

***ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES***

**DISPLACEMENT- INDUCED RESETTLEMENT IN
JAWI; BELES VALLEY AREA OF NORTH
WESTERN ETHIOPIA**

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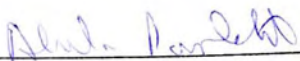
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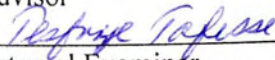
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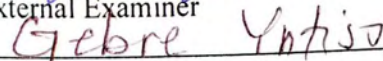
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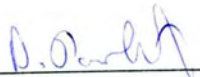
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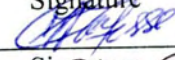
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**DISPLACEMENT-INDUCED RESETTLEMENT IN JAWI;
BELES VALLEY AREA OF NORTH WESTERN ETHIOPIA**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
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**IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY**

GETU AMBAYE TESHALE

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Abstract

This thesis has focused on a special type of the resettlement and rehabilitation process implemented in response to the group or category of people displaced by conflicts. The violent ethnic conflict between the spontaneous migrant Amhara settlers and the local Oromo population resulted in the displacement of about 13,000 spontaneous migrant settlers. The migrant-cum-displacees or Internally Displaced People (IDPs) were made to stay at emergency relief camp near Bure town, one of the towns in west Gojam administrative zone. As part of the current resettlement program designed and excuted by the Regional States, the IDPs have been resettled and/or rehabilitated by the Amhara regional state. The region has undertaken almost all decisions, measures and activities in the course of rehabilitating the IDPs both at the displacement camp and in the new resettlement site. A series of overlapping measures and activities have been carried out by the region ever since their displacement in December 2000 and subsequent resettlement in the new resettlement site. This thesis, therefore attempts to present the livelihoods and social impacts of the displacement-induced resettlement and rehabilitation process in Jaw resettlement site, located in the Beles-Valley areas of northwestern lowlands.

During the research period, Jawi resettlement site has been inhabited by four categories of people including: the local Agaws; Muslim immigrant settlers, who are referred to by the local people as Islam; Christian immigrants settlers who are also referred to by the local people as zellan (Nomad) and the resettled displacees. Heterogeneous groups of people have been persuaded to live together in close proximity to one another in a very small resettlement site putting great pressure on local resources. In order to understand, explain and analyze the livelihood and social impacts of the resettlement and rehabilitation, the kinds of interactions and relationships as well as the internal dynamics of change which occurred in connection with the resettlement and rehabilitation process, informants have been interviewed from among all categories of people inhabiting this new resettlement site.

The research findings demonstrated that it was not only the resettled displacees that have been exposed to incredible challenges, hardships and stresses in Jawi resettlement site but also the local communities. The challenges and stressful situations have emanated from the hasty and ad hoc manner in which the IDPs were made to resettle in the area. There have been different manifestations of the challenges, difficulties and stresses both the resettled displacees and the local communities have experienced since the influx of IDPs into the area. Among others, the resettled displacees have been vulnerable to the problems of landlessness, homelessness, loss of their livestock and an increased morbidity and mortality in the new homes. The local communities in the study area have also been exposed to the resettlement and rehabilitation induced land appropriation processes which were grossly overlooked by the regional authorities.

In response to the above-stated challenges, difficulties and stresses, the resettled displacees as well as the local communities envisaged different survival and adaptive mechanisms. In the study area, the dynamics of survival and adaptive strategies have been manifested through the socio-economic interactions and relationships with the different categories of the local communities as well as among themselves.

Preface

The thesis has been written based on the assessment of displacement - induced resettlement process in Jawi resettlement site located in Beles-valley areas of Northwestern lowlands. Jawi is a special resettlement site in the sense that the resettlement and rehabilitation process was implemented by Amhara Regional State in response to conflict-induced displacement. The conflict displacees or internally displaced people (IDPs) that are referred to in this study have passed through or experienced repeated dislocations and relocations in the country. They have migrated spontaneously from the different areas of Gojam, Gondar and Wollo to areas of what is today called Gida-Giremu wereda, in the northeastern part of Wollega region. Their spontaneous migrations and settlements in the recipient areas were caused by different 'Push' and 'Pull' factors that have been explained by the IDPs who are now resettled in Jawi resettlement area. Their spontaneous settlements and lives were disrupted in December 2000 when violent ethnic conflicts flared up with the local Oromo population in the area. The data collected has indicated that no single factor could explain the complexities and intricacies of the causes of the violent ethnic conflict which eventually led to the displacement of about 13,000 spontaneous migrant Amhara settlers.

Following the displacement, they were made to stay at an emergency Relief camp near Bure, one of the town of West Gojam administrative zone. After six months stay at the emergency camp, the IDPs have been made to resettle by the Amhara Regional State. A series of measures and activities have been

carried out by the Regional State in the courses of resettling and rehabilitating the IDPs in Jawi resettlement site. This research therefore, tries to assess the impact of a series of a measures and activities for the livelihood reestablishment in the new environment.

The paper is, divided in to seven chapters. The first chapter is the introduction that includes, the problem, objectives, the research site, data sources and methodology and the significance of the study. The second chapter contains a review of related literature; attention is devoted to terms; concepts, models, which can explain people displaced by different causal agents as well as the survival and adaptive mechanisms of people in response to changing circumstances. Chapter three deals with the biophysical and the local peoples background of Jawi resettlement area. The fourth chapter offers a glimpse of the migration histories, displacement, encampment and the resettlement and rehabilitation of IDPs in the specific context. Chapter five concentrates on the rehabilitation and reestablishment process in the new resettlement site. Chapter six is devoted to the survival and adaptive mechanisms pursued by the resettled displacees. The last chapter is the conclusion and recommendations that is followed by an appendix, which consists of the lists of major informants and photographs taken during the successive fieldworks phases.

Acronyms

AAU	Addis Ababa University
ANRS	Amhara National Regional State
DID	Development-Induced Displacement
DPPC	Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission
DPED	Department of Planning and Economic Development (at zonal levels)
EPRDF	Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front.
ESSW	The Ethiopian Society of sociologists, Social workers and Anthropologists.
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FSS	Forum for social studies
FSS	Food Security Strategy
HHS	Households
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IES	Institute of Ethiopian Studies
IDR	Institute of Development Research
IAFM	International Association for Forced Migration
NGOs	Non- Governmental Organization
PAS	Peasant Administrations (Peasant Associations during the pre-1991 Change of the Ethiopian Government)
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RDPPC	Regional Disaster Prevention Preparedness Commission

USAIDS	United States Agency for International Development
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNHCR	United Nations Higher Commission for Refuges
UNICEF	United Nations International Children Emergency Fund
UN-EUE	United Nations Emergencies Unit for Ethiopia
WFP	World Food Programme.

Glossary of Local Terms

- Abawera** A man or woman who, leads a family and usually referred to as head of a household. eg. Male-headed or Female-headed households.
- Abelij** A god-father or god-mother who enters the relationship when a child is baptized, particularly by intending to form bonds with the child's parents (or family).
- Arekie** A locally prepared drink with a high or strong alcoholic content
- Dega** Highlands with lower temperature.
- Gendi** a Cattle disease (trypanomoyosis), which is transmitted by Tse-Tse fly and hence prevalent in lowland areas.
- Kebele** The smallest unit of government administrative constituency.
- Kenja** A term referring to when two persons who do not have a pair of oxen contribute one each and exchange and share turn by turn to plough on a daily basis.
- Keyata Meret** a red or brown soil as referred to by the local people in the study area
- Kilil** An administrative unite introduced by the current government structure and referred to as regional state or regional government
- Kolla** Lowlands or an area of relatively higher temperature.
- Mahiber** A religious ceremony or association in which families or persons join together in one month's feast giving associations by which exchange and discusses social issues.
- Mezega Meret** land of black, wet and swampy soil.

Sefari resettlers in the new environment.

Senbetie A religious association among the followers of Orthodox Christians celebrated with feasts in the church's yard.

Tefenakaye A term referring to a displaced persons

Tella A locally prepared beer.

Tut- Metabate A 'breast feeding' practice, in which individuals agree to act as a foster parent and foster child for the sake of creating interpersonal ties.

Woba a term referring to Malaria, which is prevalent in lowland areas.

Wobera Labor exchange or sharing mechanisms among community members

Wodaji Clients or patrons who help each other at times of need.

Woreda An administrative structure higher than *kebele* but below the zone.

Yaltmeneter Meret A type of land which is not cleaned.

Yetmeneter Meret A term referring to land which is cleaned and/or fallowed land.

Zone Administrative unit, which is currently labeled below the regional state.

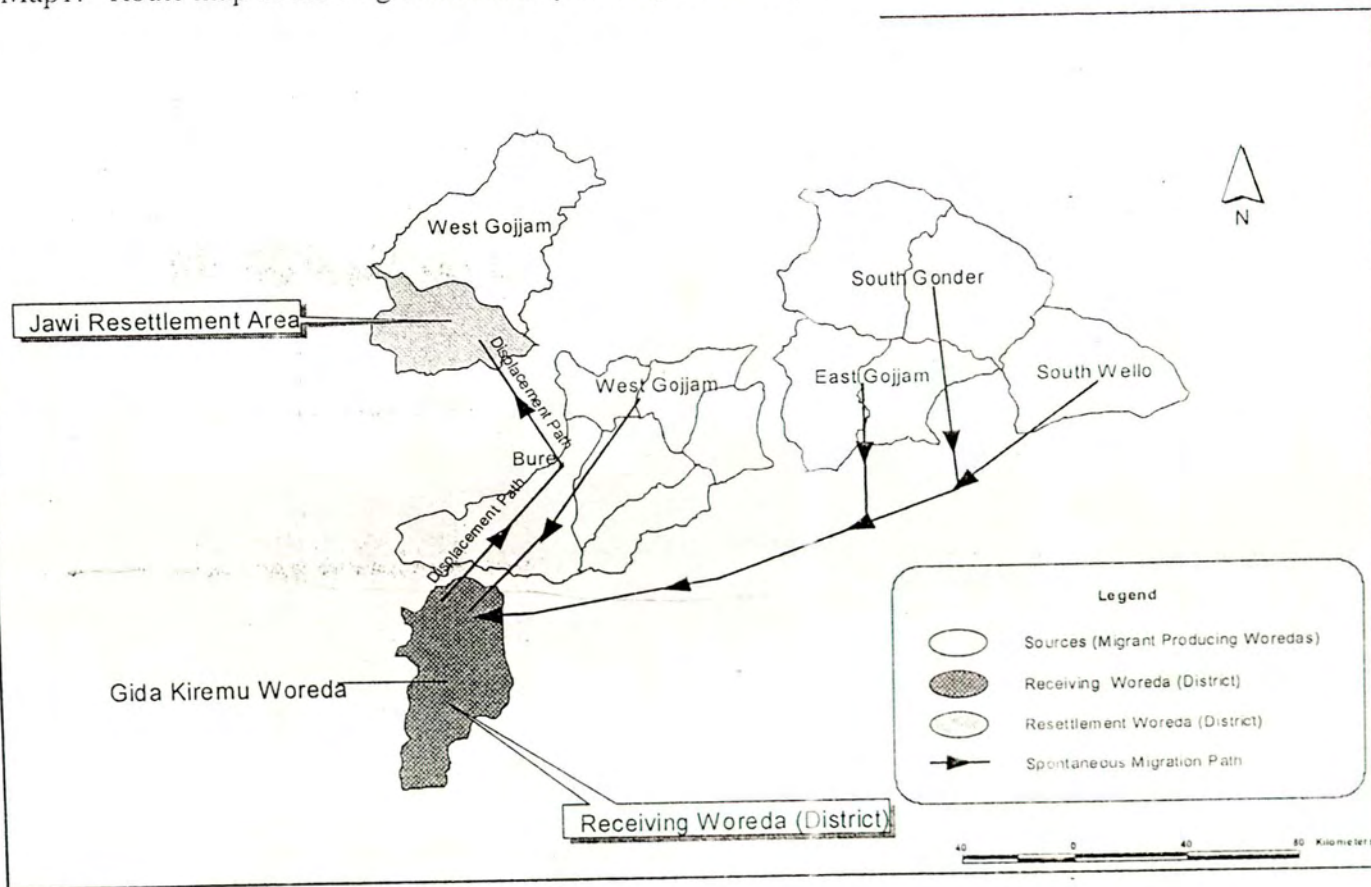
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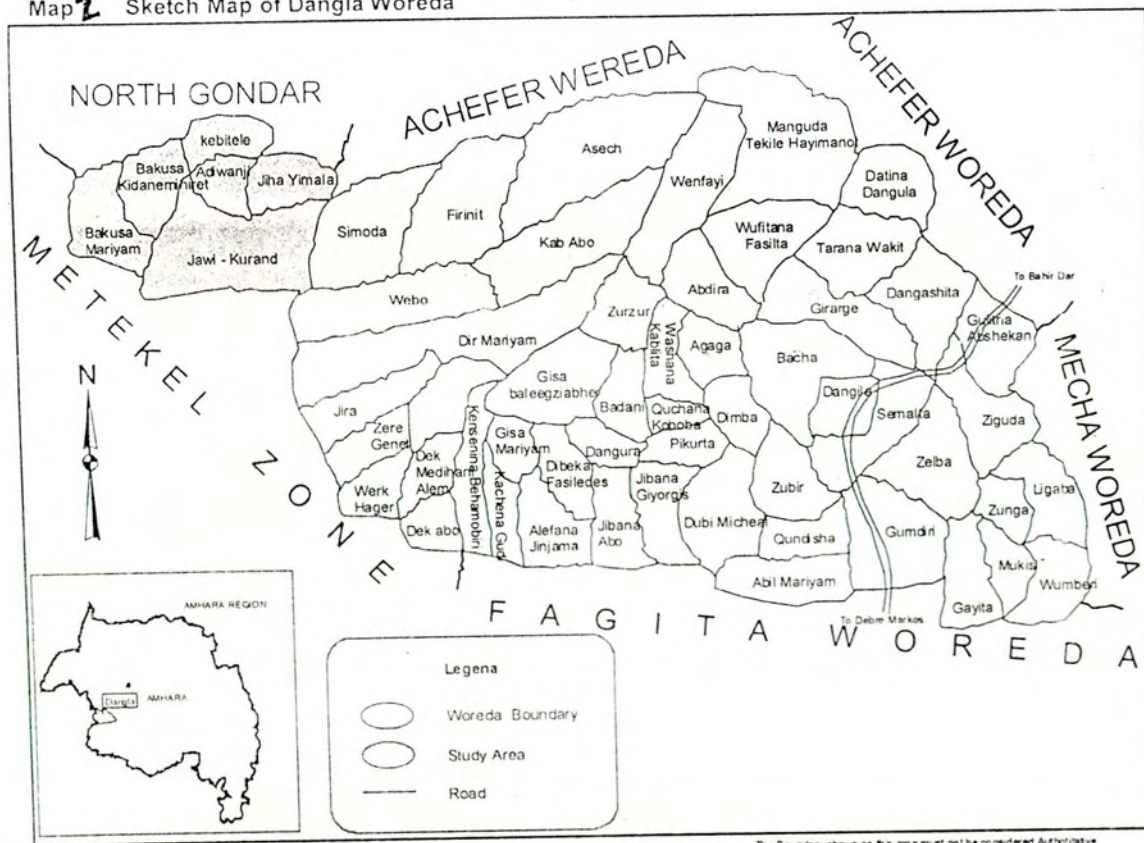
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Map1: Route map of the Migration History of Displaced People

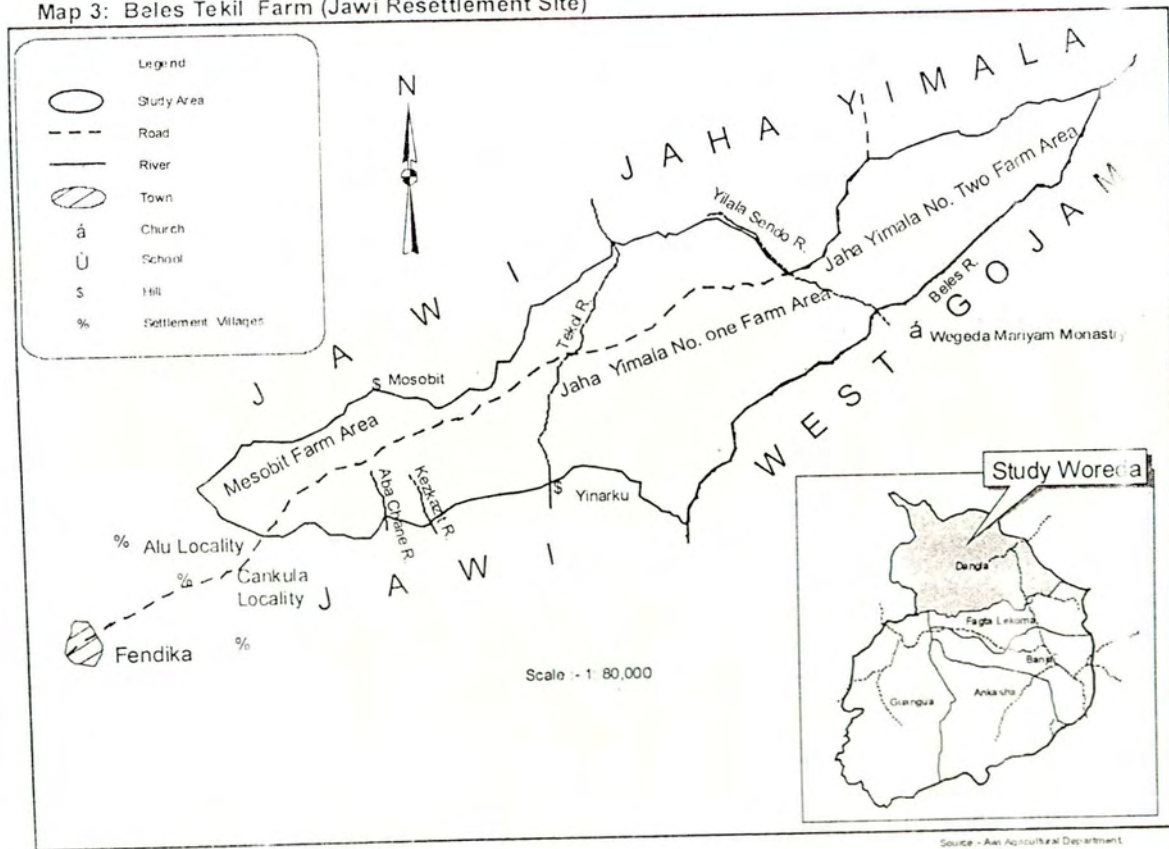


Source:-Partly Adapted from Tesefaye,2004

Map 2 Sketch Map of Dangla Woreda



Map 3: Beles Tekil Farm (Jawi Resettlement Site)



CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

1.1. The Research Problem in Context

The driving force behind the recourse to population resettlement varies from case to case, and the operational approaches, too (Kassahun, 2000:63). In the Ethiopian context, state-sponsored population relocation dates back to the 1960s for various reasons and objectives. The most important explicit objective of state-sponsored population resettlement was to address famine or drought related issues and problems (Dessalegn 2003:v, Pankhurst, 2004:123). In this particular instance of state-sponsored population resettlement, it has been undertaken in response to conflict – induced displacement.

In Ethiopia, the number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) has been increasing since the change of the government in 1991, (Zelalem, 2004: 3). This is so mainly because under the current government the formation of ethnically defined geographical units or the restructuring of administrative divisions along ethnic lines has created relatively new situations in which individuals or groups of people are found to migrate to the geopolitical units that has been established for the ethnic groups with which they identify themselves (UN AIDS, 2000:7). As a result, there are different categories of IDPs in the country, like persons displaced by ethnic conflicts; and persons displaced from Eritrea (Dingu, 2003:2). There are also people who abandoned resettlement areas and returned to their former localities or moved somewhere else (Gebre, 2003:7). By the same taken, one finds Ethiopians who had been refugees in neighboring countries and returned to Ethiopia through repatriation programs (Kassahun 1997:52).

The displaced people that are referred to in this study have, however, experienced different forms or phases of resettlement in the country. They have migrated spontaneously from the different areas of the Northern highlands, mostly from areas of Gonder, Gojam and Wollo, to areas of what is today Gida Kiremu Wereda in Northeastern part of Wollega Region. This North - South migration and settlement seems to have followed the same migration path and/or patterns. Their spontaneous migration was caused by different 'push' and 'pull' factors that have been explained by the displaced people who are now resettled in the new relocation site. However, their settlements and lives were disrupted in the year 2000 when resource-cum-ethnic conflict flared up with the local Oromo population (Tesfaye, 2004:3).

