Housing Development Program was introduced. The scope of this MA thesis is not evaluating such policy documents rather giving a snap reflection on them in relation to urbanization and urban informality. Thus, this section attempts to review mainly the three (IHDP; GTP I and II) by integrating progress reports and reflections of some scholarly documents.

To start with the IHDP, it was launched in 2005 within the second development policy PASDEP program period. IHDP set the following objectives: Increase housing supply for the low-income population; Mitigate the expansion of slums; Increase job opportunities and Improve wealth creation and wealth distribution for the nation. Thus condominium houses construction begun across different towns of the country. GTP I (2010/11-2014-15) an ambitious national development plan to achieve structural transformation in different sectors was launched in 2010/11 fiscal year. GTP I set a target to construct 500,000 housing units ,Create 400,000 jobs in the housing sector and reduction of the number of slum dwellers by half (60% to 30%).

GTP II which launched in 2015 also in its urban sector goals aimed at proactively manage the on-going rapid urbanization to unlock its potential for sustained rapid growth and structural transformation of the economy. It also gives due emphasis for urban sustainability and green development. Moreover, on GTP II, focus has been given to increase the supply of low cost houses to address urban housing demand for low and middle class communities by enhancing

their saving capacities to provide affordable houses by long-term payments and sets to construct 750 thousand new houses (GTP II policy document and Tegegn, undated).

Impacts of such housing programs have been studied and evaluated by scholars, government institutions and multi-national organizations. Accordingly, results revealed that programs are too far either to meet their intended targets or satisfying the growing housing demand that required the construction of 290,000 houses per annum. Particularly the program has failed to address low and middle class families' interest due to the rise of housing cost and its interest rate which became unaffordable to pay the required monthly saving. Even those poor section of society 70 % of them who got a chance condominium houses rent out their homes and forced to live in other areas due to the growing inflation. The program also is not financially feasible that requires huge investment i.e. 247 billion ETB (Tegegn undated; Resom 2010; Gebre 2008; Mathewos et al. 2011; Keller and Mukudi-Omwamib 2017; World Bank 2017; Ayelu 2018; Dagnachew 2015; World Bank 2017).

2.6.2.3. Administrative Measures on Informality and their Outcomes

This section attempts to give a brief highlight on what kind of measures that have been taken by municipal authorities to deal with informal settlements in some of Ethiopian cities and towns. According to literatures and realities on the ground, mixed measures such as preventive, curative, tolerated and bulldozing are usually taken by different cities. The first concept related to strong application of law and order to prevent the construction of informal houses, the second indicates regularization and formalization measures, the third refers to deliberate ignorance and non-action and the final concept designates to the destruction of informal houses and the eviction of informal settlers under Ethiopian context. Some cities and towns like Addis Ababa adopted series of directives and regulations to manage the problem of informality.

To start with bulldozing measure, demolition and forceful eviction has had been a common measure taken by major city administrators since 1990s. For instance, Addis Ababa city administration in Yeka sub-city alone smashed 13440 informal houses in 1994 E.C (Gondo undated). Eviction also carried out by respective town administration according the same author, in Jmma, Ambo, Masha and Adama (Ibid). In 2012 fiscal year alone, more than 9,000

homes were removed by Addis Ababa city administration (Officials on ETV on 3 Aug. 2020). However, this trend has failed to contain the proliferation of informal due to reasons that mentioned above. In most cases the demolished homes immediately replaced by new ones (Yewoinshet 2018; Achamyeeh2014 and Gondo Undated).Moreover, measures and directive taken by Addis Ababa administration proved to be ineffective (Jemal 2019)⁵¹.Thus, informality has had been one of the most unresolved state, societal and environmental problems of Ethiopia that might await the first urban revolution in the country's history if it is not properly managed.

⁵¹ .For instance, there was 59.1 and 30% informal houses increment after regulation 1/2000 and (Minwuyelet 2005:23 in Jema2019.

Chapter Three

Description of the Study Area

3.1 Introduction

As it is clearly indicated in chapter one, Shashemene is an intersecting city and the trade hub of southern Ethiopia regions. The town also lies on the Addis-Moyale-Kenya Highway about 150 miles (250 km) south of Addis Ababa. It became the administrative capital of West Arsi zone since 2006, which has scaled -up its economic and political importance. This part of the thesis attempt to elucidate a brief historic, geographic, socio-economic and demographic description of Shashemene city. To compile this chapter, primary (the city socio-economic profile and CSA Document), and secondary (research document supplemented by satellite images) data were principally utilized and carefully reviewed.

3.1.1. Geographic Location, Topography, Climate and Drainage system

Shashamane is a town and a separate woreda in West Arsi Zone, Oromia National Regional State of Ethiopia. It has latitude of 7° 12' north and a longitude of 38° 36' east. Shashamane extends to the south-eastern escarpment of the Rift Valley. The town is located on a plateau with an elevation ranging from 1,826 to 2,107 meters above mean sea level. The mountain ridge in the south-east of the town is called Abaro. The urbanized area of the town is slightly dissected by numerous valleys formed by the four major river systems crossing the city from south-east to north-west(Shashemene City Socio-economic data,2010).

Figure 1. Relative Location of Shashemene City.

Source: - 1995-2012 Information Technology Associates in (Tarekegn and Yitbarek,2018)



The climate of Shashamane is characterized by the average maximum and minimum temperature of 24.3°C in May and 7.5°C in December, respectively. The average annual rainfall in Shashamane amounts to 1200mm. The main wet season takes place from June to September, causing about 70% of annual rainfall with the highest peak in August. Another small peak of rainfall is observed in April (OUPI 2010). According to OUPI (2010), geologically, the largest part of Shashamane Town is covered with volcanic materials (Ibid).

3.2. History of Shashemene Town

The name Shashamene derived from a woman called Shashe and her house (Mene) who had engaged in local alcohol trading in which local communities gave the name by merging her name and her house as Shashe-and Mene (the house of Shashe) gave the birth of its current naming. Historical evidences attested that two market centers (Harufa and Alelu) became the nucleus for its formation. The market center called Alelu was served as market for long distance trade. The town was established in 1903 E.C. The construction of roads to and through the town to different areas in the south made the town a major commercial and distribution center for both agricultural and industrial products (Bjeren, 1985). Since then the town became the center of southern Ethiopian trade linking the south, south east and south west and went through series of socio-economic and political transformation (Shashemene City Socio-Economic profile 2010).

Moreover, the establishment of west Arsi zone by integrating woredas previously administered by Bale, East Shoa and Arsi zones that made its political center in Shashemene added city's political significance which led the mushrooming of different socio-economic and administrative institutions that have been greatly contributing for its fast growth and development. According to Proclamation No.195/2008, Shashemene City has accorded the Principal City Administration status. The city has eight urban kebeles administration units namely; Awasho (Kebele 01), Abosto (Kebele 02 & 03), DidaBoqe (Kebele 04), Bulchana (Kebele 05), Burka Gudina (Kebele 06 & 07), Arada (Kebele 08 & 09), Alelu (Kebele 10), and Kuyera kebele. In addition to this, there are about 11 rural kebeles which incorporated by structural plan. The city covers total surface area of about 129,946,244m² or about 12,994 hectare of land. The distance ground from North to South extreme points of the city is about 22km and from East to West is about 8km. The shape of the city has an elongated shape toward along Hawassa to Addis Ababa road (Ibid).

3.3. Demography, Ethnic and Religious Composition

3.3.1. Demography

Evidences from the available literature show that the fast growth of Shashamanne's population has been observed since 1990s, with an annual growth rate of 6%. This can partly be attributed to higher migration from rural areas to the town rather than the natural increase of (2.9%). The total population of the town was 102,062, 51,477 male and 50,585 female (CSA 2007 in Ibid). Because of demographic uncertainties, such as high net migration, and natural population increment, currently, the exact number of inhabitants is not known. However, when projected using 6% annual growth rate, the town's total population in the structural plan was 240,540 in 2011. This figure encompasses 13,946 residents from the former Kuyera Town, the current sub-city of Shashamanne, and 85,693 residents from peasant administrations (PA) adjacent to the urban periphery that were incorporated into the town during planning. According to the projection by OUPI Shashamanne hosts 295,898 inhabitants in 2020 (OUPI, 2010). Moreover, the establishment of West Arsi zone with its zonal capital at Shashemenehas resulted in the City's fast expansion. The following table clearly depicts the progressive increment of the town population across time.

Table 1: The trend of population Growth of Shashemene City

Year	Male	Female	Total	Sex Ratio	Growth rate
1959	7,860	8,550	16,410	91.9	
1962	10,501	10,108	20,609	103.9	7.89
1964	11,108	10,585	21,293	104.9	2.6
1976	15,194	16,690	31,884	91	3.26
1979	17,187	18,880	36,067	91	4.19
1986	25,426	26,654	52,080	95.4	5.39
1999	51,062	50,585	101,647	100.9	5.28
2001	96,877	97,107	193,984	99.8	4
2004	111,732	112,274	224,006	99.5	4.5
2010	138956	139336	278292	101.8	4.5

Source:- Shshemene city socio-economic profile2010 EC

3.3.2. Ethnic Composition

Shashemene has been the home and melting pot for diverse ethno -cultural groups mainly for northern and southern regions. Shashemene's location at the cross road of south-east, south and

south-west of Ethiopian regions and its proximity to some of the most densely populous zones like Wolita, Sidama, Silte, Gurage, Kembata, Hadiya and Gamo, has made the town of high commercial significance and a destination for large scale migration from the above mentioned zones. The recent establishment of West Arsi zone, presence of different private financial and higher education institutions, and the opening of Medawolabu University branch in the town have also increased in migration of employees, residents and students from different regions in to the town (Shashemene city socio-economic profile 2010).

More than 83 percent of people in Shashemene town claimed that they were born out of Shashemene (RANS, 2005 in Yisak et al., 2006). The same study on Aerada sub-city in which most of the city's trade activity is carried out elucidated the percentage of each ethnic group within the sub-town. Accordingly Amharas constitute 19%; Wolaytas 16%; Gurages 35%; Oromos 20% and others 10%. For years the city has been characterized by tolerance and peaceful co-existence throughout its history that became one of the main pull factors for diverse socio-cultural groups to immigrate in to the city and engaged in different livelihood activities.

3.3.3. Religious Composition

There is conflicting data between (CSA 2007) and the town socio-economic profile with regards to religious composition⁵². Based on the city's socio-economic profile (2009-2010 E.C) indicated that Orthodox and Muslim religion followers constituted about 44.0% and 43.9% of the total population of the city respectively. Protestant, Catholic, and other religion followers constitute 10.1%, 1.4% and 0.6% respectively. There are also Jobah witness and Rastefarian⁵³ religion followers within the city (Shashemene town socio-economic profile 2010).

3.4. Socio- Economic Institutions of the Town

As stated earlier its political, commercial and strategic significance, Shashemene has been registering fast rate of urban growth that has both positive and negative implication which will

⁵² .the town is inhabited by diverse religious groups mainly Muslims who account 23.53% and Christians (Orthodox, protestant, Catholics) constitute 43.44%, 23.53% and 1.3% inhabitants respectively

⁵³ .Ras -Teferian faith followers are predominantly Jamaicans who settled in Shashemene town under emperor Hileselese's rule in what they call it promises land in 1950s at specific place called Melka Oda which lies in northern part of the town. These groups viewed Shashemene as their promised spiritual land .For further see Yisak et al., 2006.

be discussed in next chapter. There are all social institutions from health center to Hospitals⁵⁴, from elementary level to tertiary level educational institutions⁵⁵, industries⁵⁶, banks, insurance companies and microfinance institutions⁵⁷, Hotels from small to luxuries hotels, electricity, telecom and water provision institutions etc. are found in the city. In general, the town almost has all modern city socio-economic institutions.

⁵⁴ . There are 133 health institutions in the town .Of which 125 are privately owned. There are 3 hospitals of which one is Comprehensive referral hospital.

⁵⁵ . There are 2 special need schools, 73 kindergartens, 18 primary first cycle school (1-4), 65 full primary schools (1-8), 10 secondary schools (9-10), 9 preparatory (11-12) Schools and 12 college as well as Medawolabu University branch found within the city.

⁵⁶ .There are 17 different banks, 10 insurance companies and 6 micro finance institutions with in the city. Some of banks have more than one branch. For example Commercial bank of Ethiopia that run by government has more than 20 branches within the city

⁵⁷ .There are 24 privately owned manufacturing industries including one tractor assemblage factory in the city.

Chapter Four

Land Tenure and Land Transaction Experience and the Rate of Urbanization in Shashemene

4.1. Introduction

This chapter attempts to discuss past and current land tenure arrangement and the trend of urban expansion in Shahemene City. The first part of this chapter provides a brief highlight on land tenure system that existed since the incorporation of Arsii in to Ethiopian empire. The second section deals with the beginning of land transaction, mainly land sale and factors that led to the practice to emerge in in a society that used to view selling ancestral land as a taboo .The final section give a brief highlight on rapid growth of Shahshemene across time. The data in this part of discussion have mainly been obtained from secondary research sources, which included researches on neighboring woredas (Arsii-Negele,Kofele and Kokosa and Shahsemene) by Hussein Jemma2010, Mamao Hebo2005 , Lavers 2018 and Satellite based research conducted by Amha,2007;Genemo,2012;Tarekegn and Mollamaru,2018;Bedane ,Berhanu, Girma and Cirella,2020as well as primary sources like national and regional policy and legal documents and information obtained from the 90 year old local renewed community leader through informal discussion.

The aim of discussing these themes in this thesis work is to connect past land tenure arrangement and its impact on present situation of on land tenure and informal land transaction trends in the study area. As Hussein (2010:2) remarked, *“Historical studies are of paramount importance to draw lessons from the past, understand the background to the current circumstances, and predict the possible effects of changes in property rights regime in land in the country.”*

4.2. Modern Ethiopian State Formation and its Implication on Land Tenure

Much has been studied and said on past and current land tenure arrangements of Ethiopia mainly in the southern provinces .The aim of this section is not presenting a very wide discussions, discourses and controversies rather giving a brief highlight on land tenure arrangements and the historic emergence of land transaction practices in the study area. The formation of the modern Ethiopian state at the closing decades of 19th century by the application of both diplomacy and force has had a far reaching socio-economic and political implications on Ethiopian society in

general and southerners⁵⁸ in particular. Regions and areas that fiercely resisted the marching imperial army in to their jurisdiction had faced land alienation and cultural suppression by the invading army. In this regard Arsii in 1886, Harrar in 1887, Wollaita in 1894, Keffa in 1897 are among other regions that fell under imperial army one by one and lost their political, cultural and social autonomy and then became a tributary regions of the newly structured Ethiopian empire (Bahru 1991 and 2002; Merera 2003; Solomon 2006; Vanguan 2003).

