

**The Transforming Power of Urbanization: Changes and Uncertainties
among the Farming Community in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi Town,
Ethiopia**

By

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This is to certify that the dissertation written by Teshome Emana, entitled “The Transforming Power of Urbanization: Changes and Uncertainties among the Farming Community in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi Town” in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Social Anthropology) complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standard with respect to originality and quality.

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Selected Glossary

Afaan Oromo Language

Abba qabeenya	Investor
Aana	District
Afaan	Language
Caffee	Council
Dhiiga	Blood, relative
Fafee	Immature, incomplete, incompetent
Ganda	Village, the smallest administrative unit
Hidda	Line of descent, genealogy
Hora	Spring (salty) water
Lafa	Earth, land, ground
Misooma	Development
Waaqa	God

Amharic Language

<i>Dejazmach</i>	Commander of the gate, a high profile rank
<i>Fitawrari</i>	Commander of the vanguard force
<i>Kebele</i>	Smallest administrative unit
<i>Ketema</i>	garrison, town
<i>Wereda</i>	District

Abstract

This dissertation deals with the transforming power of urbanization and its contemporaneous challenges and uncertainties among a farming community that has recently been included in a newly established urban center in Ethiopia.

Selected informants from the farming community, government line departments, and some concerned individuals in the private development projects were consulted to generate the qualitative data through focus group discussions, in-depth interview, and observations. In addition, a survey was carried out to fetch some relevant quantitative data to support the qualitative data. For this purpose, 178 households filled in a questionnaire consisting of 36 questions with both close and open-ended questions.

There are several findings observed in this study. It has been found out that, pertaining to Ethiopian land policy and how a single change, change in land ownership, has affected the livelihood of many the farmers who have been living on farming for several generations. This dissertation contends that land dispossession has been perpetuating in all the regimes since the coming of the non-Oromo groups to the present location of Addis Ababa and its surrounding. At the same time, it is found out that the number of actors who play legal and visible roles and illegal and invisible roles in land market is increasing. It is also found out that urbanization has transformed the use of land as well as the living conditions of individuals. The study has shown that the change in land ownership has resulted in the emergence of two competing perceptions for land resource (land as a source of life and land as a source of money) together with subsequent resistances and struggle between the old and the new comers. In addition, the cultural meaning that the farming community attaches to the urban development processes and to the government agents is skeptical. The farmers' adaptive strategies to the opportunities and challenges of the new urban context are found to be individual-oriented and not supported by a well established system of government. Based on the opinions of the informants, there are some sounding alternatives suggested to help the community better adapt to the new opportunities and challenges in the urbanization process.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Initial Context

My interest in this topic was envisioned when I first visited the area by the invitation of one of my friends, a civil engineer who was, by then, working for a real estate construction company in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town which is a newly emerging town under the administration of Oromia Special Zone Surrounding Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia. It was fascinating that a lot of urban development activities were underway in the town. People in the town and the surroundings were intrigued and excited by what was going on in the area. Among these people were members of the farming community whose livelihood was principally dependent on agriculture before their inclusion into the new urban administration.

As I continued paying frequent informal observation in the town, the area exhibited two different and mismatching faces of human settlement. On the one hand, there were new forms of construction by big real estate developers, private house constructions, big food processing and manufacturing industries under establishment. On the other hand, there were farmers who were carrying out their usual farming activities in some corners of the town. In the mornings, except on Sundays, one could easily see young and adult people hurrying on both sides of the main road for their daily labor in the companies. From the way they dress and their language, it was easy for me to guess that some of these people

Were farmers and their children. Yet, there were farmers who were herding their livestock far away from their residential area. All these were indicators for certain changes that should receive certain academic inquisition. The longer I stayed there the more I became curious and intrigued by what was going on. So, I decided to learn more about the situation of this farming community in that newly established town.

In my preliminary observation, I found that some of the farmers had already started engaging in livelihood activities other than their usual farming activities. The land transaction was very fast attracting various competing actors in the urbanization and development project initiatives. Many domestic and foreign investors were attracted by the location of the town which is twenty five kilo meters away from Addis Ababa in the eastern direction. Land transaction was very fast out of which there were users and losers.

Although I convinced myself to do my Ph.D. dissertation research in this emerging town, I was in a dilemma to choose at least a self-telling title due to the multiplicity of the ongoing changes in the area. I continued creating informal contacts and had discussions with some of the farmers, the investors, *dallalaa*/brokers/, people in the office of agriculture, and the municipality. The preliminary information from those informal consultations showed that there were many actors of different interests in that particular newly emerging town.

At the same time, I learned that it was the “free-market” economic policy of Ethiopia which encouraged both domestic and global capital to flow into the area. Therefore, the town has become a lucrative source of income for local land brokers, for the

municipality, members of the farming community, and the federal government at large. In the meantime, a large proportion of the farmers' crop land, grazing land, and woodlots were found to be converted to construction sites for real estate developers, private house construction activities, and several other development projects in hotel, manufacturing, and food processing. As one moves from one area to another, one hears the word *misooma* /development/ by the investors, the local, regional and federal government structures. In my informal discussion with the members of farming community, however, I learned that the word *misooma* /development/ was not often spoken about or used by the farmers equally. Some of them seemed to be uncertain about what was going on as a result of the so-called development.

Land transaction was fast which had helped a few to become millionaires. The municipality paid cash compensation for farmers whose land was expropriated. A few of them had already possessed some amount of cash they had never dreamt of in their life. Some others had misused their compensation due to lack of awareness and support on how to utilize the money for sustainable investment other than farming. On the other hand, some men and women community members had already started to engage in off-farm activities such as *hojii guyyaa* /daily labor/, *eegumsaa* or *warddiyyaa* / guard/ in some companies, and daily labor such as masonry, building, removing soil, extraction of construction materials like sand and stone in the development project sites. Out of all these, I could sense that certain social structures were created.

In my frequent visit and contact, I found that farmers, particularly the uneducated and elderly, were in a confused position without knowing even what to do with the cash compensation they had received from the municipality. These all convinced me that there were fast and unusual experiences encountered by the farmers who were suddenly included in the urban administration gamut. At the same time, it was clear, at least for me, that there appeared two faces of the phenomenon (positive and negative) which I presumed demand due anthropological study. All these made me to be curious about the changes in that six or seven years old urban centre. That was actually a good opportunity for me for I had already registered for my Ph. D. dissertation in the Department of Social Anthropology at Addis Ababa University.

Though I decided to go into that tough job where the issue of land is highly politicized with a number of interest groups, it was not an easy task for me to choose a title that captures the overall changes in that small town with a population of nearly 18,000 people (Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi Municipality Bulletin (2010) and vague documentation system to know the exact number of farming households who were included in the urban administration since 2005, the year in which the town obtained an urban administration status.

Until I presented my draft proposal to my advisors and the Department of Social Anthropology, four titles were in my diary possessing the following shapes. The third was the title of my proposal.

- Socio-cultural and Environmental Challenges of the Farming Community in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi Town
- The Transforming Power of Urbanization Among the Farming Community in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi Town
- The Transforming Power of Urbanization among the Walaya/ Abori Oromo community
- The Transforming Power of Urbanization: Socio-cultural and Environmental Changes among a Farming Community Incorporated into a Newly Emerging Urban Center in Ethiopia

All those attempts resulted in the present final title, the fifth one that appears on the cover page of this dissertation: *The Transforming Power of Urbanization: Changes and Uncertainties among the Farming Community in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi Town, Ethiopia*. In this dissertation, the concept ‘transformation’ is wider than the commonly understood positive impacts of urbanization. It entails any form of change that was going on in various forms in the study area. On the one hand, the land tenure system and land use rights are altered and have taken different shapes that are entirely different from the older ones. This perception which has totally commercialized land has begun to be shared by the farmers, particularly the young people. The philosophy - *land is a source of life or land is mother* - which farmers have had for several generations is already overshadowed or windswept by a new form of ideology-an ideology that I call the capitalist ideology or the *land is money* ideology. That might be taken as commoditization of land. On the other

hand, this change in ideology has come up with changes in the philosophy of life and livelihood. Farmers have started talking about land markets for purposes other than farming. Their grown up children have already engaged in land brokering, daily labor of various forms, and have tested the savor of holding much more money in their pockets than ever before.

The older communal life was being threatened by individualistic or egoistic approaches to personal life. Money was used and misused. The everyday talk of everyone in the street is about businesses which are different from talks about agriculture. At the same time, there was a conflict between the urban management and the farmers. New happenings and unexpected encounters have come into being from within and externally. Yet, uncertainties were common. No one could predict what would happen the next day or the following week.

I spent 12 months, from February 2012 up to January 2013, in the town to collect data for this study. When I first visited the area it seemed to me that the changes were taking place with the knowledge and interest of the local farming community who had toiled the land for generations. However, the farmers I had consulted during my first three months of field work told me that their land was taken away without their knowledge and without sufficient cash compensation. It is good to mention that, although it was stated as an alternative in Proclamation No 455/2005, land for land compensation was not at all implemented. The land losing farmers had no legal certificate for the remaining plot of land where their houses were situated while the new settlers who came to the area in the

name of development and investment were all provided with site plans and land use right certificates.

By the time I formally started fieldwork, grievances were reported here and there. I was informed that resistance took place in a fragmented form for some years before my arrival. But that form of opposition was futile. In the middle of my fieldwork, in August 2012, there came an open resistance to what was going on in the town led by the young educated children of the farmers. Following this, different media began to produce programs and news airing the voices of the land losers. Young people began to organize themselves and their parents to say “no” to the mal-administration of land allocation, ownership, and land use rights. The first was openly seen August 10, 2012 when a newspaper appeared with an article which narrated the grievances of the land losing farming community in the new town. Since then, the situation continued until December 20, 2012 when the effort of the community was declared to be fruitless as a result of the regional government action. Uncertainties continued and power relationships took a new form-a relationship between the haves and the have nots.

The curiosity I had developed during my first week of informal observation in the town has built on my confidence to engage in understanding such a complex social issue. Had that interest not been matured in me, I would not have carried out this study which, in my understanding, would contribute to both anthropological academic abstractions and practical implications of urban development policies in Ethiopia.

1.2 Background

The United Nations Population Fund (2007:1) disclosed that, for the first time in history, more than half of the world population (3.6 billion people) would be living in urban areas in the year 2011. Moreover, the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2011: 3) has projected that the world urban population is expected to increase by 72% until 2050. This same source has shown that, by the middle of the 21st century, the world urban population will likely be of the same size as world's total population was in 2002, and all of the expected growth will be concentrated in the urban areas of the less developed regions whose population is expected to increase from 2.7 billion in 2011 to 5.1 billion in 2050. This undoubtedly decreases the rural population (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2011:3).

The ever increasing proportion of the world urban population, particularly in the less developed regions, brings about a greater change in the size of the built up areas which, in turn, directly affects the livelihood of the farming communities in countries like Ethiopia where the majority of the population is dependent on subsistence agricultural economy. In Ethiopia where urbanization is ignited by-a capitalist like-new economic policy, the multifaceted changes may be faster than the accepted pattern that some social scientists presuppose in the context of Western or other African urban centers. This may be due to the fact that many urban centers exhibit differences in their landscape, economies, culture, and societies (Elbendak 2008:14). These urban centers are shaped by

a diverse set of local processes and at the same time they alter and shape the situations of the environment in which people operate their actions for functional utilities.

Yet, there is a debate that urban issues are very much under-theorized in anthropology and anthropological voices are rarely heard in urban studies (Low 1996: 384). If any works are done, they are about the anthropology of cities in many parts of the world.

In the African context, AbouMaliq and Abouhani (2005: 2) state the following:

Urban growth rate remains high, nearly at 5 percent on aggregate. These urban centers of Africa have been places where Africans have been most intensely engaged in the conflicts precipitated by their own convictions, their political and economic practices and their heterogeneous representations of outside world. Cities are also places where Africans' own struggles and deliberations about present and future ways of living are most rigidly structured by the constant changing demands of external powers.

Despite the so far prevailing assumption that Africa is a rural continent, one can cite sources like AbouMaliq and Abouhani (2005:2) that urbanization is faster in the continent than in many other world regions today. Yet, like in other parts of the world, we find very few sources of anthropological explorations into the causes and consequences of fast growing African urban areas except the ones that are the reflections or replications of the attempts made in the Western contexts. But it is not difficult to sense that African urbanization processes have their own unique features that should be studied to accommodate African societies' own peculiarities. That is why Myers (2011: 1) argues that "as African societies urbanize, it becomes evident that they do so in ways that challenge prevailing theories and models of urban geography, sociology, anthropology, and planning for various reasons."

At least one principal reason can be mentioned for the challenge in theorizing African urbanization processes. That is, many African cities were developed during the colonial period in which their plan and administration were in the hands of the colonizing European countries. As a result, these cities lacked an African context in their plan and leadership. In addition, Myers (2011) advises that anyone who is interested in African cities should take care because of the breadth, diversity, and complexity of the continent.

In the Ethiopian context, because of economic and urban policy changes, many of the urban centers in the country are developing with the assumption that they will be the engine for the overall economic growth of the country. However, apart from this fascinating presupposition with a fast expansion of the urban centers, particularly in the small towns around Addis Ababa, no attention has been given to the complex transformation this process exerts on some sections of the country's society, particularly in small towns like Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi. That is why the United Nations Population Fund (2008) presages that the future of cities (urban centers) in developing countries and the future of humanity itself will depend very much on decisions we should make to prepare for such a situation. Therefore, making urbanization and urban issues a subject of anthropological explorations will have paramount importance for the practical understanding of the various changes that urban expansion could bring on different aspects of the cultures of societies in new urban areas. This, in turn, will help academics and policy makers to seek alternative ways of managing the pros and cons of the fast urbanization process in order to make it contribute to the economic development of the country.

1.3 The Problem

Urbanization is “one of the most powerful, irreversible, and visible anthropogenic forces on Earth” (Laumann et.al. 2005: 4). More than half of the world’s population lives in urban areas and more than 90% of the future population growth are likely to be concentrated in cities having significant implications for the long-term outlook for humanity (Laumann et.al. 2005:4; UN-HABITAT 2008). Such a process brings about multifaceted changes in a society’s way of life as well as to the natural environment.

These changes vary in scope depending on the local contexts in which an urban centre is situated. Yet, there are some common cultural changes that are found out by anthropological studies. One of the most cited works is what Barger (1977: 9) finds out studying the cultural changes that happened among the Inuits and the Cree people as a result of the establishment of a new urban centre, Quebec, in Canada. In this study, Barger finds out about seven major changes such as language, means of livelihood, social network, and marketing systems in the culture of these people. Similarly, Ferguson’s (1999: 6) exploration into the changes that happened in the Copper Belt urban centers of Zambia, during which copper mining industries mushroomed along the copper belt, is worth mentioning. A more recent study by Elbendak (2008) clearly reveals the situation of urban transformation and social changes in Tripoli, the capital of Libya. Here, he argues that several changes including foreign fashion dresses, new business centers, information dissemination, and other forms of changes have occurred in the city (Elbendak 2008: 149). Yet, this anthropological study does not show what has happened

to the suburbs of Tripoli as a result of the inevitable expansion of the city to the urban-rural interface.

In addition, some studies show that there are many visible changes that rapid urban expansion causes to the natural environment. For example, a study by Zhao, et al. (2006:2) in Shanghai shows that the expansion of the city has brought about enormous changes in land-use, air and water quality, local climate and overall biodiversity; regarding the land use and land-use cover change, this study provides some indicators stating that the area of urban land increased from 159.1 square kilo meters in 1975 to 1179.3 in 2005. This brings a change in the environment and the living situations of the non-urban society that encounters the pressure of urbanization.