Much has been said about the kinds of socio-economic interactions and relationships established between the spontaneous resettlers and the local Oromo people in Gida Kiremu wereda (Assefa, 1995). Moreover, the dynamics of ethno-social and socio-cultural relations between the resettlers and the local Oromo people, which brought about the conflict resulting in the displacement of the former has been investigated by many researchers (Zelalem, 2003, Tesfaye, 2004, Diribessa 2003). So, this paper does not seek to explain and analyze the complex causes of the conflict, rather, focuses on the end results, that is the displacement /resettlement of about 13,000 people, (DPPC: 2001).

Displacement or forced migration which is caused by natural or man made factors adversely affects the social, economic and psychological life of peoples (Cernea, 1993:380). The condition also disrupts peoples' participation in social,

economic and cultural lives leading to decreased productivity. Resettlement in this context has, therefore, been undertaken as a recovery measure to reverse the impoverishment risks caused by forced displacement.

However, studies have indicated that population resettlement caused by man-made or natural disasters has repercussions both on the resettlers themselves and the new social and physical environment to which the relocated people move (Dessalegn, 2003:3, Mathur and Cernea, 1995:8). According to Cernea, to the resettler, 'the impact of relocation is not only immediately disruptive and painful, it is also loaded with serious long-term risks of becoming poorer than before displacement, more vulnerable economically and disintegrated socially' (1993:32). Studies have also revealed that massive involuntary resettlement results in the displacement and socio-economic and cultural impoverishment of the host communities (Gebre, 2003:50, Salem-Murdock 1993:307).

However, most policies concerning resettlement of refugees, migrants and internally displaced peoples (IDPs) fail to take into account the impact upon both the resettlers themselves and the new environment, both the social and the physical environment (Dessalegn, 2003:5, Gebre, 2003:50). This research, therefore, partly tries to identify and examine Cernea's impoverishment risks and reconstruction processes which are inherent to displacement and subsequent resettlement (Cernea, 1993:380).

Now, the overwhelming majority of the displaced people have been resettled and rehabilitated in a new environment. The operational approach to the resettlement and rehabilitation was undertaken by the Regional State,

because the policy of the current government is intra-regional by nature. (Wolde-Sellassie, 2003:5). It was basically conducted to help the displaced people to get relieved of dependency and attain food self-sufficiency within two years in the new resettlement area. In this study, which has taken place in the immediate aftermath of displacement – induced resettlement, the researcher is mainly concerned with the following major research questions addressed by this study.

- How were the implementation approaches, flaws and /or deficiencies in this particular instance of resettlement that was induced by displacement?
- What are the major livelihood and social impacts of the resettlement and rehabilitation activities in the new context?
- What are the implications of the resettlement and rehabilitation activities for the local people?
- What are the various survival strategies pursued by the displacees-cum-resettlers in the new environment?
- What are the dynamics of social and economic relationships evolved and/or established between the displacees and the local communities in the setting?
- What is the internal dynamics of change that has occurred in connection with the influx of the IDPs?

1.2. Objectives of the Study

1.2.1. General Objectives

This study attempts to assess the livelihood and social impacts of the resettlement and rehabilitation process among the resettled people in the new

resettlement area. It also examines their various survival strategies/coping mechanisms in the new area of habitation. Moreover, it seeks to analyze the impact of resettlement on the local communities and the major social and economic changes associated with it. Not least, searching for the kinds of relationship established between the resettled displacees and the local communities in the process of social and economic interactions and exchanges is the other issue that will be scrutinized in this study.

1.2.2. Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of this study are the following;

- To assess the rehabilitation measures and activities undertaken by the Amhara Regional State to the recourse of the resettlement.
- To investigate the immediate and or long term impacts of the involuntary resettlement not only among the resettled displacees in the new home site but also on the host population.
- To identify and analyze the various survival and adaptive strategies pursued by the resettled displacees.
- To investigate the relationships between the various categories of the local people and displacees in the course of socio economic interactions in the new setting.
- To assess the social and economic changes brought about by the new resettlement.

- To contribute to the limited research work and documentation done hitherto in this particular instance of displacement-induced resettlement in one of the new resettlement area in the North Western Lowlands of Ethiopia.

1.3. The Research Site

This research has been conducted in one of the four resettlement sites identified and selected by the Amhara Regional State to promote the new resettlement programme in the country. The site is found in the extreme western part of Dangila wereda, which is part of the Beles-river valley in North western lowlands. The site is referred to by the Regional authorities as Jawi resettlement site. Before the influx of the displaced people in April 2001, Jawi lowlands in Beles-Vally consisted of six peasant administrations namely, Alu-Kurand, Jahimala, Adiwangi, Bagusa Mariam, Bagusa-Kidane Mehiret and Kebele (See Map.3). The total area of Jawi resettlement site is estimated to cover about 26581 hectares of land (DPPC: 2001). Furthermore, the total number of people living in Jawi area in the year 2000 was estimated to be 10,424 (Awi-Zone. DPED: 2001).

Of the six peasant administrations (PAs) in Jawi lowlands, the study confined itself to Alu-Kurand and Jahimala PAs for a number of reasons: First, these two PAs have been selected as resettlement sites for the displaced people. Hence, the resettlement programme has directly affected the different categories of people inhabiting these PAs in different ways, including land reallocation

processes. both for homesteads and farmsteads. Secondly, in this new resettlement site heterogeneous groups of people have been persuaded to live together in close proximity to one another in a small area (estimated to cover 9203 hectares of land) putting great pressure on local resources. There are different categories of people who have different socio economic, linguistic and cultural background.

Currently, there are four categories of people living in the resettlement site: that are dichotomized into specified names in the day-to-day interactions and relationships. These are; the Muslim immigrant settlers who are labeled, as Islam; Amhara migrant settlers, who are also labeled as '*Zellan*' (Nomad) in the area, the lowland Agaws who are recognized as the local people of the area and are labeled as '*Qollegnoch*' or 'Agaws' and, the displacees-cum-resettlers in the site that are labeled as 'new settlers' or '*Addis Sefariwoch*'. The later are hence referred to by this study as the 'resettled displacees'.

The research site also encompasses Fendika town, which is located 3 to 4 kms south west of the settlements site. Presently, all the aforementioned groups of people are engaged in diverse occupations. The town, which used to be a small village of lowland Agaws, is now steadily growing or expanding and the population in this small town has been increasing.

1.4. Field Experiences

Before directly going into the ways by which the data have been collected, it is of paramount important to indicate the major field experiences the researcher

has come across during the research endeavors. Primarily, working there as a government employee for three years in Awi-Administrative zone (1999-2002) has given me great opportunities to get access to any of the available documents and information from government authorities and other concerned bodies in the study area. The collaboration I received even extended to the extent that authorities arranged transport facilities for me from Injibara to the research site (Fendika town). The fieldwork was conducted in three successive phases or periods.

The first phase was conducted in August 2003. During this phase, the researcher was able to identify the research site where the intensive study was to be conducted. On this occasion, the researcher came up with the estimated number of people in each kebele established for the resettled displacees namely, Ariga-Abo, Addis-Woyen and Ayima –Gebriel of the new settler *kebeles*, and Alu-Kurand , Jahimala and Fendika village (now becoming a kind of unplanned emerging town) which were directly affected by the influx of the displaced people in April 2001. Moreover, the latter two *kebeles* and Fendika in Jawi lowlands were selected not just because they were directly affected by the new resettlement, but different categories of people who have different ethnic and cultural backgrounds reside in close proximity to one another. During the research period, the local Agaws, spontaneous Amhara migrant settlers of both Christian and Muslim origin and also the resettled displacees lived together. The visit coincided with a time by which, these different categories of people were engaged in planting and weeding of field crops.

The second phase of the fieldwork was conducted in February/March 2003. It was the most intensive one in the sense that all the necessary data for the study were collected. It was dry season and the people were not much preoccupied with major occupations. In this time, the researcher observed a great mobility of the resettled displacees. Some of the families of these people were leaving the new resettlement site and moving either to the original home village or the displacement areas in Wollega Region. Some others were traveling to places where their legs can take them. Persons that were interviewed in the first phase have again been contacted in the second phase.

The resettled people who stayed at the new home sites in the study area and whom I interviewed also expressed a great feeling of insecurity on account of a great exodus of the resettled displacees from the new home village largely emanating from the interruption of food hand-outs, which have been distributed since their displacement in December 2000. Hence, there were many free grass-roofed huts, which were constructed for the displaced people in the new site.

The third and the last phase of my fieldwork was conducted at the end of April 2004 to collect the remaining data to accomplish this research. These successive fieldworks coupled with the cooperation of authorities at various levels have given me good opportunities to understand and study the practical and long term impacts of the displacement induced resettled people in Jawi area as well as the kinds of interaction and relationships with the local communities. Fendika town that is located nearer to the research site was a point of arrival and departure to conduct my successive field works.

1.5. Data Sources and Methodology

Different Methods of data collection techniques have been employed to study the impact of population resettlement induced by forced displacement in the new resettlement area. The study has tried to assess the social and economic changes which are taking place in connection with population displacement and resettlement on both the resettled displacees and the local communities among whom they have been reintegrated. Hence, different categories of people have been interviewed using semi-structured interviews, which have been interpreted and analyzed qualitatively in this study. In what follows, the methods that have been employed to gather the data are explained:

1. Interviews – personal in-depth interviews mostly using semi-structured interviews have been conducted with selected persons from among the different categories of people in the study area. The main body of information has been collected through selection of key informants based on what is known as snowball sampling method that utilizes acquaintance in the study area and informants who would fulfill criteria already set by the researcher for each category of people as elaborated below.

Key informants have been selected from each of the three *kebeles* established for the displaced persons namely, Ariga-Abo, Addis-Woyen, and Ayima-Gebriel. They have been interviewed to know their personal migration histories, the length of time spent in Gida-Kiremu wereda from where they were displaced, the socio-economic conditions in the new environment, and

perceptions/feelings towards the new environment, as well as the kinds of relationships they forged with the local communities.

Some selected persons have also been interviewed from among the spontaneous migrant settlers in the study area. This has been undertaken in order to understand the major issues related to the ways in which they got access to productive resources, the possible 'push' and 'pull' factors of migration and settlement in the area; and the ways in which they have been harmed or benefited from the influx of the displaced people. Moreover, selected informants from among the lowland Agaws (*Qollegnoch*) have also been carried out to generate data about the kinds of major changes they have experienced due to the 2001 resettlement.

Government authorities and other stakeholders (extension and health service providers) at zonal, *wereda* and *kebele* (PA) levels have been interviewed to have a clear understanding of the temporal situations, health facilities and the ways in which the programme was implemented.

2. Focus Group Discussion (FGD) – have been held with groups of the different categories to get more realistic information by crosschecking and to understand the major problems and possible solutions. The discussions were intermittently held with groups of people ranging from eighth to ten persons selected in each of the three settler kebeles and two of the local PAs as well as in Fendika town

3. Personal case histories – of some displaced persons have been taken and recorded to understand the changing socio-economic conditions of the

households among the displaced people over time as well as to obtain data on land size and other productive resources. Moreover, the photographs of certain important sites and public gatherings have been taken to make this ethnographic description more vivid and realistic.

4. The other method of data collection technique is **direct personal observation** by which the researcher was able to generate data related to major activities, interactions, and exchanges. Participant observation has been conducted in public gatherings like market places, (held three times in a week at Fendika town), religious sites such as churches, and also wedding ceremonies. **Participant observation** was also conducted in small houses in which local drink like *Tella* and *Arekie* are prepared and sold largely by the displaced and resettled women in Fendeka town and its environs.
5. Additional heads of households' among the resettled displacees were interviewed by means of structured and semi-structured interviews which encompasses both closed and open-ended questions. In this regard, the selection of the households from among the resettled displacees was carried out in close consultation with the Jawi representative of the DPPC which is almost exclusively involved in relief provision to the people. Hence, he has the actual population size of the resettled displacees in each of the three kebeles namely, Ariga-Abo, Addis Woyen and Ayima-Gebriel. Accordingly, 40 heads of households were selected in the three kebeles with the total of 120. This was undertaken to obtain baseline information and some quantitative data at household levels such as: the size of the farm land, occupations

before and after the resettlement, housing conditions, household's size and others. However, most of the data obtained through the survey are analyzed and interpreted and presented in qualitative forms throughout the text.

6. **Documentary materials** – unpublished materials such as files, archives, letter of contractual agreements conducted between and among the study people, pre-settlement survey materials or strategy papers and reports from governmental and non-governmental organizations at various levels have been collected and referred to. Moreover, published materials like monographs and books related to the study area have been consulted.

1.6. Significance of the Study

This study has both practical and academic purposes. In the first instance, the study has been timely and pertinent and it coincided with the current resettlement programme, which has been part of the development and food security strategy of the country. The current government has embarked on population relocation from chronically food-insecure areas to areas perceived to be underutilized and having agricultural potentials. Moreover, the operational approach to implement the programme has been noted to be intra-regional and also based on the consent of both the resettlers and the host societies. And, hence, four of the Regional states (Amhara, Oromiya, Tigray and Southern Regions) have selected and identified resettlement sites in each of their respective regions.

Among the four resettlement sites selected and identified by Amhara Regional state, Jawi lowlands (Jawi resettlement site) is the one which has been selected and identified by the ANRS for settlement purposes. As a result, during the research period, additional new resettlers have been transported to the area, further to the west of the resettled displacees settlement villages. Therefore, the findings of this research, based on empirical assessments would give invaluable evidence about the success and/or failure of population resettlement undertaken by the Regional authorities and policy makers.

This study has also been thought to have some academic purposes. The existing ethnographic account of the impacts of state-sponsored population relocation in the rural contexts of the country is related to famine-induced resettlement. This study, however, has tried to look at the impact of conflict-induced displacement and resettlement on both the displaced persons and the local communities in new resettlement site. Therefore, this comprehensive assessment could be used as case materials for the comparative study on the subject and has provided us with contextual information. Last, but not least, the study is believed to give an insight into the social, economic and physical characteristics of the study area, which is located in the Northwestern periphery of the country.

CHAPTER TWO: Review of Related Literature

2.1. Terms and Concepts

There are various terms and concepts that have been adopted to explain groups of people displaced by different causal agents. These include, refugees 'development displacees', 'environment and disaster displacees' 'Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)', 'asylum seekers', 'smuggled people', trafficked people; 'oustees' 'evacuees' and 'internal refugees'. However, the meanings of some of these terms or concepts are not always self-evident. They are sometimes misleading and are not necessarily mutually exclusive (<http://www.iasfm>)

In this respect, the terms and concepts might be used for practical as well as analytical purposes. This, in turn, indicates that putting clear demarcation lines and clear cut typologies has a practical impact on the lives of the displaced people. For analytical purposes the terms 'internally displaced' and/or 'the displaced' in rural context or 'internal refugees' will be used in this paper. The internally displaced in this context refers to those who have been displaced from Gida Kiremu Wereda in the north eastern part of Wollega Region due to conflict with the local Oromo population. Now, the displaced people have been resettled in a new environment in which they are referred to by authorities as the 'displacees-cum-resettlers' or 'resettled displacees' or 'new resettlers'; all of which can be used inter-changeably in the paper.

2.2. Types of Forced Displacements

Involuntary population displacements have become a global problem particularly since the end of the Cold War (Cernea and Guggenheim, 1993:1, Cernea and McDowell, 2000:1). According to Cernea and McDowell (2000: V), 'displaced populations have been part and parcel of modern history and often people are being displaced in the name of progress'. Cernea and Guggenheim (1993:1) on their parts have noted that:

The 1980s might go down in history as the 'decade of displacement' whether caused by disasters that ranged from famines in Africa, wars in the Middle East, or to homelessness in America, the close of the twentieth Century will be remembered for the large numbers of people evicted from their houses, farms, and communities and forced to find a living elsewhere.

The magnitude of population displacement and resettlement in developing countries has increased rapidly. Cernea (1995: V) noted that recent estimates indicate that "every single year a coherent of at least 10,000,000 people through out the developing world enter a process of involuntary displacement and relocation caused by a set of different factors". In the African context, the extent of forced displacement is increasing and the situations of many displaced peoples are deteriorating (Allen 1996:1, Gaim, 1996:16). In this regard, Gaim (1996:16-18) has summed up the magnitude of involuntary population displacement in Africa caused by a combination of factors in the following manner:

In recent decades, involuntary mass migration has become a common feature over much of sub-Saharan Africa. The reasons that prompt such movements are varied, but they often include interacting causes such as persecution, civil war, economic hardship, environmental degradation, famine, expulsion and forcible resettlements of peasants and nomads.

From among the displaced populations, the two large groups are categorized into two major ones: refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) (Cernea, 1996:297, Mathur and Cernea 1995:8). According to Cernea (1996:297), "refugees are people that cross international borders for protection, while internally displaced persons (IDPs) are displaced within their own country due to development projects, famine, conflicts, and human rights violations". The distinction between internal and transborder refugees is consequential, however, for resource allocation and assistance strategies (Cernea, 1993:376). Despite the huge number of internal refugees at present, no international agency has responsibility for ensuring the adequacy of protection and assistance including health care for internally displaced persons (Cernea, 1996:298).

However, some literature in the global context attempt to classify and/or categorize the displaced people according to the causal agents. That is, group of displaced people have come together in one category according to the kinds of causal agents. In this regard, Cernea (1996:294 and 1993:376) attempts to establish an exhaustive list or typology of people under circumstances of displacement. His typology is based on the major types or clusters of causal agents resulting in displacements. These are:

- a) Natural environmental disasters; droughts, famines, floods, earthquakes etc.

- b) Wars/political turmoil
- c) Persecution, ethnic/racial/religious and
- d) Development policies and programmes causing major changes in land/water use.

Moreover, the International Association for the study of forced migration/forced displacements (IASFM) provides us with the different categories of people displaced by different causal agents (<http://www.iasfm>). Firstly, it has defined forced migration/displacement as 'a general term that refers to the movement of refugees and internally displaced people (those displaced by natural or man-made disaster(s)). Accordingly, it has been identified that there are three although sometimes, simultaneous and interrelated types of forced displacements. These three types are categorized according to their causal agents (<http://www.iasfm>) and described as follows:

1. **Development-Induced Displacement:** people who are forced to move as a result of policies and projects implemented. Examples of this include large-scale infrastructure projects such as dams, roads, ports, airports, urban clearance initiatives, mining and deforestation; and the introduction of conservation parks/reserves and biosphere projects. This is the largest global cause of displacement that is experienced by many developing countries. It has been estimated that during the 1990s up to 10 million people around the world were displaced as a result of infrastructural development projects. It has also been reported that on average 10 million

people a year are displaced by dam projects alone. ([http://www develop-Indu-disp.](http://www.develop-Indu-disp.))

2. **Disaster-Induced Displacement:** this category includes people that are displaced as a result of natural disasters (e.g. floods, volcanoes, landslides, and earthquakes), environmental change (deforestation, desertification, land degradation, global warming, and human made disasters (e.g. industrial accidents, radioactivity). Clearly, there is a good deal of overlap between these different types of disaster-induced displacements. For example, the impact of floods and landslides can be greatly exacerbated by deforestation and agricultural activities. Estimating trends and global figures on people displaced by disasters is even more disputed and problematic. A 1995 report claimed that there were at least 25 million environmental refugees. (<http://www.iasfm.>)

3. **Conflict-induced Displacement:** people who are forced to flee their homes due to armed conflict, civil war; violence; and persecution on the grounds of nationality, race, religion, political opinion or social group and where the state authorities are unable or unwilling to protect them results in conflict induced-displacements. Since the end of the Cold War, there has been an escalation in the number of armed conflicts around the world. Many of these conflicts have been internal based on national, ethnic or religious separatist struggle. As a result, there has been an increase in the number of both refugees and internally displaced persons. At the end of

2001, both types of displacees combined comprised of some 36 million people worldwide.

The IASFM has also indicated that these three types of involuntary displacement are often studied by different academic communities; the causes are addressed by different groups of policy makers, donors and agencies; and the consequences addressed by different governmental, inter-governmental and non-governmental agencies, donors and organizations. Identifying and understanding the causal factors would be important for classifying and typologizing the categories of people displaced in the practical context. It will be of paramount importance to have a conceptual and analytical framework through which the researcher can describe or explain the socio-economic conditions of the displaced people.

2.3. A Glimpse at Resettlement Models

Over the years, students of 'planned' human resettlements caused by natural or man-made factors have proposed or formulated several conceptual frameworks which can explain and analyze the impacts of the programme in a new context. There are various scholars who have proposed and/or formulated different theoretical models, which can explain and analyze the impacts of 'planned' population resettlement in their own contexts. However, these different figures on the subject have looked at the impacts of population resettlement in different dimensions. Some of them have emphasized the socio-economic dimension of the resettlement while others have given due attention to the

behavioral (socio-cultural or psychological) aspects of the impacts of the programme. Similarly, some other scholars have given greater emphasis to the temporal and spatial dimensions of the involuntary resettlement.