In general, the above regions (southerners) had faced series of feudal system related exploitation and right violation where majority of them alienated from their ancestral land and subjugated as tenants⁵⁹ and a mere servants of the state plus state appointed land lords until the 1974 Ethiopia's popular revolution. This historical event well narrated by Markakis as:

...the expropriation and distribution of a very large portion of land in the south among the victors [from the North] had a dramatic effect on the native population. The relationship of persons to land was radically transformed practically over-night by force The southern peasantry which found itself on land claimed by the state lost whatever rights it had held traditionally over the land. The people were transformed into gabbars of the state and of the privileged group to whom the state [government] granted rights over such land. ... the peasantry cultivating land expropriated by the state [government] lost whatever rights it had enjoyed over such land, and was reduced to the status of tenant "quartered on the land of another" (Markakis 1974: 112 in Hussein 2010).

The above Ethiopian peasantry situation had dramatically changed on March 31, 1975 when the military government had declared an unprecedented land to the tiller proclamation and taken radical land redistribution measure to achieve both egalitarian and historic justice objectives

⁵⁸ .The north -south dichotomy in many literatures is to indicate regions under the old Abyssinian core i.e. northern provinces like Tigray, part of Wollo, Gonder, Gojam and north Shoa that directly or indirectly governed by the centuries of old Christian highland kingdom rule since the period of Axumite empire that had different land tenure arrangement .Whereas Southern Ethiopia implies areas and regions that became part of Ethiopian empire since emperor Menelik II(1889-1913).These areas had different land tenure arrangement compared to northern provinces in which the southern provinces characterized by extremely oppressive and exploitative landlord-tenancy system. Southern regions in this regard include the current Oromia and southern Ethiopian provinces that experienced exploitative landlord tenancy system until 1974. For further see (Bahru, 1991;2002; Merera,2003;Solomon,2006;Vanguan,2003).

⁵⁹ . Tenancy was the typical manifestation of Ethiopia's feudal system in which the vast majority of the people of south lost their ancestral land .According Zenebe Feleke(1997) who was the member of the Derg and Land reform committee and the Author of Neber Amharic book that narrated the reminisce of the military government from insider point of view , " tenancy was as high as 75% in Illibabora,67% in Shoa , 62% in Keffa , 59% in Wollega,54% in Harege ,52% in Arsii,47% in Gamogoffa 42% in Wollo and 39 % in Sidamo provinces .In his book page 146,he boldly stated that before 1974 " **Ethiopia was the property of a very few individuals who controlled all menses and instruments of production mainly land**" the emphasis is mine. Daniel Woldegebriel Ambaye(2015) also gave evidence on the unique suffering of southern peasants as: "most land of the southern people was confiscated and alienated to northerners while leaving the natives landless. People from the north were encouraged to settle in these new areas and became beneficiaries of land grant or land purchase. This was done for two reasons: First, to re-compensate for their service in the war, and second, in order to create "effective occupation" of the newly annexed territories.

which enabled the masses of Ethiopian peasantry free from the yoke of one of the most exploitative and oppressive feudal land tenure arrangement(Ibid and Crewitt 2008)⁶⁰.Needless to say, the military government fundamentally altered the centuries old exceptionally unjust and unequal land lord tenancy system and effectively earthen it's socio-economic, politico-cultural foundations forever. Thus, heralded new epoch for the masses of Ethiopian peasantry mainly for southerners and returned back not only their ancestral land but also their human dignity, graved in their socio-economic and cultural subordination.

4.3. Land Tenure History in the study Area

Back specific to the study area, in 1886 emperor Menelik's imperial army succeeded in crushing local heroic resistance that closely costing his life at the battle of Azule. This military campaign against Arsii people is one of the most controversial issues among historians and politicians due to inhuman and a very cruel measures that taken by the invading army. After the conquest, Arsii became under direct imperial rule administration as it was similar to other regions which resisted imperial military campaign. The imperial government destroyed the traditional Oromo's Socio-economic and political administrative system i.e. Geda system (Bahru 2002; Hussein 2010). Before Arsii came under imperial control, land tenure system in the study area was based on communal ownership in which clans' have had controlled specific territory for clan members who enjoyed equal right over land use (Mamo 2005;Hussien 2010;Lavers2018).

The incorporation of Arsii society in to Ethiopian empire had its own far-reaching impacts among peasantries in the area. Commonly Arsii and Bale provinces known as the bread baskets of Ethiopia due to their high agricultural potential .Secondly, the province's nearness to the center and its modest weather condition seems to be another factor that attracts royal families⁶¹landlords and private individuals to scramble for land in Arsii. Third, the flatness of the majority of Arsii province landscape make easy for mechanized farming and encouraged investors to rush to the area which increased the value of land in the province. Thus, the

⁶⁰ .In this regard ,Hussein(2010) by referring (Ottaway & Ottaway 1978: 67) hailed the reform as “the Ethiopian Land Reform Proclamation of 1975 was drastic by any standard, ‘even in Soviet and Chinese terms’ It swiftly and totally uprooted private property rights regime in land without any compensation to the landlords”

⁶¹ .For instance emperor Hilseslase I(1930-1974) gave the entire land of Arsii_Negele Woreda for one land lord (Ras Birru) and his wife. (For further see Hussin, 2010).

cumulative of the above factors had their own adverse impacts on the suffering of peasants economically, socially and politically (Ibid)

Furthermore, since 1941 government land policy towards privatization had accelerated tenancy and peasant eviction due to as stated by (Bahru1919and Hussin 2010) first, the northern settlers who had a tributary right on southern peasant expanded their holding either by forceful seizure or purchases from distressed gabar. Second, madeira land given to those in government service converted it in to free holding. Third, Hileselas's government generous land grant mainly after independence (since 1941) for patriots, exiles, soldiers and civil servants to garner political support and the introduction of mechanized farming in 1960s resulted in peasants mass eviction⁶²and then locals migration and acceleration of land sale and the rise of its commercial value(Hussien2010 and Bahiru1991).In this respect Hussein 2010 viewed the conquest of Arsii and the subsequent land alienations and its implications on local people as:

With regard to property rights regime, the government appropriated the land and converted it to state property. As a result, the Arsi Ormo lost all rights of free access to and control over their land. Furthermore, through land privatization under the reign of Emperor Haile Sellassie, the gabbar became landless tenants which led to a remarkable inequality in land allocation, which itself was a result of power relations between the victors and the vanquished

Based on Hussiens PhD thesis work and my older informants, the people of Arsii had suffered enormous challenges to the extent of unable to get burial sites for the dead people in the land that was in the hand of their fathers and forefathers. My local elderly informant who is above the age of 90 years and experienced the three Ethiopian modern regimes land tenure arrangement remembered the kind of inhuman treatment by the land lords who called them as 'Hamassenes' to refer Eritreans who were beneficiaries of emperor Hileselases generous land grant for veteran soldiers, government, employees and loyal to imperial government .

⁶².Hussien (2010) by citing Henock(1972: 34) presented the evidence in which how far the introduction of mechanized farming led mass eviction and had increased the suffering of local peasantry. According to him in the period between 1968 and 1970, mechanized farming increased nearly fourfold ...[and thus] in the early 1970, representatives of the royal family, backed by woreda government officials and traditional militia (netch lebash), forced the tenants of the whole kebele of forty gasha (1,600 hectares) to evacuate at once by demolishing or burning their houses. For further see Hussein's desertaton,2010

To quote his statement:

...during the imperial period our ancestral land was taken over by land lords through the force of the gun and we became serfs with untold inhuman and degrading treatments. Even we were begging land lords for graveyards for our dead people on the land which was belong to us before the coming of those land lords. The 1975 land to the tiller proclamation pulled out us from deepest gorge and returns back not only our land but also our human and social dignity...⁶³

As stated earlier, many who have rational and human mind agreed and up lauded the far-reaching outcomes of the 1974 Ethiopian people's popular revolution not only interims of egalitarian⁶⁴ land distribution and the eradication the harsh and inhuman feudal duties imposed on tenants but also its socio-cultural and political contributions be in Ethiopia in general and study area in particular⁶⁵ (see Merera 2003; Balsivic2005; Hussein2010). In this regard, (Bahru1991:240-1) stipulated that "*... the Dergue took considerable pride ...that the land reform proclamation represented a positive response to the long standing demand of all Ethiopians' progressives ...[which] was radical reform...that any other governments has ever issued before...*"

However, many also criticized the military government land tenure arrangement on the basis of frequent redistribution of land that had created serous of tenure insecurity among farmers, its ineffective villegization, resettlement ,Sigsega(integrated settlement),grain cotta and aggressive forestry programs that forcibly taken away peasants land against their will which led people (peasants) to deprived their popular support for the regime as it was at the time of Land to the tiller proclamation launched .Such faulty policy direction became one of the contributor factors for the fall of the military regime in 1991.(for further Desalegn 2016; Hussein 2010; Melaku2009).In relation to this, (Mamo20050 clearly articulated that "***Land issues... have played key roles in the survival or demise of political regimes in [Ethiopia].***"

⁶³. Hirpato Jiro90 years elderly individual who is the resident and respected community leader in DidaBoke Kebele

⁶⁴. According to Bereket 2006, land distribution in rural Ethiopia is highly equitable, for example compared to other African countries where private ownership exists.

⁶⁵ . Hussein Jimma 2010 who conducted his PhD dissertation on neighboring Arsi-Negele woreda and Hetossa stated that "the proclamation ... drastically altered power relations in the rural areas. It transferred local political power, along with property rights, from the landlords to the landless tenants and poor peasants. It empowered tenants and poor peasants, through their PAs, to administer land in their localities, among other things, by replacing the landlords... Teshale1995 also claimed that " one of the most important outcomes of the Ethiopian revolution was the rise of the people of the south to public visibility...see also Balsivic2005;Merera2003)

The 1991 government change and the subsequent policy and legal documents continued to embrace the basic tenets of the 1975 rural land proclamation but added some amendments like the transfer of land through inheritance for family members, the issuance of use right for both male and female as well as the right to contract out a portion of land for specific period of time which were absent under the 1975 land to the tiller law. However, the policy continued to outlawed land transaction through sale and gift out of family members(see FDRE Constitution art.40 and Proclamation 456/2005. In this regard, Oromia regional state series of land proclamations considered as more liberal compared to other three core Ethiopian regions(Amhara, Tigray and SNNPR)⁶⁶ with regards to tenure insecurity because it outlawed the possibility of future land redistribution except for irrigable land(RGO 2002 Article 14 in Crewitt,2008).

4.4. Land Sale and Land Transaction Practice in the Study Area

Though land sale is a culturally unacceptable phenomenon among farmers in the study area, several historical, socio-economic and political factors have contributed for the emergence of open and illicit land transactions that have caused paramount effects on the lives and traditional values of the people vis-à-vis land. As stated earlier, state sponsored arbitrary eviction of farmers from their ancestral land in pre-revolutionary Ethiopia, frequent land redistribution under military government, and farmers eviction with the nominal compensation rate under the guise of urban development since 2005 have been putting pressure on local farmers. In addition to these, the flourishing of market-oriented economy that created wealth for a few urban based economic elites who scrambled for land in order to expand their business environment in both urban and rural areas have had created tenure insecurity and cash and commodity oriented mentality among farmers in the study area. Therefore, the current large scale informal land transaction is not caused by single factor rather an intertwined historic, socio-economic and politico-cultural developments (see Hussein 2010;Mamo and Shigeta 2014; Mamo2005; Pender and Fafchamps 2002).

⁶⁶.Here core regions to refer those regions that inhabited by the lion share of Ethiopia's total population (Amhara, Oromia, Tigray and SNNRS). NB. the population of Somali region is slightly greater than that of Tigray regional state but the former region is politically marginalized in the EPRDF political system until the current political arrangement. For further See (Merera 2003)

Open and underground land sell practice has had been active during the imperial period as well as Derg and in the current government respectively⁶⁷. In this regard, Pender and Fafchamps²⁰⁰² argued that “*In Arsi there was an active land market before the Marxist Derg regime...since then, land leasing and informal transfers have again become common*”(Pender and Fafchamps (2002).However, based on my research informants and research carried out by Mamo²⁰⁰⁷), people in the study and surrounding woredas have strong socio-cultural, psycho-emotional attachment on their land and its sell is ‘*Saffiuu*’ which means culturally immoral and unacceptable. In contrast to their culture, people are engaged in it due to exogenous and endogenous factors that mentioned earlier. With respect to the social unacceptability and cultural immorality of land sell among Arsii community Mamo 2007: underlined it as :

Traditionally, according Oromo customs, land is not a commodity for sale or transfer to non kin... selling one’s ancestral land...[land sale]is considered [as] immoral, and if it occurs, it is a sign of ‘disorder’ in the family concerned. The sale of land could occur, however, in the case of extreme poverty when there is no other option available to sustain a family. Otherwise, a land seller is perceived as an extravagant and lazy person without a vision for his descendants’ future, lacking respect for his ancestors(Mamo 2007: 354).