In the case of Addis Ababa, the built-up area increased from 21, 800 hectares in 1961 to 54, 000 hectares in 2005 (Feyera 2005: 23). This indicates that a substantial amount of land has been incorporated into the city administration leaving its own effects on the land use pattern and the society's overall cultural practices throughout the process. There were also clear indicators of positive changes particularly among some young members of the farming community.

Concerning the area under study, a lot of changes have taken place since 1991, a period when a sudden and abrupt change of the government and a change in economic policy from a socialist oriented economy to a market-oriented economy, was set in place in Ethiopia. Since the establishment of Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town, there have been different urban development activities that helped the town to expand to the surrounding

areas which were previously inhabited by farming communities. This community is a sub-group of Tulama Oromo which is largely found in Shoa. Although one can find members of this community in different parts in eastern Addis Ababa, this study mainly focuses on the ones that are residing within the administrative boundary of Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi Municipality, where as a result of the urbanization process, this community is receiving a constant pressure of change in every aspect of its daily life.

However, the situation in this town has never been studied by anthropologists. Even in the national context, in Ethiopia, urban studies seem to be limited to big urban centers like Addis Ababa with their limited scopes on such themes as urban livelihoods, urban poverty, and urban displacement. For example, Nebiyu (2000) has attempted to investigate the impacts of development-induced urban settlement schemes on relocated households in Addis Ababa while Efrem (1998) studied urban adaptation and survival strategies of displaced people in Arada sub-city in Addis. Dejene (2005) studied the socio-economic impacts of urban development in Addis Ababa whereas Teshome (2007) wrote his MA thesis on Urbanization, Cultural and Socio-economic Dynamics, and the Strains on the Local People in Sebeta Area. In addition, Gebre (2008) studied the impact of resettlement projects on low - income households in Addis Ababa. Several essays also have been produced by undergraduate students. From the themes of these studies, we can see that none of them has dealt with the overall impact of urban expansion on the land use patterns, and the overall social structure of communities in small towns like Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi. However, there are a few works that can be cited as inspiring sources of the current dissertation. For instance, Feyera (2005) has studied urban expansion and

livelihood of the farming community in Addis Ababa whereas Feleke (1999) emphasizes on the impact of displacement as a result of real estate development projects in the city of Addis Ababa. Yet, none of these works resulted in a comprehensive understanding of the power of urbanization in transforming the existing social structure, and the formation of a new social structure and new power relations in the process. Overall, there are academic literatures that provide important accounts of social impacts of urbanization but do not give a vivid picture of the situation along with the dimensions of land policies and land expropriation for urban development projects in Ethiopia.

Therefore, every data collected for this study, in one way or another, relates to one or all of the following concerns. First, the urbanization process has altered the communal values and social ties such as the use of land for tracing one's identity or inheritance, and perceptions that have been attached to land have been changing. Second, as it may be the case for other societies, the Oromo farmers who have been living in this area used to exhibit a communal way of life which helped them to maintain their social cohesion. This cohesion can be reflected in different forms. On the one hand, being farmers, they used to organize work parties, religious festivals, and marriage ceremonies, seasonal thanks giving rituals, and land inheritance tradition. As a result of the coming of an urban way of life into their area, however, all of these cultural practices, which in one way or another, require the prevalence of communal life, have been altered and have given way to the dominance of the 'self'. Of course I do not take the position to argue that the only way for the farmers to sustain their cultural practices is remaining farmers. The point is that there was lack of strong system to assist them adapt to the fast urbanization process.

Inevitably, the communities who formerly were holding the areas for residential and farming activities have been losing their possession which forced them to go for alternative ways of leading their lives. In looking for alternative ways of life, it is likely that they can lose their long established means of livelihood activities.

Therefore, this study is particularly aimed at addressing questions that deal with the major socio-cultural changes that happened to the farming community as a result of the urban expansion into their area. Particularly, the following questions will be guiding the whole process of the study:

1. What are the major changes that occurred due to the urbanization process?
2. Who are the main actors behind the changes?
3. How do members of the farming community perceive the impacts of the changes?
4. How do individuals, households, and groups modify their livelihoods to adapt to the challenges and opportunities created by urbanization?

1.4 Study Objectives

Fast urbanization has produced a lot of changes in the lives of the farmers in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town. The aim of this research, therefore, is to explore the overall change that has come to the society as a result of urbanization which, in most cases, resulted from the situation by which Addis Ababa is expanding into the area. It highlights the shift and trends that are taking place in terms of land use, economic and social transformation in this urban area.

Specifically, this study aims to:

1. Examine the legal frameworks in land expropriation and compensation.
2. Explore the driving forces behind the fast urbanization processes in the town.
3. Investigate the competition between cultural and development-centered meanings of land
4. Examine the community's cultural interpretation of the impacts of urbanization.
5. Investigate farmers' way of resisting to the adverse impacts of urbanization
6. Examine adaptive strategies that the community used to cope with the new urban way of life the changes.
7. Indicate alternative ways of maximizing the opportunities of urbanization

1.5 Significance of the study

Undertaking this research has multiple significances for the anthropological understanding of urban issues in Ethiopia.

Theoretically, this research contends that, in the history of Ethiopia, communities that have been affected by urban expansion have been given little attention in the process of urban development in the country. This is particularly the case for farming communities who used to live in areas where Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia and its suburbs were established. However, no rigorous anthropological research has so far been conducted to uncover the changes that might have occurred as a result of the urban development activities in the country. As stated earlier, there are some attempts, particularly those

papers that have been produced for fulfilling the requirements of bachelor's or master's degree, of university academic studies which tried to show the challenges connected with urban expansion and urban development. There could be some practical problems related with the absence of thorough anthropological literature regarding the investigations into urbanization processes and their effects in Ethiopia. First, land in general and urban land in particular can easily be politicized and, thus, academics might have resorted to silence. Second, at present, urban lands, especially those in big cities and towns have become a lucrative source of income which often conforms to the interests of the haves who command strong negotiation power at all levels on the ladder of land transaction. At the same time, they have the power to silence voices that go against with their interests.

Academically, the findings of this research will strengthen the position that anthropology must develop due interest pertaining to urban issues in Ethiopia and in most countries. Its capacity to convince academics in other disciplines that it studies all aspects of mankind, including those who live in towns and cities should be heard. Moreover, our globe is fast urbanizing. UNHABITAT (2007) forecasts that more than sixty percent of the world population will be residing in urban centers by the year 2030. According to this report, if this continues at the same rate, it will not take more than fifty years to urbanize ninety-percent of our world's population. In addition, despite fast urbanizing processes in Ethiopia, urban anthropological research is yet to develop and a study of this kind will be an eye opening launch pad.

1.6 Limitations

An ethnographic investigation of this kind needs a relaxing environment to document every phenomenon of the everyday life of the people. However, almost half of my fieldwork time was full of tensions and worries on my part and on my informants' as well. Sometime towards the beginning of August 2012, it was exactly six months after I embarked on my fieldwork in the town, one of my informants told me that there had started a dispute between the land losing farmers and the urban administration. As the causes were so many and sensitive in many ways, a series of meetings were held at different levels to overcome the problem. On the farmers' side, the movement was organized and led by relatively educated young children of the farmers who could easily convince and make their parents take the same stand regarding the causes for the dispute. Fruitless negotiations were repeatedly undertaken and the tension continued up to December 2012 when the regional government deployed riot police for almost two weeks to suppress the uprising. The dispute was unresolved until I finished my fieldwork in January 2013.

During that six months period of conflict and screaming from all directions, I was conducting the individual interviews, focus group discussions, and the survey part of my study. I was also attending some of the public meetings feeling unsafe and insecure. The informants openly told me that they might be easily suspected if they were frequently found sharing ideas with me. In that situation, I was worried that any government body could suspect me of involving in the agitation against the local administration practices that the farmers and their children had to suffer from and began to resist. I believe that

this all, indisputably, affects the quality and quantity of my data, particularly of the qualitative part.

1.7 Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into eight chapters. Chapter One introduces the topic by way of giving the background and stating the problem of the study. The main research questions and objectives, the limitations, description of the research site, the people, and data collection instruments are also included in this first chapter. Chapter Two focuses on the literature related to the main issues of the study. This chapter contains the development of urban anthropology, history and trends of world urbanization, theoretical framework, and the contexts of urbanization, urban land policies and land tenure system in Ethiopia. Chapter Three deals with issues such as conflicting meanings of land, urban land expropriation and compensation, land markets and agents in the land transaction. Chapter Four presents practical changes such as decrease in the size of individual landholding and the transformation from producing to consuming. The Fifth chapter presents how members of the community evaluate their own living condition and the system as a whole through their own cultural lens-*fafee*. Chapter Six addresses various issues related with farmers' resistance to the adverse impacts of urban expansion and land expropriation. It explores different forms of resistance and the role that the youth have played in structuring the resistance movement. Chapter Seven deals with the adaptive strategies that members of the community chose to cope with the challenges. The last chapter is the conclusion part of the dissertation including some alternatives to handle the

major concerns raised in the study. Bibliography and annex are included in the supplementary section.

1.8 Methodology

1.8.1 The Research Site

Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi is a small town in Finfinne Zuria Special Zone of Oromia Regional State, which is the largest state with a total population of 26,993,933 (nearly 27 million) inhabitants (Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia, 2007: 5). Addis Ababa is found at the centre of this regional state. Oromia Special Zone Surrounding Addis Ababa is one of the zones of the region. It was established in 2005 by combining some parts of the former Burayu Special Zone and parts of North Showa, East Showa, Southwest Showa and West Showa Zones. At present, there are eight towns, including the present research site, that fall under the administration of this special zone. Therefore, the zone is surrounding Addis Ababa in all directions.

The development of this special zone was assumed to facilitate the co-operation and development of surrounding areas of Addis Ababa and to control the urban sprawl of the city on the lands of Oromia. The administrative center of this zone is in Addis Ababa. As the special zone was established after the national census of 2007, it is hard to find reliable data about the population of the zone. However, the estimated number of the population, according to the 2007 census, is 794,489, of which 228,420 (28.75%) were urban dwellers (CSA 2008).

A record from Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi Municipality shows that the town was formally given a municipal status in the year 2008 although the two areas (Laga Xafo and Laga Dadhi) were rural settlements under the administration of *Aanaa Barrak / Barrak* district/ of North Showa Zone. According to the (2010) information brochure of the municipality, Laga Xafo and Laga Dadhi got their names in different ways. In both cases, *laga* refers to the concept ‘river’ whereas Xafo stands for either a kind of crop or a name of a person. On the other hand, *dadhi* refers to a honey wine.

One of my key informants told me that the name of the area has both a traditional and a historical background.

Historically, during the Feudal system in the country, there was a war between Wollo Feudal Lords and Showa Feudal lords over power. The war is known by the name Segele war. In that war, while the Shoa lords were moving to fight against Wollo opponents, they were with their logistics such as food and drinks. One of the drinks they were carrying was *dadhi*, a locally fermented yellow wine made of honey and water. A woman carrying a pot of *dadhi* fell down while she was crossing a river and the content was spilled into the river. Since then the river was called Laga Dadhi, hence the name of the area. On the other hand, the name Laga Xafo has its own legend. Once up on a time there was a farmer who cultivated a certain crop called *xaafii* (*Eragrostis tef*). On the same day, it heavily rained and the whole cultivated land was eroded into a nearby river, thus laga xafo means a “river of *xaafii*”.

According to this informant, another common understanding as to the source of the name of the town as follows:

There are some people who believe that the name of the area was taken from two well known people called *Xafo* and *Dadhi*. In both cases, *laga* in Afaan Oromo is to mean river. Now the town is almost located between these two rivers, Laga Xafo on the west side and Laga Dadhi on the east side. Now we call it Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi.

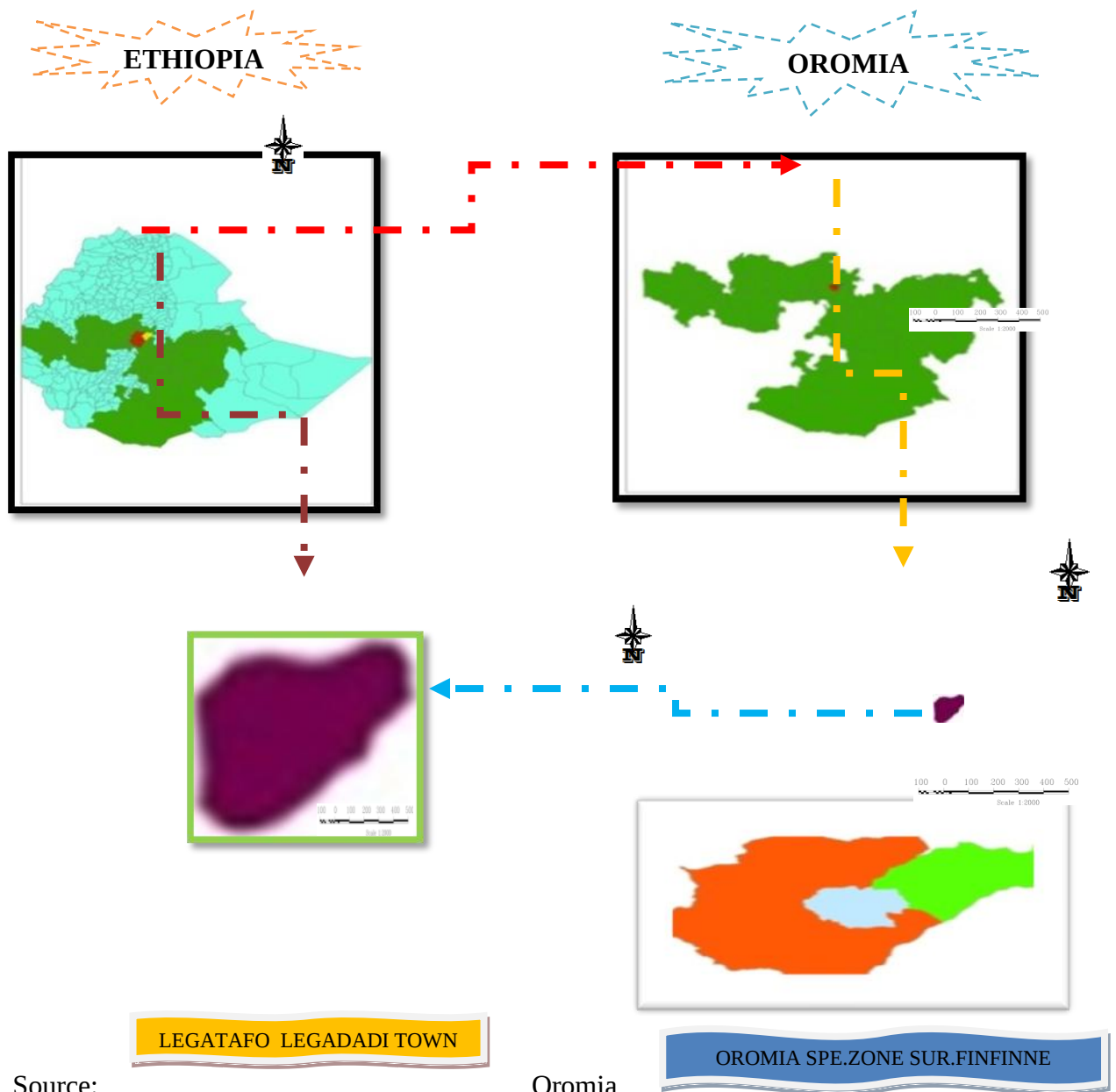
The present Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town lays between the two rivers at a distance of about 20 km to the east of Addis Ababa. Most of the area was inhabited by the farming community predominantly dependent on agriculture and animal rearing for their livelihood. There is no well documented data concerning the residents of this emerging town. A single source I could find during my field work was the (2010) information brochure from the municipality, which shows that the population of the town is about 18,000. Ninety percent of them are Orthodox Christians while 5% are Muslims. The remaining 5% are followers of other religions. The town is expanding into the remaining farm land in three directions: south, east, and north. In the west, the town is almost connected to Addis Ababa. The only boundary between these two urban areas is the Xafo River.