However, each of the theoretical models formulated by the major scholars have their own strengths and weaknesses for the explanation and analyses of population resettlements that have taken place in different contexts. Therefore, mention can be made by presenting some of the prominent figures who have formulated different theoretical models. For instance, Chambers (1969) identified a three stage general model in the evolutions of land settlement schemes in Africa. Later on, Nelson (1973) confirmed this pattern in a synthesis of many experiences with new land settlements in Latin America. However, both models generalized the experiences of voluntary settlers and conceptualized the institutional or organizational dimensions of managed land settlement programmes.

Building on these earlier concepts and approaches, Scudder and Colson formulated in 1982 a theoretical model of settlement process distinguishing four rather than three stages. Based on a longitudinal study of change and continuity among the Gwembe Tonga displaced by the construction of the Kariba Dam in Zambia, their 'processual analysis of resettlement as a sequence of stages' has identified a four-stage resettlement conceptual framework (Colson, 1971, and Scudder, 1993). The model divided the relocation process into successive stages: 'the recruitment'; 'the transition', 'the development' and 'the incorporation' or 'handing over' stages (Scudder, 1993:130). This diachronic framework has

been built around the key concept of 'stages' by which specific behavioral reactions of the resettlers to each stage have been observed. The model has been identified to be having paramount importance to explain the impacts during the initial years of resettlement. However, it has been criticized for over emphasizing behavioral responses as a stress centered model (Cernea, 2000:31)

Further developments on the conceptual approaches in the analysis of population resettlements have encouraged other scholars to formulate resettlement models. In this regard, Chris de Wet (1993, 2003) by observing and investigating cases in South Africa, has come up with physical-social-spatial approach. According to de Wet, people will be affected differently, both across and within communities depending on the change in the spatial setting of the context in which people find themselves and hence, respond differently to their new contexts. (1993:322). In his own spatial approach, de Wet (1993: 322) has given us the explanations in the following manner:

The kind and degree of spatial change that people undergo will vary from case to case. Some moves will involve a greater change in a people's physical setting and correspondingly greater degree of stress than will others. People may have to move to a new area with different agricultural, climatic and economic conditions and opportunities.

According to de Wet (1993: 323), the distance and/or the kinds of environmental changes (cold, hot etc) that the resettlers have experienced the behavioral modifications and changes of particular communities in context. Furthermore, conceptual developments on the subject have come into existence with the works of Theodore E. Downing (1996:42). Downing (1996: 42), in his

'Social Geometry Model', emphasized social-spatial -temporal dimensions of involuntary displacement. From the perspectives of social geometry, social dislocations accompanying involuntary resettlement may change some of the spatial and temporal dimensions which define ' peoples identity, threatens intangible spaces and moral order, modify behavioral orders, setting new priorities and have a differential impact on people depending on their age, sex and rank'. Downing's argument emanated from the fact that, attachment to space and time can be a powerful binding force for displaced social groups (Downing, 1996: 44). Accordingly, the properties of spatial-temporal order in the disruption occurs along multiple dimensions of a culturally arbitrary, but nonetheless meaningful spatial temporal order (1995:44)

With an increased magnitude of population dislocations and/or relocations experienced globally and the further developments on the idea of resettlement frameworks, another resettlement model has been formulated by Michael Cernea in the beginning of the 1990s (Cernea, 1991, 1993,1996 and 2000). This model is conceptualized as 'Risks of impoverishments and Reconstruction model' (here after IRR). As a World Bank social advisor, M.Cernea has been well acquainted with population displacements and resettlements induced by World Bank financed projects. Therefore, the origin of Cernea's model has been both empirical and theoretical. Empirically, it is derived from the extraordinary accumulation of factual findings in the period under consideration. Theoretically, he benefited from the new state of the art achieved by resettlement research during the same period. Hence, recently, the IRR model has been embraced and

applied in a number of studies and in some operational resettlement activities (Cernea & McDowell, 2000:2).

Therefore, the issue of involuntary displacement and resettlement is not simply a situation of transplanting people from one area to the other, but a process through which self-sufficient people become exposed to risks of impoverishment processes through alienation from the major productive resources or assets (Cernea, 2000:14). Therefore, the displaced people finding themselves in a new resettlement area would enable us to employ a theoretical model through which we can substantiate and interpret the overall situations in the setting. In this particular case, we are dealing with the kinds of resettlement in its early phase that has taken place in response to forced displacement. In such emergency types of resettlement, the implementation process of resettling the displaced people are not selected carefully which, in turn, influences in many ways the adaptational experiences of the resettlers in the new environment (Gebre, 2002:31, Wolde-Sellasie, 2000:412, Pankhurst, 2004:102).

2.4 Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model (IRR)

Cernea's model is defined as the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model for understanding the resettlement of the displaced population (Cernea, 2000:14). According to Cernea, the IRR model focuses on the social and economic content of both segments of the process: the forced displacement and the reestablishment. The model is essentially synchronic, in

that it captures processes that are simultaneous, but it also reflects the involvement in time from the destitution of displacement to recovery in resettlement (Cernea, 2000:19). The model has, therefore, two main functions. First, to explain what happens when massive forced displacements take place – a task very important in itself. Second, it helps to create a theoretical and safeguarding tool capable of guiding policy planning and actual development programmes to counteract these adverse effects (Cernea, 2000:15).

Accordingly, it is a theoretical model for involuntary displacement and resettlement that highlights the intrinsic risks that causes impoverishment through displacement. According to this model (Cernea, 2000:14), forced displacement entails 'multifaceted impoverishment' via induced; landlessness, homelessness, joblessness, marginalization, increased morbidity and mortality, food insecurity, loss of access to common property and social disarticulation. Displaced people would share one or more of the above elements of poverty due to the socio-economic disruption they are falling into.

The model also points out that regularities and clear patterns of risks vary from case to case and the intensity of the individual elements or variables of risks varies even at times. In some instances, one or another risk may not even be experienced by a particular group (Cernea, 2000: 31). The other characteristic features of the variables of impoverishment risks are that they are interlinked or interconnected and hence influenced each other though some play a primary role. Apart from the difference in intensity and magnitude of risks in response to site specificity, the model also indicates the differentialities of risks within the

community affected virtually simultaneously by the displacement (Cernea, 2000:32). The sex and age structure within a particular group of communities affected by the displacement and resettlement might result in different responses. In this regard, Cernea's model indicates that differential risk intensity among different in sex (male Vs Female), Age-groups (children vs. old people) (Cernea, 2000:33)

Apart from identifying and predicting risks of impoverishment processes result from forced displacement and resettlements, Cernea's model is a tool for risks management. It suggests a strategy for countering this impoverishment risks emanated from displacement, (Cernea, 2000:14, Cernea, 1993:380). According to Cernea (2000:18) the eight key impoverishment risks taken together provide a warning model that can inform policies and plans for resettlement. 'Turning the model on its head' shows which strategies must be adopted and which direction should be taken to reverse the risks (2000:18, 1993:38, 1999:198). The model, therefore, noted that 'risks recognition' is crucial for sound planning' (Cernea, 2000:20). However, the means to overcome them through the rebuilding to life -support systems are central problems in involuntary resettlement (Cernea, 1996: 307, 2000:50). In this regard, Cernea (1996:304), therefore, concluded that 'the most pervasive consequence is that many displaced people remain unable to reconstruct their income generation capacity that they had attained before displacement and/or resettlement.'

2.5. Risks to the Host People

Cernea's model of risks of impoverishment through displacement also suggests that involuntary resettlement has some potential risks to the host population. In this regard, Cernea (2000:32) emphasized that 'risks to hosts are not identical with the risks to displacees, in substance, intensity, but are related to them and may result in impoverishment implications'. However, in most cases, the effects of resettlers induction on the host population are often not given due consideration in planning processes (Mathur, 1993:31, Gebre 2000:50).

Practical findings from different cases indicate that inadequately planned population resettlement imposes diverse risks on the host population by alienating them from their vital productive resources or livelihood resources including farmland, forest land, grazing land and water resources (Wolde-Sellassie, Gebre, 2003:50 Dessalegn, 2003:50). In this regard, one of the major research findings in the Ethiopian context as noted by *Gebre*, that 'the IRR model can be used to describe the implications of resettlement for hosts'. The major risks of the resettlement for the host population include land dispossession, decline of economic activities, conflict, loss of life and home destruction among Gumuz ethnic group in northwest Ethiopia (Gebre, 2003:55-56). Furthermore, risks of population resettlement in a new socio-economic and physical setting is the potential risks of conflict between the resettlers and the host population that may result from economic or resource completions largely induced by socio-cultural differences. (Cernea, 2000:32, Dessalegn, 2003:53, Salem-Murdock, 1993:307).

To sum up, Cernea's model indicates how his risks assessment models explains the multifaceted risks of impoverishment process encountered both by the resettlers and local host population during resettlement. Furthermore, he has also indicated how his risks assessment model can be converted into positive but, he didn't dealt at length and systematically how individuals search for survival and adaptive strategies for achieving sustainable livelihoods. In order to fill this gap, survival and adaptive strategies largely manifested through the interaction and relationship among the resettlers themselves and with the local host populations can be seen through the establishment network structure.

2.6. Survival and Adaptive strategies

Various authors have defined the concept of adaptation and survival strategies that man use to strive for existence in changing socio-economic circumstance. For instance, Spradily (1975:667) defined adaptation as the process of coping with a specific physical, biological and social environment to meet the fundamental requirements for survival" He has further elaborated it as follows:

People everywhere use their cultural knowledge to interpret their experiences and to generate action: the first and most important use of many body of cultural knowledge is human adaptation.

Again, Steward (1973:321) has also explained that in changing circumstances people could 'modify their acquired cultural knowledge' to cope with the new socio-economic environment and at the same time cultural ecological adaptations constitute creative processes'. Furthermore, Spencer

(1851:50), who is one of social evolutionists and laid a profound theoretical ground in the history of anthropology, argued that man survives through constant processes of adaptation responses in changing circumstances. For him, the process of adaptation or the struggle to 'rectify the non-adaptation to make it suite to the existing conditions (modes of life) is timeless process and as old as human species itself (Spencer, 1851:63).

In the general context, the concept of adaptation and survival strategy would imply to interconnected processes. Adaptation is the long-term phenomenon through which one could see the goal of man's struggle for existence; whereas, the concept of survival strategies show the short-term (day-to-day) activities of man to facilitate adaptation and to ensure survival in a given socio-economic, cultural, and ecological context. In this context, the adaptation experiences through various forms of survival strategies can be seen through various forms of socio-economic interactions and relationship established and/or rearticulated (Wolde-Selassie, 2000:412). Studies have also indicated that the socio-economic adaptation or survival strategies can be manifested through the interaction of people within the limit and or beyond the given context. Such kinds of socio-economic interactions and relationships in a new resettlement area can best be depicted using the establishment of network structure through which people can exchange and share material and non-material things.

One of the main cornerstones of the network analysis is that an individual can make choices in his relationships and is seen as an actor who innovates and tries to manipulate norms, and relationships for his own social, economic,

psychological benefits (Boissevain; 1974:85). In this context, Boissevain explains an individuals making of choices and decisions as follows:

With in the social, cultural and ecological framework so established people decide their course of action on the basis of what is best for them selves, and not only, as structural functionalists would have us believe on the basis of the accepted and sanctioned norms of behavior. Man is thus also a manipulator, a self-interested operator as well as a moral being. That is, he is constantly trying to better or to maintain his position by choosing between alternative courses of action. But, since he is dependent on other, it is impossible for him to achieve his own self-interest unless he takes others in to account and can demonstrate that his action in some way benefits or does not harm them (Boissevain, 1974:6)

According to Boissevain, in his book *Friends of Friends*, in which he discusses and takes in to account an individual as an interacting social being capable of manipulating others as well as being manipulated by others. What is basic here is that it will do more with individuals than with groups. The society is seen as a network of choice making individuals; and an individual is considered as a self-interested transactor. Boissevain (1974:85) further stresses that network relationships can be established on the basis of different factors and enable people to exploit different alternatives to survive within the context. These different factors such as ethnic identity, friendship, gender, age group, former occupational background, power, wealth etc, play a crucial role in network formation. However, the degree of importance of these different factors might differ from one context to the other. Also the establishment of network relations can be either for mutual advantages or some part of the people to exploit different alternatives to survive and adapt the socio-economic, physical, cultural and/or physical situations with less stress (Bossevain, 1974:85)

However, what is important here is that the relationship established between and among the resettlers and the host communities can be seen from the points of view of the strategies the two groups of people strive to survive in a given context. It has been indicated that diverse forms of interpersonal networks or relationships can be established between and among the resettlers themselves and with the host communities in ensuring survival and adaptation to the socio-economic, cultural and physical situations in a new environment or context. In this respect, interpersonal relationships between the resettled displacees and host communities can create the conducive environments and opportunities under which the two categories or groups of people can share the risks in the setting. Certain risks sharing interpersonal networks can be established in the day-to-day interactions and relationships, manifesting the differential reestablishment mechanisms of the resettlers and the host communities in the setting (Gebre, 2003:57, Cenea, 2000:5). Such relationships can be religious, social or economic values established in the social organization of production among the different groups of people.

Parts of the survival and adaptive strategies employed by the displaced people in a new resettlement area can be seen through establishing socio-cultural and economic self-help associations in the new home area. In the rural context, people who are engaged in agriculture devise or create certain self-help associations. Some self-help associations are religious festive associations, which are especially very common among the followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox church, while, others can be socio-economic associations. Such mutual

religious festive associations are *Mahiber* and *Senbete* by which people can share and exchange various things (Wolde-Sellassie, 2000, 423). While others are labour sharing associations like *Wonfel* or *Debo* which can provide them with strength in the struggle of their day-to-day life for survival. These different forms of socio-economic and religious associations, which the displaced people had been practicing, but interrupted during displacement, can remerge in a new resettlement area or can reemerge in the resettlement area at early phases (Agend et al, 1993:251, Wolde-Sellassie, 2000: 427),

Therefore, in the case of the resetting displacees in the new resettlement area, the social network and involvement in the context ensure survival and adaptation to the socio-economic, cultural and physical situation of the new resettlement area. The network analysis can, therefore, best depict the socio-economic structure of the resetting displacees and their struggle for economic survival and socio-cultural adaptation in a new environment (Wolde-Sellassie, 2000:427)

CHAPTER THREE: Background to the Study Area

3.1. Physical Characteristics

Jawi resettlement area is found in the Beles River Valley in northwestern lowlands extending from the North West along a narrow strip leading to the Ethio-Sudanese border. It is located in the western sides of the river valley. In fact, there are two major and well known rivers in the area which drain side-by-side from north east to the south west. These two rivers are referred to by similar but identifiable names. The first one is referred to by the local people as *Abat-Beles* (Father-Beles) which in fact is the largest and permanently flowing river in the area, whereas, the second Beles-river to the east is referred to as *Gilgel-Beles* (Child-Beles), which is smaller in comparison. However, both rivers in the study area are tributaries of the Blue-Nile (Abbay) river.

Jawi resettlement area, which is located in the western side of the Beles river- valley, is now administered under Dangila *wereda*, which is attached to Awi-Administrative zone. With the change of government in Ethiopia in 1991, Jawi area consisting of six peasant association or now peasant administrations (PAs) has been made part of Dangila *wereda* in Awi-Administrative zone after being taken from Northe Gondar Administrative Region. It has been readjusted so because the current administrative structuring has been redrawn along lines of ethnic identity including language, culture and psychological make-up of the people. Jawi lowland which claims to have been originally inhabited by Agaw speaking people has now become part of Awi Administrative Zone, one of the Nationality zones in Amhara Regional state.

Now, Awi-Administrative Zone consists of five administrative *weredas* namely: Ankesha, Banja, Fagita-Lekoma, Guwangwa and Dangila *weredas*. (see map 3). The political and economic center of the administrative Zone is Ingibara, which is found 447kms to the north of the Ethiopian capital-Addis Ababa. According to the 2001 population and housing census, the total population found in the administrative zone was estimated to be 929,846 of which 830,492 lived in rural areas and the remaining 99,354 in urban areas. This indicates that the vast majority of the population is engaged in agricultural activities.

Administratively, Jawi resettlement area is referred to by the Regional or Zonal authorities as *Jawi-ketena*. *Ketena* is now an administrative unit which is, below the *wereda* status but, above the units now referred to as peasant administrations (PAs). *Jawi-ketena* is one of the three *ketenas* of Dangila *wereda* found around Beles-river valley, namely: Worq Meda, Deqe and Jawi. Of the three *ketenas*, the largest and hence the area selected by the Regional state for current population resettlement programme is Jawi lowlands, found in the western side of the valley. Based on the data obtained from the Regional Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission (RDPPC: 2001), the total area of Jawi resettlement area was estimated to cover 26,528 hectares of land. This accounts for 64% of the total areas of Dangila *wereda*, which is 413,161 hectares of land and, also accounts for 29% of Awi-Zone which is estimated to cover 891,740 hectares of land.

According to the same study, latitudinally and longitudinally Jawi resettlement area is located between 11°25'-12°03' North latitude and 36°65'-

36°42' East longitude (RDPPC: 2001). Moreover, its relative location is also situated in the western side of Beles-river valley encircled by Alefa-Takusa and Quara *wereda* to the north's, Pawe resettlement area, to the south east, Achefer *wereda* to the north and the rest or highland parts of Dangila *wereda* to the east.

Agro-ecologically, Jawi resettlement area is identified to be '*Kolla*'. Based on the data obtained from the pre-settlement surveys/studies, Dangila *wereda* in which Jawi is part, consists of three agro-ecological zones namely '*Dega*', '*Woina-Dega*' and '*Kolla*'. The '*Dega*' and '*Woina-Dega*' zones are found in the eastern and or highland parts of the *wereda*, whereas, the '*kola*' Zone is found in the west and/or lowland parts of the *wereda* to which Jawi resettlement area belongs. Therefore, the temperature condition of Jawi lowland is hot. The range of temperature is between 16°C and 35°C. The lowest temperature is recorded in the immediately after the rainy season, whereas, the highest temperature is observed during the mid-dry season from February to the end of April. Generally, the area has two seasons: the rainy and dry seasons. The rainy season spans from May to September while the dry season, which covers the longer period extends from October to April. The average annual rainfall of the area is recorded to be 1475 mm. (RDPPC: 2001).

The topography of Jawi is characterized by vast undulating hills and plateaus. The area has an elevation ranging between 840-1200 meters above sea levels (RDPPC: 2001) There are no major mountains in the area with the exception of smaller ones like Mosebite, Berawi, Agazen Mebacha, Bagusa mountains and Tiklie hills.

There are many seasonal and permanently flowing rivers in and around Jawi lowlands. According to the pre-settlement rapid area assessment conducted by RDPPC (2001), there are about fourteen seasonal rivers. Of these, the major ones include the two Beles rivers (father-Beles/*Abat-Beles* and child-Beles (*Giligel Beles*), *Ayima*, *Fikir*, *Tekur*, *Gesho*, *Senel*, *Zengel*, rivers etc. However, the fluctuation in the volumes of the surface water in the area is very high in response to the rainy and dry seasons.¹

The pre-settlement area assessment studies have also identified that Jawi resettlement is largely covered with three major types of soils (RDPPC: 2001). The classification of these soil types is based on the texture and color of the soils in the area. These are black (vertisol), red (*Netosol*), and red-brown (*leptosols*) soils. According to the same study, 60% of the total area of Jawi resettlement area is covered with black (vertisol) type of soils, whereas 40% of the total surface is covered with the two types of soils-red and red-brown types of soils. It has been identified that black soil is difficult for cultivation and even not suitable for crop-farming. It is a water-logged soil which traditionally the local people call *mezega-Meret* or *walka-Afar*, whereas, red and red-brown types of soils are mostly found on hill sides and identified to be easily cultivable and favourable for crop cultivation. The local people refer to such types of soils as *Keyata-Afar* (red-Soil).

With regard to forest resources, Jawi resettlement has been endowed with diverse types of natural vegetation. The dominant tree species found in the area

¹ Parts of the sources for the discussion about the bio-physical aspects of Beles Valley area is based on the various studies conducted on the resettlement during the 1980s resettlement project in the area.

include: Bamboo tree (commonly referred to as *yabereha Shimef*), Acacia (*Girar*). The area is also covered with savanna type's grasslands which, the local people refer to as *yeberehasar*. Grasslands and the dense natural forest in the area were the home of different types of wild animals such as elephants, lions, buffalos, giraffes, monkeys and reptiles (like snakes, scorpions, lizards). The existence of different types of wild animals drew the attention of hunters from highland areas. In this regard, the accounts of the area given by Abdussamed confirmed the existence of different types of wild animals some years ago. He confirmed that 'near and in the lowlands of Ayima (Jawi), which extended to the Sudan border, there dwelled wild animals of different types' (Adussamed, 1988:237).