In sum, though land sale is a socially and culturally discouraged practice among Arsii community, now there is an active land sale as confirmed by of this research participants conducted thesis. Factors that are pushing farmers to engaged in illicit land transaction and implications on peasants’ livelihood will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

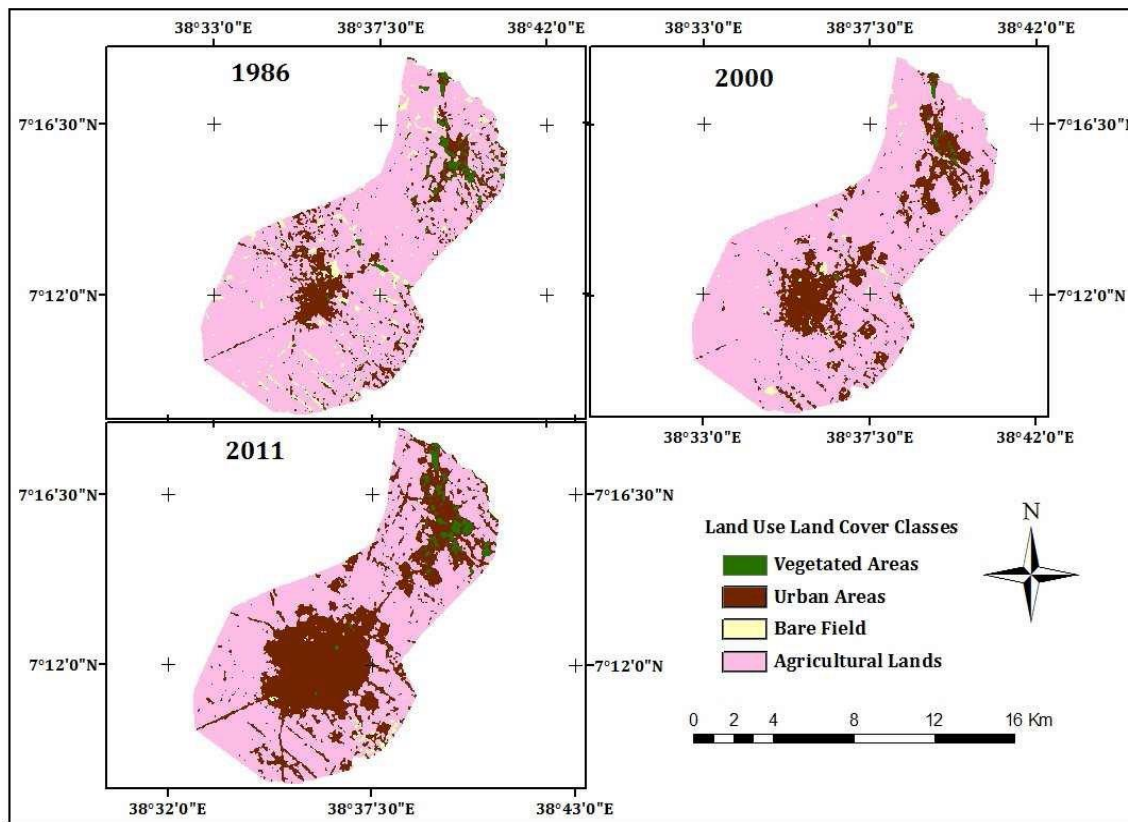
4.5. Urbanization and the rate of Horizontal expansion of Shashemene City

The foundation of Shashemene goes back to nearly a century ago. The town quickly became one of the most important trading centers due to: (1)its location being strategically situated at crossroad to Southern, South Western and south Eastern Ethiopian regions; (2)the fact that it is surrounded by rural Woredas with huge population and high agricultural potential; (3) its moderate climatic condition together with the existence of relative peace throughout its history⁶⁸; (4)the hospitality of the Arsii community have created a very conducive environment to attract

⁶⁷. In contrast to the imperial regime of Ethiopia, both the current and the military governments outlawed any land sale or transaction. Thus, in both regimes land sale was/is largely carried out illicitly without legal recognition or administrative approval.

⁶⁸.According to my informants Shashemene city has been well known by ispeace, tolerance and peaceful co-existence of its diverse communities who came from different parts of Ethiopia and occupied the lion share of the City’s demography for longer period with the exception of the current politically motivated crisis. For further see also (Bjeren 1985;Alula etal2005).

large number of immigrants from across the country mainly from the neighboring densely populated SNNPR Zones such as Wolyta, Hadiya, Gurage, Kembata and Silte; (5) the existence of different tourist attraction sites (Langano, Abjata-Shalla, Wondogenet and Hawassa) added its value to be one of best favorite cities. Finally, the establishment of West Arsi Zone in 2005/6 by making its political seat in the city and the subsequent mushrooming of different government and private institutions (Banks, Educational institutions)⁶⁹ has highly contributed for the current growth and status of Shshemene city. Thus, this section attempts to present the rate of physical enlargement of the city across time with the support of satellite images that collected from 5 MA thesis' and Journal articles. First let's look at (Genemo's 2012) satellite based image analysis.



Map 2: Source: Genemo 2012

As the above map clearly indicates, in 1986 Shashemene constituted a tiny settlement and limited to what is now the city center that surrounded by agricultural land. In 2000, 14 years later, more land was occupied by urban settlement mainly in the two study kebeles and around

⁶⁹.See Chapter three

Kuyera. Then, 11 years later agricultural lands in the study kebeles were dominated by unplanned urban settlements due to developments that took place since 2005/2006. Construction of residential, mixed use and commercial structures has led the urban growth mainly towards Awasho kebel and to some extent in to Didaboke kebele. According to Genemo2011in 1986 only 1977 hectares of land was occupied by urban settlement. This figure dramatically shot up in to 2677 hectares of land in 2000 and 4329 hectares of land in 2011.Hear,the rate of urban settlement in the city increased by 700 hundreds hectare of land between 1986 and 2000, and then1652 hectares between 2000-2011periodswhich is more than double to the previous period growth. The same source revealed that the built-up area of the town increased by 73% in 2011 compared to the figure in 1986(Genemo 2012:38-66).

On the other hand, research carried out by (Tarekegn and Molla Maru 2018) also attempted to assess the Land Use Land Cover trend and the rate of Shashemene city urban expansion from 1973 – 2016. They also divided their study in to two periods, that is, from1973-2000 and 2000-2016. They concluded that:

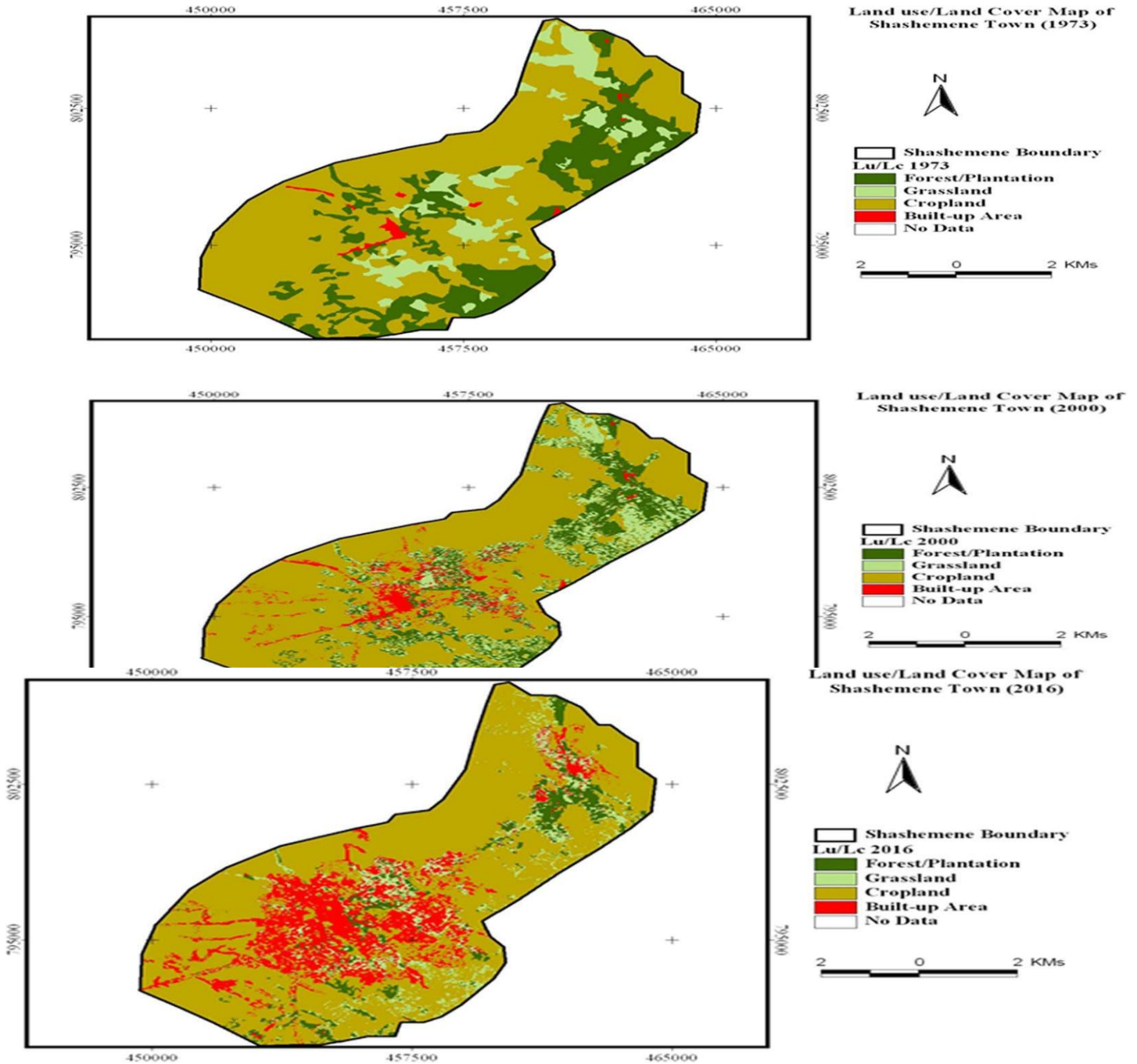
...crop land and grass land had dominated the land use in 1973 with very few built up areas, plantation and forestland. In 2000 plantation was tremendously expanded and crop land was considerably reduced. In 2016 built up area was extremely enlarged, crop land was almost disappeared (Ibid 2018:750)

As depicted in the map on page 56 hear below, in 1973 there was a very shallow settlement area in the city where, according to some of my elderly informants, all residents of Shashemene knew one another. The next 27 years (up to year 2000) had shown drastic expansion of the city as indicated by Genemo’s research. There was significant increment in the built up areas at the expense of crop and forest lands. But between 2000 and 2016, the city’s built up area growth has been absolutely incomparable to the previous period due to the factors that mentioned earlier. In this period the city has been expanding in all directions mainly to Shashemene- Kofele and Shashemene- Hwassa and Sashemene- Wondo directions.

To conclude this chapter ,as discussed earlier Shashemene has been exhibiting an alarming rate of horizontal unplanned urban expansion at the expense of suburb farmlands that has incurring huge implication on farmers’ way of life, the city administration and its informal dwellers. Farmers have engaged in seemingly unstoppable illicit land sell because they are forced to do so bypast and present defective land tenure arrangement and weak law enforcement experiences.

N.B. there is a slight data difference between Genemo's and the above two researchers
Data on the rate of land conversion especially after 2000

Map 3 -5. Land use Land Cover in 1973,2000 and 2016 in Shahsemene
Source: Tarekegn and Mollamaru (2018)



Chapter Five

Factors for Informal Land Transactions and Informal House Construction and Its Outcomes

Introduction

This chapter attempts to present results of FGD, informal interview and individual case studies on factors that have been leading to illicit land transaction and unplanned urban settlement and their results on farmers life in Shashemene city. Thus, the chapter is divided in to three major sub-topics in which the first section discusses causes that have been pushing farmers to engage in legally unauthorized land transaction in detail. The second part attempts to give a brief overview on the process of land transaction actors in such process. The final part presents major outcomes of informal land transaction and house construction on the peri-urban peasants' life.

5.1. Factors that lead Informal Land Transaction

Based on information obtained from FGD, individual case studies, my own close observation of the study area five years ago and currently for data gathering⁷⁰, there is not only active but also large scale informal land transaction. This has been leading farmers in the study Kebeles to sell their farm land and gradually to switch agricultural as a way of life. Thus, here after attempt will be made to depict the root causes which are leading local farmers to rush in losing not only their very essential asset but also an asset that has far reaching socio-cultural and emotional attachment in the study area. Informal settlement seems to have gone out of control. According to one of my informants⁷¹, the unplanned section of Shashemene city covered the largest proportion of the city's total built up area.

Factors for the framers selling their farm land in the study area are many and very complex. The root cause for it mainly related to government defective policy and administrative directives that pushed farmers to feel high tenure insecurity. Other deriving factors include: small land holding size and its economic unavailability, the ever increasing price of agricultural inputs that mak it difficult for farmers to engage in agriculture, family, friend and middle men pressure on the land

⁷⁰.I was the resident of Shahsemne city at suburb but formally planned part of Didaboke Kebele. At that time when I started living there, my immediate neighborhood was agricultural land with only a few numbers of informal houses. However, on day by day basis, I witnessed mass conversion of such agricultural land through informal land transaction and house construction in to all direction. Now, the informal settlement has stretched deep in to the neighboring rural kebeles' and former agricultural lands have been converted in to informal urban settlement sites.

⁷¹ .He is a lecture at Hawassa University who built his own informal home at Awasho-Subcity .

holder to sell their land, and desire to change livelihood sources. I discuss these factors in detail in the subsequent sub-sections.

5.1.1. Arbitrary Land Expropriation and Unfair Compensation

Sheshemene has entered in to an important historic juncture in 2005/6 fiscal year due to some important events that have dramatically changed the status of the city. Since then, Shashemene has been exhibiting historic spatial expansion which created huge pressure on its suburb peasants' farmland and their livelihood status. The first development was the establishment of West-Arsi zonal administration by making the city its zonal capital. Subsequently, the city administration had expropriated large tracts of farmers land and allocated it to residential, commercial and other purposes. This development was followed by the introduction of nationwide Integrated Housing Development Program in 2005/6 which also led to the expropriation of peasants land (FGD Discussants).

Thirdly, the above events were accompanied by the 2005 highly controversial national election in which the ruling party generously granted urban land for its loyal members and supporters to garner political allegiance in the course and in the aftermath of that election. Accordingly, these developments have had their own enormous implications in evicting peasants from their land either by government with meager compensation rate or by their free will for fear of the takeover of their land as their fellow farmers who lost their land by government expropriation (FGD Participants).