After the new Ethiopian economic policy, since 1991, the areas near Addis Ababa have become the greatest expansion zones of the capital itself and other small urban centers including Laga Xafo - Laga Dadhi town. Though it is known to be an autonomous town, these days, it is almost difficult to find a spatial boundary between this town and Addis Ababa. This has happened as a result of the development of the real estates, condominium houses, private house construction associations, and some commercial and industrial establishments, mostly by people from Addis Ababa and other big cities because of the accessibility of the town to infrastructure of various kinds. At present, there are both formal and informal land commercializing or land transaction activities which have forced the farmers to be engulfed in the urbanization process, which eventually is causing social and economic transformation in the area. Formal transaction

is the way by which a concerned local, regional, or federal government body leases land to individuals, organizations, or companies for various functions. In this form of transaction, the government expropriated land upon the payment of compensation for landholding farmers. Informal land market appears in many ways illegally. Sometimes a farmer can resort to selling his land before the legal expropriation for fear that the cash compensation is less than what he could earn if he sells the land on his own. However, this is extremely informal as well as illegal.

As I have stated above, initially this area was a village inhabited by the Oromo farming community who occupied the area for several generations. But it is now a good example of the urbanization process on the peripheries of Addis Ababa as a result of, mainly, the fast influx of population from the city of Addis Ababa or other towns attracted by the profit from land market. This has led to the fast expansion of built-up land. In turn, this resulted in the exacerbation of lack of access to land, land ownership, environmental degradation, social disarticulation, and other consequences of urbanization. These days, the areas predominantly inhabited by farmers have been taken by urban features. Although there are still typical traditional farmers' huts on the flat areas and hill sides, modern urban houses are under construction. The farmers' long established traditional way of land inheritance to children seems to be replaced by commercialized means of land ownership. It is likely that this urbanization process changes families and social structures which should be studied and documented.

Figure 1: Location Map of Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi Town

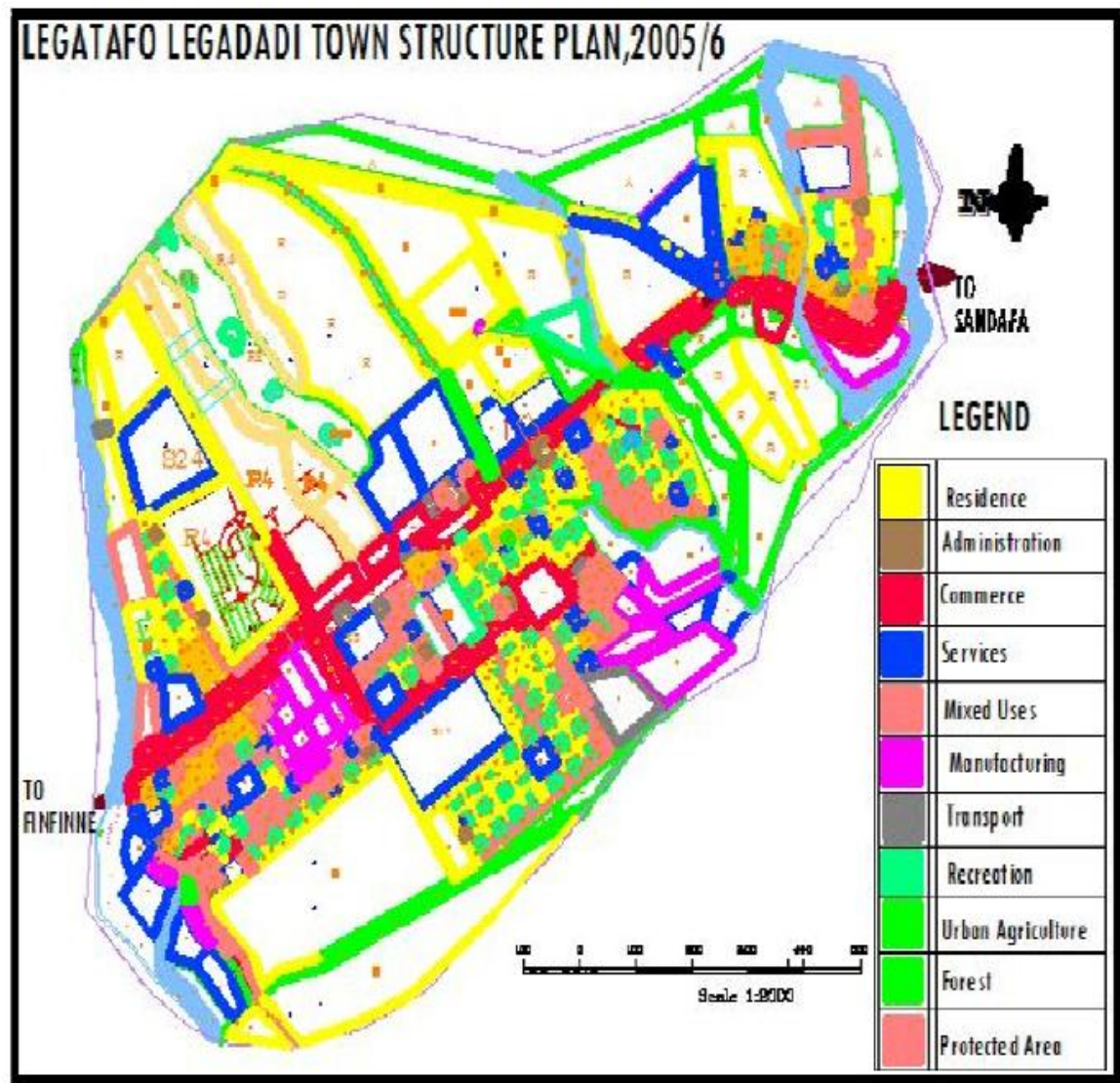


Source:

Oromia

Urban Planning Institute, 2013

Figure 2: Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi Town Structure Plan



Source: Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi Town Plan Document, 2013

After having the above structure plan, Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi urban administration has allocated land to realize its development activities. The following table illustrates type of land use, proposed and implemented size of land in hectares.

Table 1: Proposed Types of Land Use
in Laga Xafo-Laga Laga Dadhi Town, 2013

Type of Land Use	Proposed area in (Ha)	Total share in %	implemented land in (Ha)	% of implementation
Residence	1250	51.42	352	28.16
Commerce	126.23	5.20	47.80	37.87
Services	139.57	8.20	61.21	43.86
Administration	19.58	0.80	5.20	26.56
Manufacturing	60.54	2.50	35.61	58.82
Recreational and Green areas	42.27	1.74	23.30	55.12
Roads	86.60	3.56	25.90	29.91
Urban Agriculture	45.74	1.88	0	0
Forest	643.91	26.50	0	0
Special purpose	16.39	0.67	0	0
Total	2,431	100	-	-

Source: Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi Town, Structure Plan Report (2013: 136)

This land use plan clearly indicates that the urban administration has allocated of land for different development activities in the town. However, it seems that there are deviations in implementing some of the activities that have a stake in this research. The above table shows that more than 50% of the plan for developing residential areas is accomplished

while the plan for urban agriculture and forestry that has an impact on the life of the farming community has not yet been started.



The current picture of Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town

1.8.2 The People

According to Asmarom Legesse (1973), the total area of the Oromo speaking nation is about 367,000 km², as large as Germany. Their dialects are mutually intelligible across the whole region. The movement of the people during the 16th century, although some people like Mohammed Hassen (1994) and Tabor Wami (2013) argue that the date was earlier than this, made them to be found in different extremes, as far as Orma in far south (likely in south tip of Borena or Kenya) and Rayya in the far north. The case of Rayya Oromo¹, in my view is now becoming exceptional. The current political arrangement of the Ethiopian government does not formally recognize the presence of Rayya Oromo

¹ They are Oromo people who are now living in the present North Wollo Zone of the Amhara National Regional State and in Tigray National Regional State.

since the geographical location where the Rayya Oromo used to live is now divided between two national regional states (Amhara and Tigray). Although it needs a thorough study of its own, pragmatic evidences show that the people are now acculturated and assimilating into the dominant cultures in the respective regions. This could be an assignment for an anthropologist who wants to carry out research on culture change among the Oromo people.

The Oromo nation has its own language, traditional systems of administration called the “*Gada System*”² that had governed its political, justice, socio-economic, cultural affairs and religious institutions. The internal administrative structure of the National Regional State is often subject to change. At present one can find that there are administrative Zones, *Anna* /districts/, and *Ganda*/ the lowest administrative unit/. The people and the geographical location of the Oromo farmers I am writing about were formerly under the *Aanaa Barrak*/ Barrak District / in North Showa Zone. Sometime at the beginning of 2005, small towns near Addis Ababa were organized to fall under a new administration known as *Godina Addaa Nannoo Finfinne* / Oromia Special Zone Surrounding Addis Ababa/. As stated earlier, this special zone consists of eight urban centers which have their own legal statuses.

In Oromo genealogy, the Tulama group predominantly inhabits Showa which is now divided into four zones (East Showa, West Showa, South West Showa, and North Showa). Regarding the history of the Tulama Oromo, Alemayehu (2009: 18) begins the narration with what genealogy means in the eyes of the Oromo in general. “*Hidda latinsaa*

² Asmarom Legesse (1973) describes the Gada System as a system of an age grade classes which succeed each other every eight years in assuming military, economic, political, and ritual responsibilities.

/genealogy/ means root of generation that is counted back to the ancestral father.... The Tulama Oromo is the largest clan in the Oromo genealogy. ... The major clans of the Tulama Oromo are the Dacaccii, Bacoo and Jillee.”

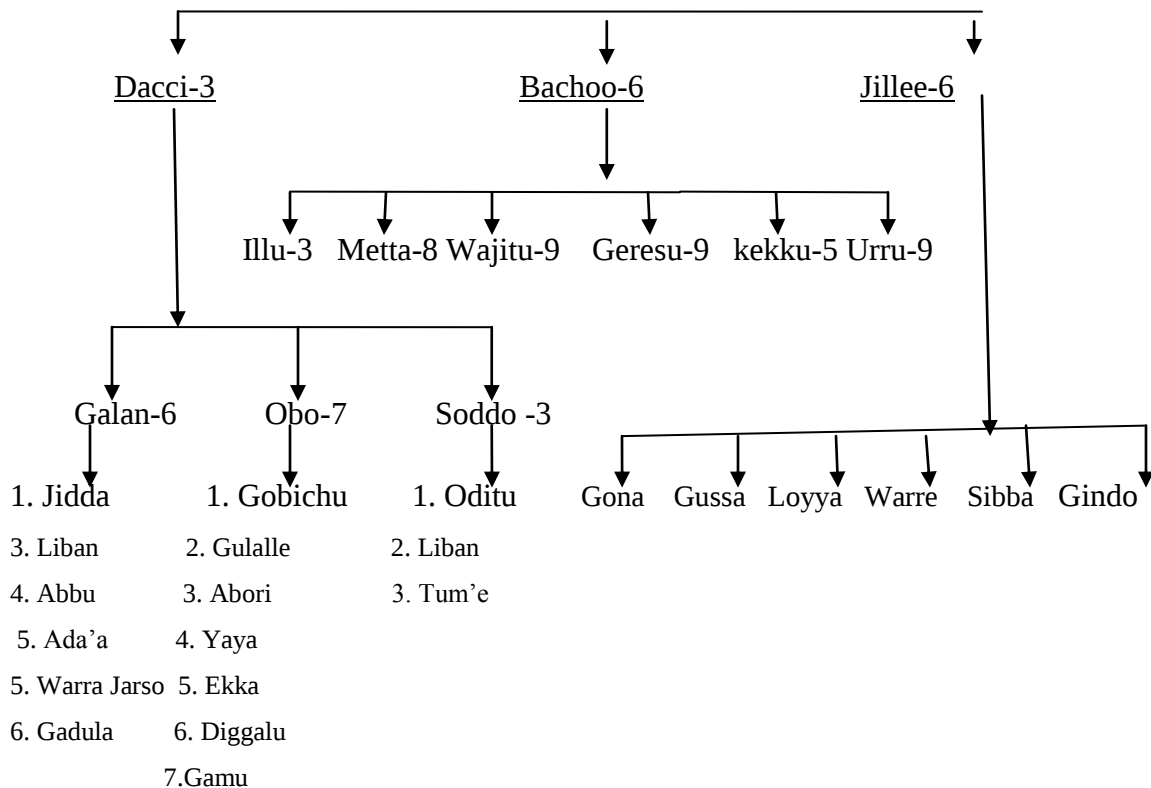
There are some concepts that Alemayehu mentions but does not give adequate details which for me seem to have deeper meaning in the culture of the Oromo at large. The first one is *hidda*. The Oromo people use this concept to refer to a number of social constructs such as marriage arrangements, conflicts and conflict resolutions, and other communal matters. In marriage, *hidda* of the partners should properly be studied before any negotiation starts for fear that they might have unexpected paternal or maternal blood ties such as one’s nephew or niece in their line of descent. *Hidda* can also be considered during unexpected conflicts. If the conflict occurs between two people who do not have any blood relationship, people from the victim side say *hiddashee hedatte / he caused this harm for he knows that he is not relative or not related/*. The other important concept that Alemayehu missed out from the above explanation is *dhiiga/ blood/*. In Oromo culture, whenever they talk about *hidda* or root, or genealogy of an individual or a group, the term *dhiiga* always comes into picture. Literally *dhiiga* means blood. Similar to the cause of root, people who are assumed to have a common blood do not harm each other. If, by chance, someone wants to cause harm to someone else who is thought to come from the same line of descent, he is warned by the elders or his relatives by way of questioning-*dhiigaa kee nyattaa ?/ Do you want to feed on your blood?/*

In their *hidda latinssaa*, genealogy, therefore, the three Tulama Oromo groups are divided into subgroups of their own. Daacii is divided into three sub-groups namely

Galan, Obo, and Sooddoo. Galan, on its part, is further divided into six minor groups and 29 houses /*mana*/. Similarly Obo has seven *gosa* /clan/ and 29 *balbala*, lineages. On the other hand, Sodo has three clans and seven sub-clans. Bachoo is a larger clan that has six sub clans and about 29 lineages. The seven Bachoo are Iluu, Uru, Meta, Garasu, Wajitu, and Keku. In Tulama Oromo genealogy, Jillee is sub divided into six main *gosa* and about 36 lineages (Alemayehu 2009: 20).

The divisions and sub divisions of the Tulama Oromo are summed up in the following a human root- tracing tree.

Figure 3: The Three Branches³ of Tulama Oromo (Alemayehu Haile 2009: 20)



³ There are slight variations among different writers regarding the classification and number of the Tulama Oromo subgroups.

It sounds realistic that Alemayehu has tried to trace roots of the Oromo people who have inhabited in various parts of the present four zones of Showa and beyond. He used the terms ‘clan’ and ‘sub - clan’ several times while depicting the genealogy of the Tulama Oromo. In this study, however, I use the Oromo term *gosa* to represent the concept of the term clan.

In the analysis of the above information and other oral narratives, it has become evident to me that the Oromo people who live in and around Laga Xafo – Laga Dadhi town belong to the Daccii Tulama Oromo *gosa* which, in turn, is divided into smaller *gosa* and subgroups. My key informant, BT, told me that the genealogy of the Oromo people who have been living in the area belong to the Ekka subgroup which, again, is divided into seven Ekka. These are Ekka Gawasa, Ekka Dale, Ekka Doddee, Ekka Qarsa, Ekka Xafo, Ekka Abbadhoo and Ekka Walaya.