3.2. The Local People

The local people here refer to the different categories of people who inhabited Jawi lowlands before the influx of the conflict displacees into the area. These different categories of people who have been directly or indirectly affected by the resettlement and rehabilitation process include: the indigenous lowland Agaws and the spontaneous immigrant settlers in the area. Therefore, this section attempts to scout the socio-economic background and/or conditions of those local communities in the area.

3.2.1. Kunfel People

Presently, Agaw speaking people live in different isolated pockets of areas in the northern parts of the country. Areas like Quara and Chilga in Gondar; Belaya mountain in Beneshangul Gumuz Regional State and in areas of what is

today Awi-Zone (Bekalu, 1994:41; Awi Zone/unpublished material: 1996). Moreover, the Agaw-speaking people presently living in these different isolated pockets of areas are referred to by various names (Hertzorn; 1969:2). The names given to them are variously interpreted, mostly in relation to the ways in which they have come to and settled in the respective areas where they are found today. For instance, the Agaw-speaking people inhabiting Beleya Mountains and Tumha area are referred to as *Gagressa-Agaws* (Abdussamad, 1986:5). The Agaws inhabiting in most areas of Awi-Administrative Zone in areas like Ankesha, Banja, Guwngwa, Fagita-Lekoma and parts of Dangila are referred to as 'seven-house Agaw' (*Laneta-Awiya* in their own language) (Taddesse, 1988; Bekalu 1996:41). And, also the Agaw-speaking people inhabiting in parts of the Beles-Valley areas are referred to as 'Kunfel people' (Simoons, 1961:43, Cowely; 1971:99, Wolde-Sellassie 2002:253).

The Kunfel people, who are variously referred to by different names are recognized as the original inhabitants of Jawi lowlands. The different names given to them can be seen from two perspectives. From the outsiders perspectives (foreign and Ethiopian writers as well as neighboring people), these Agaw-Speaking people are referred to as kunfel People (Simoons, 1960; 43, Cowely, 1971:99, Taddesse 1988:195).

The earliest historical account of the origin and settlement of the Kunfel people in the study area is given by Simoons. (1960:43), who described it in the following manner:

The Kunfel are a small Christian Agaw-speaking group occupies villages at elevation from 3000 to 6000 feet in the dry forest country along the Valley of Dinder River at the southern edge of Begemider and Semeyen (later Gondar). According to their traditions the kunfel came from the Achefer and Kumbil (the derivation of the word kunfel) districts of Gojam province a century ago at the invitation of king Theodore. Amhara of the high land of Kuwara near by claim on the other hand that the kunfel are descended from slaves set free by Theodore and allowed to settle along the Dinder. Because they believe the Kunfel to have been slaves, the Amhara are very contemptuous of them and regard them as only a little more acceptable as the wayito fisher men of Lake Tana.

The other historical accounts of the people given by Cowely (1971:99) also indicate that "the Kunfel people lived south of Quara (Gondar) and north of Dinder River". Moreover, Wolde-Sellassie (2002:253), also indicated that the Kunfel people inhabited mostly Dangure *wereda*, in Metekel Zone in the north western lowlands. Although, there has not been comprehensive work on the origin and settlement of the people under consideration, which locate them in a confined geographical area, currently Jawi lowland (resettlement area) is predominantly inhabited by these groups of people who are referred to by outsiders as 'Kunfel'.

From the emic perspective, however, the word 'Kunfel' for my informants has become a pejorative term for reasons they could not explain properly.² Although my informants were unable to trace the exact place of origin and settlement, they call themselves either '*qollegnoch*' or simply 'Agaws'. Informants confirm that both '*qollegnoch*' and 'Agaws' for them are one and the same. '*Qollegna*' for them refers to the physical geography of the area in which they

² Ato Ferede Ashagrew (84), one of the key informants from among the lowland Agaws and he is knowledgeable about the area and the people in Jawi.

live; whereas 'Agaws' stands for the cultural and linguistic similarities with the Agaws inhabiting in highland areas. Furthermore, Cowely (1971:700) noted that 'although they are referred to by others as Kunfel people, they themselves regard this name as abusive'. These groups of Agaw speaking people in Beles-Valley area call themselves *qollegna* Agaw (lowland Agaws) which is in fact, a bit of a neutral usage of reference in describing the people in the study area. It is true that in the study area there are two broad levels of categorical identification of people, who are dichotomized as 'lowlanders' and 'highlanders'. People from the highland areas are referred to as '*Degenga*' whereas people from the lowland areas in Beles-Valley areas are referred to as '*qollegna*'.

3.2.2. Modes of Livelihood

The livelihood of lowland Agaws (*qollegna*-Agaw) is dependent upon ecologically adjusted diverse activities. They have been engaged in shifting types of agriculture using simple agricultural techniques. The major crops grown include: Sorghum or varieties of sorghum like corps which they call *Jahula*, *mera*, *gobe*, sesame, maize, papper, finger Millet, etc. They keep goats and sheep but do not keep many cattle. The most important occupation of the lowland Agaws in Jawi is honey collection or production in the forest. Their honey production culture has been largely known to other neighbouring people. In this regard, Simoons (1960:44) noted that:

The Kunfel country contains an abundance of wild and semi domesticated bees, and the traveler knows when he is approaching a Kunfel village by the presence of cylindrical beehives tied high in the branches of trees, some as far away as five or six miles from the

village. Honey is an important trade item for the Kunfel today and when they first settled in the Dinder valley they even paid their taxes in honey.

Furthermore, their honey production culture is expressed by Cowely (1971:100) in that "the Kunfel people keep bees". My informants also told me that until recently when many people came and settled in the area a single household could possess up to hundreds of beehives in big trees. Unlike the highlanders who keep bees at home, the lowland Agaws keep bees in hives hanging on big trees. Therefore, they protect and respect big trees, which is an environmentally friendly practice.³ Big trees are valued culturally and economically. Hence big trees for them have been named under family names and inherited from father to son.

Honey production among these people is cyclical. They produce three times in a year. One, from September to November, during flowering periods. Second, in March which they refer to as *chari*-honey because of the flowering of *chari* tree in the mid-dry season. Third, at the beginning of the rainy season. This cyclical honey production culture among the lowland Agaws seems to have greatly contributed to the preservation and conservation of natural forests in the area.

Moreover, they are also engaged in hunting and gathering of certain wild animal and fruits and vegetables. Hunting among the lowland Agaws takes place for two purposes – for food and social prestige, especially for males. The general

³ Ato Molla Meskel (70), one of my Agaws informants mentioned that he had more than 100 beehives some five-six years ago.

hunting culture of the people is mentioned by Cowlely (1971:100) in the following manner:

They shoot game mostly (the antelope, feqo, Agazen etc) using traditional mauser (alvin) after a bullet has been used once they retrieve it pack the case with match heads and fire it again ... They also kill elephant and lions but more as a demonstration of maliness than a provision of food. They also hunt crocodiles and sell their skins.

3.3. Spontaneous Migrant Settlers in Jawi (Belles-Valley)

The other groups of people who have inhabited Jawi resettlement area before the influx the resettled displacees were spontaneous immigrant settlers. The general information about the patterns of spontaneous migrations to and settlements in the Beles-Valley area, that have taken place at different times from different areas of Wollo, Gojam and Gondar is indicated by the research conducted in the study area (Berihun, 1996:91, Gebre, 2003:54, Wolde-Sellassie 2002:254). The migration patterns or paths can be described as taking place from east to west or highland areas to lowland areas. Different 'push' and 'pull' factors have been noted to explain the factors for migration to and settlement in the Beles valley areas.

Among others, the 'push' factors are land scarcity, environmental degradation, population pressure, food insecurity, drought and other social pressures (Berihun, 1996:41). Whereas, the 'pull' factors include, availability of vacant land, searching for better life informed by people who migrated first. In this regard, Assefa (1995:45) asserted that:

Dangila, (study wereda), a wereda in Gojam was praised as a land of milk and honey. Dangila, is a place where cows are milked three times a day and where honey is consumed from breakfast to dinner. There was a love song in which a young man invites his lover to Dangila the land of honey you (my lover) lets go to Dangila in order that we may eat honey.

As a result of the above 'pull' and 'push' factors, spontaneous migration and settlement in the Beles-Valley area dates back to the 1940s (Berihun, 1996:41). However, settlement of spontaneous migrants in Jawi resettlement area has been a recent phenomenon. My Jawi informants confirmed that the first groups of spontaneous migrants arrived in the years around 1992/93. There are two categories of spontaneous migrant settlers in Jawi. These are Muslims and Christians. Out of these groups, a section of the immigrant resettlers moved to Jawi due to ethnic conflicts, which occurred between them and the Gumuz ethnic group. Most of these groups of migrant settlers are Muslims who are former spontaneous resettlers from Wollo, Gojam and Gondar to the different Gumuz-inhabited areas of Mentewa, Dibati, Mandura etc.⁴

Most of the Muslim migrant settlers in Jawi resettlement area can be considered and described as second time migrants and settlers. My Jawi informants from among the Muslim immigrant settlers mentioned that the original homelands of their fathers, fore-fathers or their own were in the different areas of Wollo, Gonder and Gojam. They further explained that their fathers and fore-fathers left their home areas for various reasons. For instance, Ato Adem Muchey explained that he arrived in Mentuha area with his family at the age of

⁴ Adem Muchiey (50), interviewed, in Feb/March 2004, in Jawi
Seid Kassim (70) interviewed, in Feb/March 2004, in Jawi
Esheh Indris (80), interviewed, in Feb/March & April 2004, in Jawi

two (when he was a child). His parents migrated from Simada (Gondar) to Mentuha area due to the reasons he couldn't explain, but they lived for many years in Mentuha engaged in agricultural activities until 1992 when the conflict with the Gumuz ethnic group displaced them from the area and came to Jawi.

Most of my informants among this category in Jawi told me that there were frequent inter-ethnic conflicts between the spontaneous settlers from highland areas and the Gumuz ethnic groups. In this regard, Gebre (2003:54) also stressed that 'the Gumuz people in Dibati and Mandura areas resisted the self-initiated resettlement and tried to expel the newcomers by force'. (Wolde-Sellassie (2002:9) also pointed out that 'the conflict reached its climax in the beginning of the 1990s that emerged in the immediate aftermath of the 1991 political change'. The conflict eventually resulted in the displacement of a group of spontaneous settlers who later moved to and resettled in Jawi crossing the Beles-River to the northwest. Now, the number of Muslim immigrant settlers has increased in Jawi. They have established big mosques, in which Kuranic education is provided. Moreover, the Muslim migrant settlers have a major self-help associations *Mulsim-Idir*, through which they share and exchange their problems and happiness in the new home site.

According to my Muslim informants, the *Idir* has diverse functions and roles. It has basic rules set by all the members of Muslim immigrant settlers. Although it was basically instituted to help each other in times of disaster especially fire-accidents which are prevalent in the area, it is providing the members, especially the new migrant settlers, with help to adapt and integrate

into the new resettlement area. To the new migrant members, it has played an important role in the socialization and integration to the new socio-economic and physical environment. The Muslim-Idir has an organizational structure set out in a written document. Duties, responsibilities and authorities of each member are clearly identified. Apart from the executive committees consisting of: Chairman, secretary, cashier and auditor, there are other committee members which are referred to as *Shengo* which play important roles especially in conflict resolution among themselves and with other categories of people in the area.⁵

The other categories of spontaneous migrant settlers in Jawi resettlement area are Christian settlers who are widely referred to by the neighboring people as *Zellan* (nomads). These groups of settlers moved mostly from Bahir-Dar and its environs. Most of my informants explained that they came to the area together with their livestock resources for which they are known in the area and hence are called '*Zellan*' which literally means nomads. Although the term '*Zellan*' has a derogatory meaning, and the people don't like to be called by this name. Informants who are categorized under this '*Zellan*' identification say that 'people call us '*Zellan*' simply because we herd cattle and in fact have larger number of cattle than other neighboring people, but we cultivate crops and even produce and collect honey like the local Agaws and have houses in which we permanently reside.'⁶

⁵ Ababu Muhe (71), Chairman of muslim idir interviewed, in Feb/March and April-2004, in Jawi.

⁶ Kess Bekele Eneyew (42), interviewed, in Feb/March 2004 in Jawi
Ato Adimas Abeje (62), interviewed in Feb/March 2004, in Jawi

Informants under this category also explained that there are multiple of factors which have led them to move from the different areas around Bahir Dar to Jawi resettlement area. Factors like lack of grazing land, shortage of farm land or land scarcity, environmental degradation in their home areas like Merawi, Achefer, Meshenti, Dega-Damot, which are located near and around Bahir-Dar and its environs. There are also other factors taken as 'pull' factors in Jawi lowlands factors such as availability of forest land or grass land or vacant land.

To sum up, before the April 2001 massive population resettlement that was organized and executed by the Regional State in response to conflict-induced displacement, Jawi resettlement area was inhabited by the local lowland Agaws and the spontaneous migrant settlers of both Muslim and Christian Amhara settlers. According to the study conducted by Awi Zone, planning and economic development department, the total population of the Jawi resettlement area was estimated to be 10,424. The indicative population data has also given us the distribution of the population in each of the six PAs in Jawi which are listed below in the table:

Table 1: The size of local population in the six PAs in Jawi lowlands

No	P.As	Total	%
1	Jawi-Kurand	3945	37.85
2	Jahimala	2335	22.4
3	Adiwanji	535	5.13
4	Bagussa-Mariam	503	4.82
5	Bagussa-K/Mihiret	2010	19.28
6	Keftelie	10.96	105
Total		10424	100

Source: Awi-Zone DPED: 2001

Based on the data obtained from the same study the land holdings among the different categories of people inhabiting the area vary. Out of the total population 55% them were estimated to be local Agaws who claim to be possessing larger sizes of land in the area. Although the average land holding of a single household was estimated to be five hectares of land, there have been households possessing large tracts of land, which were either cultivated, or fallowed or forested land. According to the data, the largest size of land owned by a single household was estimated to be forty hectares; whereas, the lowest land size was one hectare and even less.

CHAPTER FOUR: Displacement, Encampment and Resettlement

4.1. Pre-displacement Histories: An Overview

The displaced people, who have now been made to resettle in Jawi resettlement area, have experienced repeated dislocations and relocations in the country. They have migrated from the different parts of northern highlands to Gida-Kiremu wereda. Later, these spontaneous migrant Amhara settlers were displaced due to violent ethnic conflicts with the local Oromo population. Both the primary and secondary data indicate that these people were originally from the different areas of the Northern highlands mostly from Gojam, Gondar and Wollo (See map 1). According to the registration that was conducted in the initial periods of the displacement and encampment, the distribution of IDPs by their original home villages is presented below:

Table 2. The distribution of IDPs by their original home villages (only registered during the initial period of the displacement and encampment)

No	Wereda	Zone	No of People
1.	Simada	South-Gondar	6225
2.	Este	South-Gondar	2470
3.	Goncha	East-Gojam	1926
4.	Motta	East-Gojam	239
5.	Dega-Damot	West-Gojam	90
6.	Dembecha	West-Gojam	62
7.	Quarite	West-Gojam	37
8.	Jabi	West-Gojam	100
9.	Sekela	West-Gojam	40
10.	Bure	West-Gojam	8
11.	Achefer	West-Gojam	4
12.	Mecha	West-Gojam	3
13.	Saint Ajibar	South-Wollo	687
14.	Ankesha	AWi-Zone	35
Total			12192

Source: - RDPPC (2001), Jawi Resettlement Project report

Most informants from among the resettled displacees in Jawi have given us different explanations for their out migration from their original home villages from the different zones of Amhara National Regional State (hereafter ANRS). The different factors can be simply and/or generally taken as either 'push' or 'pull' factors. The 'push' factors mentioned by informants include land scarcity, environmental degradation, recurrent drought, famine, and population pressure death of cattle, food insecurity, and other related factors. There are also factors mentioned by some of the informants and that can be labeled as 'pull' factors from the recipient areas in Gida Keremu wereda; factors like the availability of cultivable and fertile land for both crop-cultivation and animal husbandry. They migrated from their original home villages and resettled in the recipient areas simply to lead better life than the kind of life they had been leading in their original home villages. In this respect, they were not the poorest of the poor from among their villagers who had remained in their respective home villages.⁷

Informants also mentioned intermediate factors for their spontaneous migration and settlement in Gida-Kiremu area. These intermediate factors, which have not been given much attention by the researchers are the roles played by the community members and the local government authorities. In the first instance, many of the informants, whom the researcher interviewed, have relatives (either fathers, or sisters, or brothers, or in -laws or father- in- laws or sister- in-laws) who had migrated and resettled in Gida-Kiremu area before they migrated. According to the informants, relatives (closer or distant kins) who had

⁷ Shegaw Taferi, Interviewed in Jawi resettlement site in Feb/March, 2003.
Assefa Gashaw interviewed in Jawi resettlement site in Feb/March, 2003.
Andarge Kassie interviewed in Jawi resettlement site in Feb/March, 2003.

migrated and resettled in the recipient areas provided them not only with information about the good quality of the area, but, also facilitated and even created a conducive environment in the early adaptational experiences. For instance in the ways in which, the late arrivals could get access to certain productive resources through contractual arrangements. These kinds of social pressure (kin and peer pressure) were taken by Pankuhrst (1992:98) who found out that 'family, kinship, affinity peer and community pressure were highly significant and affected individual factors often overriding expected trends of population migration and settlement'.

During the courses of migrations and settlements of these groups of people from the northern highlands to Gida-Kiremu wereda, the roles played by local government authorities in both the sending and receiving areas should not be overlooked. This study indicates that the local government authorities played a part at least in facilitating the migration path or route as well as during in the early adaptational processes in the new home site. For instance, the local government authorities at various levels gave to many of the migrants settlers a kind of pass letter (a sort of clearance). The written pass letter stating "who the migrants were their number, properties and domestic animals they had the reasons for leaving the area. It also mentioned that they have paid government taxes and that they were peaceful residents in their respective areas. It further added that they are looking for new government lands . . . So, we request the cooperation of the concerned government officials of all levels and areas where they would arrive." Then, the local government authorities (usually wereda and

PAAs leaders) played important roles partly in the ways in which the migrants could get access to the productive resources-notably land. Informants explained that the local government authorities provided with their plots of land for which they were paying government taxes.⁸

4.1.1. Access to Resources

These spontaneous migrant settlers in Gida Kiremu area got access to certain productive resources especially farmland through different means. There are informants who obtained land through formal means that was through local government agents. However, largely and most commonly the spontaneous migrant settlers were able to get access through informal means. The informal means (informal land transactions) include: renting the land, share cropping, purchasing and also by clearing the forested areas that were not claimed by the local oromos. In this regard, Tesfaye (2004:17) explained that 'after their arrivals in the *wereda* [Gida-Kiremu], at different times, most of the migrants first served as share croppers for a couple of years or so, before obtaining plots of land for farming'. The latter were in most cases obtained by either renting the land from the local population on a contractual basis and/or by clearing the forested areas and converting them into farmlands. By doing so, the spontaneous migrant settlers acquired larger tracts of farmland in the area than they had ever possessed in other places.

⁸ In this regard, Scudder (1991:154) distinguishes four types of settlements based on the type of settler and the nature of the involvement of the sponsoring agency or agencies. These are spontaneous settlement with very little government or other agencies, spontaneous settlement facilitated by government and other agencies; voluntary resettlement sponsored by government and other agencies, and compulsory resettlement sponsored primarily by government agencies.

However, there were complexities and intricacies in the ways in which the migrant settlers were paying government taxes. Most informants, who obtained land through the various forms of informal land transactions, were paying government taxes indirectly. They paid to the local Oromo person with whom the contractual land arrangement was made. Informants referred to the kinds of land tax-payment as '*besir honen*' (under a certain person). Economically, the informants explained that they attained a better life in Gida Kiremu areas. There were various situations explained by the informants for their prosperous life was accounted for by the suitability of the area for crop-cultivation, animal husbandry, human health etc. as well to the size and availability of farm land they cultivated in the area.

4.1.2. Factors Precipitating Displacement

Although investigating the deep-rooted causes for the violent ethnic conflict between the immigrant settlers (Amharas in their ethnic background) and the local Oromo population in Gida-Kiremu area is not the prime concern of this study, there are divergent explanations about the complexities of the causes for the conflict, which resulted in the displacement of the parts of spontaneous migrant settlers in the area.

According to the available sources and also the discussion with the resettled displacees, no single factor can fully explain the violent-interethnic conflict between the local Oromos and spontaneous migrant Amhara settlers in the area. In this regard, different researchers have picked-up the issue/subject

and have tried to look at the practical or potential causes of the conflict that led to the displacement (Tesfay, 2004, Zelalem, 2003 Deribessa, 2004, Assefa, 1995).

One of the studies, which tried to look at the causes of the violent conflict, stresses the socio-cultural dimension of the inter-ethnic conflict, which resulted in the displacement of spontaneous migrant settlers. Deribessa (2004:59) in his own part stressed that 'The socio-cultural and socio-economic differences between the two groups have been the major factors for the violent ethnic conflicts in Gida-Kiremu Woreda. The differences in their culture, language, and social organization of production, precipitations towards environmental assets.