According to research participants, the city administration had carried out symbolic public participation and consultation. However, there were subversions, intimidations and mischiefs in the process. Peasants who were called for consultation out rightly rejected the dispossession of their land for the sake of presumed development that has no direct positive impact on their life. After failure of repeated attempt to persuade farmers, officials changed their tactic in which they convinced the public to elect their representative that could negotiate with the government on their behalf on how to proceed. Then the public agreed and selected their representative to negotiate on behalf of them. However, the town administration reached consensus with farmers' representatives by providing false promises, which have never been fulfilled, that the government has different projects to employ farmers and their children who will lose their land

due to urban expansion and development projects. It should be noted that initially some of farmers who were lost their land got temporary employment opportunity in Integrated Housing Development Program as guards and daily laborer, which cannot compensate the value of their land . In this regard a participant among FGD members remarked that:

...we were told that there will be better employment opportunities in the near future that can compensate the loss of our farmland .But in the past 14 years there was no single project, program or incentives that we have seen. They took our land with such false promises and gave us the price that cannot buy [soggidaa] or salt and dropped us as [Kossii] or garbage and gave our land for the haves, government officials and employees. We have been witnessing the construction of very luxuries villas and buildings on our land in which we even unable to be employed as a guard...

5.1.2. Dwindling Land Size, Low Yield and High Agricultural Inputs Price

Despite government expropriation is the main deriving factor for increasing illicit land sale in the study area, other factors like the prevalence of minuscule land holding size according to informants is another factor that forcing peasants to sale their land. West Arsii's population is well above regional average density. The Zone has the highest population density among other zones of Oromia region (74 persons per km).According to the 2007 census, zonal population density is 152.8 persons per km², ranging from 44.2 persons per km² in Nensabo district to 257.8 persons per km² for Kofale district (West Arsii Socio-economic profile, 2008E.C). Polygamy is a common cultural practice and there is large family size among farmers surrounding Shashemene city⁷² which leads the sub-division of land for sons and in a rare cases for daughters⁷³ which has been causing land fragmentation⁷⁴, landlessness, and dispute over existing plot of land. Subsequently land is becoming economically unviable in the context of farming based livelihood. Thus selling of existing small plots of land is becoming a growing trend for the surrounding farmers.

Moreover, low yield due to repeated plowing of land and high cost of agricultural inputs are other factors that lead /is leading peasants to switch agriculture and then sale of their land.

⁷². One participant of FGD forthis thesis is the father of 36 children with polygamous marriage

⁷³. For furtherSee Mamo,2005 and Hussein,2010

⁷⁴ . Many argued that the ever increasing land fragmentation is becoming one of contributing factor that scaling back Ethiopia's economic transformation. Figurative data in this regard has revealed the existence of far below subsistent farm land size across the country.About 55.7 percent of the farming households in the country cultivate less than 0.5 hectares and about 80 percent of the farmers cultivate less than 1 hectare. Only 4.1 percent of the farmers own more than 2 hectares of land. The average size of holding is 0.81 hectare. (See CSA, 2003 Part I, Page 91-93 in Getnet and Mhreteab2010 ;Daniel2012;Desaleng2016).

According to informants in FGD and individual interview session agricultural inputs such as seeds, chemical fertilizer, insecticide and pesticide plus labor cost are sky rocketing on annual basis. For example, in the FGD and individual interview, discussants disclosed that 12kg of maize is sold by 750ETB from government improved seed supplying agency and the same amount of maize by 1200 from private individuals. Moreover, informants claimed that they have been experiencing production failure when they re-sow improved seeds. If their claim is scientifically proven, practically, it could pose greater danger for the nation and its predominant economic sector that support the life of more than its 80 percent of population. In general, the price of fertilizer, pesticides, labor and “improved seed” is going up and becoming one of the discouraging factors for farmers to distance themselves from agriculture as livelihood source.

5.1.3. Covering Expense: Marriage and Oversea Migration

Marriage is a highly valued and respected socio-cultural practice among the Arsii Oromo. There are different types of marriage within Arsii communities such as *Gabbara*, *Walgara*, *Buta*, *Bimbeto*, *Hawata* and *Adda Baan* (Hirut, 2002). Of which the first one is economically highly demanding in that it involves the transfer of different assets such as cattle, honey, money and traditional and modern clothes and blankets. In such process, according to FGD discussants, marriage is not only the matter of the two marrying individuals and their parents but also closest families and in some extent the clan too. According to Hirut(2002), *Gabara* is a marriage through the transfer of wealth in the form of cash and in kind. In kind asset payment includes cattle in which the number of cattle varied from few heads to hundred heads of cattle depending on the capacity and wealth of the intermarrying group.

The amount of a *gbara* (bride wealth) has been increasing over time. Nowadays, cattle exchange has been replaced by other kind of assets such as motorbike nearer to the town areas and giving a share of urban land in the form of bride wealth. FGD discussants reported that *Gabara* (bride wealth) and the marriage ceremony are now demanding more than 100 thousand ETB. FGD participants claimed that when the land was abundant and people usually owned many heads of cattle, it was easy for people to cover a bride wealth because there was strong tradition of support in time of marriage among family and clan members. They complained that their culture of mutual support has been affected by urban induced problems and demographic pressure that

forcing some farmers to sale their land to cover marriage expenditures. One FGD participant rightly stated how *Gabara* is becoming unaffordable for sub-urban communities as:

*...when I married 20 years ago, I got cattle gift from my family and clan members to transfer the **gabara** to my wife's family. At that time the price of cattle was cheap that you could buy a cow for not to more than 1000 ETB. Now, it is unthinkable to get an equivalent size of cattle by same amount. The price now is 10 -15 times higher compared to when I married. Thus, it is becoming one of the reasons that forcing some families to sale their land to cover Gabara-related expenses ...*

Secondly, Shashemene city and its surrounding areas have been experiencing high unemployment rate that is above the national average (CSA2012;Shashemene City socio-economic profile2010). Migration to oversee has a sword edge out come in exacerbating informal land transaction in the city. First, youths in the study area actively looking for migrating in to Middle Eastern states and elsewhere in search of their fortune. Sending daughters abroad is viewed by parents as an exit mechanism and way out from poverty. Thus, sending young girls to Middle Eastern states, similar to other part of Ethiopia, is becoming a growing trend in the community. Therefore, according to my informants covering costs for sending daughters overseas is another reason that encourages some parents to sell a portion of their portion land. Secondly, those migrant to Middle Eastern state sent remittance for their families and families in turn invest the money by buying informal land to build unplanned homes in sub-urban areas of Shashemene. In this regard, migrants of neighboring Wored as have actively been involving in informal land transaction and house construction to secure their urban home within the city.

5.1.4. Neighborhood, Middle Men and Land Speculators Influence

According to informants some individuals are encouraged or pushed to sell their land by seeing and hearing the amount of money earned by their neighbors by selling their land. They also witness some wise individuals re-investing the money they earned by selling land on income generating business activities such as Bajaj, minibuses, building house for renting and their participation on other business transactions. As stated earlier, their small and fragmented land size is far from accommodating the diverse needs and expenditures awaiting them. Moreover, the skyrocketing prices of agricultural inputs as well as the current relatively attractive land price offered by speculators and informal home seekers who visit the doors of farmers through local “*Delalas*” are encouraging peasants to sell their lands. For instant though the price of land

differ from one location to another based on locational advantage to roads, market centers, mosques etc ,1m² land is being sold on average from 800 minimum to 3000 maximum ETB in Shashemene city.

Overall, there is an active land sell in Shashemene. As the price of land is going up across time in and around the city, farmers, land speculators, low and middle class families are buying and re-selling land and informal houses without the reach of legal and administrative institutions. Thus, land in Shashemene and its suburb as well as neighboring woredas is increasingly subjected for sell without any regulation from governing institutions.

5.2. The Process, Rate and Kind of Compensation in Shahsemene

Though the country's supreme law (FDRE 1995: art.40) and expropriation proclamation (proc. 455/2005:art.7) guaranteed corresponding amount of compensation for those who lose their property for public purposes, research works cited in this thesis revealed that farmers were not treated as per the country's constitutional and legal provisions(see Jemal2019;Gondo Undated; Yewoineshet2007;Tamirat2016;Beka 2016;Achamyeleh 2015) Farmers in different cities were either compensated with lowest market price or totally unpaid for the property they were dispossessed of (see Sisha 2011 and Ajanaw 2019 Mekele and Fresenbet cities respectively). Though the compensation experience of Shashemene city was seems better compared to some of towns and cities mentioned above (Sisha 2011and Ajanaw 2019) the amount of compensation has been affecting farmers disproportionately.

According to FGD participants the city's municipality provided 500m² and 140m²-200m²⁷⁵land to house hold heads and their 18 and above years old children respectively. In terms of cash payments, the town also had followed basic tenets of the proclamation but was extremely below market price. The cash payment was calculated based on the amount of products that farmers obtained from land per a year and multiplied by the price of 10 years production plus land compensation per m². To make it clear, the process worked as follows:

⁷⁵.The size of land which was given to Children who reached legal age varied from kebele to kebeles and time to time.Forinstance, in Didaboke kebele children were given200m²whreas in Bulchana and kebel 10 the land sizegiventto children was140m².

1. For instance, one hectare of land is assumed to produce 10 quintal of wheat in a year
 2. The law says peasants should get compensation rate equals to 10 consecutive years of the same amount of production
 3. If current price of 1 quintal of wheat is equals to 500 ETB, therefore, the farmer is expected to be compensated in cash $10 \times 10 \times 500$ equals to 50,000 ETB for one hectare of land
 4. The municipality offered land compensation payment of 4.5 ETB /per $1m^2$ land i.e.
- If the land is one hectare it is calculated $10000m^2$ multiplied by 4.5,7,12 ETB m^2 land in 2005, 2006 and 2007 a / respectively.

Thus, hypothetically if Mr. Kebede's one hectare land was expropriated ,he was given $500m^2$ to build his residential house, plus if he had children who reached legal age he/she/they too had received $140m^2$ land to build his/her/their dwelling house and the head of the household was compensated in cash 50000 (fifty thousand ETB)for production cost and additional 45,000(Forty five thousand ETB) for land compensation that he is going to lose minus tax deduction. However, his/her children who are bellow legal age were not entitled to land grant or cash payment. The FGD participants complained that the compensation process was unfair and full of fraud. They quoted their land was expropriated from them arbitrarily and were given the money that was neither sufficient to cover their food expenditure nor to build their residential homes.

FGD participants claimed that most farmers who were subjected to government expropriation in Shashemene had disproportionately affected by the compensation process thereby failed to cope up with many of life challenges after the loss of their land and forced to resell the land that they received to build a home. Though there was a covert land sale in Shashemene and surrounding areas as explained earlier, the above mentioned chain of recent events, the subsequent large scale land expropriation with insufficient compensation, and challenges that farmers had faced after the loss of their land served as an excellent lessons for other peasants whose lands is not yet expropriated. Thus, they encouraged to take anticipatory measure in order to minimize risks they could face due to the future loss of their farm land by government expropriation. Thus, they engaged in selling their farmland to anyone who offered a better price compared to what they would get if their land is expropriated by government.

Farmers' decision is based on the conviction that their land would eventually be expropriated by the government with the lowest compensation price. Thus, they viewed selling their land would help them from facing the same socio-economic and psychological challenges that their fellow farmers whose land was unfairly expropriated. It is in this context that large tracts of farmland, within the city and in adjoining areas have been converted in to unplanned urban settlement area. According to FGD participants, government policy and land expropriation is one of the most root cause that leading to informal sale of peasant land and the mushrooming of informal houses in Shashemene city.

5.3. The Process of Existing Informal Land Transaction and House Construction and Its Participants

Although informal land transaction and house construction is not a recent phenomenon⁷⁶, it is more intensified following chains of developments in Shashemene as mentioned earlier. Since then, several thousands of hectares of agricultural land have been converted in to residential houses and the practice is still continuing at alarming rate. For example, in 2000 the total settlement area based on Genemo's (2011) satellite based data was 2677 hectares of land. However, urban settlement area grew to 4329 hectares of land in 2011. The city registered nearly double horizontal expansion in its 100 years history within eleven years.

With regards to major players of informal land transaction and house construction, Teachers (for example three of research respondents were teachers of which two are University lecturers one from Hawassa university the other from Dilla university and one is female private school teacher), government employees, officials, individuals who engaged in small scale trade, land speculators, diaspora groups mainly those who came from Gulf States, residents of the neighboring woredas who are looking for urban house for the sake of their children education or other objectives as well as residents of Hawassa who unable to afford to pay the soaring residential home price there are major groups who involved in the informal land transaction in Shashemene. These groups come to the doors of farmers in search of land with the help of local 'delalas', who served as middle men between the buyer and the sellers and help the two sides to renegotiate based on the current land price.

⁷⁶ .see Hussein 2010

5.3.1. Contents and Intents of land Transaction Agreement

With the help of local *delalas* both buyers and sellers have to negotiate on the amount of money and the sustainability of the agreement on written document what is called locally (*yemender wul*) meaning local agreement that has no legal backing on the land sale. In this process, Land buyers and sellers pretending as if they are not buying or selling land rather a home in which land sale clause is deliberately omitted in written agreement because there is a wider understanding between land transacting parties as land sale has no legal ground in both national and regional legal provisions. They consciously omit land sale clause instead inserted house sale phrase in the written document. Thus, transacting parties prepared written document that must be signed by the head of the household⁷⁷ and his wife/wives and his children if they are above 18 years old plus witnesses who represent both buyers and sellers. This is because the buyer wants to avoid legal claim or dispute by the wife/wives and his children.

5.3.2. The Current Informal Land Price in Shashemene City

As stated earlier, land price is soaring from time to time as a result of the above listed occurrences in Shashemene and due to urban land lease proclamation 721/2011 which effectively sealed off lower and middle class families access to urban land and residential houses like many of Ethiopian cities. Competing for lease auction for land is becoming difficult for the above groups who are forced to search informal peasant land in urban neighborhoods which is by far cheaper than that of formal lease price auctioned by urban municipality to build their residential homes⁷⁸ and others like land speculators, officials and business men with the aim of expanding their profit fortune by actively engaging in informal land transaction.

With regards to the rate of peasants informal land price per 1m² currently, buyers of land expected to pay on average from lowest 800ETB to highest 3000ETB. Then, they are expected to negotiate with local officials often the chairperson of Kebele, Got⁷⁹ leaders and security guards to build their home on the land they bought. These groups usually requested 6000 to 20 thousand

⁷⁷ .According to Mamo, 2014; Qashu, 2016, most of house hold decisions are made by male in the study area.

⁷⁸ .According to my informants who is an active land speculator in the city, initially the lease price was cheaper in Shashemene but across years it became too unaffordable for lower and middle class families. The price in recent years floated for lease auctions on average wa 5000-10000ETB/1m².