1.8.3. Research Methodology and Data Gathering Tools

The research methodology in this study is more of a qualitative type, although some data were also presented in a quantifiable way to complement the qualitative ones. Qualitative method has been used to collect the perception and attitudes of members of the community regarding the social and economic changes and impacts of the urbanization process. It was employed in such a way that oral accounts of the community members would depict the overall situation of the changes. In addition, this approach has been used to explore the opinion of the informants from the community regarding the level of

participation in planning and implementation of urban development activities in their locality.

There are some outweighing reasons to employ a qualitative research method in studies like this one. First, as Maxwell (2005) argues, qualitative research design is an ongoing process which encompasses the process of going forth and moving back between different elements of the research steps where there are high possibilities for new situations to happen in the due progress of the overall research work. Unlike in the quantitative design, it may be difficult to fix a particular set of data gathering procedure from the onset of a study. In addition, Koul (2006:187) argues that, in qualitative research, the verbal data gathered through questionnaire, observation, or interview mostly indicate what people have said in their own words about their experiences and interactions in natural settings. What is more, O'reilly (2009:105) suggests that qualitative research suits a more inductive approach to reasoning allowing theory to emerge from the data.

To do so, there are some authors who recommend different qualitative research strategies in different contexts. For example, Creswell (2009) provides about five strategies which include narrative, phenomenology, grounded theory, case study, and ethnography and each of which, of course, may bring a result together in a particular research context. Here what O'reilly (2009:183) calls 'reflexivity' is worth considering. This writer argues that "we must recognize the role of interpretation and interaction between the researchers and researched." Purposive sampling was used to select the participants for the qualitative data where informants were selected based on their experiences and length of

time they had lived in the area. They were also selected based on age and sex characteristics to capture the view of various community members. Participants working in different government institutions were purposively selected based on the responsibilities they have in their respective institutions.

Furthermore, the quantitative approach is used to supplement the qualitative data by providing quantifiable evidences that reveal the magnitude of the change as a result of the urbanization process. These changes include group's or individual's changes in livelihood occupations, sources of income, assets, and changes in household food consumption. In order to collect the necessary qualitative and quantitative data, a combination of instruments is used so as to make every data complement each other.

1.8.3.1. Data from Secondary Sources

The secondary sources include academic journals, books, published and unpublished PH.D dissertations and M.A theses, government policy documents, proclamations, and statistical data from various offices such as the municipality, federal or regional line bureau, and *ganda* (the smallest administrative unit) both in rural and urban settings of the Oromia Regional State. These data have helped to generate information pertaining to policy frameworks, demographic and livelihood dynamics, number of investment projects, size of land, land expropriation and amount of compensation, and some other related information.

1.8.3.2 Questionnaire

A survey is one of the recommended methods in social sciences. As Marshall and Rossman (2006:125) state, a “survey method is used for making inferences about a large group of people based on data drawn from a relatively small number of individuals in that group.” In my study, a questionnaire consisting of 36 questions was prepared and the survey was conducted in December 2012. This survey was used to generate data that could help me to compare the scope of some of the changes in the informants’ household asset head count, types of livelihood activities they engaged in before and after their inclusion into the urban administration.

According to the record from the Municipality, 404 households were documented to be those whose land was expropriated and, thus, received cash compensation in the four years (2001-2004 E.C/2008/09- 2011/2012). Yet, there were some households whose complete record was not included in the municipal documents. For example, the records show that some of the farmers have received a certain amount of cash compensation while the size of land they lost in expropriation is not indicated. In the same manner, the size of land some other farmers lost was included in the records of the document while the amount of cash compensation was not included. There were 41 households with such incomplete records in the list. Therefore, the sample size of the population for this survey is determined based on the remaining 363 households whose record was found to be reasonably complete. Although land expropriation and compensation activities began before the year 2008, there was no documented data as to the number of farmers whose land was expropriated, and the amount of compensation paid before 2008. Thus, the

compiled data from September 2008 up to August 2012 is considered for the purpose of this survey. After the list is prepared and the names of the households were put in alphabetical order, Bernard's (1995: 77- 8) sample size determination formula at 95% confidence interval was used to determine the number of households that should be included in the survey. The sample size formula is shown as follows:

$$\text{Sample size} = \frac{x^2 NP (1-P)}{C^2 (N-1) + x^2 P (1-P)}$$

Where

X^2 = Chi-square value for 1 degree of freedom at 5% significance level = 3.841

N= Total population size = 363

P= Population Parameter of variables = 0.5 % (given)

C= significance level = 0.05 (for 1 degree freedom)

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Thus, the sample size} &= \frac{(3.841) (363) (0.5) (0.5)}{(0.05)^2 (363-1) + (3.841) (0.5) (0.5)} \\ &= \frac{353.17325}{(0.0025) (362) + 0.96025} \\ &= \frac{353.172}{1.87775} \\ &= \mathbf{188} \end{aligned}$$

Therefore, a sample of 188 HHs was considered for the survey. These informants were selected by simple random sampling where a lottery was drawn by using cards to actually

select the 188 households. After an exhaustive list of the farmers was prepared alphabetically, a lottery was drawn to decide whether to consider individuals with even number or odd number, and names of people with odd number were considered to be the respondents. Accordingly, 27% were found to be female and 73% were male. The survey questionnaire was translated into the local language, Afaan Oromo, and tested before its actual implementation. Four enumerators were employed from the local community based on their academic background and previous experience in conducting similar surveys. These enumerators were assigned to interview each household in the sample. Finally, the data was analyzed using descriptive statistics such as frequency and mean.

1.8.3.3 Ethnographic Observation

Ethnographic observation is a process in which one or more persons observe what is occurring in some real life situations, and classify and record pertinent happenings according to some planned schedule which can be done in controlled and uncontrolled situations (Koul 2006: 171). We can understand that this way of gathering information helps us to observe and record as well as code behaviors at the time of their happenings. It seeks to answer central anthropological questions concerning the ways of life of human beings and used to document the link between culture and behavior and /or how cultural processes develop and change over time. “Observation entails the systematic noting and recording of events, behaviors, and artifacts (objects) in the social setting chosen for the study” (Marshall and Rossman 2006: 98). This note is expected to be non-judgmental, concrete, and thick description of what has been observed (Geertz 1973).

In carrying out this job successfully, however, one must take utmost care to minimize the influence of one's own biases, attitudes and values on the observation report. At the same time, one should not be discouraged as it becomes more time consuming and too costly.

For this particular study, it is very important to negotiate over entry to the community for observation activities. According to Marshall and Rossman (2006:74), "access may be a continuous issue when the researcher moves around in various setting." Therefore, in ethnographic observation, building trust among the community is one of the important factors to get permission to stay for long period of time among them. To do so, I first secured reference letter from the university and consent letters from the relevant government structures in the municipality. Then, I got access to the community leaders through an expert from the municipality to explain my objectives. This developed the rapport I wanted to maintain to carry out the fieldwork for one year. In addition, as I can speak the language of the community, this was an advantage for easy access to the opinions of members of the community.

In general, observation was so important for me to capture the practical phenomenon on the ground to strengthen the data obtained through interview and discussion. It was used to collect data regarding the daily routines and day to day informal discussions of the community members. These observations were made in work places, restaurants and *Mana Araqee* (local drinks like gin, homemade liquor) and in public meetings and religious festivals. Most of the observations were unstructured chance-based to cross check if the data I gathered through other methods match with what is real on the ground.

1.8.3.4 Interview

Interview, in most qualitative research, is taken as a process of communication or interaction in which the subject or interviewee gives the required information orally in a face-to face situation. In this study I used both unstructured and semi- structured interview methods. Marshall and Ross man (2006: 101), citing Kahn and Cannel (1957), state that an “interview is a conversation with a purpose.” In addition, ethnographic interview is an elaborate system of a series of interviews structured to elicit insiders’ cultural knowledge. These writers argue that the value of such an interview lies in its focus on culture through the participant’s perspective and through firsthand encounter.

In this study, in-depth interview was conducted with knowledgeable key informants to understand their perceptions and concerns about the contemporary urbanization process and its impacts on the individual life, and culture of the community at large. Elderly people were selected for the interviews based on the recommendations from members of the community to express their views regarding the urbanization processes in their locality and the resulting outcomes. Moreover, women and young people who had experienced the changes were also selected for the interviews to capture their attitudes towards the urbanization process and the changes occurring in their landholding system and livelihoods.

Officials from the Municipality, Urban Planning and Management Office, Land Administration and Environmental Protection, Children, Youth , and Women’s Affairs offices were also participants in the interviews conducted at various times.

Informants were selected by considering their diverse experience in terms of their experience, age, and gender. In this way, a diverse set of representatives to capture a broad range of perspectives. In the due process of the interviews there were situation in which some informants referred me to other informants who had better understand of the situation. So, life histories and narrative inquiries analyzed and interpreted by examining the subjective experience of individuals and their constructions of the realities. Therefore, life histories of individuals were drawn in the due process of the interviews in the field work and were incorporated into the appropriate sections during data analysis.

1.8.3.5 Focus Group Discussions

A focus group is conducted to facilitate the discussion among a small group of stakeholders, and designed to obtain perceptions in a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment. In this study, it was used to produce data on topics that require group perspectives and, sometimes consensus or disagreements. This method may have a comparative advantage over other methods in that it helps to secure a maximum level of interaction among people within a relatively short period of time. It helps to capture and understand direct evidences about the similarities and differences in the opinions of the participants with the assumption that individuals' attitudes and beliefs do not form in a vacuum; that is, people often need to listen to others' opinions and understandings to form their own (Marshall and Ross man 2006: 114). Moreover, this method is believed to be socially-oriented where the participants are in a natural atmosphere.

Based on the above rationale, nine focus group discussions consisting of 6-10 participants in each group were conducted. The participants were segmented into four. The first segment consisted of representatives from different municipal line departments such as Land Administration and Environmental Protection, Urban Planning, Micro and Small Enterprises Development Office, people from Office of Agriculture, Government Communication Office, and engineers who were responsible for land valuation and compensation estimation. These line departments were directly dealing with land management issues such as estimation, licensing investment projects, land measurement, and compensation payment, and environment. The second segment was meant for men, particularly elderly and other community members who had already been touched by the wave of the urbanization processes. Three FGDs were conducted with this segment of the community where one of the discussions was made with people who were serving as guards in the real estates. These guards were purposely selected since they were all land losers. The third segment, I supposed would give better information, was that of women with whom two focus group discussions were conducted. Although I was not interested to deal with gender specific data, women's group was formed for the discussion since women were also found to receive cash compensation due to land expropriation.

The fourth segment for the focus group consisted of young men and women. Three focus group discussions were made with this segment. One was with young women who were totally engaged in the daily labor while the second discussion was made with male young people selected from the same daily activity. The third focus group discussion in this segment was conducted with the youth selected from the community depending on their

awareness of the situation I was interested in. In general, a total of nine focus group discussions were conducted to capture the opinions of the different segments drawn from the community.

Pertaining to the recommendation made by Morgan (1997), convenient time and place were chosen based on the consent of the participants. To ensure this, the participants were informed three or four days before their planned discussions. Results of each focus group discussion were recorded and transcribed at the end of each discussion. Finally, data drawn from each discussion were combined with the ones gained through other methods for presentation. Overall, the data collected through discussion were useful to capture and check the similarities and differences in the opinions of the participants regarding a particular issue raised in the discussion.

1.8.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis is one of the most important stages of any research. It is a step-by-step examination of issues and their connections. In anthropological studies, analysis is an instrument to extract meanings from the information obtained during the field work. In this research, data gathered from the survey questionnaire was analyzed by using descriptive statistics with Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 15.0). The results were then presented in tables, charts, and graphs.

Data gathered through observation, interview and focus group discussions were analyzed simultaneously for this would help to show similarities and differences among the views of the informants. The analysis was guided by the research questions and

objectives. In analyzing the data from the interview and focus group discussions, a comparison was made among the individual opinions or between segments to show variations and consistencies. For both the interview and the focus group discussions, an audio record was made in which the different data were transcribed and labelled for easy reference in the later stages of the fieldwork. Then these qualitative data were categorized thematically for smooth flow of the information so as to use them together with the data from the survey questionnaire and the information from the documents of the municipality.

In general, the qualitative data was presented in a descriptive form throughout the writing in such a way that it would help for further interpretation and the making of meanings. For easy understanding, opinions of informants less than four lines are incorporated into the texts while those that are more than three lines are put in block quotations throughout this dissertation.

1.8.5 Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues are worth considering in conducting social science research. In this study, the interest of the informants for the study and that of the community at large were protected at all levels of the research process. Due procedures were followed to access information from any source. Concerned bodies including community members were informed of the objectives of the study. While writing the narrations of individuals, where it is important to mention the names of individuals, initial letters of the first and the last names were employed in the reverse order in the data analysis process. For

example, identity of the informant, Bullo Yami, is labeled as *YB*. This is used throughout this dissertation where opinions of people are directly quoted. This method was used for protecting the security of informants from any potential threat.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The previous chapter has dealt with the introductory part of the dissertation by stating why I am interested in this urban issue. It has presented an overall background to the study followed by statement of the problem. A detailed description of the research methodology is also included in the first chapter. This second chapter presents a review of some of the major concepts and issues that are helpful for undertaking this research.

2.1 The Development of Urban Anthropology and Theories of Urbanization

As part of socio-cultural anthropology, it was only in the second half of the 20th century, especially in the 1960s, that urban anthropology came into being when anthropology in general started giving attention to urban societies and cities. “Its roots lie more in sociological study of industrialized societies than in traditional anthropology” (Al-Zubaidi 1998: 2). However, this does not mean that no anthropological study was made in urban centers before the term ‘urban anthropology’ began to be used in the 1960s. For example, a sociologist, Ferdinand Tonnies (1887), made a distinction between *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society) based on the concept that impersonal, contractual bonds characterizing the capitalist society are in contrast to the intimate relationships and collective activities of the feudal community. Again, Emile Durkheim (1897), as cited in Gmelch and Zenner (1980), suggested anomic suicide as being rooted in the theoretical assumptions about what constitutes the essence of urban

and non-urban life. More important works related to the later development of urban anthropology was Louis Wirth's (1938) "Urbanism as a Way of Life" in which he developed a theory regarding the typical influence of urban life on social organization and attitudes. Later on, Redfield and Singer (1954) adapted Wirth's formulation of these characteristics to the idea of a 'folk-urban continuum' (Al-Zubaidi 1998; Gmelch and Zenner 1980: 5). Although these works are more sociological, one can see their importance in proposing an urban anthropological research.

Another major contribution for the development of urban anthropology came from Robert Park and his School of Urban Ecology which focuses on researching of "demographic and census information, interviews, and historical data, and emphasized cities' social problems rather than exploring abstract theory of urban life" (Al-Zubaidi 1998: 4).

Furthermore, the Manchester School is often cited as one of the pioneers in urban studies since it emphasizes on case studies, detailed analysis of particular instances of social interaction to infer rules and assumptions (Al-Zubaidi 1998). Some of the themes also include issues of conflict and reconciliation in small-scale societies and organizations, and the tension between individual organization and social structure.

A more anthropological one was the Community Study Approach which was developed in reaction to the abstract empiricism of the Chicago School. Similarly, Interactionism as an approach in urban anthropology was developed in response to the lifeless empiricism

of the School. A prominent work in this approach is Goffman (1959) who tried to define human interaction through a dramaturgical metaphor and analyzed human behavior as a series of performances of parts (Al-Zubaidi 1998: 5 - 6).