Furthermore, the complex and multidimensional nature of the conflict between the two groups in Gida-Keremu areas has also been explained by Zelalem (2004:9-10) in the following manner:

A closer examination of the reality indicated that ethnicity in its pure form is not a sufficient reason for various types of conflicts in the woreda (Gida-Kiremu) under consideration. Rather, Competition for resources in conditions of increasing scarcity remains the biggest objective reality behind the confrontation, however, is triggered by multiple factors and dynamics like unrestrained and massive migration, ethnic politics, population pressure, absence of formal mechanisms of conflict resolution and lack of good governance.

In the views of the informants, some emphasize economic, while others mention political reasons and still others explain the ethnic dimensions of the conflict. Whatever the cause may be, the conflict resulted in the displacement of parts of the spontaneous migrant Amhara settlers in Gida-Kiremu woreda in the year 2000.

However, most informants reported that the kinds of socio-economic and political interactions and relationships between the two groups drastically

changed following the change of the Ethiopian government in 1991. One informant reported that 'following the change of government in 1991, they were asked not to be involved in peasant administration affairs that they had been involved in during the pre-1991 periods. Another informant mentioned that we were asked to hand over the rifles the individual household heads possessed. Yet, another informant reported that litigation over farmland increased from time to time since the change of the government in 1991. In these regards, Tesfaye (2004: 23) noted that 'true to the words of migrants-cum-displacees political ethnic factors most particularly the agitations that were made against the migrant population by the ethnic elites played no less or even a crucial role in triggering the conflict leading to their eventual displacement'.

4.1.3. Displacement and Encampment

From mid-December 2000, when they were displaced until mid- April 2001 these Internally Displaced People (IDPs) were made to stay at an emergency relief camp near Bure-town in west Gojam Administrative *wereda*. The relief camp was located some 3 to 4 kms west of Bure town, which is located 370 kms. North of Addis Ababa (See Map- 1 for the location of Bure camp). Informants mentioned that the travel took three to four days to arrive at Bure-Relief Camp area by crossing the Abbay-river which separates the two Regional States (ANRS and Oromiya Region). When they arrived, there was no shelter or relief assistance.

Later, the Amhara National Regional State took the responsibility of providing relief assistance following the displacement. Immediately after their arrivals, the Amhara Regional state established an adhoc committee, drawn from east Gojam Zone, west Gojam wereda and the RDPPC that could take care and administer the displaced people in the temporary camp. A series of activities were carried out by the committee in collaboration with political authorities. Registration of the displaced persons including, the properties, which the displaced people brought with them. And then there was the distribution of monthly rations of 15 kgs of cereals, 1.8 kg of legumes, 0.6 k.g of oil and 4.5 k.g of supplementary flour that were provided together with a monthly allotment of 7 birr to meet additional household consumption needs. Informants reported that the relief assistance was distributed by the RDPPC alone.

However, in addition to the relief assistance, the displaced people devised certain coping Mechanisms to cop up with the risks during their stay in the camp. During the first two-three weeks after their arrivals in Bure, the IDPs were able to had job opportunities by working for the surrounding farmers in harvesting crops. Informants explained that others who brought parts of their livestock could cope with the difficulties by selling their livestock in the surrounding markets. The most common market place where they sold their cattle, goats, sheep, donkeys at low price prices, was Kuch-market, located some 20 kms south west of the Bure camp.

4.1.4. Decisions and Responses: Before the Move

Before the move of IDPs from Bure Relief camp to the new resettlement area, different measures and/or decisions have been made by the Regional State. Primarily, the IDPs were given different options that would be taken to rehabilitate them in a sustainable manner. The different options that were tabled for discussion were: either to go back to Gida-Kiremu *Wereda* where they were displaced or, to go back to their original home villages in the different parts of northern high lands; or to resettle in a new resettlement area provided by the Regional State.

With regard to the first option, almost all of the displaced people refused to go back to Gida-Kiramu areas for the reasons explained variously by the resettled displacees in Jawi. One informant explained that it was very difficult to go and live with people who took their resources. Another informant said that there was no guarantee that further conflict would not happen. In this respect, one of the reports conducted by Dechassa (2001/Feb) also supported that:

The victims interviewed responded during the field trip conducted in Feb 2001 responded that they don't want to go back to Gida-Kiremu, due to lack of guarantee for future safety and they rather suggested that the government should settle them in place preferably in Amhara Region.

With regard to the second option, some of the displaced people decided to go back to their ancestral home villages. These groups of people were the ones who left their home areas relatively recently and also those who have relatives who could receive them in the home villages. In this regard, reports compiled by Dechassa: 2001) and Awoke: (2001) indicate that 'some 400-500 heads of

households were allowed to go back to their respective home villages. The process was effected with the help of the Regional State in the form of repatriation. The repatriation measures included provision of money for transport and letters to the administrative agents of the respective home areas to which they repatriated. Authorities reported that some 200-300 birr was provided to each individual head of households depending on the distance they traveled from Bure Relief camp.

However, regional authorities reported that they were not comfortable with the aforementioned two options on the ground of blood feuds with the local Oromos and the difficulties involved in providing plots of land in their ancestral home villages. Hence, resettling them in a new resettlement site was conceived to be the best on the part of government authorities. The vast majority of the displaced people, too, decided to go to any resettlement area in Amhara Region. In this regard, Awoke's report confirmed that 'most of them were not interested to go back to east Wollega or home villages. Their interest was to be resettled in any place of the country where they can make a living peacefully' (Awoke: 2001).

4.1.5. The Resettlement: Implementation Approaches and Deficiencies

In this particular instance, the resettlement was conducted as an emergency response to conflict-induced displacement of the spontaneous migrant Amhara settlers in Gida-Kiremu area. It was implemented to be a durable solution for rehabilitating the displaced people, who were made to stay for almost

six months in Bure-Relief camp. So, the processes of transplanting the IDPs from Bure-Emergency Relief camp to a new resettlement area (Jawi) can be seen as displacement -induced resettlement or equivalently, resettlement that has taken place in response to sudden-displacement.

The operational approaches to resettle the displaced people in the context have a historical coincidence with the resettlement policy that is being pursued by the current government. Currently, the Ethiopian Federal government has embarked on 'planned' population resettlement programmes from areas of food-insecurity to areas presumed to be underutilized and partly potentials for agricultural production (Wolde-Sellassie, 2003:5, Abraham, 2003:1). It has been decided that with in the National Food Security Strategy (NFSS) which is part of the wider Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) that voluntary migration and resettlement are to be undertaken intra-regionally. As a result, Regional states are responsible for undertaking the 'planned' resettlement programme in their own respective regions. Furthermore, the manner of the current resettlement process is conceived to be conducted on a voluntary basis. As a result, it was the ANRS, which took the entire responsibility of rehabilitating the IDPs who are originally from the different zones of the Region.⁹

Soon after the discussion with IDPs was conducted, the ANRS organized an adhoc committee that would be responsible for undertaking a series of activities in the courses of resettling the displaced people. The committee was drawn from different sectors at various levels (Regional, Zonal and wereda

⁹ Wode-Sellassie (2003:2) provided us with the break down of the four regional states under the existing five years plan as follows: 200, 000, HH in Amhara, 100,000 HH in SNNPR, 100,000 in Oromoya and 40,000 in Tigray regions.

levels). It consisted of thirteen persons who have different educational and professional backgrounds. (DPPC: 2001). Having undertaken a reconnaissance survey in Jawi lowlands, the committee prepared a kind of guide line for Jawi resettlement project that would be used for an implementation manual.

The implementation manual or the rapid assessment of Jawi resettlement area points out some of the ways in which the displaced people would be resettled. It suggested the kinds of resettlement that would be implemented etc. These were low-cost integrated types of settlement meaning interspersing the displaced by filling spaces among the host communities. The guidelines also suggested the costs that would be needed for the effective rehabilitation of the displaced people. These included: Relief provisions for two years until they would become food self-sufficient and services needed before the move of the displaced people, services like health center (for both human and animal), education, potable water, feeder roads, and even grain mills.

However, the guidelines pointed out some of the potential problems and the deficiencies of the programme by which the displaced people would be transplanted from emergency camp to the new resettlement site. Among others, the most important problem was the lack of a proper study of the soil characteristics in the site (RDPPC: 2001). The document mentioned that due to lack of skilled manpower and time constraint proper soil surveys were not conducted which in turn may bring about potential risks. Furthermore, it has been indicated that the committee expressed doubts about the carrying capacity of the

resettlement demarcated site. The specific site was the two PAs namely Alukurand and Jahimala in Jawi lowlands. (See Map-2)

Furthermore, one of the serious problems or difficulties for effective rehabilitation of IDPs in general is lack of access to data about demographic as well as the socio-economic conditions and status due to some restrictive measures imposed by the government (UN AIDS, 2003:73). In this particular case, one of the serious problems in the course of the resettlement and rehabilitation processes that was undertaken by the Regional state was lack of accurate population figures about the displaced people. It was due to the fact that the continuous process of the displacement taking place side-by-side with the process of resettlement and rehabilitation measures. According to the initial phase of registration, the population was estimated to be 12196 out of which 4,214 were heads of households and 7, 982 were members of the families (DPPC: 2001, Dechassa, 2001, Awoke, 2001).

Later on the number of displaced people was increasing even a few weeks after the registration process for rehabilitation was over. According to the report made by Awoke (Feb, 2001), 'an increasing number of displaced people were reaching the camp due to the continuous displacement process. He explained the situation as follows:

Local administrations and DPPC officials informed us that, in addition to these 12196 IDPs, there are some 600 people who came later after the registration was over. These people are given grain assistance only until they will be registered. We had also witnessed at the period of the visit to Bure [Feb, 22-2001] that some 50-70 new people came to Bure after they have been expelled from public buses in which they were going to

Wollega. All these consequently indicate that there will be a continuous displacement of people to the area (Awoke, 2001:2).

As a result, the continuous process of the displacement was one of the problematic situations during the resettlement and/or rehabilitation efforts undertaken by the Region. For instance, at the peak periods of resettlement in Jawi the total number of resettled displacees has exceeded the numbers registered at the initial periods of displacement. (Piguet and Dechassa, 2003:11). According to the second round registration conducted by Awi-Zone Agricultural Department, the total number of resettled displacees reached 12283, of which 3600 were heads of households (Awi Zone: 2001). The distribution of resettled displacees by settlement pattern in the new clustered villages is presented as follows:

Table 3. The size of the resettled displacees population in the new resettlement site

No	Clustered villages	Male	Female	Total
1	Asefa-Meda	579	764	1143
2	Addis-Amba	978	862	1840
3	Agere-Selam	541	489	1030
4	Addis-Alem	986	907	1893
5	Addis-Nuro	1398	1270	2668
6	Ayima-Gebriel	1414	1265	2679
7	Zuria - Woyen	561	469	1030
Total		6457	5826	12283

Source: Awi-Zone Agri-Dept (2001)

Currently, however, these seven clustered villages have been reorganized into three administrative units or kebele peasant administration. Accordingly,

Addis-Alem, Asefa-meda and Agere-Selam villages have been merged into one and renamed as Ariga-Abbo Kebele peasant Administration (hereafter KPAS). Whereas, Addis-Nuro and Ayima-Gebriel villages were merged into one and renamed Ayima-Gebriel KPA and also, the remaining two Addis-Alem and Zuria-Woyen villages were merged into one and renamed as Addis Woyen KPA.

Based on the same study the age and sex structure of the displaced people who were registered up on their arrivals in Jawi resettlements site is presented as follows:

Table 4. The age and Sex structure of the resettled displacees

No	Age group	Male	Female	Total
1	0-4	1481	1327	2808
2	5-14	1510	1310	2820
3	15-59	3552	2745	6297
4	>60	92	266	358
	Total	6635	5648	12283

Source: Awi Agri. Dpt (2001)

CHAPTER FIVE: The Rehabilitation and Reestablishment

Processes

As has been stated in the previous chapters, the rehabilitation measures and activities for reestablishing the displaced people was almost exclusively undertaken by the Amhara Regional State. A series of measures and activities were carried out in the processes of restoring the livelihood of the displaced people. Against this backdrop, this section attempts to assess the livelihood and social impacts of the rehabilitation measures and activities in Jawi resettlement area. The assessment of the impacts of the series of measures undertaken and activities to reestablish livelihood in the new resettlement site can be seen in light of the deconstructions of impoverishment processes crafted by Micheal Cernea (refer to the literature review part). An attempt is also made to outline the livelihood and social impacts of the rehabilitation measures and activities upon the local communities.

5.1. Impacts upon the Resettled displacees

5.1.1. Land Allocation and Landlessness

The Prime and official objective of moving the displaced people from Bure-emergency relief camp to the new resettlement site was land -based rehabilitation process. Having selected Jawi resettlement site in Dangila *Wereda* of Awi Administrative zone, the Amhara Regional state carried out a series of activities during the restoration processes. Prior to the actual implementation of

the land allocation process for individual heads of households, a series of activities were carried out by the region, which includes among others; physical land preparation for the first initial years. This has, however, started after the displaced people arrived in the area. For initial soil clearing and preparation of the farm lands, the Regional State hired two bulldozers and two caterpillar tractors fully equipped from Tana-Beles Project in Pawe. According to the information obtained from extension agents, the plan was to clear the forested land stretching along the western banks of the Beles River. This stretch of land, which was identified to be farmsteads for the displaced people, is referred to by authorities as - 'Beles-Tekel Farm' (see the site on Map 3). However, the process of land allocation for farmsteads started even before the identified stretch of land was fully cleared. According to one government report, only about 3600 hectares of land was cleared in order to distribute one hectare of land for each family member.

The Regional State also set up another ad hoc committee, referred to by the authorities as 'land reallocator committee', which replaced the settlement committee. Members of the new committee were drawn from different sectors at various levels; viz Region, Zone and wereda levels. The committee started its activities of land redistribution for the displaced people in January 2002, six months after the displaced people arrived in the new resettlement site.

In the implementation process, the committee established or came up with different criteria. Based on the discussion with informants, there were eligibility criteria for acquiring farmland by the resettled displacees which included among

others: (a) resettlers that have been registered as heads of households in Bure - Displacement Camp, (b), heads of households who had volunteered to resettle in the new resettlement place offered by the region, and (c) the social dimension of the displaced persons. As a result, old people, the disabled and Female-headed households were identified and registered by the committee. Such groups of people were allowed to receive farmland nearer to the settlement villages and the land that was cleared during the initial preparation of the land.

The size of the land for individual heads of households was determined based on the number of family members. Accordingly, an individual household with two or less members was entitled to get one hectare of farmland. A household with a family size greater than two was entitled to get 1.5 hectares of land which was the maximum size of farm land given to the resettled displacees. As a result, out of the 120 respondents, 98 of them (82 %) reported to have obtained 1.5 hectares of land while the remaining 22 (18 %) responded that they were given 1 hectare of land.

Despite the above-stated efforts, the first and most critical problem challenging not only their survival and adaptational efforts, but which also snowballed into other risks of impoverishment among the resettled displacees was landlessness. In other words, land that can be cultivated is the most serious issue among the resettled displacees in Jaw resettlement area. Therefore, the question raised and discussed here is why the land based rehabilitation processes for reestablishment in Jawi failed to address its principal objective at this stage? There were different reasons forwarded by the informants about their

landlessness in the new home site. These were related to the hasty and ad hoc manner by which they were made to resettle in the area. Almost all the informants stated that the nature of the soil in the 'demarcated farm site- 'Beles - Tekel farm' was very poor.

Informants indicated that they were given land that was far from being suitable to be farmland. As a result, they abandoned it and resorted to land-leasing alternatives with the local people. One informant described how he attempted to plough the farmland he was given for the first cropping season, but, the crop remained on the ground due to the waterlogged nature of the soil. Another informant also clearly stated that he cultivated the land for the first two cropping seasons. But, the crop didn't grow and he didn't get any produce. As a result, for the coming cropping season he has leased the land from one of the local Agaws.¹⁰ In general, one of the informants described the nature of the soil in the 'demarcated farm site' in the following manner:

During the dry season the soil cracks so widely into two and the rift risks the lives of human beings and even livestock while crossing. In the rainy season, it gets waterlogged and makes a sea. So, the farmland shortage and landlessness made us utterly hopeless.¹¹

Most informants regretted that the propaganda during the discussion with Regional Authorities at Bure-emergency camp deceived them to decide to come and settle in the land that was not suitable for habitation. During the discussion they were told about the glorified image of Jawi lowlands, as if it was fertile and almost equal to Gida-Kiremu *wereda* from where they were displaced. The

¹⁰ Kess Tsehaye Abeje, interviewed in Jawi April, 2004.

¹¹ Ato Zebene Mekuanint, interviewed in Jawi resettlement site.

propaganda was even extended to the extent that there was a video show of the Jawi resettlement site. By doing so, the Regional Authorities showed the forested land with a glorified image of comfort and abundant fertile land for the land-hungry Amhara spontaneous migrant settlers who were displaced by the violent ethnic conflict in December 2000.

However, the promises and great expectations turned out to be totally untrue in Jawi resettlement site. This created a great disillusionment among the resettled displacees. Their perceptions towards the new home site were characterized by a feeling of insecurity and precariousness. One informant stressed that had he known about the land in the site, he wouldn't have come to the area. He further added that he would have gone to other places. Disillusioned by the inexistence of their expectations of fertile land, the resettled displacees began to lead an unhappy life which was aggravated by the loss of their livestock and the prevalence of malaria in Jawi area. As a result, they repeatedly requested the regional and zonal authorities for the reconsideration of land issue. However, informants complained that Authorities didn't listen to their outcry.

The expertise at various levels admitted that their farmland allocated is not cultivable. The progressive evaluation report made by zonal and *wereda* extension agents indicated that only few resettled displacees cultivated and produced some crops on their own allocated farmlands. The report further stated that the vast majority resorted to enter into land leasing arrangements with the local communities. Then, the report recommended that the farmland issue

among the resettled displacees needed reconsideration. However, suggestions given by the experts were not considered.

5.1.2. Experiencing Homelessness

An observable risk of impoverishment resulting from displacement and resettlement, which can involve the movement of people from one geographical area to the other, is homelessness. But, "homelessness or placenessness, which is the loss of housing and shelter, is temporary for some displacees, but for some remains a chronic condition" ([http:// www- di-in-dis](http://www-di-in-dis)). Among the displaced people, who were made to resettle in Jawi, the problem of housing and/or homelessness is one of the lingering risks of impoverishment, which can be described at different stages.

During the initial periods of their displacement and encampment at Bure relief emergency camp, there was no shelter or relief assistance. One of my informants, Getenet Alemeneh (42), who lived with five children in Bure displacement camp, describes the situations during the first part of displacement and encampment as follows:

Upon our arrival, there was nothing to live on; we sheltered under the shade of trees or some in kebele assembly halls near Bure, while some others were accommodated in the houses of local people. Later, the Amhara Region DPPC came and provided us with plastic sheets. Due to shortage of plastic sheets, about 100 displaced people were initially sheltered under one stretch of plastic sheets usually 4m X 5 meter. Later, additional plastic sheets were provided by the RDPPC and the number of displaced people who lived in one stretch of plastic sheets was reduced to 50 people. The place of the encampment was made ready partly by deforesting the area, and partly by turning arable land of the local farmers into campsites.¹²

¹² Ato Getent Alemeneh contacted and interviewed during three stages of field visits to Jawi resettlement site.

Still, the problem of housing or shelter was clearly observed among the displaced people in Jawi settlement site. Initially, they were told to move from the displacement camp to the new site without any preparation of shelters. Upon their arrival in Jawi, they were made to stay in the same kinds of shelter during encampment. In this regard, Piguët and Dachassa reported the ways in which the resettled displacees in Jawi were sheltered during the initial periods of the resettlement and rehabilitation processes in the new context:

Jawi resettlement has started in April 2001 with 324 shelters using 400 plastic sheets. 12283 IDPs from Bure have been allocated to seven new sites each of which have been reorganized into three administrative kebeles.

Having stayed in a kind of emergency relief camp in the new site, the displaced people were given land for house building. According to my informants, the size of land given to each head of households to construct dwellings was estimated to be 15 X 20 meters (300m² area). Side by side with the homesteads land allocation process, the resettled displacees were asked to erect their own houses in the new site. However, the progressive evaluation reports conducted by the Zonal and *Wereda* experts have indicated that there were many people (heads of households) who were not given the homesteads land due to shortage of land. As a result, groups of people who were both closer and distant relatives either in consanguinely or affinally were forced to live in one shelter - newly built thatch roofed huts.