⁷⁹ .Got is the lowest (village) level of government structure which lack constitutional basis but introduced by the EPRDF led government for effective control and mobilization of grass root communities to achieve its political and other goals.

ETB. Buyers may not be successful by doing so. They could face additional cost in the places where the urban administration has de-facto jurisdiction i.e. they are expected to pay the same or more amount of money for urban kebele chair-person and his subordinate officials.

5.3.3. “*Untubaa*” an Emerging Trend on Land Transaction

The word *untubaa*, is a word and a metaphor in ‘Oromifaa’ to explain many social aspects or realities. For instance, when an individual says ‘*untubaa*’*koo Jiiggee*’ to mean my, ‘bread winner, source of hope, security or protection died, disappeared or vanished.’ The word ‘*untubaa*’ literally means ‘umbilical cord’, ‘pillar’, ‘foundation’ or basement. In relation to land sale in the study area, it means payment for the land on which individuals or social life depend on or the payment for the land in which one’s own placenta is buried that has great historical, socio- cultural and economic value for individual who is going to sale or lose it. This is a newly emerging trend and is becoming a culture in which sellers of land often demanding extra money that is not included in written agreement but explicitly well-known by buyers and sellers before the former build a house on the land that he/she bought from the latter.

The amount of payment in cash and the request for ‘*untubaa*’ payment are not uniform and varied from one individual seller to another. Some religiously and culturally conservative individuals may not demand the payment on the ground that it considered as “breaking agreement or promise which is “Haram” for them. However, across time and due to the problem that farmer has been facing, “*untubaa*’ payment is becoming a well-established tradition and mandatory practice in order to give for buyer of the land a green light land to build his residential houses. Unless informal land buyer fulfills that payment in advance, it is difficult and even impossible for him/her to build a house. This is because: first land transaction is null and void on both national and regional legal provision which placed exactly the buyer under the mercy of the farmer who sold the land. Second, the written and signed transaction agreement usually concluded on the house which is not found on the ground. Thirdly, failure to pay that ‘*untubaa*’ payment means breaking local norms and rules which could eliminate the possibility of the new

comer to establish good social relation not only with the seller but also his associates, family and clan members⁸⁰ .

The amount of payment for ‘*untubaa*’ varied from place to place and individual to individual due to sellers and their associates good will and locational advantage. But according to informants, it ranges from 5000 ETB minimum to 20,000ETB maximum. Though, some of the buyers are not happy on ‘*untubaa*’ payment in which existing practice forced them to buy the land twice, according FG discussants, “*untubaa*” has its own positive aspects for the buyer of land. First, if the buyer pay willingly without displeasing the farmer and his associates, it would be easy for the buyer to build his houses with no of obstacles. The owner of the land becomes a *defacto* home builder and facilitates the quick construction of buyer’s home by negotiating with farmers association officials who have no legal right to restrict the farmer not to build a house in his own land. Secondly, “*untubaa*” payment served as a test for the newcomer to be part of the community, good neighbor and a man who respect local societal rules and values. Those who fulfill this commitment, they have a chance to live in peace and harmony and become part of the society but not member of the clan. Failure to do so for the buyer of informal land will leads him in to socio-legal challenges .

5.3.4. The Role of Local Officials in Urban House Informality

Widespread corruption and irregularities is the typical manifestation of Ethiopia’s political economy under EPRDF administration. Of the various sectors, land is one of the most vulnerable areas for corruption. It has become a short cut path and quick means of prosperity for officials, municipal engineers, ruling party cadres, military officials and land speculators⁸¹. Cities and towns in Oromia region around the capital which is the backbone of the country’s economy and investment activities are not indifferent position with regards to corruption. Due to corruption and deliberate eviction⁸² of peasants in cities around Addis Ababa or ‘Finfine Zuria’, there were

⁸⁰.In Arsiis’ settlement pattern is based on family and clan lines in which members of the same family or clan live together in defined territory. For further see Hussein,2010;Mamo,2005

⁸¹ . Professor Merera who is one of the Ethiopia’s renewed political scientist and leader of opposition party in the 2010 political parties’ debate accused the ruling EPRDF party leadership for deliberately creating its own wealthy class by mismanaging Ethiopia’s scarce resources. Many of research finding in this regard consistent with his bold claims in which the ruling party has had favored its circles and affiliates to prosper themselves but dragging the nation in to unreachable social and income gaps and then in to socio-economic crisis. For further see Solomon Niguse,2005;Paulos Chane,2007;Linda Synder,2014; Elias, 2014; Achamyelah,2014;Daniel,2012 etc .

⁸² .In series of interview episodes that broadcasted by FANA Television at the closing months of 2012 E.C focused on the EPRDF era mismanagement, corruption, subversion and divide and rule policies, one of the former TPLF Intelligence

series of mass demonstrations, widespread public anger, and discontent that became one of the causes for the downfall of TPLF dictated EPRDF⁸³ coalition government two years ago.

Similar to other Ethiopian cities and towns, there has been active corruption case in Shashemene too. The above stakeholders (kebele officials, municipality engineers, land middle and speculators) were and are major beneficiaries of urban development process in the city. Though Kebele officials have no direct role during informal land transaction process, they are major agents for the expansion of informal house construction in the city. A single house cannot be built in the absence of their consent. When the informal land buyer started to build a house, his plot is immediately surrounded by the above groups with the help of local informer who passes information. Then, they instructed informal land owner to stop building his house. However, seller of land, the middle men and others intervene to negotiate informal land owner with local officials.

The negotiation process is called '*Gaddii Qabaa or Gaddii Ta'aa*' which literally means please sit down and let discuss and take your own share. Thus, the buyer expected to give money for kebele officials like chairperson of farmers association, his cabinet members, and local militias and got leaders. As stated earlier, bribing the above officials may not be sufficient for the plot that the city administration has a *de facto* claim in which informal land owner expected to do the same for sub-city officials.

5.4. Outcomes of Urban House Informality on Peasants

Shashemene is growing dramatically beyond many peoples' expectation. Prior to the establishment of West Arsi zone, the implementation of IHDP in Shshemene and the subsequent controversial lease policy proclamation (proc.721/2011), a large section of the town currently occupied by the town's urban settlement and business centers were agricultural fields where such crops as maize, Teff, bean and potato were grown by local farmers. There were /are other contributing factors that led /leading an alarming rate of planned and unplanned horizontal

officer(Laelay Reda) claimed that since 2005 controversial national election, the TPLF lead government had adopted 'killing two birds in one stone,' to refer depopulating old settlement areas of Addis Ababa in the name of urban renewal program and then re-settling such areas by party affiliates by building luxuries apartments ,business centers and condominium houses as well as evicting Oromo peasants who surrounding Addis-Ababa by launching an integrated master plan that connecting Addis Ababa with Finfiine Zuria towns and cities of Oromia region. See also Gebre,2008

⁸³ .See the above foot note

expansion of the town in all directions that discussed in chapter three and four plus the availability of cheap land, renting house and livelihood accommodations in Shashemene compared to Hawasaa that make the city to be favored by diverse groups including government employees who are working in Hawassa but dwelling in Shashemene.

Now, it is rare to find free space or agricultural fields in all directions of the city except along Shshemene to Addis Ababa main road. Now the city is stretching in the south to Toga (Approximately 11 km where the military camp is found), in the NE east up to the mouth of Sole river and SE to the nearby areas of Abaro Mountain and Bambaa (the place where communal pipe water point for rural society is found) along Shshemene Wondo road. In SW informal houses went deep in to Agricultural fields along Shahsemene –Halaba –Arbamicnch road.

When look data presented (e.g, Genemo 2012, and Tarekegn and Molla 2018)⁸⁴ urban built up area in 1986 was 1977 ha that account to 15 percent of the town total land .This figure jumped to 2677 ha in 2000 and 4329ha in 2011, which means that Shashemene’s built up area grew by nearly double between 2000-2011 or in percentage +34% and +117 percent between 1986-2000 and 2000-2011 respectively. In the study Kebeles of Idola Burka and Awasho-Dhanku, based on the 2007 census, there were 362 and 890 households with the total population of 2,075 and 4450 respectively. Based on the 2011 population projection of the same two kebeles there were 449 and 1,104 households with the total population of 2,573 and 5,518 respectively. Thus, horizontal expansion of the city has brought either positive or negative impact on the life of more than 8091 farming families.

Urban expansion and the subsequent sale of land in Peri- urban area has an enormous and multifaceted unintended negative outcomes on farmers life. In both FGD and affected individual interview, discussants raised that selling land was/is not in their best interest rather they have been forced to sell their land as a result of the combination of factors which listed above. Whilst there are some success stories among farmers who sold their land and engaged in business with all of its risks, losing their generational reproductive asset is very painful and regrettable for most of discussants. The level of negative implication that farmers have been facing varied from individual to individuals. Those individuals whose lands are expropriated by government and

⁸⁴ .There is slight variations on data presented by the above research works. For instance

were given 500m² to build their houses with a very low financial compensation payment are the most who have had been experiencing multitude of challenges and are forced to detached from farming.

The above categories of farmers were given neither agricultural land nor sufficient financial compensation to engage in another livelihood alternatives. The received financial compensation, according to research informants was not sufficient to build “rural hats” let alone urban houses. Thus, most of them forced to re-sell their formally granted land and buy informal land from nearby peasants for shelter. Then, they forced repeatedly to sell their informally bought land and home and retreated deep in to rural areas when they failed to withstand livelihood challenges. In such process, some of ex- farmers unable to adopt difficulties and then became homeless by selling their last belongings and shelters.

The second category of affected farmers were those who reside immediately with formally urban planned areas and were careful observers of what was happening on their immediate neighbors who lost their land by government expropriation. These categories of peasants rushed to sell their land before government taking the same measure on theme. Thus, they sold their land based on their free will as a result of increasing tenure insecurity awaiting them but they did that with the lowest market price (80 -120ETB/perm²). These groups too faced similar livelihood challenges with the above groups but retain at least their shelter within unplanned parts of the city.

The last groups of farmers are those who got a good lesson from the above groups and became late sellers of their land in a faraway part of formally planned urban areas. They sold/ have been selling the land at higher market price. Some of these groups of farmers got a chance to sell their land on good current price ranging from 800 to 3000 ETB per m², in based on locational advantages, and became capable of investing their money in productive assets such as buying farm land in the nearby PAs kebeles, Bajaj, business generating cars, building renting houses and opening shops, coffee and tea houses. In this regard, those farmers found along main roads are successful in both selling their land in relatively higher price and starting the above kinds of businesses.

The sale of land has produced enormous socio-cultural, economic and environmental implications in the study area. Economically, former farmers detached from farming related

engagement and all of its benefits. Now, those farmers who completely dispossessed and sold their land obliged to fulfill most of their diverse needs (from food items to fire wood) through purchasing from market and have nothing to sell in return as they did before. The steady growth and increment of food and other commodities price has been putting greater pressure and difficulties on them to fulfill their families' basic needs. Only few have been successful in converting their money in to productive assets and the majority spent the money for consumable goods and services. In relation to existing realities of peasants' life, one FGD participant clearly remarked that:

*...Our land was one of the most fertile and productive in which we were farming and harvesting three times annually. We sowed maize or potato on spring (belg) season, Wheat or Teff on summer (meher) season and then we were sowing potatoes or Bologee after harvesting **meher** products. We were harvesting abundant of products that fulfill our need for food consumption at home and sold surplus products on markets. While our land was in our hand, we only bought salt, sugar, cloth and agricultural tools and we never had experienced hunger or poverty but only heard about it. Thanks to God who gave us fertile land and good climate. Now, all of these have gone forever and we are forced to buy all our consumable foods, factory goods and fuel wood as well as other necessities from market in which their price is becoming too unaffordable for us. Thus, we have been facing the myriad of poverty, hunger even starvation and homelessness of which were not known before in our time.*

Selling land also has a great cultural implication on farmers. First, land in Arsii society is equated with human mother, naturally who gives and sacrifice for her children everything at her disposal. They have a proverb to explain this reality which read as **“Laftii waan nuulaattuu haati keenyaalee nuuf hin laattu”** meaning what mother land gives for humans cannot be even provided by own real mother. Secondly, land is equated with a wife to denote its productive and reproductive role. So, selling land culturally is a very bitter fact for the majority farmers who sold their ancestral plot in which their placenta was buried. In this regard, one of discussants in FGD mentioned or equated land sale with the sale of one's own wife and said **“Lafa gururuu jechuun haadhaa manaa ofii gurguruudha.”** This indicates how communities give bigger value for land but are forced to sale it despite their culture does not encourage them doing so. In relation to this (Hebo 2006: 37; Tolera 1997: 638 in Mamo2007:354) claimed that:

...Land sale is discouraged by Oromo customs as well. Traditionally, according Oromo customs, land is not a commodity for sale or transfer to non kin. .. Arsii elders claim that selling one's ancestral land—kosii abba uffii gurguru—is considered immoral, and if it occurs, it is a sign of 'disorder' in the family concerned.

Thus, the commoditization of land and the subsequent loss of one's own ancestral inheritance is culturally immoral and unacceptable. Secondly, when an individual has lost his land either based on his free will or government expropriation, he is not only losing land but also some of culturally and economically valuable assets like cattle, trees and medicinal plants. For instance, ownership of livestock among Arsii community is not only the matter of economic asset but it has also a socio-cultural values. Ownership of cattle, mainly cows, has enormous cultural value. Throughout my stay in the sub-urban part of Shashemene, I have never seen farming communities drinking a black coffee without mixing it with milk. In addition, in time of difficulties they used to sell livestock as an exit strategy from their difficulties. And selling milk and its byproducts is the source of income for majority of women in the study area as it is in other parts of Ethiopia. Moreover, cattle constitute major items of *Gabara* (bride wealth) in marriage ceremony. Thus, all these socio-cultural and economic values are lost whenever farmers lose their land. In connection to this (Mamo 2014) explained it as:

... Arsii Oromo in this region accord livestock, particularly cattle, with special value. This is expressed in their saying, ' horii malee hormaani hinjiru' ("there is no life without the possession of livestock"), which signifies the importance of livestock for both the livelihood and social status of individuals. Indeed, possession of livestock is an indicator of wealth and social prestige. Livestock are also used as objects of exchange to create social ties via marriage and mutual assistance and to resolve conflicts; they also serve key roles in rituals of various types. These functions render possession of and decisions regarding livestock vital in power relations between men and women...