Having this background, now, theoretically, urban anthropology involves in the study of the cultural systems of cities as well as the linkages of cities to the larger and smaller places and populations as part of the world-wide urban system (Kemper 1991). As stated earlier, slightly more than half of the world population is now residing in urban centers of different statuses resulting in severe social, economic and environmental concerns. These days, therefore, urban anthropology has become one of the areas gaining due attention in anthropological research.

The development of this sub-discipline, distinct from urban sociology of the Chicago School, can be traced to the 1960s when several texts, readers and essay collections followed in the 1970s. A more direct inspiration for the emergence in the 1960s of urban anthropology came from the work of Oscar Lewis (Sanjek 1999). The distinctive features of those days' urban anthropology were the exposure of urban poverty, documentation of rural-urban migration, the ethnography of residential neighborhood life, attention to the structure and adaptive functions of voluntary associations, demonstration of the persistence of extended kinship relations, analysis of networks, and other similar urban concerns. Most of these attempts were criticized for lacking methodological clarity and for incapability to answer why such problems come up with the development of urban centers (Sanjek 1999).

When we see the development of urban anthropology in different parts of the world, we find that there are various reasons for anthropologists to start dealing with urban issues. In the United States of America, urban anthropology was widened dramatically in the 1980s research topics such as familial dynamics of inherited wealth, examination of interaction among regulators, policy makers, workers and consumers. Similarly, urban anthropology of African Americans in the 1980s is also worth mentioning. In the Caribbean and in Latin America, diverse interests rather than any central research tradition marked urban anthropology (Al-Zubaidi 1998; Sanjek 1999).

In Europe, on the other hand, urban social anthropology of Britain dates back to the 1950s. Gmelch and Zenner (1980: 4) acknowledge Gluckman for introducing a set of Manchester-influenced essays on urban issues although urban ethnography in Europe presents an irregular picture.

According to Sanjek (1990: 165), Africa was the location of landmark studies in the urban anthropology of the 1950-1970s. Some research works on religion, adaptation to economic uncertainty, urban politics, household workers, and popular culture widened the spectrum of topics in the urban studies. In West Africa, for instance, Goode 1994, cited in Myers (2011:6), surveyed urban apprenticeship placing it within her consideration of child fostering in the region.

As stated earlier, as some of the research attempts made in Ethiopia lack rigor, a study of this kind can serve as a point of departure in doing anthropological urban studies in other urban centers in the country.

2.2. The Reality of World Urbanization

No matter how different views and ambiguous evidences are prevalent regarding the origin of the first urban centers in the world, we can find many sources which suggest that the first urban centers were in the Middle East dating back to 9000 BC and 6000 BC (Gutkind 1974: 1).

Urbanization is becoming a global phenomenon which is usually given different meanings in different parts of the world. However, an area considered to be urban by some may not be viewed the same by others. Some people understand the concept of urbanization in relation to demographic meanings⁴ while others see it in terms of the spatial and physical change of social life. Calhoun et al. (1994: 519), for example, state that “urbanization is the process whereby a large number of people leave the countryside and small towns to settle in cities and surrounding metropolitan areas.” Thus, according to this understanding, urbanization involves migration from sparsely populated regions to densely populated ones. Of course, the scope of this migration has been enormous in the century we live in. In the 1900, 86.4% of the world’s population lived in rural areas. (Calhoun et. al. 1994). Furthermore, Allen and Alan (2000) perceive urbanization in terms of the proportion of a national population living in urban centers.

⁴ Demographic meaning refers to the minimum number of people living in an area where it is used as a criterion to designate the settlement as an urban.

Iaquinta and Drescher (2000: 3) define urbanization as “a process of concentration and intensification of human life and activity.” These writers argue that established definition of the concept includes three components: demographic (increasing population size and density, economic (primarily non-agricultural labor force), and social psychological (consciousness of what it means to be urban). The first two components are the common elements while the third one is somewhat new which refers to the values, attitudes, tastes, and behaviors that are seen to be characteristic of urban as opposed to rural dwellers” (Iaquinta and Drescher (2000: 2).

Champion and Hugo (2004), by referring to different sources, review the situations of urbanization in several countries. In India, for instance, urban towns are places with municipal corporation, municipal area committee, town committee, notified area committee, or cantonment board; and all places having 5000 inhabitants or more, a density of not fewer than 1000 persons per square mile or per square km, pronounced urban characteristics and at least three-fourths of the adult male population employed in pursuits other than agriculture. In Malaysia, it is defined as gazette areas with their adjoining built up areas and with a combined population of 10,000 persons or more. In Indonesia, it is understood as municipalities, regency capitals and other places with urban characteristics. In Nepal, it is considered as localities with 9000 inhabitants or more. Consistent with this, Dejene (2005) argues that the concept has been contentious and varies across cultures. From this, we can learn that there cannot be a consistent definition or binding criterion of the concept.

In the Ethiopian context, the Central Statistical Agency (2006:4) defines an urban center as:

‘...locality with 2000 or more inhabitants.’ In the 1994, Population and Housing Census Cartographic work, however, for practical purposes an urban center includes the following regardless of the number of inhabitants.(i) all administrative capitals, (regional Capitals, Zonal Capitals, and *wereda* capitals); (ii) localities with urban dwellers’ association (UDA) not include under number one above;(iii) all localities which are not included either in (i) or (ii) above having a population of 1000 or more persons, and whose inhabitants are primarily engaged in non-agricultural activities.

In general, from the above sources, we can learn that urbanization can mean many things depending on how it is defined. It can be viewed as a characteristic of the population, as a particular kind of land use and land cover, as well as a characteristic of social and economic processes and interactions affecting both population and land. It can also be defined politically. Yet, in many parts of the world including Ethiopia, the urbanization process is going on, sometimes, with its some irreversible consequences on a certain host community, which is in reality a paradox, and has not been properly addressed by people or government bodies who/ which are in charge of the urban development and investment programs in different parts of the world. The shining face and real opportunities of the urban life has been attracting people from all corners of non-urban areas. This has increased the built-up areas by engulfing the productive farm lands which have been the sources of livelihood for millions of people in the world. As a result, more than fifty-percent of the world population has now begun to reside in urban centers (United Nations 2011). The following table shows the population trends of the world from 1950 to 2050.

Table 2: Distribution of the World Urban Population
by Major Region (projected from 1950 to 2050)

Major Area	Percentage of Urban population					Rate of Urbanization			
	1950	1970	2011	2030	2050	1950 - 1970	1970 - 2011	2011 - 2030	2030 - 2050
Africa	14.4	23.5	39.6	47.7	57.7	2.47	1.27	0.98	0.96
Asia	17.5	23.7	45.0	55.5	64.4	1.52	1.57	1.10	0.74
Europe	51.3	62.8	72.9	77.4	82.2	1.02	0.36	0.31	0.30
Latin America and the Caribbean	41.4	57.1	79.1	83.4	86.6	1.61	0.80	0.28	0.19
North America	63.9	73.8	82.2	85.8	88.6	0.72	0.26	0.22	0.16
Oceania	62.4	71.2	70.7	71.4	73.0	0.66	-0.02	0.05	0.12

*Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs/Population Division
World Urbanization Prospects: The 2011 Revision*

The history of world urbanization indicates that different parts of our globe have been urbanizing in different times with different rates. Some areas have already been urbanized while others are not. The above table helps us to understand this phenomenon with reference to different regions of the world. If we see the projected urban population of Africa from 1950 to 2050, we can see that, in 2050, it will be four times larger than it

was in 1950. That means about 57 % of the African population will live in urban centers in 2050. In the case of the Asian continent, the urban population which was 17.5% in 1950 will be 64.4% one hundred years later in 2050. The case of the European countries is different. By 1950, more than half of the population was already urbanized. The above statistics show that 82.2% of the population of the continent will be living in urban areas by the year 2050. In the case of Latin America and the Caribbean, although less than half (41.4%) of its population was living in urban areas in 1950, it is expected that 86.6% of the population will be urban dwellers by 2050. It is to mean that the urban population of the continent will be more than double in one hundred years' time. North America and Oceania had almost similar size of urban population in 1950. Yet, the projected urban population for both areas is to be larger, 88.6% for Latin America and 73.0% for Oceania.

When we see the urbanization rate of the world, it varies greatly from continent to continent. In the case of Africa, urbanization is found to be the fastest of all the world regions followed by Asia in 1950. The rate in Oceania was the least in 1950 and expected to be the same by the end of 2050. Overall three continents, Europe, North America and Latin America, will have more than 80% of their population urbanized by the end of 2050.

In general, it is not difficult to be certain about the consequences this fast urban growth of the world will have on the built-up areas, economic and social dynamisms of various communities in different corners of our globe. In such a dynamic urbanization process, some community may be forced to change its long established cultural and economic

systems while others may, at the same time, structure and restructure new systems so as to make them go with their interests, or to fit to the new opportunities and challenges.

At the same time, it is important to review the urban population growth of Africa to get an overview of the trend. The following table is taken from Myers (2011: 52) to reveal the population of twenty selected African largest cities in the year 2010.

Table 3: Population of 20 Selected African Cities

S. No	Cities	Population in Millions
1	Cairo*	12.503
2	Lagos*	10.572
3	Kinshasa*	9.052
4	Khartoum*	5.185
5	Luanda*	4.775
6	Alexandria	4.421
7	Abijan*	4.175
8	Johannesburg	3.618
9	Algiers*	3.574
10	Addis Ababa ⁵	3.453
11	Kano	3.393
12	Nairobi*	3.363
13	Dares Selaam*	3.319
14	Cape Town*	3.269
15	Casablanca	3.267
16	Ekurhuleni	3.157
17	Dakar*	2.856
18	Durban	2.839
19	Ibadan	2.835
20	Accra*	2.332

Source: Myers (2011: 52)

**Cities that served as colonial capitals, primary colonial ports or both*

⁵ Although it was not used as a colonial capital, Addis Ababa has received a lot influences from the five years Talian occupation.

From their history one can see that African urban centers exhibit three faces. One is the pre-colonial face where there are evidences to show that the continent had its ancient urban centers that served the traditional states in various parts of Africa. However, the colonial period had its own effect on the expansion of urbanization in Africa. In the above table, Myers shows that 60% of the twenty selected cities served the colonial administration either as their seats or as ports for transporting African resources to the countries of the colonial masters. Myers argues that the colonialists had left their legacies in different forms. One of the colonial urban legacies is the internal form and spatial structure. Today one can see that the house designs and pavements are of the European cities' type of the colonial origin. Segmentation and segregation of the urban landscape and a high degree of inequality are other forms of the colonial legacy. The segregation is exhibited in business and restricted residential areas. In this way, the urban centers formed by the colonial masters became laboratories, incubation sites and potent physical symbols of mechanisms of colonial power. By citing Mitchell (1988), Myers (2011: 54) summarizes the four ideological concerns reflected by African urban centers during the colonization period.

These were (1) separating out who could and could not be in the city; (2) devising a map for who belonged where among those allowed to be urban; (3) providing and reforming spatial expressions of the hierarchy of colonial rule; and (4) enabling the accumulation of resources by the colonial regime, the metropolitan power, and elites associated with both.

These forms of the colonial urban segregation in Africa are clearly evidenced by the arrangement of some places in Addis Ababa during the five years' Italian occupation.

Places such as Caza Populare, Piazza, and Casa Inchis are examples of such areas where some of them are strictly reserved as residential places for the colonial agents while other places separated for native citizens of Ethiopia.

Postcolonial African urban centers did not meet the expectations of the African majority. Soon after most African counties won their independence, between 1956 and 1977, African nationals were of the optimist opinion that the situation would sooner or later improve in favor of them. However, apart from the privilege of being independent, Demissie (2007a) cited in Myers (2011:57) argues that high unemployment, escalating poverty and widening inequality have actually worsened although African cities have gone through structural adjustment for several years.

2.3. Theoretical Framework

Whenever one picks up any matter pertaining to urban issues, it is apparent for one to dwell on the modes of relations that come to picture. For these relations to prevail there are always agents. In the urban context, it is the human being with all his tools and rules that is found at the center of any form of the interaction and the subsequent outcomes. This has become evident in the urban contexts of the globe where modern capitalism is manipulating any type of the resources by organizing and reorganizing the system to make it fit into its fluid nature. In making an anthropological exploration into the complex urban arena, however, we often lack a clear and all encompassing theory or framework for analyzing pertinent data. This is likely due to lack of detailed anthropological studies to theorize about urban interaction. In addition, the existing anthropological models and theories are limited in scope and often deal with

displacement and resettlement issues. With the lack of meticulous theoretical framework for analyzing the data in this dissertation, therefore, it is useful to move between two or more complementary theories.

To begin with, Scudder and Colson (1982) in studying the impacts of the Kariba resettlement scheme on Gwembe Tonga developed a model consisting of four - stages through which people and socio-cultural systems respond to resettlement. The first stage in this model is the recruitment stage in which policy - makers and developers design development and resettlement plans, often without the knowledge of those to be displaced. The second stage is the transition stage at which people are induced to inevitability of their future displacement, although this practice is criticized for fear that it may escalate the level of stress among the people to be displaced. After the completion of the physical relocation, the third stage comes to view at which displacees begin to rebuild their economy and social networks. The final stage illustrates the context in which the local production systems and community leadership given to the generation of new settlers that identifies with and feels home in the host community. Although this model was successful in explaining both voluntary and involuntary resettlement programs, and some elements that can be borrowed even today, it is insufficient to elaborate the urban development plans and any resulting displacements or dislocations which are more complicated by involving actors of different interests.

Cernea (1997:1) “Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model” also aims at categorizing the basic impoverishment risks in forced resettlement and the necessary

processes for reconstructing the livelihoods of displacees. In this model, eight major impoverishment risks are identified some of which can be used in explaining what is going on in the present study area. However, like Scudder and Colson (1982) model, this model bases its foundation on displacement related potential risks. At the same time, it does not give enough space to accommodate the complex interaction and risks that are observed among members of the farming community in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town who are exposed to various risks without being physically relocated or displaced. In a similar manner, Colchester (2000) overview of the impacts of dam projects on indigenous populations and ethnic minorities highlights the experience of indigenous people with dam development projects. His study has shown that the situation is characterized by cultural alienation, dispossession of land and resources, lack of consultation, insufficient or a complete lack of compensation, human rights abuses, and a lowering living standard. In this study, Colchester concludes that the specific and strong cultural connection that many indigenous groups have with the land on which they live makes their physical dislocation potentially more harmful than is often the case for other groups.

Although it is used in a different context, Parker Shipton's (1989: 1) idea of "bitter money" is worth considering in understanding the compensation payment and compensation management of the farming community in this study. Of course, Shipton developed this idea while he was dealing with the cultural economy and some African meanings of forbidden exchanges of commodities with the specific experience from the Luo community of Kenya. He found out that money gained by selling culturally forbidden commodities involves some perceived unfairness or injustice. At the same

time, the society Shipton studied believe that things for which the income generated by selling communal land would result in wreck. This is a symbolic expression of resistance. James Ferguson (1990) in his book entitled “The Anti-Politics Machine: “Development”, Depoliticization and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho” used an anthropological approach to analyze the institutional framework within which development projects are carried out and the nature of “development discourse.” By closely examining the implementation of Thaba-Tseka project in Lesotho, he concluded that development projects workers are usually unaware of the local historical and political realities. Thus, he argues that “development” approach in Lesotho is used as an “anti-politics machine” in the sense that it obscures the local context while strengthening the state presence in the localities because they came with state needs. The major aim of the projects was to commercialize crops and livestock by introducing new varieties and management system. However, they failed because development workers did not understand why the local people keep cattle. Ferguson argues that most of the people of Lesotho were daily laborers in Apartheid-era South Africa and with the money they got from there they buy cattle to keep as retirement investment. Ferguson further explains that state’s firm presence in the new development project center was exhibited with the decision to establish the capital of a new administrative district where a new post office, police station, a prison, an immigration control office, and with a new “food for work” administration run by Ministry of Rural Development and the Ministry of Interior to politically regulate the power of local chiefs.