During my successive field visits to the area, the problem of housing has been a critical issue among the resettled displacees. The problem is all the more

so related to the waterlogged nature of the soil. As a result, many people left their shelter compounds and tried to resettle in another area. A group of people whom I interviewed left the site because their houses were damped during the beginning of the rainy season. Some of these people rebuilt houses in other places, which they bought from the local communities. There were also some group of people who rented houses in Fendika town and its vicinity. Still, others left the site and went back to Gida Kiremu Wereda because of reasons such as landlessness, homelessness, and loss of cattle.

5.1.3 Food Insecurity

Based on its dimensions, durations, and causes, food insecurity can be divided into two categories: chronic and acute. According to the National Food Security Strategy Paper (NFSSP), chronic food insecurity is commonly perceived as an overwhelming poverty indicated by lack of assets. As a result, chronic food insecurity can be labeled as the poverty issue among the affected group of people (F.SS, 2002:10). On the other hand, acute food insecurity is viewed as more of a transitory phenomenon related to man-made or unusual shocks such as forced displacement. Hence, acutely food insecure people are assumed to be requiring short-term assistance to help them cope up with unusual circumstances, having temporary impacts on their livelihoods (FSS. 200:14)

The resettled displacees in this study have experienced acute food insecurity. Food security remains one of the daunting challenges and critical problems in the resettlement and rehabilitation measures taken by the Regional

State. Informants explained that they have been suffering from acute shortage of food at certain times since their displacement and encampment. No philanthropic organization was involved in food aid. All humanitarian assistances, including the provision of food and non-food items, have been exclusively channeled through the Regional Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission. Informants even reported that upon their arrivals in Bure and a few weeks thereafter, there was no relief assistance. It was after a lapse of some weeks that the DPPC registered the number of the displaced people and started to provide relief assistance. According to the DPPC, the standard ration for every person per month was 15 kg of grain, 1.8 gram of legumes, 0.6Kg of canned oil and /or milk.

Informants, however, pointed out that there was a serious problem of food shortages, at times leading to starvation during the six months stay at Bure displacement camp. Besides, the displaced people were not accustomed to the kinds of rations that were distributed like canned foods, which they sold to buy grain to over come the food shortages. Some of the displaced people were also forced to sell the livestock they brought to Bure camp from the displacement area.

Therefore, resettlement and rehabilitation measures were undertaken to attain food self-sufficiency at household and community levels within two years. The relief assistance was planned upto December 2002 with a similar standard food aid rations during displacement and encampment. Apart from the food rations, the resettled displacees were provided with other agricultural inputs for the initial reestablishment processes, including agricultural implements, seeds,

as well as compensation money to buy pair of draft animals to plough their farmland.

In spite of all the above-stated efforts, the issue of food insecurity remains among the resettled displacees in the new home sites. Informants reported that malnutrition has been rampant since their arrival in Jawi partly due to delays in the arrival of food aid. As confirmed by Piguet and Dechassa who stated: "interviewed settlers mentioned that food distributions are usually being delayed and /or the ration is not standard but a few kilos short." (Piguet & Dechassa, 2003:11)

Even after four years in the new resettlement site, the resettled displacees are experiencing acute food insecurity due to the various problems and deficiencies imbedded in the rehabilitation process, which anticipated food self-sufficiency within two years. The individuals and family members among the resettled displacees have been unable to feed themselves on their own. Apparently, there have been observable difficulties, which affected the productive capacities and efforts of the resettled displacees to either produce food crops for their sustenance or for earning cash to purchase their daily essentials. Among others, landlessness was the most serious and observable risk affecting their struggle for survival. As a result, they began searching for different livelihood alternatives that are in most cases unsustainable. These different livelihood alternatives involved high cost of living to lead a life from the local resources under strong pressure, include: off-farm and farming activities that will be discussed in the following chapter.

5.1.4. Loss of Livestock

Livestock represents one of the most important resources and income sources in the study area. Animals are kept as saving and insurance assets to be used in the event of the occurrence of unexpected disasters. They are also expressions of wealth and economic security. One of the distinguishing features among the resettled displacees in Jawi is that their repeated dislocations and relocations in the country have been accompanied by the dislocations and relocations of their livestock. As has been stated earlier, most of the resettled displacees, who were originally from the different parts of the northern highlands, migrated and resettled in Gida- Kiremu areas by taking part of their livestock with them. Many informants migrated from their ancestral villages to the recipient areas with some livestock. Similarly, some of them arrived in Jawi resettlement site with their livestock brought from the displacement areas.

As a result, during the rehabilitation process, the new resettlers were registered along with the property they brought with them -notably livestock. Based on the registration conducted after their arrival in Jawi lowlands, the estimated numbers of their livestock is given as follows:

Table 5: The number and types of livestock brought to Jawi by some groups of the displaced people

No	Types of animals	No
1	Cattle	2610
2	Pack animals	296
3	Sheep	240
4	Goats	186
	Total	3332

Source: Awi Zone Agri. Dept. (2001).

As the table above shows, some of the resettled displacees came to the new site with different types of livestock. Sadly, one of the survival and adaptive difficulties among the resettled displacees in Jawi lowlands has been the loss of their livestock. Informants who brought with them different types of livestock reported that many of their animals died due to the prevalence of a deadly cattle disease in the new environment. The loss of their livestock greatly hampered their survival and adaptive efforts in the area. One of the biggest challenges in the new biophysical environment is the prevalence of *Gendi* (Trypanosomiasis). Almost all informants complained that their domestic animals that were brought to Jawi resettlement could not readjust to the new inhospitable environment. One of the informants [Workie, (42), who lives with three children], clearly described how he lost his livestock in the following ways:

I arrived in Jawi in April 2001 with eight cattle, three goats' two sheep and some chicken. In the aftermath of my arrival (during the rainy season), all of my domestic animals died of diseases, of which the most serious and deadly one was Gendi. The latter was uncontrollable by the animal health services in the area. They died one after the other within the first rainy season. Now, I have bought one donkey with the money allocated to each heads of households among the resettled

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*displacees by the RDPPC. As a result, for the coming cropping season, I will plough plots of land by arranging land-lease with another person who has one donkey through kenja arrangement in a rotational manner on a daily basis.*¹³

5.1.5. Marginalization

The marginalization process in connection with displacement and resettlement can be evidently seen even before the actual move of the people. The process can be manifested in different aspects, i.e. economic, political and psychological with one aspect of marginalization process related to others. For instance, economic marginalization is often accompanied by social and psychological marginalization that could be expressed in the lowering of social status, the loss of confidence and a feeling of injustice and increased vulnerability (Cernea, 2003:33, Gebre, 2003:57). The contextual marginalization process among the resettled displacees in Jawi resettlement area started before the actual displacement took place in December 2000.

Both the primary and secondary sources have indicated that the marginalization process among the spontaneous immigrant settlers in Gida-Kiremu Wereda began with the change of the Ethiopian government. In 1991, the changing political structure at the national level affected the dynamics of social interactions and relationships at the local level in many different ways. The available sources pointed out that the kinds of interactions and relationships between the local Oromos and the settlers were dramatically altered following the 1991 change of government. In this regard, Assefa (1999:109) remarked that "the coming to power of the transitional government of Ethiopia made the

¹³ Ato workie Adinas, interviewed in Feb/Mar 2003 and April 2003 in Jawi resettlement site.

relationship between the settlers and the Oromo's more intense mainly because ethnicity was taken as a basis for the formation of regions". Furthermore, the process of marginalization among the spontaneous immigrant settlers in connection with the change of the government has also been indicated by Zelalem (2004:12) in the following manner:

Structural problems created by the central government by favoring one of the ethnic groups at different times created the problem. For instance, the system that favored the minority-Amhara, and marginalized the majority -Oromo's during the imperial era and the reverse process after 1991.

Informants who stayed long in the displacement area viz Gida Kiremu wereda, argued that the marginalization process started with the change of the government in 1991. Informants explained that there were no major disagreements or tensions before 1991. Since 1991 there have been successive disagreements between the local administration and the immigrant settlers. Many questions were raised both by the local Oromo's as well as the local government agents. One informant explained that they were asked to give back the farmland that had been obtained by different means, including land-leasing, sharecropping, purchasing or by local government bodies. He further remarked that requests like you don't have land here, go to your region' were commonly asked.¹⁴ The local PA leaders also asked them to hand over their personal rifles. In this regard, Tesfaye indicated that "the wereda administration's decision to exclude all non-Oromos from PA leaderships after 1991 acted as a point of dissatisfaction among the settlers. " (Tesfaye, 2004:18)

¹⁴ Ato Akaleneh Bayeh who stayed in Gida Kiremu area for eighteen years, and interviewed in Jawi resettlement site.

The process of marginalization continued to exist among the conflict displaced people who were made to resettle in Jawi lowlands. Basically, the economic marginalization overrides the political one in the new context. Economically, the resettled displacees were given land that can hardly be cultivated. In effect, landlessness reduced their productive capacity. As a result, they were compelled to become daily laborers for both the local communities and the privately owned farms in the area. Lack of self-employment in their own farmsteads reduced their social and economic status. It was in this respect that they raised the critical question that the regional state should reconsider their landlessness by undertaking land redistribution in the area.

The other dimension of marginalization among the resettled displacees in Jawi is manifested in political administration. The most important aspect, which is less considered by the displacement and resettlement literature, is how the local communities and the resettlers are viewed and administered by the authorities involved. As has been stated in chapter three, Jawi lowland, which used to be part of Northern Godar, has been made to be administered under Awi Administrative zone. It has been readjusted so because the current administrative structuring has been redrawn along ethnic lines. In other words, ethnicity has been taken as the reference for demarcating the administrative units at various levels. As a result, Jawi resettlement area, which claims to have been originally inhabited by Agaw speaking people, has now become Awi-nationality zone.

The ways in which the displaced people were made to resettle in Jawi resettlement site seems paradoxical, simply because part of the rationale for

resettlement and rehabilitation activities undertaken by the region was to create socio-economic integration with the local people. However, the ways by which the resettled displaces and the local communities are administered at the local levels seems to have created separate identities. The local communities are administered separately from the resettled displacees. This in turn, provided the context for the construction of boundaries between the two groups of people in the area. Self-identification and stereotyping are viewed through their separate administrative units in the area.

5.1.6. Heightened morbidity and Mortality

Both Cernea and Scudder noted that during resettlement in a new environment, the resettlers experienced increased morbidity and mortality. (Cernea, 2000: 35, Scudder, 1993:73). In this regard, Mathur (1995:6) also stressed that "involuntary resettlement no doubt happens to be the immediate cause of the hardships to the affected people, but much suffering the displaced people undergoes in the new environment". The change of the environment due to unexpected relocation and the accompanied erosion of resilience precipitated high morbidity and mortality especially during the early readjustment experiences.

Basically, there were two things which precipitated the rate of morbidity and mortality among the resettled displacees. Primarily, as has been discussed in section three, Jawi lowland is known for the prevalence of two major diseases, namely *Gendi* - (Trypanosomiasis) for the livestock and *Woba* (Malaria) for

people. Despite the prevalence of such serious deadly diseases, the displaced people were made to settle in Jawi resettlement site with no social services such as health centers. The available sources indicate that the pre-existing social services such as health posts, animal health centers, and Jawi primary school were expanded and upgraded after the influx of the resettled displacees to the area. In this regard, the joint report conducted by UN-EUE and DPPC clearly demonstrated the health problem of this people in the following way:

The major problems in the settlement are related to health and sanitation. Lack of preventive health measures, shortages of Anti-Malaria and anti diahorea drugs were reported. Drug supply remains a problem as well as the distribution of water. Joint health service is only provided by the local health station.

In the absence of the necessary health services and given the prevalence of malaria, the resettled displacees were exposed to unnecessary expenses in private health post. Informants mentioned that they were sent to Pawi Hospital due to lack of medicines and skilled man power in Fendaka town. The travel expenses from Jawi to Pawi were covered by the individuals. Furthermore, the outbreak of malaria not only affected their health status but also adversely affected their adaptational efforts using various livelihood mechanisms. The outbreak of malaria is very common during two peak seasons, i.e. - the beginning and end of the rainy season where people normally begin cultivation, planting and, harvesting.

5.2. Implications for the Local People:

The assessment of displacement - Induced resettlement in the study area is not only confined to the livelihood and social impacts of the resettlement and rehabilitation upon the resettled displacees themselves but also to what happened to the local communities in this specific resettlement site. This section, therefore briefly looks at the immediate and the long-term effect of the influx of about 12283 (this refers resettled displacees registered in Jawi) in this new resettlement site.

5.2.1.Land Appropriation

As has been mentioned earlier, the resettlement site in which the displaced people were made to settle is restricted to two peasant administrations in Jawi lowlands. These two PAs are Alu-Kurand and Jahimala. What is important there is that the local communities inhabiting the two PAs have experienced two rounds of livelihood or land appropriation undertaken directly by regional authorities.

The first round of direct land appropriation was conducted in the year 1997 when the Al-Mesh commercial farm was established in Jawi lowlands. This privately owned farm was established in Alu-Kurad PA, which was again selected for the settlement of displaced people in the 2001. The group of people whose livelihood resources such as cultivation, grazing and forestlands were appropriated are the group of people whose land belonged to Alu-Kurand where the farm was established. About 3000 hectares of land were allegedly given to

the farm (Awi Zone, DPED: 2001). According to my informants, there was litigation from the local people. Informants explained that the groups of people whose land was taken by the farm were not compensated. One of the informants (Admas Abeje, 61), whose land was appropriated by the farm, described the situation as follows:

Initially, the Al-MESh commercial farm came in the month of April in 1997. Representatives of the enterprise and local PA leaders as well as policemen summoned the residents of Alu-Kurand and Jahimala PAs for meeting to inform us on the decisions reached and the advantages of the farm. Then, residents who attended reported to have accepted cheerfully the establishment of the farm. Then, the farm was established by taking the lands of many local persons. Although we expressed our grievances to government officials at various levels by constituting a committee among the residents whose land was taken over by the farm the responses remained negative and we remained uncompensated.¹⁵

The second round of land appropriation experienced by the local communities in the same area (Alu-Kurand and Jahimal PAs) was in April 2001 when the Regional state organized the displaced people and settled them in the two PAs. Similarly, before the arrival of the resettled displacees the Regional state called a meeting for discussion with the local communities. The meeting and the discussion was held near Fendika town for a day. According to the Joint DPPC and UN-EUE mission report (June 2001) the meeting and discussion between the regional authorities and the local communities were conducted in the following way:

After identification, the authorities contacted the 4000 people that possess about 400 hectares of arable land. The authorities and the host communities discussed the issue and obtained their concurrence to cohabit with the displaced. Accordingly, an agreement was reached whereby the community agreed to give the 300 hectares of land to the displaced people and to retain the 100 hectares for their own use. Part of the agreement included provision of support to the host community

¹⁵ Ato Adimas Abeje-Spontaneous migrant settlers in Jawi and interviewed in Jawi resettlement site.

by plowing the virgin land with tractors for the initial period only, while doing the same for the new settlers as well. Once this agreement was made, the DPPC started to move the displaced people to Jawi giving a mobility ration package of cereal, legumes and canned food.

The meeting and discussion were made to get an entry point or receive the settlement land from the local communities. Accordingly, the Regional Authorities registered the number of persons whose farmland was directly appropriated for the settlement purpose. One government report indicated that there were about 107 persons whose cultivated and prepared land was taken over by the resettled displacees. In this regard, Piguet and Dechassa also reported that "about 84 Agaw farmers and approximately 100 immigrant Amhara settlers have been forced to return land to the government in order to allocate it to the newcomers."

It seems paradoxical in the study area that the regional state attempts to portray the resettlement in Jawi as implemented on a voluntary basis for one of the above reasons. The discussion was conducted with the local communities in Jawi resettlement site. And, hence, it is reported to have been implemented on a voluntary basis. In reality, however, the discussion with the local communities in Jawi was conducted after the site had been selected and identified by the regional authorities. Furthermore, almost all of the members of local communities whose farmland was appropriated remained uncompensated.

The regional state didn't compensate for the cultivated land appropriated. During my successive field visits to the site, there were many local persons, who expressed grievances about landlessness due to appropriation by the settlement in April 2001. One of my informants, a Muslim immigrant settler, whose land was

appropriated by local government agents, described how the regional state was involved in the appropriation process among the immigrant settlers in the area:

A group of conflict-displaced farmers from a Gumuz inhabited area arrived in Jawi in 1993/4. After staying for a year, they were engaged in different activities including sharecropping, hired labor, renting land. The local PA leader named Yisemaw gave us large tracts of arable land. In Jahimala PA the land that was partitioned by a group of people numbered sixty Muslim immigrant settlers extended and was marked between Ayima and Gesho rivers. Then, we have been paying government taxes (with receipts). But, our farmlands have been taken by the Regional Authorities for the settlement of displaced people. After settling them in our lands, the authorities didn't consider our landlessness.¹⁶

By doing so, the displaced people were made to settle in this resettlement site by directly displacing the local communities. This has been carried out in violation of resource rights and entitlements. They have also lacked guarantees for part of the productive resources they now possess. Hence, there was a marked tenure insecurity observed in this resettlement site.

5.2.2. Internal Dynamics

What are the contextual dynamics of change observed, which directly or indirectly affected the mode of life of the groups of people in the setting? The major contextual dynamics of change, which occurred in connection with the influx of about 12,683 new settlers, was the dramatic changes in the ways in which the local people in Jawi area eke out a living under the existing local resources.

Land -leasing in different form was not uncommon in the study area, especially with the arrivals of the first groups of spontaneous immigrant settlers.

¹⁶ Ato Ibrahim Hassen, immigrant settler and interviewed in Jawi in Feb/Marich 2003.

It has been stated that, among others, the immigrant settlers in Jawi were able to get access to land through land-leasing mechanisms in different forms. However, the influx of the resettled displacees in the area has been identified to be a dramatic episode in the ways by which the people in the area shared and exchanged the productive resources notably cultivable land.

Informants indicated that the amount of payment and/or sharing the ratio of produce has been dramatically altered since the arrivals of the resettled displacees. For instance, before their arrival, the average payment for one estimated hectare of land didn't exceed 200 to 300 birr, which has now reached between 400 to 600 birr. Meanwhile, sharing the ratio of the produce was between $\frac{1}{4}$ (25%) and $\frac{1}{6}$ (17%), which has now reached $\frac{1}{3}$ (33%) or on equal basis implying that there is a serious land shortage in the study area. As a result, it has been indicated that there is serious competition to get access to and control over cultivable land.

5.2.3. Coping Mechanisms

There was a significant difference in the way the indigenous lowland Agaws and immigrant settlers responded to the serious problem of land shortage observed in Jawi resettlement site. As it has been described in chapter three, the basic means of livelihood of the indigenous Agaws in Jawi lowlands was honey production culture in the forests coupled with some agricultural activities using simple tools. However, the successive encroachment and resettlement not only involved the destruction of forests upon which their livelihood was dependent but

also resulted in heavy concentrations of people. Now, in response to the growing demands of land, the local Agaws resorted to non-confrontational coping responses that appeared to be potentially risky and unsustainable. They are now engaged in land-leasing, renting, and even selling their lands including the cultivated and forestlands without realizing the potential problems. By doing so, they began to give great value to land, which they didn't give much attention before.

The response to livelihood appropriation, the immigrant settlers tried to cope up with the risks of landlessness through diversification. Diversity in livelihood went to the extent that part of the Muslim immigrant settlers changed their occupation from agriculture and other petty-trade activities. A large proportion of Muslim immigrant settlers whose farmland was taken over by the state resorted to trade activities by abandoning agriculture, which was their means of livelihood in the area.

5.3. Summary

This chapter has attempted to assess the immediate and long-term impacts of the rehabilitation activities undertaken for the livelihood reestablishment in the new environment. A series of overlapping activities have been carried out by the regional state for the land-based rehabilitation process in the new environment. However, the implementation process of rehabilitating the IDPs in the new environment has not been carried out carefully. As has been discussed, the process lacked proper inputs: funding, pre-settlement surveys,

planning, consultation, careful implementation and monitoring. Lacks of the preparation of the above stated pre-conditions have given rise to the exacerbations of the risks of impoverishment not only among the resettled displacees but also among the local communities in the area.

For the resettled displacees, the hasty and ad hoc manner in which they were made to resettle in the site has exposed them to the extreme challenges, difficulties and stresses. It has exposed them to new physical circumstances i.e. a new harsh environment. It has also exposed them to new biological change i.e. new diseases. The Jawi lowland is known for the prevalence of two diseases. The one is a human disease namely malaria which claimed the lives of many but an unknown numbers of resettled people. The other is an animal disease named trypanosomiasis, which killed the livestock brought by the displaced people to the area. It has also exposed them to new administrative structures in which they are administered separately from the local communities in the area. During the processes of rehabilitating the displaced people in this area, the local communities have experienced similar challenges, difficulties and stresses. The displaced people were made to resettle in the site by directly appropriating the livelihood resources such as forest, grazing and prepared farmlands of the local communities.