Here, loss of land for peasant family means loss of socio-cultural benefits that are attached to it. When the land is gone as a result of sell or expropriation, the diverse livelihood sources associated with the land also evaporate together.

Socially, Arsiis' settlement pattern is based on kinship or clan in which the same clans occupied a defined territory and lived together in that specific settlement area⁸⁵. The expansion

⁸⁵ .See also Hussein,2010 and Mamo,2007

of Shashemene city and the subsequent land sell by peasants has led the displacement of some clan members from their previous settlement areas. Thus, they are forced to live in different sites which deprived members of clans to get immediate support from one another and led the distortion of traditional sense of security, belongingness and psychological support systems among clan members.

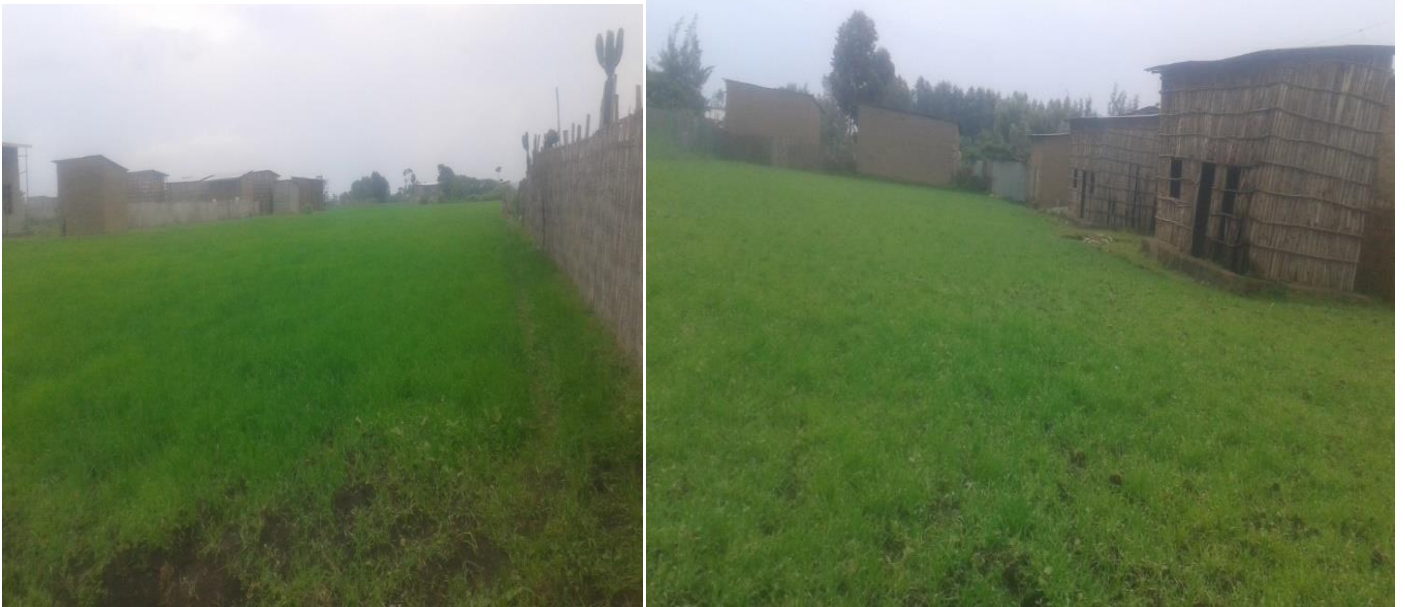
Hear, mong Arsii Oromos' exchange and reciprocity are the typical manifestations of social life in which people lend what they have upon different socio-cultural occasions such as marriage, loss of family members or in times of personally difficulties. For example, as explained earlier, marriage is a highly valued socio-cultural practice and its occasion in the study area demands huge resources in which the concerned families alone cannot afford to cover all expenditure without the support of broader kinship network and clan members. For today's poor and landless ex-peasants, it is difficult to engage in such social exchanges, thus leading them to be dropped out of their socio-cultural economic supporting system .One discussant in this regard strengthened this argument by articulating:

...when our land was in our hand, we used to helping each other in many of the life aspects. For instance, when I got married 20 years ago, many of my relatives and different individuals contributed for bide wealth and wedding expenditures by offering cattle, money, honey, butter and different crop items. I returned back for some of them what I received when my land was in my hand. But now, I have nothing either to give for such events or to return back gifts that I received for relatives and friends in the past. Failing to do so is painful, immoral and Saffuu!![moral and ethical codes not to be broken]

Furthermore, land sale has been creating a spillover effect on both peri-urban and neighboring woreda farming communities of Shashemene. Those peri-urban farmers who sell their land on comparably better price in the urban fringe turned their focus to the neighboring communities to buy farmlands with the lesser cost to ensure their subsistence. Thus the effect of informal land transaction is continue not only affecting peri-urban farming communities but also other nearby farmers who are relatively far away from urban settings. In sum, Shashemene is expanding on daily basis at the expense of nearby farming lands and no government institution is attempting to control this unplanned and informal expansion in to all directions. In the process of large scale horizontal expansion of the city, farmers are the prime victims who are ultimately lost their

physical, cultural, symbolic and economic asset which is land, due to the above complex factors.

Fig.1. Informal houses deeper in peasants' agricultural land



Case Stud One on Affected Farmer

Mr. F. the father of four children who lived in Didabokeye kebele. He had six Golcha or one and half of hectare land in the place where the current 04 kebele Condominium House is found. He had no other skill or employment exposure rather than farming. He had received 67,000 (sixty seven thousand ETB) as a compensation for his expropriated land with 500m² in the outskirts of the same kebele. As of other farmer he did not get additional land for his children because none of his children were not reached legal age at the time of when his land was expropriated. He spend the money that he got as a compensation to construct home in the land that he was received to build his residential home and consumable goods and food items. However, the money that he received did not endure more than one year and then forced to sale half of his legally allocated land for house by 50,000 (fifty thousand ETB). Again he spend the money to cover home expenditures and his children educational expenditure. When the money was vanished in such expenditures he also again forced to sale the remaining land and house. Then he decided to buy informal land from farmers to construct his residential home out of planned area. As of previous trends, he was also forced to sell his formally built house and became homeless and totally landless. Now, he and his families obliged to become 'Tebaki' or keepers newly constructed homes of others individuals until the owners come and occupy them. Mr. F. regrettably remembered his previous life situation as a farmer and remarked that

"If I were aware of this could happened to me and my family 'I would prefer to die than letting my land to be the home of the haves by making me and my family landless and homeless. Now as you can see, I and my families are becoming homeless, jobless, landless and hopeless. When home owners finished their home, we are forced to search another newly constructed home and beg the owner to let us to keep his home. We are wondering from one home to another to get our shelter. It is sad to live such kind of life. I have nothing to inherit my children and they too have no bright future!!!"

Case Study on Success Story

Mr.E. was one of peri-urban peasants who had one hectare of land in Didaboke Kebele. He has completed 12 grade but failed to continue his territory education. He is married and the father of four. According to him, he was a close observant of what has been going on in Shashemene city at the end of 1990s and early 2000s E.C. in relation to land and peasants life. He got a very good lesson from those ex-peasants who were dispossessed of their land by the government paying them meager compensation, and those who rushed to sell their land for fear of impending expropriation. Since his land is situated a little bit far away from formally planned urban sites, he got a chance to evaluate and analyze existing situation and did not take immediate decision whether or not to sell his land. But, on the eve of 2007 E.C. national election, he began feeling that the government might engage in land expropriation as it did during the previous two elections in order to mobilize political support by giving land to its potential supporters. Then, he decided to sell his land to escape the worst possible scenario he might face similar to what his fellow farmers experienced. In the meantime he promised for himself that he would not to spend the money on consumable good but on productive assets that could generate income sustainably for his future life. In his own words

.... I had afirm conviction not to fell into the same problems that many of peasants have had been facing. You know what! There is newly emerging saying in our society i.e. 'land money is spent (consumed) like wind and straw fire' that cannot be deposited or converted in to wealth. But I want to change that societal view. Whenever, I sold 200 or 300m² lands, I build a house that can be rent for different purposes. For instance I built 12classes on 1000m² land which is now rented for private school. There are also other houses which I rent out. In general, I am leading better life compared to the life that I was leading as a farmer....

5.5. Current Livelihood Engagement of Land Dispossessed Peasants

As noted in different section of this thesis, ex-farmers are becoming vulnerable to multitude of socio-economic and cultural problems. The service and industrial sectors in the town are not well developed and existing infant manufacturing industries provided employment opportunity only for small number of individuals⁸⁶. Though financial institutions are booming in the town, it is difficult for affected peasants to compete for employment even as a guard in such institutions. To sustain and fulfill their and their families' basic needs ex- farmers resort to various options and coping strategies.

The traditional division of labor in which male engaged in the field work and women in home related activities now being changed and women too came out of their home and started small business in market day, going to the nearby forest to collect fire wood for both market and home consumption, even some of them engaged in as daily laborer. Adult men and youngsters and children forced to take part in different income acquisition activities that range from daily laborer, guard, shoe shining, illegal forest logging etc. Some youngsters both male and female have been route to migration to Middle East countries including to neighboring Sudan. Some have been engaged in Bajaj and horse cart driving.

One FGD participant explains how the city's expansion and the subsequent land dispossession have affected communities' livelihood status, culture and social wellbeing as:

...In the past, it was a taboo and never known for both Arsii women and men to work as a menial laborer, begging and theft, which were viewed as by majority as socially undesirable, antisocial norm and actions. But now go to semania-and, Abosto or Zeroand⁸⁷ where hundreds of our youngsters and adults, both men and women, standby looking for anyone who employ them as daily laborer in order to ensure their and their families daily subsistence needs. Beyond this, many of our teenage children are engaging in shoe shining to support their poverty stricken families... theft was unknown and was considered as socially immoral act among our Arsii community. But, today poverty and lack of means of livelihood existence forced some of our youngsters and even adults to engage in this act.

⁸⁶ . According to the 2010 EC Shashemene city socio economic profile report, unemployment problem is one of city's greatest development challenges in which the growing population is continue to be by far outpacing job creation. For instance in the 2009 and 2010 EC there were 44,692 and 41,695 unemployed people respectively.

⁸⁷ . Such sites are where large number of daily laborers stands by to look for daily job.

The existed traditional stable life and being proud of not to engage in menial laborer among the Arsii Oromos' in peri- urban area of Shashemene city's now has been evaporated. The loss of land and the subsequent loss of livelihood assets forced them to deal with such works as a means of sustaining life. Overall, those affected individuals because of land dispossession have been engaged in in different activities which are neither sufficient nor substitute different benefits and incomes that they lost together with their land. Consequently ex-farmers have very little or nothing to sell but have to pay for all their consumable food items, manufacturing products and other services. Thus, they have been facing enormous and multitude of challenges in the era of growing inflation in Ethiopia.

Chapter Six

Factors for Urban Dwellers Engagement in Informal Land Transaction, the State of Informal Settlements and Its outcome on Shashemene City

6.1. Causes that Push Informal House Owners to Participate in Informal Land Transaction and Major Outcomes

Ethiopia is increasingly heading towards urbanized way of life in which the country has been registering one of the fastest urban growths at global scale. Rapid population growth in the country's urban center is becoming a great burden for cities and towns administrations to satisfy the diverse needs of their residents. Housing is one of the most acute problems that many of Ethiopian urban centers have failed to provide for residents. Demand for residential houses is progressively growing but existing legal, policy and administrative directions have become prime bottlenecks in resolving existing high formal housing backlogs⁸⁸ in all over Ethiopia's urban centers.

It is fair to say, Shashemene's case is similar with other urban centers of Ethiopia that have been experiencing high population growth and the mushrooming of unplanned houses on daily basis. There are several factors that led poor people and government employees in desperate search of *cherqa* (informal) houses in the city. The first cause is related to the current urban land lease policy that not only narrowed but also sealed off lower and middle class families' chance access to formal land and residential houses. Secondly, Government sponsored housing program too is becoming unaffordable, and inaccessible for the large segment of Shashemen's urban population.

Thirdly, the price of existing smaller number of formal land and houses are beyond the capacity for participants of informal land and housing market. Here there are several factors for the dramatic rise of formal housing price in the city. Of which, as stated in chapter three, Shashemene has been becoming the hub of financial institutions. Such institutions contributed for the skyrocketing of formal house when they buy houses for their employees by higher price. Fourthly, an extremely tolerant trend by the city's administration has been encouraging people to buy informal land and construct *Cherqa* houses freely. In general, the government's ill

⁸⁸ .According to Professor Tegegne Gebre-Egziabher (Undated), there are more than 600,000 homeless children in the country's major cities of which 100000 of them lived in A.A. He further articulated that the country needs to build 290,000 houses per annum to keep up with the urban growth. Due to the existence of huge housing backlog in the years 2007/8-2013/14, 1,235,543 urban residents were registered for kebele house, condominium and plots.

articulated policy direction towards urban housing coupled with poverty, high rate of inflation, corruption, land speculation and weak regulatory measures have contributed for the expansion of informal houses in Shashemene and the city is becoming among one of the most frontline cities and towns of Ethiopia for informal land and housing transaction over the past decade. The following section discuss four individual case studies who are owners of informal house and land speculators in the study kebel.