In Mary Pattillo's (2007) three layers of actors⁶ (the *man*, the *middle man*, and the *little man*) in the interracial relations among African-American urban politics, the role of the middle class is stressed in transforming poor African-American neighborhoods. This model is useful in analyzing the types of actors that come to view in the land transaction processes in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town. One of the chapters in this study deals with forms of farmers' resistance in the study area. However, since this phenomenon of class is not commonly uttered in urban Ethiopia, James Scott's (1985) lens through which he examined everyday forms of resistance by the peasants materially and ideologically against their subordination in Malay is useful in framing the means that the farmers have used to resist the land expropriation processes in the study area because as Foucault (1980:142) explains:

There are no relations of power without resistances; the latter are all the more real and effective because they are formed right at the point where relations of power are exercised; resistance to power does not have to come from elsewhere to be real, nor is it inexorably frustrated through being the compatriot of power. It exists all the more by being in the same place as power, hence, like power, resistance is multiple and can be integrated in global strategies.

Despite the above important models and theories, one may still look for further theories that can be a basis for the analysis of data pertaining to urban development and its consequences in the Ethiopian context. The situation in the present study area entails a broader analysis of state - society relationship, all the actors, major resources over which the actors struggle, and the local cultural responses. It is at this point that one should

⁶ Pattilo(2007) argues that the middleman plays a significant role in transforming the living conditions of the littleman. However, it must be understood that the man-middleman-littleman relationship in this study is basically different from the context in which Pattilo theorized the interaction among the actors.

consider Bourdieu's concept of 'field'. DiMaggio (1979:1462) states that "the concept of 'field' is a critical metaphor in Bourdieu's work." In Bourdieu's concept of social system, society and the relatively autonomous 'fields' that the system incorporates are founded on hierarchies which obey similar laws. So, the concept of 'field' refers to the agents or system of agents that can be described as many forces by their existence, conflicts, or alliances. These agents are what Burns and Deville (2002: 1) call "actors" that are a portion of the major focuses of this study.

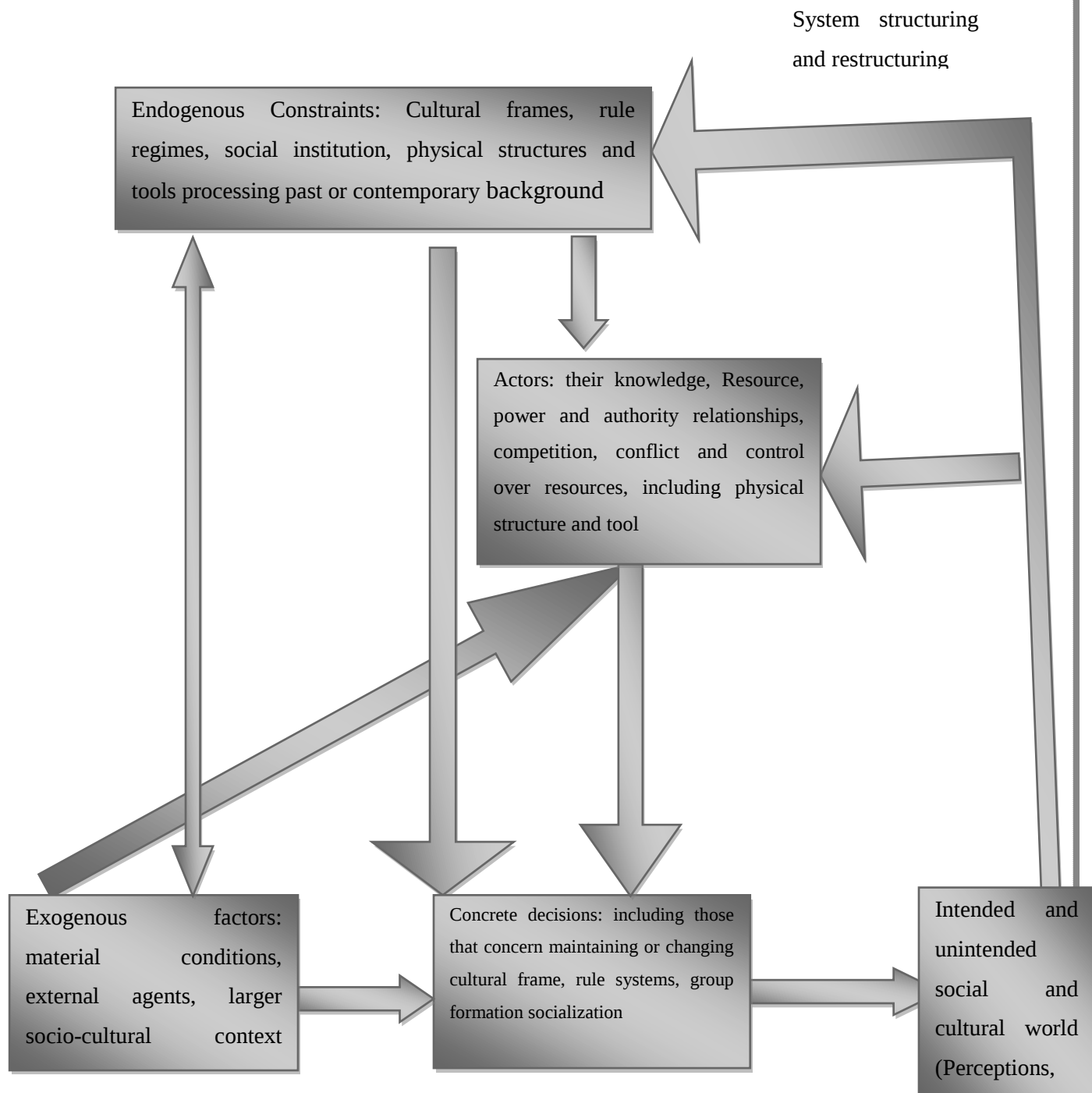
In addition to using the above models as required, therefore, most of the data for this study is found to be analyzed within the scope of the *Actor-System Dynamics Theory*⁷ (Burns, Baumgartner, and Deville (2002) which has been developed for application to the study of modern social interactions in modern capitalism of the industrialized societies. The main premise in this theory is that social systems are open to, and interact with their environment. Through the interaction, such systems continue acquiring new shapes widening their scope and transform themselves resulting in gradual change and development (Burns, Baumgartner, and Deville 2002). These writers published an article entitled *Actor-System Dynamics Theory and Its Application to the Analysis of Modern Capitalism* (2002). In this article, they particularly discuss the major mechanisms of social stability and transformation in modern capitalism by arguing that:

⁷ According to Burns et.al (2002), (Actor-System Dynamics (ASD) Theory has been developed and used in various contexts since the 1970s out of the early general system theory of Baumgartner, Walter Buckley, Tom, R Burns, Philippe Deville, and David Meeker. By then social relations, groups, organizations, and societies were considered as combinations of inter-related parts having almost stable boundaries with internal structures and processes.

Culture and institutions as well as physical structures shape and regulate interaction processes and conditions such as those of production, exchange, conflict, the exercise of power, knowledge production and innovation, and social reproduction. At the same time, human agents through their actions and interactions change these structures. In the process of such strategic structuring, agents interact, struggle, form alliances, exercise power, negotiate, and cooperate within the constraints and opportunities of existing structures. Intentionally as well as unintentionally, they change the conditions of their own activities and their interactions. The individual, the historic personality, enjoys an extensive freedom to act within and upon social systems. The result(s) are institutional and material changes - the making of history. (Burns, Baumgartner, and DeVille 2002:213).

Regarding the freedom of choice in the above explanation, one has to be cautious that some individual or group actors are freer than others in playing their respective roles and in influencing others to act in their favor. Of course, in Ethiopia where the government claims its developmental statehood, it is highly likely that the government still controls much of the resources including land. As shown in the following diagram, Actor - Systems Dynamics Theory illustrates key propositions which include material and ecological conditions, institutional and formations of rule systems, rule governed interactions in the production of outcomes, and institutional dynamics.

Figure 4: Actor-System Dynamics Theory Model



Source: Burns, Baumartner and Deville(2002:223); Zenawi (2007)

It is important to see the details of these concepts and propositions so as to understand their application in the interpretation of urban social transformations in the current newly emerging urban center, Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi, in Ethiopia. Firstly, the feedback between social systems and the biological and physical world is a focal point in the Actor-System Dynamics approach, expressed in the form of material, in particular, resource distribution and selective responses to the implementation of cultural rules and institutional arrangements. Secondly, as most human social interactions are organized and regulated, rule making processes, interpretation, and implementation of rules are common (Burns and Flam, 1987; Burns and Carson, 2002). True, these processes are followed by the exercise of power in perpetuated conflict and struggle. In this process, individual and group actors play a pivotal role in the formation and development of social rule systems, which sometimes occur in an unexpected or unintended direction (Burns, Baumgartner, and Deville 2002:213). So, the agents can be the producers, carriers, and/or reformers of systems of social rules. They also interpret, implement, adapt, and transform them cautiously (Burns 2001). The actors then make use of these rules and rule systems by applying their knowledge and skills that are useful in implementing the rule systems in a certain concrete setting. In situations where there are oppositions or deviations from these established rules, the actors are likely to encounter resistance from others.

The writers argue that rule regimes consist of a cluster of social relationships, roles, norms, and even rules of the game, by specifying who may or should participate, who is excluded, who may or should do what through their institutional arrangements. In this way, actors are oriented not only by social rule systems but, as well, to the concrete

condition of action, such as the relative scarcity of certain strategic resources such as land. However, actors may also conceptualize the rules and interpret them differently, which brings about a difference in abiding by the rule system or deviating from it.

Ecological and physical factors also affect action and interaction through opposing or facilitating rule implementation. To begin with, specific material conditions can constrain actors from implementing certain rules in a given situation. Next, the outcomes and developments resulting from the interaction may be intended or unintended, which can be explained as uncertainties, consensuses, conflicts or resistances. In this manner, social systems in the Actor-System Dynamics perspective are dynamic because human agents by their conscious or spontaneous activities highly alter their interaction conditions and selective environments. This dynamism⁸ focuses on the processes by which social rule systems, cultural elements and institutional arrangements are produced, selected, and transmitted or reproduced through interaction for a certain intended purpose of various agents.

Finally, in Actor-System Dynamics Theory, power, knowledge, interest, and values are key elements in institutional transformation because the power to mobilize resources including wealth, legislative authority and, coercive powers to maintain or change institutional orders is a decisive factor. However, since the feature of the present Ethiopian developmental state is different from the liberal capitalist economic system in western countries where the above theory is developed, it may not be advisable to borrow

⁸ In the context of my study area, the dynamisms are sometimes undefined and shapeless as the government system and institutional arrangements are incapable of controlling the processes through which the actors interact.

as it is for interpreting the data related to the major issues in this study. Yet, since this study is dealing with new social changes and uncertainties under conscious new social arrangements and rules governed interactions in the urban context, most of the data in this research are analyzed in light of the *Actor - System Dynamics Theory* notwithstanding the use of some of the above discussed theories in some specific contexts as required.

2. 4: The Ethiopian State of Affairs

2. 4.1. A Short History of Urbanization in Ethiopia

When we see the history of most of the African urban centers, they trace their origin to the colonial period. The colonialist settlements are characterized by a segregationist character of colonial urban policy where two sides of cities were grown: one for the Europeans and the other for the Africans (Bahiru 2005: 120; Myers 2011:1). This does not mean that Africa does not have its own indigenous urban centers.

One can claim that the case in Ethiopia is different. Solomon (1997) and Habtemariam (1994) have the position that Ethiopia has been underurbanized although urbanization has a long history in the country. Most of the literature shows that Ethiopian urban settlements have grown around political, religious, or commercial centers (Bahiru 2005: 120). Of course, except some of the traces stamped in some cities like Addis Ababa during the five years of the Italian occupation, the context of Ethiopian urban development is significantly different from most of the urban settlements in most of the African countries which were under colonial powers. Some writers such as (Bahiru 2005) and Pankhurst (1968) argue that urban settlements have had existed in Ethiopia beginning

from the 5th century B.C. Settlement areas such as Adulis and Aksum are cited to be among ancient towns. In the 18th and 19th centuries, there emerged urban centers of various sizes which include Debreberhan, Gondar and Debre Tabor. Harar in the eastern part of Ethiopia has been serving as the centre of commerce and knowledge for many centuries. But, wars, political turmoil, absence of favorable socio-cultural environment caused the instability of urban growth in the country. However, a new turn took place beginning from late 19th century and early 20th century as a result of Menelik's expansion to the south, when the consolidation of the central government took place. This political expansion into several parts of Ethiopia led to the appearance of military centers known as *ketema* (Bahiru 2005) or market places, which gradually developed into towns of different sizes and populations. Apart from serving as controlling centers, these *ketema* were used as networks for trade and all local market exchange activities. This indicates that most of the previous literature argues that, in Ethiopia, urbanization is often linked to political factors by overstressing the role of the state. However, writers like (Getahun 2007: 11) contend that "internal dynamics of societies" have played great role in Ethiopian urbanization.

The other factor for the emergence and development of urban centers in Ethiopia was the contact with the outside world, particularly beginning from the 20th century. As a result, there began postal services, telecommunication, motor cars, and the railway. The construction of the railway, for instance, helped for the emergence of towns like Dire Dawa, Awash, Adama, and Bishoftu along the Ethio-Djibouti Railway (Bahiru 2005: 120).

The five year Italian occupation⁹ could also be mentioned as a factor for the growth of urban centers in Ethiopia. With the main aim of exploiting the wealth of the country effectively, Italians developed infrastructures as it was used to be in many parts of Africa which were under the colonial rule of European countries.

In general, Assefa (1993: 60) sums up the history of urbanization in Ethiopia by dividing it into three periods of development. The first period was the pre-Italian Period (1900-1935) which was dominated by the social and economic role played by the dynasties at a given time. The second period, the Italian occupation period, is characterized by the construction of roads, bridges, schools, and other facilities by the Italians. The third period is the post Italian period when the country was assumed to have a reconstruction time and new phase of urban development. From those periods onwards, the number of towns increased with unprecedented population growth.

Today, there is another period, likely the fourth period (the post revolution period), of urban development characterized by rapid expansion of cities in Ethiopia because of global pressure, increase in population, and the internal economic policy of the country which has brought about the conversion of large farm land to built up areas through legal expropriation and illegal settlements, particularly around Addis Ababa, including the area where this study has been conducted. In order to have a clear picture of the current land expropriation processes, the overall Ethiopian urban land tenure system is worth discussing.

⁹ There are still signs of the Italian structural designs in old areas such Pisa and and Caza Inchis in Addis Ababa. In addition, some cities like Dire Dawa and Jimma, stamps of the Italian occupation are visible.

2.4.2 Urban Land Policy and Urban Landholding Systems in Ethiopia

Before discussing urban land holding policies of Ethiopia, it is of paramount importance to have a general picture of the situation pertaining to land ownership in the country. Some writers have attempted to explain the practice of the land holding system in general. For example, Sisay (2012) has reviewed the Ethiopian land holding systems diachronically. According to this writer, until 1974, Ethiopia was ruled by the monarchical system in which land ownership right and control was under a few feudal lords which led to the country wide revolution of 1974 with a popular slogan ‘land to the tiller’. After the Military Junta removed the monarchy and assumed state power in 1974, some major steps were taken regarding the ownership of both rural and urban lands. In 1975, the military government proclaimed state ownership of land. With proclamation No 31/1975, rural land was transferred to peasants while urban land and extra houses were confiscated by the government under the execution of proclamation No 47/1975.