CHAPTER SIX: The Survival and Adaptive Strategies

6.1. Daily Labor for the Local People

Working as daily laborers for the local people was one of the visible livelihood activities and coping mechanisms among the resettled displacees. Almost all informants stated that regardless of sex and age differences, any person and family member at working age resorts to be employed as daily laborer for the local communities. The daily labor activities for which they were employed by the local people include: agricultural and non-agricultural activities. However, the most observable and common activities are agricultural activities during the labor demanding seasons such as planting, weeding and harvesting.

According to an interview made with one of the informants working as a daily laborer for the local people, it has become a regularized livelihood activity among the resettled displacees in Jawi. The informants elaborated that there has been regular places where Job seekers and labor-seekers meet every morning especially on working days. This place is located under a big tree in Fendika market. He added that labor-seekers among the different categories of local persons are coming from different places in Jawi-lowlands. Job-seekers (landless resettled displacees) are also coming from the clustered new settlement villages and await the labor-seekers at the regular contact place. The two groups bargain for the kinds of tasks the Job-seeker is assigned and for the daily payment.

It has been explained that the daily payment varies depending on the tasks and also on the physical strength of the laborer. According to many of the informants, the average daily work payment was between 5 and 7 birr. By doing

so, the landless resettled displacees in Jawi could generate income at individual and household levels or basis. The income generated through daily work payment is used by the laborers not only for the daily food consumption but also for various expenses such as payment for land leasing in various forms in the area.

6.2. Hired Labor in AL-MESH Commercial Farm

The other causal labor opportunity the resettled displacees have obtained in Jawi resettlement site since their arrival was in Al-MESH commercial farm. Al-MESH (Alahmoudi and Meshesha enterprise) is a privately owned farm that was established in Jawi area in 1997. It was established with the objective of producing both commercial and food crops. The farm which was established in Alu-Kurand *kebele* in the Jawi lowlands is estimated to cover about 3000 hectares of land (Awi zone DPED: 2001). The opening up of the Pawe -Jawi road crossing the Beles river through the farm in 1997 transformed Jawi lowland in many different ways including the expansion of trade activities, the development of Fendika town, ease of movements.

However, one of the notable activities for which the farm was acknowledged in Jawi was the casual labor opportunity it offered to the landless resettled people. One informant remarked, "Had it not been for the existence of Al-MESH commercial farm, I would not have found my family members". The informant also said, "thanks to the presence of the farm near the settlement site all the landless resettled displacees that you can see today can survive". In this

regard, the observation and the accounts given by Piguet and Dechassa also confirmed that "AL-MESH Commercial Farm, an Alahmaudi and Meshaesha enterprises, employs casual laborers who feed several hundreds of families around Jawi area". (Piguet and Dechassa, 2004:13).

Based on the discussion with informants, the farm has employed about 400-500 daily laborers on average since their arrival in Jawi. It employed laborers during the peak labor seasons such as planting, harvesting and weeding times. Informants were asked about the amount of daily payment. They said that it varies depending on the tasks for which groups of individual laborers are assigned. Accordingly, the average daily payment is reported to be between 7 and 8 birr per day, which is better than the amount of the daily labor payment rendered by the local people.

6.3. *Meret -Megazat* (Land -Leasing)

According to Nayaka, "at the relocation site, the resettlers must scramble for most to secure their daily food through access to land by whatever means necessary -be it purchase, lease, share cropping or illegal-squatting in order to start on the hardships uphill road to recovery" (Nayaka, 2000:75). What was clearly observed among the landless resettled displacees in Jawi resettlement area was that in the face of landlessness they are rushing to secure cultivable land from the local communities through different contractual arrangements.

The different forms of arrangements are commonly referred to by the local people as *Meret-Megazat* (land-leasing). In fact, land leasing was one of the

means by which the resettled displacees could get access to land before their displacement from Gida-Kiremu Wereda. Now, land leasing in different forms has been revitalized and applied in this new resettlement site as well. The contractual arrangements are made through personal negotiations between the resettled displacees and the local people, largely with the Agaws who possess relatively better and larger sizes of land. The arrangements are made without recognition from the government bodies or authorities. As a result, they can be described as informal contractual arrangements. Such informal land contractual arrangements can be made either in cash or in kind.

The terms of the contracts both in cash and in kind are strictly written down on paper. The document should contain the amount of payment or the ratio of sharing the produce as well as the terms of the contract. Based on the discussion with the informants as well as the archival materials collected and referred to by the researcher, the most common terms of the contractual arrangement was made only for one cropping season. The terms of the contracts are written down in front of three persons who are witnesses in times of breach of contract. Copies of the letters of contractual arrangements are kept in the hands of the two parties as well as in the hands of one of the three witnesses.

6.3.1. Lease-in Cash

In cash types of land lease-in and out-arrangement between the resettled displacees and the local people in Jawi resettlement site, the arrangements are made on the basis of paying a fixed amount of cash in birr. The payment is to be

paid either once or at different intervals during one cropping season. According to informants, the average amount of payment for an estimated hectare of land is between 300 and 600 birr for one cropping season. However, as can be learnt from the discussions with the informants, the cash amount varies depending on land quality and or the distance from the homesteads.

Accordingly, the kinds of the land quality are determined by whether the land has been cultivated before or not. As a result, if the land claimed by either of the local persons is uncleared land (referred to by the local people as *yaletmenetere-meret*), the average payment is between 300 and 400 birr. Again, if the land has been cleaned and/or cultivated before or fallowed land for one or more cropping season, the average amount of payment is between 400 and 600 birr. Such types of cultivable land are referred to by the local communities as *Yetemenetere-meret* ' or some times *massa-meret* (Cleared-land).

It is clear from the information obtained from the informants as well as the letters of contractual agreements that the arrangements are usually made before the rainy season. The landless people take the initiatives for the contractual arrangements. Therefore, among many instances, one typical example of the land lease-in and-out arrangement in cash between the local Agaw and the landless resettled displacees is presented as follows:

The contract document is made between a certain Ayalew (local Agaw) who is the owner of the land and a certain Getenet (resettled displacees) and contains the words of agreement and signatures of the witnesses . . . 'I, the renter (Getenet), have agreed to pay a cash of birr 265 for land of half a hectare . . . I (owner of the land) have also agreed to lease - out my land to the aforementioned renter only for one cropping season' . . . In order to prevent any future problems, the

names of the bordering owners are referred in four directions from the land and included in the document. Finally, the two parties as well as the three witnesses put their signatures to keep the contractual agreement for one cropping season. Date - 7/7/94 E.C (2003)

6.3.2. Share Cropping

In this kind of contractual arrangements between the resettled displacees and the local communities, the agreements are made on the basis of sharing out the ratio of the produce. During the arrangement, the sharecropper (landless person) and the owner of the land agreed to share the produce, whichever crops grown in the area. The sharecropper will give either a fixed amount of grain in a certain unit of measurement stated or share-out the ratio of the produce at harvest times.

As can be understood from the discussion with the informants, the amount of sharing out the ratio of the produce in a certain plots of land is different. The differences also depend on the quality of the land as well as the distance from the homesteads. As a result, if the land which is not cleared (forest land) is claimed by the local Agaws, the arrangement is made to share $\frac{1}{4}$ (25%) or $\frac{1}{5}$ (20%) of the produce. This means the sharecropper will take 4 or 5 parts while the owner of the land takes one. If the land is either currently cultivated or fallowed, the contractual arrangement between the two parties is usually on an equal basis or sometimes $\frac{1}{3}$ (33%) of the produce, which is referred to by the informants as *Siso*.

6.3.3. Lease-in and share-out Arrangement

In this form of arrangement, the contractual agreement is made between and among three persons or parties. Firstly, a person among the landless resettled displacees leases-in the land from the local person. The arrangement can be either in-cash or in-kind. And, then the person who directly arranged the contract shares-out parts of the plots of the land he has leased in from the local Agaws. The two persons again agree to share the cash or the ratio of the produce depending on their contractual agreement.

In this type of lease-in and share-out arrangement between and among the three persons, the one who actually ploughs the farmland are the two landless resettled displacees. The de-facto (temporary) owner for one cropping season is the intermediate person who leases-in the land from the original owner and shares out the parcel of the leased-land to his counterparts. This type of contractual arrangement in Jawi resettlement area is a typical evidence of risk sharing interpersonal relationships not only between the resettled displacees and the local people but also among the resettled displacees themselves.

However, under such type of lease-in and share-out contractual arrangements, the person who first made the contract and shared out to the other person among the resettled displacees seems to gain some benefits. The contractual arrangement also reflects the differential impacts of the displacement and resettlement in the context. As it has been stated earlier, some segments of the displacees, who were made to resettle in this area, have brought with them different types of livestock. Therefore, groups of the resettled displacees who

arrived in Jawi with parts of their livestock coped up better with risks of landlessness better than the groups of resettled displacees who arrived in Jawi having left behind their livestock in the displacement area. As a result, persons who first lease-in and share-out to others are mostly among the resettled displacees who brought with them part of their property or livestock.

6.3.4. Disguised Land Transaction

The most rampant but hidden practice, which is not given attention by the authorities is the land selling and buying practice between the landless resettled displacees and the local communities. The former are rushing to secure land for house building and farmlands through purchasing, while the latter are also very eager to sell the lands without realizing the potential risks. Hence, land selling and buying practices between the resettled displacees and local communities in the area can be described as a disguised form. Firstly, the practice is referred to by the name of land-leasing (*meret-keraye*).

However, unlike other forms of land-leasing, described previously, under the disguised land selling and buying process, the arrangement is not written down on paper. Based on the discussion with informants among the resettled displacees, quite a large number of homeless and landless resettled people were able to get land through purchasing from the local communities. There were typical examples described by individual informants. One informant stated that he built his new house over the land bought from the local Agaw. Another informant also told me that a group of five people and he himself bought tracts of land over

which they now built their homesteads. Still, groups of resettled displacees who arrived in Jawi with parts of their property took the upper hand in the processes of risks-aversion through land purchasing.

6.4. Socio-cultural Ties with the Local People

At this stage, the interactions and relationships between the resettled displacees and local communities in Jawi resettlement site were not restricted to land-based exchanges and relationships through contractual arrangements but also observed through the formation and/or establishment of certain socio-cultural ties. Certain interpersonal risks-sharing socio-cultural relationships are being formed. This has been identified to be a means by which the resettled displacees share out the risks with the local people in the new environment.

6.4.1. *Wodaj*

Wodaj, is a personal friendship client established between two or more persons. *Wodaj* formation resulted from the day-to-day interactions of the different categories of people who were made to live together in the resettlement site. The resettled displacees were made to live together with the local Agaws and spontaneous immigrant settlers. *Wodaj* formation can be made within and across different ethnic and religious groups. Furthermore, a single person can have more than one *wodaj*.

Informants among the resettled displacees expressed their view that through *Wodaj* relationship with the local communities they share and gain many

different things and it created harmonious relationships with the local persons. One informant stated that his Muslim *Wodaji* lends him money for the trade activity he is engaged in. Another informant also indicated that one of his Agaw-*Wodaj* gave him land-leasing opportunities on a regular basis for a reasonable amount of payment.

6.5.2. *Tut-Metabat*.

Tut-metabat (breast-feeding) is a common cultural practice among the resettled displacees in Jawi. This customary practice is also familiar to the local Agaws in Jawi lowlands, which they call in their own language '*Angusa-Awiya*'. *Tut-metabat* arrangement needs the preparation of feasts to initiate the arrangement.

What is important in this context is that the resettled displacees who were falling in risky and stressful situations are eager to enter *tut-metabat* arrangements with the local Agaws. Informants stated that they are seeking the protection of the important persons either because of his land, usually large cultivable land or local political power or religious figure among the local communities. It can provide the landless people with some assistance and protection. The case of one informant, Hulegeze (41), can clearly depict how *tut-metabat* arrangement between the resettled displacees and the local people in the context is arranged in the following manner:

Thinking to get some sort of assistance or benefits, I asked Yismaw (a certain Agaw) to arrange and form a kind of Zimidina or tute-metabate (father-child relationships). After a few weeks when I asked him (Yisemaw), he responded to me of the loyalty and interest to accept the request. Then I (Hulgeze) and Yismaw agreed to celebrate the

ceremony in the house of Yismaw who then became Yetute -Abate (breast-father) of mine. The ceremony involved feasts prepared in the house of Yismaw to officiate the arrangement. Then after, I occasionally visit the house of Yisemaw who prepares a kind of feast in his home. By doing so, last year (2003), Yisemaw has given me a plot of land [one estimated hectare] with a very minimum share-out of the produce. Now, I am cultivating this land. In return for his assistances and support, my family members also provide labor to Yismaw during peak labor seasons.

Based on the personal in-depth interviews with Yismaw, besides Hulgeze, there were two persons among the resettled displacees who solicited him for the *tut-metabat* arrangement. Another Agaw informant also stressed that four persons have asked him for the social ties since their arrival in the area.

6.4.3. Abelij

Another form of social ties or bond being established to serve the purpose between the resettled displacees and the local people is *Abelij* (God-parenthood). It is a kind of kinship ties or bond established to create the condition under which the two parties share and exchange many different things. It is arranged during the time when a newly born baby is baptized in the Orthodox Church. If a child baptized is a daughter, the wife of the other family will act as God-mother. And, if on the other hand, the one to be baptized is a son, the husband or son of the other family acts as God-father. Under both types of arrangements, the oath is extended to the extent that the God-father or God-mother does not discriminate between her daughter or his son with the actual or biological ones. Accordingly, there were many informants from both the local Agaws and resettled displacees entering into such kinds of socio-cultural ties.

Informants also described the kinds of material and non material things the exchange and share through the ties.

6.5. Towards Socio-cultural Rearticulation among Resettled Displacees.

The dynamics of survival and adaptive strategies or mechanisms during displacement and resettlement can also be manifested through the rearticulation of socio-cultural institutions/associations and practices in the new environment. (Wolde-Sellassie, 2000:454, Kassahun 2004:457). Similarly, certain socio-cultural institutions/associations and practices among the resettled displacees have been reemerging in the new home site -Jawi resettlement area. They are trying to rebuild their socio-cultural (religious) institutions/associations and practices in the new environment. However, the important thing that must be emphasized in the context is what facilitated socio-cultural rearticulation among the resettled displacees at this crucial and critical period of readjustment processes.

The explanation and analysis of the data related to the ways by which the socio-cultural institutions/associations and practices among the resettled displacees reemerged in a hasty manner can be seen in light of the observation made by De Wet (1993:321) and Scudder (1991:73). De Wet (1993: 321) noted that "during the most stressful period, i.e. the period leading up to relocation, the move itself and the first few years of adjustment thereafter, people tend to behave in conservative risks-avoiding ways and cling to familiar practices".

Scudder (1991: 73) also indicated that "resettlers prefer to live and work with their kins or co-ethnics and ethnically homogenous population which facilitate cooperation and the community formation".

This study has been conducted among the resettled displacees who were found at the most stressful situation. The resettled displacees are homogeneous in their ethnic and religious affiliation. All of my informants were followers of Orthodox Christianity. Furthermore, they are Amhara in ethnic origin. The homogeneity in ethnicity as well as religious affiliation seems to have created the condition for self-identification. What was clearly observed among the homogenous resettled displacees was greater tendency of interdependence and inter-household cooperations in various work capacities for individual belong to community reestablishment processes.

6.5.1. Mahiber and Senbete

It is not uncommon to observe among the followers of Orthodox Christianity that certain self-help religious associations are instituted among the community members like *mahiber* and *Senbete*. *Mahiber* is a kind of association, which organizes a party on a particular saint's day once a month; whereas *Senbete* is another kind of association whose members take it inturn to bring food and drink to the church on Sundays. Such religious self-help associations have operational and enforcement rules and sanctions. For instance, membership is only open to community members and to those affiliated to Orthodox Christianity.

Personal observation and discussion with informants indicates that in spite of the social and economic hardships they have passed through in connection with repeated dislocations and relocations, the resettled displacees have brought with them *Arks* of the covenant or *Tabot* (religious symbol). They brought four *Arks* of the covenant (*Tabot*) of the Ethiopian Orthodox church from the area that they were displaced. However, the resettlement and rehabilitation activities undertaken by the regional state totally ignored the religious dimensions of the displacement problems. For instance, informants stated that they were not given land for the reconstruction of church-buildings in Jawi. As a result, the four churches were rebuilt on land purchased from local persons. For example, Ayima-Gebriel church was established over the land the new resettlers have bought for 700 birr from a local person (See Figure-3 in the appendix)

Side-by-side with the rebuilding of churches in the new home site, *Mahiber* and *Senbete* came into existence among the resettled displacees. One informant explained that with reduced feasts, they are trying to preserve their religious self-help associations. Although the RDPPC representatives instructed them not to participate in those religious self-help practices, they had strong conviction to preserve their religious institutions.

6.5.2. Wobera

Wobera is analogous to *wonfel* or *Debo*. It is interpersonal cooperation in various work activities. Through *wobera*, groups of people work together

especially at peak labor times and also during the tasks that can not be accomplished by an individual person. It is arranged in a rotating manner.

Wobera among the resettled displacees is the mechanism by which they share and exchange the risks they have encountered in the new home site. Groups of people work together on a rotating manner during house building, forest clearing, planting and weeding or harvesting seasons.

6.5.3. *Kenja*

A remarkable coping mechanism in response to the loss of cattle among the resettled displacees is the practice of *kenja*. Through *kenja*, they exchange drought animals, such as oxen or donkey. As has been stated earlier, one of the serious survival difficulties among the resettled displacees was the loss of cattle in their resettlement areas. The prevalence of trypanosomiasis (*Gendi*) claimed the life of part of the livestock the resettled displacees brought to the area. As a result, it was through *kenja* arrangements and donkey-drawn farming that they could plough plots of land they obtained through different mechanisms. Two persons arrange *kenja* on a daily basis in turn particularly during the planting season.

6.6. Summary

This chapter has attempted to discuss the various survival and adaptive mechanisms used by the resettled displacees in Jawi resettlement site. They have adopted different means of coping to minimize the threats of the

multidimensional risks of impoverishment they have encountered in the area. Based on the data collected, the different coping strategies are widely manifested through diversification of livelihood activities at individual and household levels. The diversity in livelihood activities encompasses both agricultural and non-agricultural activities. These are; daily labor, land leasing in different forms including lease in cash, sharing the cropping and also disguised land transactions.

Parts of the survival and adaptive strategies have also been observed through the rearticulations of socio-cultural ties with the local communities and among themselves. Certain interpersonal risk-sharing socio-cultural relations have been established between the resettled displacees and local communities. According to the study, the functions of establishing socio-cultural ties with the local people have been identified to be the means by which the two groups of people share the risks in the area. Other, survival and adaptive strategies involve the forging of socio-economic ties among the resettled displacees themselves. Some of these are religious self-help association like *Mahiber* and *Senbete* while others are the means by which they exchange certain productive resources or assets in the form of *Kenja* and *Wobera*.

Chapter Seven: Conclusions and Recommendations

The driving force behind the recourse to population resettlement varies from case to case, as do the implementation approaches. In the Jawi case which, this study has focused on, the resettlement was implemented as a recovery measure to rehabilitate Internally Displaced persons (IDPs) due to conflict - induced displacement. The most frequent end result of involuntary displacement caused by either development projects or natural disasters or conflicts is the creation of impoverished people who overnight become even more deprived – landless, jobless, homeless, vulnerable to increased morbidity and mortality, socially disintegrated and politically powerless. The processes of impoverishments and the means of overcoming them through the rebuilding of life support system are central issues and challenges in involuntary displacement and resettlement.

In the Jawi context, the resettlement has been undertaken as a recovery measure to reverse impoverishment risks caused by conflict – induced displacement. Following the displacement of spontaneous migrant Amhara settlers in December 2000 from Gida-Kiremu wereda, the displaced people were made to stay in emergency relief camp where their social organization of production was disrupted. As part of the current resettlement programme undertaken at regional levels in the country, the

IDPs were resettled by Amhara regional state. As a result, the regional state took the responsibilities of rehabilitating the IDPs. A series of measures, decisions and activities have been carried out by the Region during the displacement and subsequent resettlement process in the new environment. The study has, therefore, been concerned with the livelihood and social impacts of the resettlement in the new context. The new resettlement site (Jawi resettlement site) is found in the extreme western part of Dangila wereda which is part of the Beles River Valley in the north western Lowlands.

In the Jawi resettlement and/or rehabilitation context, the ways in which the IDPs were made to resettle was full of problems and deficiencies, which in turn greatly affected their survival and adaptive experiences in the new environment. Due to its emergency situation, the implementation process of resettling IDPs was not carried out carefully. To start with, the resettlement site that was identified and selected was not only an inhabited land but also not suitable for smallholder agriculture. Based on the researcher's close observation and discussion with the different categories of people, heavy concentration of people in the site has caused a tendency to create pressure on scarce resources particularly cultivable land that significantly influenced the livelihood alternatives of both resettled displacees and the local people. The incompatibility of the population size and the carrying capacity of the site has also been a major

manifestation of the problem in the context. The haphazard implementation of resetting IDPs lacked proper inputs including, funding, pre-resettlement surveys, planning, careful consultation and implementation as well as monitoring. The process of resettling IDPs was implemented without having any preconditions in the new resettlement site- no physical and social infrastructures which in turn aggravated the risks during their initial readjustment experiences in the new home site.