Individual case studies on Informal House owners, Land speculators and Middleman

Case study 1

Mr.J is a lecturer at Hawassa University and was living there which is 25 Kilometers away from Shashemene with his 7 family members by renting a house. According to him, he was frustrated not only by the frequent rent increment but also house owners nagging of him and his family on daily basis that deprived his freedom, comfort and peace of mind to live under such condition. One of his sister in-law who served as house maid in one of Arab states sent him money to be kept in his hand until she returns to Ethiopia .Then, he and his wife decided to buy land and build their own house with the hope that they will return the money when she arrive. He then began contacting local '*land delalas*' (middle men) to search land to build house in Hawassa. However, City's land price at that time was beyond the money he had in his hand .One of his friends advised him to search land in Shashemene and gave him the contact number of middle men there and he begun the process. According to him, initially he was planning to buy land which has formal documents but the price of 200m2 was approached to one million in Awasho sub-city of Shashemene. Hence, he changed his mind to buy informal land in the same kebel. He found and bought 500m2 land by the price of 150.000ETB and built the house by following all the processes mentioned above and made a payment. He then started small scale dairy farm by buying additional land from peasants and has return back the money that he used to buy the land for his sister in law. Now, he has access to clean water, solar powered electric services that he bought it from Ethio-telecom. When I asked him about the issue of tenure insecurity on his home, though he is well aware of his homes is illegal under Ethiopia's current urbane tenure regimes, but he has a hope that his home could be regularize by the city administration because, according to him :

...You know what? Only 13 percent of Shashemene city homes have legal document and plan. Government cannot dare to evict 87 percent of the city's population which is not visible by any criteria. Look what would happen if the government tries to evict "chereka" houses as other cities of Ethiopia in Shashemene? My house is located 2.5.Km away from the formal settlement area and the informal settlement extends to one km away beyond my home. Imagine how many households are living in this 3.5.km radius? How many families are living in such houses? It could be tens of thousands! This is true throughout the four directions of the city. So, bulldozing informal houses in Shshesmene could have enormous socio-economic and politically repercussions...

Case Study two

Mr. J.S. is the nearby neighbor of the above case study. He had graduated from Addis Ababa University Department of Sociology in the 2018/19 academic calendar with MA degree. He has been working in the neighboring Arsii Zone Socio-economic office as a planner. He is the father of three kids and the sole bread winner of his family because his wife has no any income sources. According to him, he made all kind of efforts to get formal residential land including participation in lease auctions that floated by the city administration in different times but failed due to its high price and inaccessibility of formal land for individuals like him. Across time, the growing prices of all consumable goods and services plus house rent became too difficult to be covered by his subsistent salary. Thus, he told his brother, who is better off than him, about his living condition and asked him to do something in order to reduce at least burden of renting house by helping him to buy land informally. He succeeded in securing his brother's support to buy 250m² land with 150,000 ETB and build 45 iron sheet house. In contrast to the experience of Case One, he did not face such transaction costs as paying for '*Untubaa*' and corruption payment for kebel officials. This was due to the reason that he has lineage ties with the peasant who sold the land to him. Unlike Case One, his house has neither water supply nor electric services. Moreover, he feels insecurity on his home because it could be demolished if the city administration applied its master plan on the ground but not for the case of his house's informality. But for the time being he is relived from house rent and its associated problems. For tomorrow, according to him '*Sew endehonew ehonalew*' meaning he will accept (face) what would happen to other people who are living like him in informal homes. He, in one way or another is worried about the pace of Shashemene's expansion and the loss of surrounding fertile agricultural land. But he and the participant of the above case study agreed that informal land sale for farmers (who wisely and properly used the money) good to change their livelihood. He shows me one agricultural land that belongs to farmer in his neighboring and he told me how the farmer refused to sale 25000m² or a quarter of one hectare land by 1 million ETB.

NB. Ethiopian government employees have been receiving one of the lowest salaries which cannot go beyond subsistent expenditure. For example the above lecturer informally told me the amount of salary that he and other university lecturers have been receiving i.e. 11400 ETB that is equivalent to 308USD/month minus tax and pension deduction. This is equivalent to 3 days wage payment for advanced countries.

Case Study three

Mr.T is the father of eight from a monogamous marriage. He was a farmer and came to peri-urban area of Shashemene around 1990s by buying 700m² informal land from a farmer by 8000 ETB in kebele 04 behind Teklehaymanot Orthodox Church. In 1998 EC his land was expropriated by the city municipality and allocated to wealthy individual. Then, he was given some amount of money with 200m² land as a compensation in the periphery of Shshemene. He gradually entered in to brokering business and became more popular due to his familiarity with the area and being the member of nearby clan. He is also a member of the ruling party. Ten years ago, according to him, he had one hectare of land near Abaro Mountain. Gradually, he became a famous broker of land and house sale, facilitator for the construction of houses by mediating the informal land buyer and PAs officials (Chairperson and his subordinates), construction material suppliers and construction professionals. In all these processes, he demanded commission for the service he has been delivering. Thus, brokering has become lucrative business and way of life for him. He opened small shop and bought motorbike that served as a meeting point for those who want to sell and buy land and to transport his clients to land site respectively. Since then, he has bought informal lands from peasants by distress price and build houses in more than six areas for speculation, 2 hectares of farm land in another kebele and lend money for farmers in their difficult time in return of some benefit. He showed me all lands and houses that he bought while I was in the field for data collection. During our informal conversation, he was an ardent advocator of land sell by farmers by citing government's arbitrary overtake of farmers' land on absolutely lowest market price and some farmers success in improving their livelihood status after they sold their land. He informed me, like others during FGD and Individual case interview, the town administration has scale-up the amount of compensation per 1m² land from 5 to 12 and then 36 ETB in 1998, 2002 and currently respectively. However, farmers are now selling 1m² of land between 800 to 1200 ETB based on locational advantages.

He asked me a question: *have you seen the difference that the government could pay as compensation and the market actually offering to them? No reason or logic or force can stop farmers not to sell their land as long as the current government's unfair and unpopular practice continues to exist!!.*

With regards to farmers who are affected by selling land, according to him, most farmers livelihood status is improving through engagement in none farming activities but some farmers' improper and unwise utilization of the money is the main reason that led to their impoverishment.

Case four

Mr. N. joined one of the universities in the southern Ethiopia as student in the mid-1990s but couldn't complete his education. He was employed by the same university as student inspector in university's library and worked there for some years. Then, he came to Shashemene as resident. His good communication skill enabled him to establish a cordial relation with town officials, engineers, and business men in the town. He became a middle man to connect land speculators with town officials in charge of land allocation. Within a short period of time his life dramatically changed and entered in to 'land businesses. Since he came from central Oromia region, he has no social basis like the former individual case study but actively working with local 'Delalas' to facilitate land transaction. In addition to land, the implementation of IHDP led construction of condominium houses in Shashemene widened his horizon of speculative business to include condominium houses with the help of his relation with those working in IHDP. All his relations and involvements in patron-client relationship helped him to short cut path for wealth creation. Now, he has become a successful business man in which he managed to be the owner of different vast lands waiting for sale. Hotel and other businesses.



Pic.3. Informal House that built by Land speculator in Didaboke Kebele

The first two case studies clearly revealed how government employees have been forced to enter into illegal land transactions and thereby build their informal dwellings in unplanned areas due to the impossibility of either accessing or buying formal land because of its unreachable price to them and others who are low and middle class groups.

The next two cases are the typical examples of how land brokers, speculators and their associates in government structure become the prime groups who have been reaping substantial benefit from land allocation and informal land transaction processes in Shashemene mainly due to the EPRDF government's defective and paper value policy and legal directions that pushing, encouraging and forcing: First farmers to lose their lifelong and irreversible generational assets and then to face enormous socio-economic and cultural challenges with their family members. Second, urban poor and middleclass families enter into informal land transactions and unsecured informal houses and third, land speculators, brokers and officials to be rent seekers and illegal wealth accumulators.

6.2. The State of Informal Settlements in Shashemene City

This part of the discussion attempts to describe the general characteristics of informal houses, existence of infrastructures, social service institutions and land size occupied by informal house owners. The description is entirely based on personal observation and field notes taken during observations not only in the two of Kebeles that identified as research sites but also homes that found in all directions with the exception of NE part of Shashemene i.e. Alelu and Kuyera sub-cities.

6.2.1. Quality of Houses

Informal settlements in Ethiopia in most cases don't look like slums of Mumbai, Nairobi or Rio-dejenero as discussed in the review literature part as many studies on Ethiopian cities indicated (Jemal,2019).The same is true in Shashemene, though there is a great variation with regards to status of informal homes and business institutions based on nearness to the main-road, planned housing sites and services as well as the capacity of informal house owners. Homes along and nearer to major roads like Shashemene –Kofelle, Shashemene-Hawassa, Shashemene-Halaba-Arbaminch and Shashemene-Addis Ababa are mostly occupied by business institutions and in most cases built by using quality construction materials. In this regard, buildings along

Shashemene -Hawasa and Kofele roads are occupied by grain stores, business shops, factories, rich individual villa houses with a very vast compound, fuel stations and coffee and tea houses with no of passing roads up to hundreds of meters and most of them in such areas are categorized in to quality homes and business centers. See the following pictures



Fig.4.An example of informal house type at main road along Shashemene Kofele Road



Fig.5.Flour factory along Shashemene-Kofele Main road outside planned area of Shshemene city

On the other hand, behind such houses and business institutions there are mixed type of houses in which some of them are built using standard construction materials while majority are not. These residential houses commonly are characterized by relatively large compounds when compared to planned areas.

6.2.3. Infrastructure

There is a wide infrastructural gap among Shashemene unplanned settlement areas. Access to standardized roads with sewerage services, electricity, water pipe and telephone line are not yet developed. Inter-neighborhood passageways are very narrow and muddy in the rainy season which poses greater challenge for peoples, back animal carts and automobile movements'. Like the quality of houses, there is variation in this regard too. For instance, inter-neighborhood and villages passage roads in Awasho Kebele along kofele road, where the price of land is very high as stated earlier, are very narrow and don't fulfill formal village road standard. According to FGD and informal settler discussants, it is the duty of the farmers to grant land for roads. Thus, it appears that in places where the land price is high, there are very narrow inter villages and inter home passing roads. On other Kebles like Dida Boke and Bulchana, there are wider and standard roads that linking villages and informal settlers' homes. However, this is not the case for all informal settlement areas but all informal settlement areas lack sewerage infrastructures.

Electricity and telephone lines are unthinkable not only for informal houses of the town but also planned homes in newly formed villages in the past 10-12 years. This is the typical fact of all peripheral kebeles .In such villages only better off individuals and their associates have access to electric services and the rest both formal and informal households share electric service from those individuals. This is true for water service but water service is better than that of electricity because most of planned formal houses and some of informal settlement areas have access to at least pipeline. Pack animals mainly donkey cart which is popular means of transportation in the rift valley region for rural residents have played greater role in transporting water by Jar cans from water available central urban areas to informal settlement homes through payment. The following two pictures shows unplanned construction of informal houses behind main road in Awash sub-city.

Fig.4&5.Over crowded houses that are not suitable for urban infrastructure (Awasho kebele Near Medhanealem Church)



6.3. Informality and Major Challenges of Informal Urban Dwellers

Shashemene has no history of eviction and displacement of its informal urban dwellers. The numerical dominance of informal homes over formal houses in the city seems to have given some sense of security and encouraged others to further participate in urban informality. There is a shared perception among informal house owners that their homes will eventually be regularized by government. Yet, some still are fearful of evictions since they are not certain whether their homes are compatible with the current and future urban plan. Though, informal settlers have such feeling, it is clear that government and the town administration will never be silent observers of unregulated expansion of informal houses because first and foremost cities growth must be guided by modern plan and program.

Second, there are large numbers of uninhabited informal houses in the two study kebeles which become the concern for local communities for their security. According to informants, such vacant homes are becoming shelters of criminals that threatening the life and property of local communities. In this regard, one respondent claimed that *“we are unable to keep hen, goats and sheep to support our life due to previously unknown but recently growing theft practice in our city.”*

Fourth, residents of informal houses lack basic services such as electricity and water provisions as stated earlier because providers of such services required ownership certificate and plan that informal house owners are lack. Therefore, they are not getting some or all of the services provided by governmental institutions that subjected them to additional transaction costs in order to get such services. Furthermore, informal house owners are not entitled to financial credit services due to requirement of financial institution borrowers to present legal plan and certificate as collateral to provide loan. This could jeopardize informal house owners' motivation to make long-term capital investments or to use their property as collateral to secure loans for capital investments. Overall, despite informality is timely solution for urban poor and middle classes families in resolving their critical housing problem, it is also a very risky business that has and will have an enormous socio-economic challenges.

6.4. Informality and its Outcomes on the City Administration

Overall from my observation and information that I obtained from research informants the lion share of Sheshemene city is covered by informal houses that characterized by narrow roads, unplanned houses, and lack of green space and absence of unoccupied land that can be allocated for future city's development. It is clear that the city is exhibiting one of the most dramatic physical expansions which is against modern urban plan. Thus its current path of unregulated physical expansion could pose greater obstacle to make Shashemene economically, socially and environmentally vibrant and suitable for its residents. Secondly, allocating or letting existing land to be occupied by residential home alone cannot resolve Shashemen's endemic high unemployment rate that is above national average. According to the Shashemene city socio-economic profile (2010:51), there are 41,695 unemployed people. The 2012 CSA report also put the unemployment figure to 60,565.

In line of the above facts, Shashemene needs more industries, service provisioning centers, green areas and access to employment opportunity. In this regard according to (Lynch AJ.2001; and Visvaldis V.et al.,2013) Cities must have the following functions to achieve socio-economic and environmental well- being of its residents :**Supply function:** provision of region's population with necessary goods and services. **Housing function:** provision of sufficient habitat and building grounds. **Labor market function:** provision of structures to ensure local economic activities. **Cultural function:** provision of leisure and tourism, which can be reinforced by city marketing and branding workforce absorption capacity, unemployment and outmigration. **Environmental function:** waste and water management, landscape quality, efficient land use etc. With respect to the above indicators, Shashemene has remained far beyond achieving such functions and the expansion of unplanned houses across its vicinity is becoming stumbling stone for the city administration to achieve the above good city indicators.

Thirdly, the city administration has been losing taxes that can be collected if the land is allocated to business, industries and formal houses. This is related to what Peruvian economist (De Soto,2000 in Petracco and Pender, 2009)⁸⁹ called such inefficient economization of land and failure to generate from it as 'dead capital' As stated earlier, the large sheer of the city's land is

⁸⁹ .He estimated the amount of "dead" capital at \$9.3 trillion based on urban informal houses and slums. For further see (De Soto ,2015 Pan J. and Sobotova Ln (2003).

occupied by informal houses. Currently, city municipalities in Oromia including Shashemene have been collecting 400-500ETB per 200m². If lands occupied by informal homeowners paying land tax based on the current payment rate, the city municipality could collect large sum of money which could be reinvested for various infrastructure and service provisioning institution thereby contribute for Shashemene's development.