After the Socialist Government had been overthrown by the EPRDF led forces, urban land policy of Ethiopia has undergone a number of changes and revisions governed by the Constitution which proclaims that land is the property of the state and use and benefit rights are given to the people of Ethiopia (Constitution, Article 24). After the adoption of this constitution in 1995, a lot of urban land holding proclamations, regulations, and directives were issued by the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

When we see the details of each of the systems of the different governments, we can understand that they have some common and distinctive features of their own. Before

1974, the emergence of some ancient urban centers and the birth of Addis Ababa have had an important contribution for urban development in the country. After the establishment of Addis Ababa in 1886, some settlement areas started to grow around the palace. Portions of land were allocated to some personalities, servants or soldiers that the regime thought to be important. Those personalities were often Menelik's war leaders, the *Grazmach* and *Dejazmach*¹⁰, during his expansion to the southern and southwestern parts of Ethiopia in the name of unification. In order to realize this, Menelik made a land distribution in 1891 in Addis Ababa. This resulted in the concentration of large sizes of lands in the hands of a small number of individuals. Molla (2009: 150) states that:

50% of the total area of Addis Ababa was owned by 1,768 proprietors each with an average of 71, 000 square meters. It was in 1907 that a rule containing 32 Articles was adapted ensuring the sale and registration of land. The rule contained provisions which specify the rights and obligations of land owners of urban land, the requirement of measurement and registration of urban land law as well as the issuance of title certificate.

It was at this junction that the landholding system had created a clear hierarchy of wealth and status which not only resulted in favoring members of the ruling group but also in dispossessing the Tulama Oromo farmers. In such a way, administrators of the expansive rulers and the few among whom the land was partitioned created a new history in which a certain group was considered to be fit for residing in urban areas whereas others were pushed to the suburbs or beyond. That frame of mind was forcefully and systematically inculcated by the actors in the rule - making to make others accept this status quo.

¹⁰ *Grazmach* and *Dejazmach* are titles given to war leaders during the feudal system.

Yet, the law by Menelik was considered to be a land mark to the development of traditional temporary land allocation of a royal land tenure system by recognizing private and government ownership. This urban land tenure system was maintained during the reign of Haileselassie leading to the concentration of more land in the hands of a few despite the 1955 revised Ethiopian Constitution which had entitled every citizen to own land (1955 Revised Constitution of Ethiopia, Article 44 and 130.d).

The period from 1974 up to 1991 was the time in which a relatively new form of land reform came into being with its own impacts. As stated earlier, the Proclamation provides for the Government Ownership of Urban Land and Extra Houses (Proclamation No.47/1975) totally changed the urban land tenure system vesting its exclusive ownership in the government and entitling individuals and organizations with only the right to use. There happened a free grant and allocation referred to as permit system during the social military government. According to this Proclamation, holders were given the right to get up to 500 square meters of urban land for an unlimited period of time. However, urban land was not allowed to transfer in any way other than transferring to children or spouse upon death. As we have seen in the discussion of the *Actor-System Dynamics Theory*, systems are structured and restructured by the actors at different times where past experiences could influence present acts for the actors could be historically of the same origin. The exclusive power of government in land ownership continued after the 1991 change of government in Ethiopia.

The new Ethiopian Constitution (Proc. No. 1/1995) has, for the most part, adopted the 1975 Rural Land Proclamation introducing new concepts in the ownership of land by making both rural and urban land the property of the state and the people (Mellese (2009:31). Accordingly, Article 40 (3) of the Constitution proclaims that:

The right to ownership of rural and urban land, as well as of all natural resources, is exclusively vested in the state and the peoples of Ethiopia. Land is a common property of the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia and shall not be subject to sale or to other means of exchange (Article 40. 3).

Based on the above article in the Constitution, several proclamations and regulations were provided regarding both rural and urban landholding. In reviewing the legal framework of the urban land holding system of the country, I came across twelve proclamations and regulations passed after 1991 (See Table 4 below).

Table 4: Some Land Related Proclamations After 1991¹¹

No	Proclamation No.	Purpose
1	Proclamation No. 130/2007	Proclamation to amend the proclamation No. 56/2002, 70/2003, 103/2005 of Oromia Rural Land Use and Administration
2	Proclamation No.70/2003,	Megaleta Oromia, 9th Year, and No.12,
2	Proclamation No 103/2006	Oromia Rural Land Administration and Utilization Proclamation
3	Proclamation No 1/1995	A Proclamation to Pronounce the Coming into Effect of the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
4	Proclamation No 80/1993	A Proclamation to Provide for the Lease Holding of Urban Lands
5	Proclamation No 272/2002	A Proclamation to Provide for the Re-Enactment of Lease Holding of Urban Lands
6	Regulation No 29/2002	Addis Ababa City Government Urban Land Lease
7	Proclamation No. 89/1997	Federal Rural Land Administration Proclamation
8	Proclamation No 445/2005	A Proclamation to Provide for the Expropriation of Land Holdings for Public Purposes and Payment of Compensation
9	Proclamation No 456/2005	Rural Land Administration and Use Proclamation
11	Proclamation No 401/2004	A Proclamation to Provide for Appropriation of Land for Government Works and Payment of Compensation for Property
12	Proclamation No 271/2011	A Proclamation to Provide for Lease Holding of Urban Lands

Source: Document Review by the researcher, 2012

¹¹ The list is not at all exhaustive since one can find many more land related legal provisions after the EPRDF came to power in 1991.

This shows the sensitivity and urgency of establishing an appealing urban land administration system. Accordingly, the present urban landholding system, a lease-based one, was introduced in Ethiopia in 1993 under Proclamation No 80/1993, though there have been a lot of changes afterwards. This proclamation has classified urban land into three categories; namely land allocated before the issuance of the proclamation for the construction of dwelling houses; land allotted before the proclamation for purposes other than the construction of dwelling houses, and land to be allotted for any purpose after the issuance of the proclamation (Molla 2009: 157; 2009: 172). This urban landholding system is different from the previous ones in two major ways. One, land is allotted by auction, negotiation, and lot. Two, land is allowed only for a fixed period of time, based on annual lease price payment.

Despite consecutive revision and rerevision of the urban land policy, the central value of the policy has not been changed but has been enhanced. Until the recent proclamation (Proc No. 721/2011), no strong legal system was stated in the policy to control urban land speculation, illegal development, and corruption. There is another proclamation (Proc No. 455/2005) which is peculiarly related with the interest of this research. Therefore, the following few paragraphs will dwell with the analysis of this major proclamation which is at the center of the current urban land administration practices throughout the country.

2.4.2.1 Ethiopian New Urban Land Policy and the Execution of Proclamation No 455/2005

In 1995 the Ministry of Federal Affairs issued a new urban policy whose purpose was stated to enhance the development of industry, trade, infrastructure and services in general. Moreover, the Ethiopian government has issued different proclamations, regulations and directives to manage the execution of land expropriation and payment of compensation since article 40 (3-7) of the Constitution empowers the government to issue land laws. Accordingly, the Federal Government enacted the Urban Landholding Proclamation No 80/1993 which was reenacted as Proclamation No 272/2002. The Rural Land Proclamation No 89/97 was also reenacted as Proclamation No 456/2005. One such proclamation was Proclamation No. 455/2005 entitled *A Proclamation to Provide for the Expropriation of Land for Public Purposes and Payment of Compensation* which has not been re-enacted. It is this proclamation that has been used to expropriate land for both public and private development projects in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town. The title of this proclamation contains four major interrelated concepts: Expropriation, land, public purpose, and payment of compensation. However, the document does not define what ‘expropriation’ or ‘land’ means. This failure has created a lot of challenges in implementing the objectives of the proclamation. In the legal provisions of some countries, the concept of expropriation is clearly defined. For instance, the amendment made to the Chinese Constitution (2004:1) refers to expropriation as:

Land expropriation is an act of compulsorily expropriating collective land ownership, and is an extremely special case of property rights changes.

Government, as the entity of expropriation, gets land ownership from the hand of peasant collectives by way of administrative orders, and the latter has no other choice but to yield.

Yet, in the Ethiopian context where land has got great value in people's culture, the concept of land value has to be clarified before any form of expropriation and compensation is put in place. Proclamation No 455/2005 defines the concept of land holder before giving the meaning of land in the eye of the country's law. The proclamation says "landholder means an individual, government or private organization or any other organ which has legal personality and has lawful possession over the land to be expropriated and owns property situated thereon."

Again, unless the legal meaning of land value is provided, the meaning of the landholder becomes incomplete. Although the proclamation provides the crude meaning of the concept "*Public purpose*", it does not explicitly specify the scope beyond the domain of public interests.

"Public purpose" means the use of the land defined as such by the decision of the appropriate body in conformity with urban structure plan or development plan in order to ensure the interest of the peoples to acquire direct or indirect benefits from the use of the land and to consolidate sustainable socio-economic development.

The proclamation defines the organ that shall have the power to expropriate land and to determine payment of compensation. It states that a *woreda* or an urban administration shall have the power to expropriate rural or urban landholdings for the purpose where it is convinced that the land should be used for better development projects to be established by public entities, private investors, or cooperative societies.

2.4.2.2 The Development of a New Master Plan¹² for Addis Ababa and Finfinne

Zaria Oromia Special Zone: An Emergent Phenomenon

After I had completed the field and started the write-up of this dissertation, something unexpected happened. Sometime in June 2013, the Addis Ababa Master Plan Project Office announced that it has produced a new master plan for Addis Ababa City. There were a series of discussions in the Federal Government media, particularly ETV and the Ethiopian Radio, to familiarize the public with the new plan and its purposes. In addition, a full document of the plan was released with the title *Addis Ababa City and Addis Ababa Zuria Finfinne Special Zone Common Development Plan (2006 - 2030 E.C /2013 -2038/)*.

The plan document states the role of the city and the surrounding small towns within an international and national framework. Although there is no clear meaning of these concepts of international and national framework, it is possible to guess that the assumption is to fulfill internationally or nationally standardized services. Accordingly, the new Master Plan (2013:13) illustrates the objectives, challenges and recommendations for future actions by the government. Based on this, there were three major objectives set in this document. Firstly, it is planned to accelerate the country's urbanization, from the current 17% to 30 % within the coming ten years, and to 50% within a period of 25 years. In this way, it is assumed that urbanization plays a key role in the overall economic development of the nation. Secondly, making Ethiopian tourism,

¹² The development and implementation of the new Integrated Development Master Plan for Addis Ababa and Finfinne Zuria Oromia Special Zone (2013) has become a contentious phenomenon both at the grass root level and at the Oromia National Regional State due to lack of participation particularly at the planning stage.

business and service delivery competitive at the international level is another objective of the new master plan. Thirdly, it is perceived that the new plan enables the country to assume a special position in the economic cooperation of the African continent. Specific to the new common master plan, four goals are set. The first goal was to accommodate or entertain the country's vision that industrialization plays a leading role in the economic development of the country. The next goal is fulfilling economic, social and spiritual needs of the urban population that is expected to be 8.7 million and 15 million in the next ten and 25 years, respectively, and to uplift the society from a chronic poverty level. Finally, the document states that the master plan aims at providing renowned and international level services.

In order to meet the objectives of the new plan, it is clearly stated that a larger area of about 100 km² will be included within the new development in the coming fifty years. Therefore, it may be easy to foretell that more farm and grazing land will fall within the boundary of urban administration. In the same way, one could guess that a large number of people whose livelihood has been entirely dependent on agriculture will be affected. Such uncertainties caused by government policies and systems have put further life uncertainties in the minds of the farming community in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town.

After examining the overall process of laws and regulations relevant for effecting land expropriation, compensation payment, and support systems established to help the land losing farmers adapt to the situation, I continued to capture the perception of the farmers regarding the relevance, smooth functioning and application of the land laws. The whole

discussion in Chapter Six, therefore, will emanate from an informant's opinion in which he states "... *Asis dhaqinee achis dhaqinee nama nudhagahu dhabnee, waan fafatu nu'agagaxxame.*" (We went here and there, nobody listened to us; we felt uneasy). The key concept in the informant's statement is *fafee*, which literally implies insufficiency or incompleteness. It was at this point that I decided to capture how the farmers evaluate the whole legal procedures and processes. Before dealing with the perception of the farmers, we have first to discuss how the urbanization process in the town has brought about the emergence of two conflicting perceptions for land.

CHAPTER THREE

TWO CONTENDING PERCEPTIONS FOR LAND

AND THE RESULTANT ‘SELF’ AND THE ‘OTHER’

While analyzing the data gathered for this study, I happened to learn that two forms of perceptions came into picture in the due process of the changes in the study area. One, land is mother, is a relatively older while the other, land is money, is so much new, and unexpected in most of its appearances. This chapter deals with these two types of perceptions together with the resulting images of the ‘self’ and the ‘other’.

3.1. Land is Mother

I begin this part of the chapter by quoting Walter (1950: 95) regarding the perception of the Hopi people for the land and their environment. “They all suckled at the breast of their Mother Earth, who gave them her milk of grass, seeds, fruit, and corn, and they all felt as one, people and animals.” If we see the deep notion of this quotation, we sense that our earth is the provider of all the necessities, for both humans and other animals, and implies the moral obligation bestowed upon humans to heed for it.

Particularly with reference to the attachment of a particular society to land, Jomo Kenyatta (1968:23) says “Our greatest asset in Kenya is our land. This is the heritage we receive from our fathers. In land lies our salvation and survival.” Kenyatta argues that, for Kenyan people, land is not only a means of deliverance but also a sole means of survival or source of making a living. This is particularly true among the Oromo, as may be the case for other societies. The perception that the Oromo have for land is like that of

the Hopi in that it is comparable with *haadha* (mother). Many writers like Workineh (2001:13) and Temesgen (2009: 56) have tried to explain that the Oromo people have their own cultural practices through which they design their environment. The common understanding we get from these works is that, when we talk about the perception of Oromo society towards land, the first thing that comes to our imagination must be *Waaqa*¹³ (God)-the creator of all things. According to Workineh (2001:13), “*Waaqaa* is He Who is before everything else for the Oromo people. He is Uumaa-creator, *danda’a*-omnipotent; *Waaqaa* is *hundaa* –omnibenevolent. *Waaqa* does not have an elder; nothing has power over Him.”

In Oromo culture, land is among the creations of *Waaqa*. In the oral tradition of the Tulama Oromo, the two always come together in the society’s everyday communication. During my interview with my informants, I gathered such expressions as *waaqaafi lafatu beeka* (God and land know) and *kan waaqini buuse lafti hindadhabu* (land is tolerant to whatever God wishes to happen). In addition, the generosity of land is always told in expressions such as *lafti haadhaa* (land is mother). Someone who wants to express his /her honesty and gratitude, or to show that he /she does not go against the norm, says *waaqaafi lafatti kenne* (I gave it to God and land), *waaqaafi lafaafi safuu* (this is without breaking the respect we have for God and land), *isiniif lafa qabadhe* (I kneel down to the land in due respect of you). To strengthen this understanding, Temesgen (2009: 57) states the following:

¹³ Among the Oromo , *Waaqaa* is imagined as black, for which they literally say *Waaqa Gurarcha* (black God).

As a proof of the ‘truth’ that one has spoken, he/she swears by the dual terms of Waaqaaf Lafa (literally, God and Land). If someone swears by the name of Waaqa and Lafaa (God and land), no one doubts the person’s truth. If he/she takes an oath hiding the truth, he/she is to commit a ‘sin’ that is believed to bring ruin onto the individual.

Of course, in all the above evidences, we can see that land receives the second highest respect next to *Waaqaa* in the order in the community’s value. Land is said to be a very tolerant creation, as it is capable of bearing the good and the bad, the alive and the dead, the poor and the rich. This unquestionably goes with Walter’s statement quoted earlier in this section. But in the due course of urban expansion to Laga Xafo Laga Dhadi Oromo community, this attitude towards land is changing as the community starts to engage in a new way that demands them to struggle to adapt to the new urban way of life.