The research findings in the immediate aftermath of the displacement and subsequent resettlement among the resettled displacees in Jawi demonstrated that in the new environment they have encountered diverse but interconnected challenges and/or risks of impoverishment. The assessment of the multidimensional risks experienced by the resettled displacees indicated that risks are interdependent and influenced each other which are strongly congruent with the assessment of risks analyzed by M.Cernea. One of the most serious risks which played a primary role and strongly influenced others among the resettled displacees was the land that they have been given was unproductive. The prime objective of the resettling IDPs was identified to be livelihood restoration through land-based rehabilitation. As a result, the resettled displacees were ideally given land for both homesteads and farmsteads in the new homes. According to this study, however, the bulk of the resettled displacees have been given land that was unproductive. In this regard, informants were

asked to describe the reason for their remaining landless in the new resettlement site. It has been found out that the waterlogged nature of the site has been the major problem accounting for their landlessness, which is also resulting in their homelessness.

According to this study, the land related problem and risk, is not only affecting their survival and adaptive endeavors but also snowballed into other risks of impoverishment process. For instance, landlessness has made individual and family members among the resettled displacees unable to be food self-sufficient. Apparently, it has affected not only their productive capacities but also their efforts either to produce food crops for their sustenance or for earning cash to purchase their daily essentials. Further more, the waterlogged nature of the soil has been a clear sign of the marginalization processes experienced by the resettled displacees in the new environment. The marginalized nature of the soil has made them dependent on others. As a result, they were forced to become daily laborers for the local communities. Lack of such self-employment in their own farmsteads reduced their social and economic status.

Another adverse impact of the resettlement and rehabilitation process in Jawi was vividly evident in the fact that the resettled displacees lost their livestock brought to the area from displacement sites. This in turn strongly affected their survival and adaptive efforts. Furthermore, the resettled displacees have been greatly affected by the prevalence of

malaria which not only claimed the lives of many resettled people but affecting their survival and adaptive mechanisms.

The assessment of displacement-induced resettlement in Jawi also revealed that the local communities have encountered the appropriation of their productive resources upon which their livelihood was dependent. In this particular instance, the IDPs were made to resettle at the direct expenses of the local communities including the Agaws, and Muslim and Christian immigrant settlers. According to the study, the local communities in this specific resettlement site (confined and restricted to the two PAs namely Alu-Kurand and Jahimala) have experienced the appropriation of their productive resources in two periods. The first round of land appropriation was conducted in 1997 when AI – mesh commercial farm was established over 3000 hectares of land. As a result, the local people lost their productive resources such as farmland, grazing and forest lands for which they have remained uncompensated.

The Second round of the appropriation of productive resources experienced by the local communities in this specific site was in April 2001 when the regional state appropriated about 300 hectares of lands. Part of the rehabilitation measures and activities carried out by the region was to conduct a meeting and discussion with the local communities. The discussion was to get an entry point or receive the settlement land that had been possessed by the local people. By doing so, they were asked to

sacrifice their productive resources. Hence, the local people have experienced similar displacement risks and stresses. During my successive field works in the study area there were many local persons who have expressed their grievances about the appropriation of their productive resources upon which their livelihood was dependent.

The lives of the resettled displacees in the study area have also been assessed through their efforts to cope with the risks and stresses. Despite the extreme hardships and difficulties encountered in the new home site, they are grappling to minimize and/or avoid the risks and stresses. At this stage, their survival and adaptive endeavors can be seen in light of risks-aversion process. They have adopted different means of coping with risks. However, the dynamics of survival and adaptive mechanisms have been largely manifested through the diversification of livelihood activities. In their day-to-day interactions and relationships within the given context, they have tried to diversify their livelihood activities both at individual and household levels. As a result, the portfolio of livelihood activities that have been identified among the resettled displacees included both agricultural and non-agricultural activities manifested through interactions and relationships with local people and among themselves.

To cope up with the risks emanating from the new environment the forging socio-economic ties with the local people and among themselves was outstanding. This study showed that individuals and community

members among the resettled displacees are rushing to forge socio – economic ties with the local communities and among themselves. The findings of this research are congruent with the perspectives of 'social networks' According to Boissevain (1874) – an individual can be seen as an interacting social being capable of manipulating others as well as being manipulated by others. In this regard the society can be seen as bound of networks of choice making individuals and an individual can be considered as a self- interested transactor.

The study showed that, there are different socio – economic ties between the resettled displacees and the local communities by which they share and exchange certain visible and invisible things. For instance, in the face of landlessness, the resettled displacees are rushing to secure cultivable land from the local communities through contractual arrangements. There are different forms of contractual arrangements commonly referred to by the informants as *Meret – Megazat* (land-leasing). Certain interpersonal risk sharing relationships between the resettled displacees and the local communities are also observed through the forging of socio – cultural ties in the form of *wodaj*, *Tut – Metabat* and *Abelij* relationships. Still, parts of the dynamics of survival and adaptive mechanisms have been indicated by the rebirth of certain institutions or associations among themselves. What was clearly observed among the resettled displacees was greater tendency of interdependence and inter-

household cooperations in various work capacities for individuals belong to community reestablishment processes. These different institutions or associations are: *Mahiber, Senbete, Wobera* and *Kenja*.

In a nutshell, this study has been conducted in the immediate aftermath of the displacement and subsequent resettlement in Jawi resettlement site (almost a four year span in the new environment). Although it seems too early to draw definitive conclusions to speak in terms of success or failure about the rehabilitation measures and activities, the magnitude of the risks experienced by both the resettled displacees and local communities have serious implications for the gradual reestablishment processes. Due to its emergency situation, the haste and ad hoc manner by which IDPs were made to resettle in Jawis has influenced in many ways the livelihood reestablishment dynamics among the resettled people and local communities.

Therefore, in the light of the research findings in the Jawi context, the following major recommendations can be made:

- Resettlement and/or rehabilitation is a complex venture. It is a time demanding and gradual process. It must be based on comprehensive feasibility studies including preparation of rehabilitation action plans to identify the demographic data, problems and needs of the various sections of the displaced

people and design a comprehensive action plan for their rehabilitation.

- The regional – based resettlement and rehabilitation must create a conducive environment for the involvement of the NGOs – the involvement of NGOs can facilitate communication; mobilization of resources and speedy recovery of the IDPs. The IDPs are among the least studied categories of people and hence there are no internationally agreed operational definitions for them. One of the serious problems experienced by IDPs who are now resettled and referred to by this study as resettled displacees, have been the restrictive measures imposed by the regional state. The restrictive measures have hindered the possibility of the involvement of NGOs in the courses of rehabilitation processes.
- The pre-conditions-the construction of homes, the establishment of physical and social infrastructure like roads, social services, or health centers, schools and the commencement of production should start before the move of the displaced people into the new context which can make the

early and initial readjustment experiences smooth, less painful and less traumatic.

- Resettlement and/or rehabilitation must not be executed at the direct expense of the host population. The adverse effects on the hosts can be minimized through careful identification and planning and also through compensations for lost productive resources. It can also be minimized through safeguarding and guaranting their access to benefits and services available to the displaced people. It can also be minimized by the equal treatment of the two groups of people associated with the political administration in the setting.

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List of major informants from among the Resettled displacees

No	Name	Sex	Ethnicity	Religion	Place of interview
1	<u>Ato</u> Shegaw Teferi	M .	Amhara	Orthodox	Jawi
2	<u>Kess</u> Getenet Alemneh	M	"	"	"
3	<u>W/ro</u> Achaamyesh Tarekeng	F	"	"	"
4	<u>Ato</u> Tena Zegeye	M	"	"	"
5	<u>Ato</u> Teshome Limeneh	M	"	"	"
6	<u>W/ro</u> Alemye Kefayalew`	F	"	"	"
7	<u>Emahaye</u> Yilaku Adamu	F	"	"	"
8	<u>W/ro</u> Yayesh Hunegraw	F	"	"	"
9	<u>W/ro</u> Melkitu Alebachew	F	"	"	"
10	<u>Ato</u> Assefa Gashaw	M	"	"	"
11	<u>Kess</u> Mezegab Kumlegn	M	"	"	"
12	<u>Ato</u> Workie Adimas	M	"	"	"
13	<u>W/ro</u> Abeba Workie	F	"	"	"
14	<u>W/ro</u> Zenebu Ayechew	F	"	"	"
15	<u>Ato</u> Cherie Gera	M	"	"	"
16	<u>Ato</u> Muluye munuye	M	"	"	"
17	<u>Ato</u> Zebene Mekuwanent	M	"	"	"
18	<u>Ato</u> Abeje Adimasu	M	"	"	"
19	<u>Ato</u> Mengesha Aglchew	M	"	"	"
20	<u>Ato</u> Muchie Alemaw	M	"	"	"
21	<u>Ato</u> Derebe Mitiku	M	"	"	"
22	<u>Ato</u> Mersha Adimass	M	"	"	"
23	<u>Ato</u> Wagaw Abeje	M	"	"	"
24	<u>W/t</u> Belaynesh worku	F	"	"	"
25	<u>Kess</u> Tseyahe Abeje	M	"	"	"
26	<u>W/ro</u> Alemenesh	F	"	"	"
27	<u>W/ro</u> Aselefu mirete	F	"	"	"
28	<u>W/rt</u> Zeritu Abate	F	"	"	"

29	<u>Ato</u> Yinges Machie	M	"	"	"
30	<u>Ato</u> Bahiru Woldie	M	"	"	"
31	<u>Ato</u> Andargie Blset	M	"	"	"
32	<u>Kess</u> Melkamu Muchie	M	"	"	"
33	<u>Ato</u> Akaleneh Bayeh	M	"	"	"
34	<u>Ato</u> Guwagu Andarge	M	"	"	"
35	<u>Ato</u> Shegaw Teferi	M	"	"	"
36	<u>W/ro</u> Mitin Andargie	F	"	"	"
37	<u>W/ro</u> Tibilete Tefera	F	"	"	"
38	<u>W/ro</u> Sewunet Ambachew	F	"	"	"
39	<u>Ato</u> Arigaw Abebe	M	"	"	"
40	<u>Ato</u> Workie Fentie	M	"	"	"
41	<u>Ato</u> Bitew Mamo	M	"	"	"
42	<u>Ato</u> Meles Tilahun	M	"	"	"
43	<u>Ato</u> Akaleneh Bayeh	M	"	"	"
44	<u>W/ro</u> Derby Asaye	F	"	"	"
45	<u>W/ro</u> Alegach Abebe	F	"	"	"

**B.List of Major Informants From Among the local host communities
(Agaws & Spontaneous Migrant settlers)**

No	Name	Ethnicity	Religion	Place of interview
1	<u>Ato</u> Adem Muchey	Amhara	Islam	Jawi
2	<u>Ato</u> Ibrahim Hussen	"	"	"
3	<u>Ishe</u> Indris Adem	"	"	"
4	<u>Ato</u> Abdeua Yesuf	"	"	"
5	<u>Ato</u> Dessie Adimas	"	Orthodox	"
6	<u>Ato</u> Molla Meskel Agaw	Agaw	"	Jawi
7	<u>Ato</u> Yisimaw Kassahun	"	"	"
8	<u>Ato</u> Beyene Teka	"	"	"
9	<u>Ato</u> Hab tamu Molla	"	"	"
10	<u>Kess</u> Bekel Eneyew	Amhara	"	"
11	<u>Ato</u> adimas Belachew	"	"	"
12	<u>Ato</u> Endelaw Eneyew	"	"	"
13	<u>Ato</u> Dessie Adimass	"	"	"
14	<u>Ato</u> Gashaw Amare	"	"	"
15	<u>Ato</u> Abedella Yessuf	"	Islam	"
16	<u>Ato</u> Alemu Mussa	"	"	"
17	<u>Ato</u> Chekol Abeje	Agaw	Orthodox	"
18	<u>Ato</u> Genet Adigo	"	"	"
19	<u>Ato</u> Beyene Teka	"	"	"
20	<u>Ato</u> Ferede Ashagetew	Amhara	"	"
21	<u>Ato</u> Nigatu Waqssie	Agaw	"	"
22	<u>Ato</u> Habtamu Molla	"	"	"
23	<u>Ato</u> Molla Shalegn	"	"	"
24	<u>Ato</u> Hailu Yirga	Amhara	"	"
25	<u>Ato</u> Teka Zebene	Agaw	"	"
26	<u>Ato</u> Seid Kassim	Amhara	Islam	"
27	<u>Ato</u> Mohamed Oumer	Amhara	"	"
28	<u>Ato</u> Bitew Wondaye	Agaw	Orthodox	Jawi
29	<u>Ato</u> Beka Keda	"	"	"
30	<u>Ato</u> Adane Teshale	"	"	"

C. List of Major informants from among government Authorities

No	Name	Place of Interview	Remarks
1	<u>Ato</u> Belaye Gashu	Injiba and Jawi	He has been coordinator of the Regional DPPC at Zonal level and he was directly involved in the processes of resettlement and rehabilitation measures and activities
2	<u>Ato</u> Arega Tilahun	Jawi	He has been a representative of RDPP at Jawi resettlement site. He knows and has the demographic data of the resettled displacees in Jawi
3	<u>Ato</u> Berihun Agumassu	Dangila	He has been the administrator of Dangila wereda and hence, he himself was directly involved in the resettlement process in general and land reallocation process in particular.
4	<u>Ato</u> Gebru Malede	Jawi	He has been an animal health provider in Jawi center
5	<u>Ato</u> Yisemaw Kassaha	Jawi	He has been the administrator of the local people in Jawi (Alu- Kur and kebele)
6	<u>Ato</u> Cherie Gera	Jawi	Administrator of Adis-Wayen Kebele
7	<u>Ato</u> Muluze-Munye	Jawi	Administrator of Ariga-Abo Kebele
8	<u>Ato</u> Zebene Mekuant	Jawi	Administrator of Ayima Gebriel Kebele
9	<u>Ato</u> Dessie Cashu	Jawi	Administrator of Jawi police station



Figure 1 This photo shows Fendeka market in which the different categories of people attend market days



Figure 2 This is Arga-Abo Church which is newly reestablished by the resettled displacees



Figure 3. This is also Ayima-Gebriel church reestablished by resettled displacees in Jawi



Figure 4. This is a photograph of Jawi health center



Figure5. This photo shows students going from settlement villages to Jawi primary school



Figure6. This Photo shows some daily laborers among the resettled displacees who are transported from settlement villages to Al-Mesh commercial Farm



Figure7. This is some parts of villages/houses of the resettled displacees in Jawi resettlement site

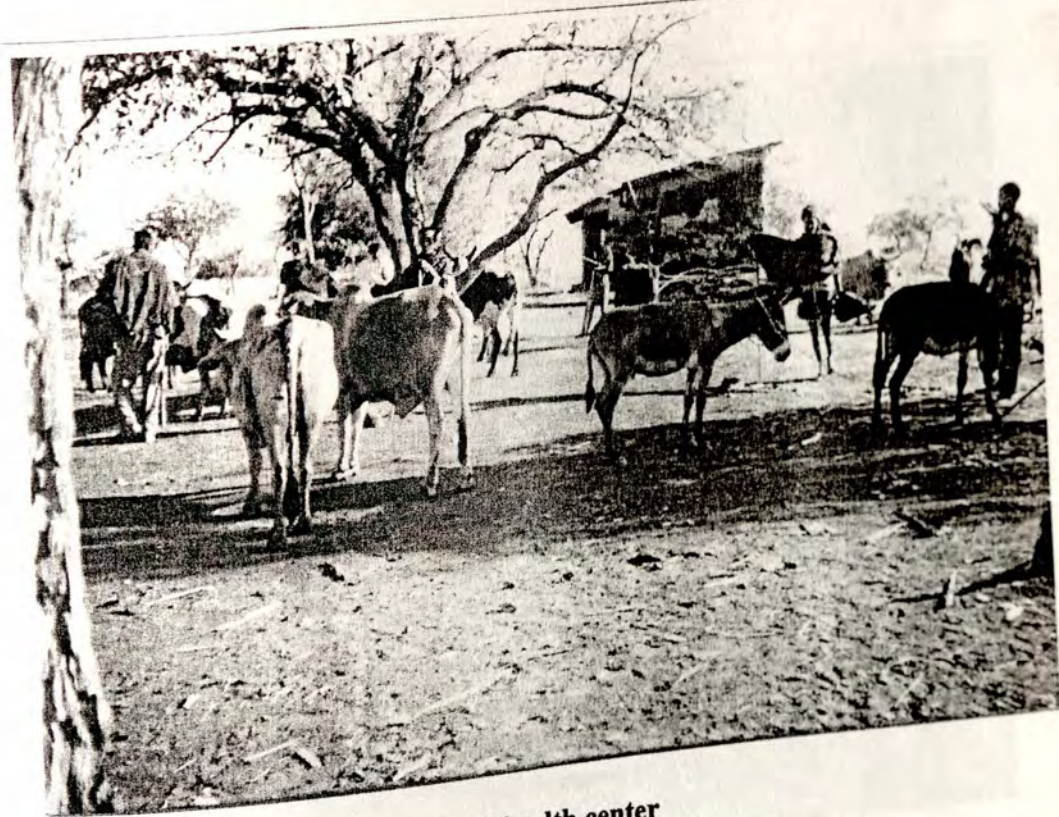


Figure8. A picture of Jawi animal health center



Figure9. Some of the major informants among the local Agaws

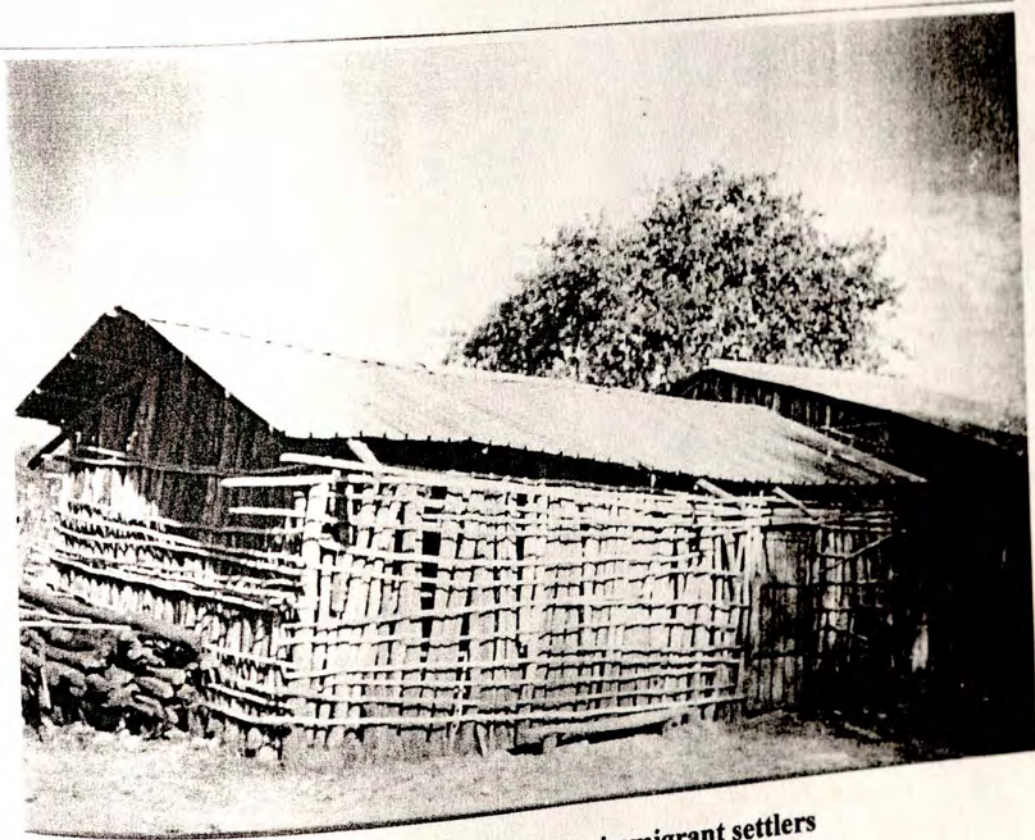


Figure10. This Mosque built by Muslim immigrant settlers

Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this is my original work and that all sources of materials used for this thesis have duly acknowledged.

Name: Gietu Ambaye Teshale

Signature: [Signature]

Date of Submission 06-04-05

Addis Ababa; Ethiopia.

This thesis has been submitted for the school of graduate studies with my approval as university advisor.

Name: [Signature]

Signature: [Signature]

Date: 6-04-05