Fourthly, there is wide range of underground transaction not only informal land but also informal houses which also deprived municipality's property transaction taxes which could contribute for the growth of Shashemene through expanding its tax basis. To conclude this part of discussion urban house informality has been posing series of challenges and thereby slowing down the prospects that Shashemene to become a model for southern Ethiopian cities and towns despite it has huge economic, social, environmental and spatial potential and strategic advantages.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

The twenty-first century has been called the urban century in which the world's majority population is gravitating towards urban centers. In 1975, there were three megacities in the world: Tokyo, New York and Mexico City. In 2005, there were 20 such cities, of which 16 were located in the developing world. Cities and towns are now recognized as pivotal for development that offer greater life opportunities and create wealth. Cities contribute up to 55% of gross national product in low-income countries, 73% in middle-income countries⁹⁰ and 85% in high-income countries. However, urban centers in developing world are characterized by economic inefficiency, lack of jobs, homelessness and large informal settlements, inadequate services and infrastructure.

Urbanization is unavoidable aspect of future human life that needs to be managed consciously and scientifically. Well managed urban centers can act as engines and catalysts for growth and development. Contrariwise, when cities poorly planned and governed, they become centers of poverty, inequality and social conflict. Informal settlement is becoming one of the common problems of the third and developed world states. Since informal settlements usually established on suburb urban areas at the expense of fertile peasants land, they pose real and existential threat on peri-urban peasant livelihood status (Nssir and Elsayed 2017; UN Habitat 2011; Abunyewaha 2018; Fegue 2007; Fernandes 2011; James 2015 Giri 2018).

Shashemene has been demonstrating one of the fastest rates of unplanned horizontal expansion at the expense of peasants' farmland. Since 2005/6 the city has been the forefront for urban land grab by various groups. Currently, informal settlements are representing a large percentage of urban and rural areas of the city. Urban house informality and informal land transaction in Shashemene like other cities and towns are not the sole engagement of the poor and middle class families' who seek to secure their residential house rather it is the focus of well-to-do groups, land speculators, officials and municipality professionals who have vigorously been taking part

⁹⁰ .According to (Keivani and Murphy, 2009,) the contribution of a single megacity, for example, Sao Paulo or Bangkok, can be as high as 40% of the gross national product while comprising only 10% of the population of their respective countries.

or contributing in evicting farmers from their land for the sake of expanding their fortune at the expense of poor and unprofessional peasants.

Horizontal informal urban expansion in Shashemene is going on in large scale at the expense of peri-urban peasants' land that resulted in the displacement of farmers' at large scale. Farmers were lost or are losing their land by government expropriation with the lowest compensation rate that was/is far below the current land market price. This is/was major reason that pushing thousands of farmers involving in anticipatory measure to sale their land holding. Socio-economic and cultural reasons are also other contributing factors that led increasing peasants land dispossession.

Peasants in Shashemene have been subjected to land dispossession and subsequently to various socio-economic and cultural glitches attributable to principally ill-disposed government policy, legal and administrative imperfections as well as diminishing farm land size among other factors. Urban expansion and land dispossession has been forcing ex-farmers and their families to be homeless, jobless, threatening their socio-cultural life. Unchecked informal urban expansion also leading the loss of large tracts of peri-urban fertile land and creating spillover effect on informal transaction in neighboring woreda as farm land . Impossibility of getting the chance to access both urban land and houses through formal means due to poverty, the skyrocketing price of formal land and houses, progressive hike of rental houses in Shashemene and Hawasa, the desire to be owners of urban house among farmers of neighboring woredas, and land speculation are among other factors that led different groups to engage in informal land transaction and growing informal house construction in the study kebeles.

Unrealistic urban policy and legal frameworks mainly Proc.721/2011 and IHP, weak regulatory measures, preferential allocation of urban land on the basis political allegiance, corruption, low compensation for dispossessed property owners and corruption have had played greater role in informal land transaction, house construction and the subsequent dispossession of farmers land and their vulnerability to multitude of challenges with the except of a few success stories. Thus, the current urban policy and legal frameworks proved to be unfriendly for both peri-urban peasants who disproportionately affected by increasing urban development process and urban poor and middle class families who unable to get formal residential homes. Informal urban

dwellers too have faced uncertain tenure security and such settlements are economically idle whereby neither the government extracts revenue nor home owners have access to financial resources as collateral on their homes.

Existing urban housing policy is proved to be ineffective and inefficient in satisfying the growing demand for urban housing. Therefore, unless urgent amendment on the country's urban property right arrangement is not carried, informal land transaction and farmers land dispossession will continue as the middle and low income class families, land speculators and officials grappling to search for more land to achieve their respective interest. Consequently farmers and their families continue to suffer inexplicably more than others who involved in growing informal and irregular urban development process. Moreover, if government fails to act urgently, existing urban expansion trend will continue to exacerbate inequality, institutionalizing corruption and jeopardizing good and healthy urban development.

Thus, regional and Shashemene city administrations need to devise workable solutions and work in collaboration with all stakeholders to minimize the adverse impacts of urban informality and the containment of its alarming rate of expansion. Informal land transaction and house construction need to be minimized in Shashemene and surrounding rural areas to prevent further displacement of peasants and their subsequent suffering by giving tenure security assurance, financial assistance to redevelop their land by themselves or modernize their agriculture through dairy farming, poultry and productive urban farming and become capable of leading their livelihood status and enabling them to be provider of basic agricultural goods and services for city's population.

Secondly, there must be urgent, workable, socially and economically visible government direction and measure to rehabilitate ex-peasants who dispossessed their farmland for moral, legal, social and natural justice grounds. Because, it is mainly government ill designed urban development policy and its implementation pushed them in to their current status. Unless government do something for the life improvement of ex- peasants and their large family, there is no doubt that there will be timing bomb for obvious reason the city is hosting large number of unemployed, homeless and displaced peasants which will be difficult to maintain for city's development ,peace and stability in such their current life condition. Thus, the city

administration should pursue supportive administrative direction by opening access to economic opportunities, housing and greater access to productive assets.

Since informal settlers occupied large size plot land in comparison to planned settlements plots, the city administration need to rethink of the redevelopment of informally occupied urban lands and houses by giving small but legally certified and standardized plot of land and help informal settlers to redevelop it based on the city master plan and reclaiming the rest land to allocate for other essential development projects. In this regard, there will be no loser rather the city administration and informal settlers could be winners. Such measure can boost their security on their home and reap benefits that come out of regularization. The city administration can benefit from this process: first by avoiding forceful eviction of informal settlers and the subsequent socio-economic and political crises that follows it. Second, it can effectively execute the city master plan and be able to build model t city.

Third, it can get large tracts of urban land which could be allocated for various development projects. Here, the Turkish model that followed incremental redevelopment of informal houses and gave owners the right to construct up to four floor houses by themselves with the provision of financial incentives can be a lesson for the city administration in reducing housing shortage and managing housing informality.

The city administration needs to strength its regulatory capacity to minimize informal urban and corruption. Since property strongly associated with human right, dignity and identity, it is not morally and legally right to let few illegal fortune collectors to monopolize scarce resource. Thus, corrective measures are imperative on those who violate the law and wider public interest. Finally, the current urban policy and legal frameworks in Ethiopia have been proved to be ineffective and leaning towards satisfying economically, politically and socially powerful groups and effectively eliminating others from access to urban houses and land market. In general, some scholars I referred for this thesis paper, call for some kind of land reform in Ethiopia. For instance, the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa's (UNECA, 2002) report stated that land tenure and its governance are "*the most pressing areas requiring institutional reforms in Ethiopia.*" The report suggests that "*Land policy has not yielded the expected result...it needs to be resolved quickly since it impedes the development of several key sectors*" (UNECA, 2002 in

Samuel, 2006). Thus, politicians, economists, policy makers and legal experts need to start discussion and negotiation in order to amend the current land policy and come up with good policy options that serve majorities interest and stimulate socio-economic progress. In this regard, all policy makers need take to in to account Nelson Mandela's remark who stated *that*

“As long as poverty, injustices and gross inequality persist in our world, none of us can truly rest” (obtained in [www. Nelsonmandela.org](http://www.Nelsonmandela.org))

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Appendixes







Major Questions for Research Respondents

Interview Guide for FGD

1. How do you explain/describe the expansion of Shashemene city?
2. When did the horizontal expansion of the city started significantly? What do you think has contributed to the city's expansion at that particular period?
3. What did the socio-economic conditions of the surrounding local population look like before the expansion of the city?
4. How have the socio-economic conditions of the surrounding community changed after the expansion of the city?
5. What are major land related problems in the surrounding community before and after the expansion of the city?
6. How do you see existing land policies and laws with regards to tenure security and land transfer?
7. How do you evaluate the current livelihood conditions of your community?
8. What are major impacts of the expansion of Shashemene on the livelihood status of local community?
9. What are major factors that led people to informally sell their land to urban dwellers?
10. How is the process of informal land transaction carried out,
11. Who are major actors in the process of informal land transaction?
12. Which/who are major groups/individuals/ looking for to buy peasants land? And why?
13. Is the informal land selling contract binding and accepted by sellers' wife and clan members? If not, what are menses to persuade them?
14. What formalities informal land buyers need to fulfill to construct houses?
15. What is the role of government officials/chairman of the kebele, militias, got officials and others/ in the process of informal land transaction and house construction?
16. What are major challenges in the process of land transaction and house construction?
17. Do you think that the informal land transaction is good for peasants? If so how? If not why?
18. How do you evaluate the life condition of peasants who sold their land?
19. What major opportunities or challenges have those peasants who sold their land been experiencing or facing?
20. Is there additional point you want add please?

2. Interview Guide for Peasants who sold their land

1. Ethnicity

Religion _____

Education _____

2. Sex _____

3. Age _____

4. Source of livelihood _____

5. Family size _____

1. How do you explain the impact of the expansion of Shashemene city on your life?
2. Can you tell me your socio –economic life conditions before the expansion of the city to your surrounding?
3. Could you tell me the size of land that you have before the expansion of urbanization?
4. Could you tell me the size of land you currently hold? What are reasons that forced you to sell your land informally?
5. Could you tell me the process of land selling and who played major role on land transaction?
6. How much money did you earn by selling land?
7. Do you think that you earned the right price?
8. How did you spend the money?
9. Do you think that your decision to sell the land was right?
10. What was your role in the construction of buyer’s informal houses?
11. Could you tell me the role of government officials in both informal land transaction and house construction?
12. Currently what is the source of your livelihood?
13. How do you compare your current and past livelihood status?
14. What are major challenges you have been facing as a result of selling some of your land?
15. What opportunities have you gained because of land sell?
16. Is there any point you want to add?

3. Interview Guide for Shashemene- town urban land expert

1. How do you explain the pace of expansion of Shashemene town?
2. Do you think that the fast growth of Sheshemene town is in line with the town's master plan?
3. What were/are motives to transfer land for different purposes in Shashemene?
4. Do you think that existing land allocation practices are sufficient and effective to accommodate residents' demand? If not why?
5. How do you evaluate existing both national and regional land policies and legal frameworks in regulating informal land transactions?
7. How do you evaluate the level of informal land transaction in Shashemene and its surroundings?
8. Based on your understanding, what are major factors that aggravate informal horizontal expansion of Shashemene town?
9. What are major factors that impede the town administration to control informal urban expansion?
10. Do you think that existing compensation rate for peasants is sufficient? If not, what is the town administration future plan to improve it?
11. Is there any administrative and policy directions to minimize informal urban expansion? If so, Please explain them?
12. Which part of the town is more vulnerable to informal expansion and why?
13. What are administrative efforts that encourage peasants not to engage in informal land transaction?
16. How do you evaluate efforts to regularize informal houses? And do you think that such efforts are effective?
18. Is there any policy or administrative direction to support victim peasants who lost their land by government expropriation with the lowest compensation rate? If there are, please list them?
19. How do you evaluate the impact of informal land transaction on Shashemene town growth?
20. What are ways out from informality?
21. Is there any point you want to add please?

4. Interview Guide for Peasant Association Chair-person

1. How do you evaluate the impact of urban expansion on the life of peasants adjacent to Shashemene?
2. What are the legal and policy mandates of your kebele to administer lands under your jurisdiction?
3. How do you explain the extent of informal urban expansion in your kebele?
4. To what extent does your kebele administration controls horizontal expansion of Shshamemen city?
5. Which institution/who should be blamed for increasing informal land transaction and urban expansion in your kebele? why?
6. Based on your assessment what are reasons that forced or encourage peasants to sale their Land informally?
7. Could you tell me what kind of relation or coordination exist between your peasant association and Sheshamene town administration?
8. Do you have information on the process of informal land transaction and what is your Kebele's role in it?
9. Most of the time what kind of administrative measures does the kebele administration take to regulate informal land transaction and house construction?
10. What do you think is the impact of informal land transaction and urban expansion on life of peasants who sold their land?
11. What is government direction, and your kebele's plan, in controlling informal land transaction?
12. Do you consider informal urban dwellers as members of your association? If not why? If so what kind of service your kebele deliver for them?
13. What kind of challenges that informal urban dwellers are facing in your kebele?
14. What kind of problems that informal urban dwellers pose in your kebele? Do you see their presence as challenge or opportunity?
15. What kind of relationship exists between peasants and informal urban dwellers?
16. What kind of measure taken by your kebele administration if conflicts arise between peasants and informal urban dwellers?
17. Based on your assessment/understanding what are major reasons that impede your effort to control informal settlement in your kebele?
18. Is there any additional idea you want to add please?

5. Interview Guide for Informal Urban Residents

1. Personal information

1. Ethnicity

Religion_____

Education_____

2. Sex _____

3. Age _____

4. Source of livelihood_____

5. Family size_____

2. Core research questions

1. Where did you live before you move to here?

2. What was your source of income before you buy this land?

3. Why you did not buy a house or the land that has a plan?

4. What is the size of your plot and how much money did you pay for it?

5. Did you buy the land with the support of delala? If so how much money you paid for him?

6. Could you tell me the process of land /house /buying? Who were major participants in that process? Please explain their role? How you did you get permission to build your house?

7. What challenges did you faced in your effort to build your house?

8. Do you have access to governmental delivered services like water, electricity and others?

9. How do you explain your relationship with locals mainly those who sold land to you?

10. Have you now regularized or formalized your holding?

11. What challenges you faced while your attempt to regularize your house?

12. Do you feel a sense of security for your house?

13. Could you tell me major challenges that you have been experiencing as a result of your informal house?

14. Is there any additional point you want to add?