Historically, the Tulama Oromo to whom the farming community in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town belongs have occupied the fertile highlands of Showa including the area around Addis Ababa. But due to the expansion of urbanization, following the establishment of Addis Ababa during the reign of Menelik, many of them were dispossessed and thereby land began to be concentrated in the hands of a few non-Oromo settlers mostly from the northern parts of the country. Gradually, the centre became the area of concentration of members of the ruling group while the farmers were pushed at the peripheries. Since then, this form of history has continued to reiterate itself under different forms of government.

Everywhere I happen to be, be it in the academic chats or in my social interaction with people in some contexts, I often heard people saying ‘ history repeats itself, history repeated itself, history ... , history is repeating itself, ...’. I also read this idea in some

articles. At this point I should confess that I have a very loose background in history as an academic subject. My results were marginal both in my high school education and in a single freshman course (History 101) when I was in the undergraduate program as a university student. But I always questioned ‘why does history repeat itself?’ If it repeats itself, how many times does it do so? In 1994, Jan Hultin published an article entitled *The Land is Crying: State Intervention and Cultural Resistance among the Matcha Oromo*, one of the Oromo groups predominant in the western part of Ethiopia, in which he presented his research findings regarding the ideas of land tenure among the community. In this article the writer has reviewed how the Ethiopian empire state could assume its present boundary as a result of a series of war of conquests (1994: 67). He reviewed different land tenure systems that the government imposed on the Oromo people of his study area. From the successive confiscation of land and dividing it among the loyal servants of the system through proclamations, the people were made to expect that history would repeat itself (Hultin 1994:72).

Among the Tulama Oromo, land is used as a tracer of one’s lineage. It is exclusively a means of inclusion in one’s lineage. However, it could be said that there was a conscious discount of this value of the Oromo for fear that it would block the fast expropriation of land in the name of urbanization and urban development. In this connection, Assefa (2002:24) explains that “loss of control over land, the main source of people’s livelihoods and with which they identify themselves, involves multiple dislocations”. This is true in the sense that the bond between the Tulama Oromo in Addis Ababa and its suburbs is, and has been, broken by a system corrupted by migrant forces, which may contribute to

the weakening of what Mamo (2006:94) calls “land of myth”. This breakage of the people-land bond has been expressed by the Oromo through song, rituals, and sayings.

3.1.1 Land Related Songs, Rituals, and Sayings

The Tulama Oromo are very well known in songs as a means of expressing success, satisfaction, failure, sorrow, stress, and economic, political, and social chaos.

In particular, the Tulama Oromo sing to express the concern and love they have of land. They express the symbolic meaning that land is mother / *lafti haadha*/. Losing or at least altering their familiar tenure system may mean losing one’s mother. Therefore, it is important to diachronically tell how and why the oral narratives have been used, beginning from Menelik’s period. In this regard, Tsegaye (2002:66) argues that the push against the Tulama Oromo around Addis Ababa began during the second half of the 19th century when a local Oromo administrator, Gobana Dacci, allied with the conquerors and conquered Tulama districts such as Gimbichu, Gullale, and Hoborii. Because of this armed expansion and dispossession of land in areas like Gullale, Eekaa, Wacacaa, Ada’a, Meetaa, and others, the Gullale Oromo Assembly was forced to pass the following law and was determined to resist the actions. This law (Tsegaye 2002:67) was produced in the form of songs or ritual in Afaan Oromo.

Afaan Oromo Version**English Version***Luugama fardaati nabasin!*

Don't take the harness from the horse!

Addu Addarra nbufatin!

Don't take the sun away from your head!

Meedhicca rakka irra hinbufatin!

Don't take away the stick from your hand!

Tume seera!

I have struck the law!

Mure seera!

I have cut the law!

Seera abba lubbaati!

The law the fathers Lubba!

Bokkuudha!

This scepter!

Caffeedha!

This parliament of the (Oromo) fathers!

Caffee abba (Oromoti)!

According to our parliament waste!

Akka Caffeekeena ballisi!

Force them (Amhara) to fast this day!

Jara (Amhara) agabusa oolci!

This law which was passed by the Tulama Oromo of Gullale cannot be claimed to help the people resist the conquerors' expansion as the conquest was supported by the then governmental system. As a result, many of the Tulama Oromo who could not stand the pressure began to migrate towards the southern parts of such Oromo land as Ari and Bale. This situation of leaving the land to the then powerful ones and migrating to other places was also expressed in a song.

Afaan Oromo Version**English Version***Yaa abbaa lafaa siika'e kuno siika'e*

You, the land lord, I have left the land

Yoo jaldeessi cisii siita'e

If monkeys be tenants for you

*Yoo sardidoon irboo siihiree*If foxes share *irobo* for you*Yoo muujjaan midhaan siita'e.*

If grasses be grain for you.

I am afraid my narration might look like a history but as land dispossession was extensive on all forms of land, land songs have become very common to express the situation and feeling of the Tulama Oromo during the land distribution under the Haile Selassie regime. The following song is taken from Yazew Kebebew (2012: 60 - 63). This study mainly deals with the Selale Oromo (a group of the Tulama Oromo) resistance songs. In this study, the writer has tried to overview songs that were sung among the Selale in opposition to the unjust land distribution practiced in their area during the Socialist Military regime.

Afaan Oromo Version	English Version
Bulloon shamballichaa,	Shambel's horse
akkuma jeettitti kaataa	flies as it were a jet
Lafa kee yaa Dargu,	You, Dergu (the military government)
warra Birrii qabutu nyataa	Your land (government land) is still taken by the rich
Mammiree Asaffaa,	You the priest (Assaffa)
Warri Birrii qabu ha'aayuu hin danfaa!	The rich are still powerful
Mammiree Damissee,	You the priest (Damissee)
Warri kaloo qabu itti yasee tiksee!	Those who have the land are grazing their cattle
Warri kaloo hinqabn	But the landless Has nowhere to take his
Asi dachaasi jedhee dhaanee tiksee.	cattle.

The first line of this song refers to a man, Shambel, who was in charge of the land distribution in the area. In the second verse, it is expressed that there was no change since land was still remaining in the hands of the rich who were oppressing the farmers in the same others did in the old system.

A more exhaustive song was collected by Tamene (2004: 42- 43) with reference to what had happened and how it was viewed by the Oromo before the coming of the non - Oromo to occupy the land of Finfinne, the present day Addis Ababa. Therefore, this situation was expressed by the more culturally sensitive songs collected by the writer. He has attempted to support his argument that settlers took the land of the Tulama Oromo in Finfinne and its surroundings by the song sung by elders of the Tulama Oromo standing at the top of Tulluu Dildilaa (Entoto Mountain). For the sake of clarity, I have presented both the Afaan Oromo and the English version in separate columns. I have also made changes in some parts of the English version hoping that this could clarify the deep thoughts, wisdom, and the feeling they had for themselves and for others in this particular atmosphere.

Afaan Oromo Version

Inxooxxoo dhaabatani
 Caffee gad ilaluun hafe;
 Finfinnee loon geessanii
 Hora obaasuun hafe;
Tullu Dalattii irratti
Yaa,iin Gullallee hafe;
Gafarssatti dabrani
Qoraan cabsuunis hafe;
Hurufa bombi
Jabbilee yaasuun hafe;
Bara Habashonni dhufani
Loon keenyas hindhumanii;
Iddee Mashashaan dhufe;
Birmadumaanis hafe.

English Version

No more standing on Entoto to see at
 the green pasture below the hill Finfinnee;
 No more taking cattle to Finfinne hot
 springs to water them at mineral springs;
 No more assembly on *Tullu Dallattii* where
 the Gullalle clan used to meet;
 No more goining to *Gafarsaa* to chop
 firewood;
irratti No more taking the calves to grazing land
 on *Hurufa Bombi*;
 The year the *Habasha* came, our cattle was
 consumed;
 With *Mashasha's* arrival, our sovereignty
 was gone.

In this song, there are about seven closely interrelated issues that the elders are nostalgic of. Firstly, they present or appeal that they have missed the long established practice of herding their cattle on plain pasture of the flat land they used to own far below the hill of the present Entoto where Menelik II, the king of Showa, who later became the Emperor of Ethiopia first settled in order to dispossess the lands of the Tulama Oromo farmers who were permanent settlers of the area. In the history of Oromo people, their livelihood has been dependent on agriculture and animal rearing. To support this argument, Terefe (2012) argues that the development of Addis Ababa as a capital of the empire has had long lasting effects on the culture and identity of the Tulama Oromo who were pushed out of the centre by what he calls non - Oromo immigrants, hence resulted in the detachment of the land and people. Even today, more than 85%¹⁴ of them are living on farming. Losing land in this area, therefore, means breaking the people's usual way of life. They sing that they no more stand on top of the hill and see green pasture. This *caffee* or pasture has a lot of meanings for them. It is a symbol of fertility, beauty, prosperity, and bounty of *Waaqaa Guddaa* or *Waqaa Gurachaa* (Great God or Black God).

In Oromo culture, as it may be for other cultures too, spring water, particularly hot springs have medicinal value for both human beings and animals. For the animals, the *Hora obasuu* ritual was a common practice. It takes place in September, the beginning of the dry season, after the rainy season is over. It is a kind of movement of the people to water their cattle with natural spring water (often hot and salty). The movement is often

¹⁴ The Ethiopian government still reports that the rural population accounts for 85% while other non-government documents show that the Ethiopian urban population has reached 18%.

accompanied by household heads or their grown up children. In such a way, it is possible that many groups can meet at a particular location of spring water. Such a holy water is scarce and not found everywhere. Therefore, people travel long distances from their villages to pass a week or some days at such a site. They carry food with them that can serve during the stay out there at the *Hora Obasu*. The purpose of this practice is to purify the cattle. The Oromo assume that, during the rainy season, cattle are fed on unclean substances which can cause illnesses and impurities which, in turn, can severely affect the productivity of the cattle. In general, drinking hot natural water is believed to cleanse the cattle. Hence, the first two lines of the above poem express the disruption of such a cultural practice as a result of the displacement of the Oromo farmers from Finfinnee area, the present Addis Ababa, due to urbanization.

A more important and culturally significant indication of the culture change and loss of identity is expressed in the third stanza (consisting of 5th and 6th lines) of the poetic expression. It tells about the forestalling of the assembly, *yaa'ii*, of the Gullale Oromo on the top of Mount Daalattii (around the present Arat kilo where the palace is located). In Oromo culture, *yaa'ii* /assembly/ always takes place under a sacred tree, *Odaa*, to discuss and pass resolutions on serious social, economic, and political issues of the concerned community. It can be used to resolve disputes among individuals, families, groups, and even between clans in the olden times. *Yaa'ii* is also called in times of natural hazards such as drought and famine. In this case, the Oromo come together and pray to *Waaqaafi lafa* (God and earth) which are inseparable in their culture. In support of this, my informant, GT, told me this. '*Duratti walitti yaaneeti waaqaa keenya waammanna,*

waaqnis nudhagaha'. (In the past we used to gather to pray to our God. He soon responded). It may be interpreted that urbanization disengaged the bondage between the community and their Creator, *Waaqaa*. On the other hand, *yaa'ii* can take place for investigating the cases of suspects for wrong doings in the community. In this poem, therefore, people express that they are no more allowed to use that particular place for gatherings due to the expansion of the urban way of life into their area.

The next line deals more economically with securing energy for consumption. Due to the establishment of Addis Ababa and its expansion, the farmers were not able to go to a forest called *Gafarssaa* for collecting firewood. Next to this is the reminiscence the farmers have for they no more go *Hurufa Bombii*, the present *Janmeda*, a large open field, which the Orthodox Church is using for *Timket/ Epiphany/* holiday in January every year. Today, this place is also used for annual sport festivals in Addis Ababa City administration and the federal government. In the past, however, before the coming of the new settlers to reign over the area and the people, the local community was using the field to graze their calves and heifers that were not mature enough to go to meadows afar. The song is sung to show that this practice will no more exist.

The last five lines of the song consist of more general and political grievances of the people. In these lines, it is stated that the farmers lost all their cattle with the coming of the *habasha* and the arrival of Mashsha, the leader of the conquerors in the area, utterly crashing the sovereignty of the Oromo. It is this situation that Terefe (2012) called "cultural genocide" by referring to some international conventions in the United Nations documents.

In general, the above song illustrates how the Tulama Oromo were gradually moved out of the centre of the present Addis Ababa. Probably, no one might locate the whereabouts of families and the genealogies of those elders who sang this song. Some of them might have been assimilated with no voice in the city, and others might have run beyond the hills, the green belt of Addis Ababa, to sustain their livelihood. Similarly, in the context of my present study, there are indications that the future of the farming community in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town may not be different unless there is a way to fully include the farming households and their children in the current urbanization process.

Sayings and couplets were also produced during the Dergu regime of Ethiopia in order to tell what happened to land. One of the sayings was told by one of my informants.

Afaan Oromo version

Hoolaa bittee Mika'ela Shaneef hinqalattu

Abbaan lafaa booyee lafti hinargamtu

English Version

Let you buy a sheep and slaughter
it in memory of Shane St Michael

The land lord is crying where
there is no more land for him.

This is a thanksgiving song to express that land is no more in the hands of a few feudal landlords but distributed to the farmers. This song was sung when the Dergue came to power with the motto “Land to the Tiller.” Before that time, under the feudal system, land was in the hand of a few landlords who had, at different times, evicted the farmers from their possessions in the southern part of the present Ethiopia in general and the Oromo in particular. Therefore, such a song was always sung in areas where landlessness was caused by the imperial government and its followers. Thus, it was used to express that

land was back to the tillers and the landlords would not get it any more. This song, in the urban land context is sung in expressing opposing attitude to the previous emotions. As I have stated in the first part of this dissertation, the Tulama Oromo who lives in this town are followers of Orthodox Christianity. As a result, they believe in different Saint Days of which Saint Michael, which is celebrated on the 12th day every month, is an important one. According to one of my informants, DB, doing any kind of work on the day of St Michael is a religious taboo. It is believed that someone who acts on any livelihood activity other than going to church in memory of the Saint's day will bring damage to the community. Thus, community members are refraining from acting so for fear that they may be punished by any form of disaster such as heavy rain, storm, or powerful wind that can affect the crops and the cattle. The above song, hence, refers to such a powerful saint. As I have said, the present contextual meaning of the song is exploited in addressing the contemporary land expropriation for urban development activities. In this song people complain and express a feeling of hopelessness in regaining their land possession any more. It is an advice to every member of the community to slaughter a sheep in celebration of Saint Michael who possesses the power to regain their land.

As land expropriation has continued to the present time, an informant, BT, told me that the Oromo people in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town use the following couplet to explain the current land lease practice by the government.

Afaan Oromo

Darguun lafa hiraa

Inni ammaa lafa gurgura.

English

Dargue (the Military government) distributed land,

The present government sells land.

This is a saying developed to compare the land policies of the two governmental systems (the military regime and the present EPRDF led Federal Democratic Republic) in Ethiopia. When the military government came to power by overthrowing the monarchic Haile Selassie regime in 1974, the first major change was proclaiming rural land for the tillers in which land was distributed for peasants in all parts of the country while urban land was confiscated. People observe that the current government leases both rural and urban lands for private investment activities of some kind. This made land to be perceived as a source of money or capital. This phenomenon is discussed in the next subsection of this chapter.

In this part, we can see that as landholding pattern changes, the content of the songs change. For example, the following couplet was sung on the Epiphany day at Yeka St. Michael Church in Addis Ababa in 2014. It shows that songs are urbanizing or urban focused.

Afaan Oromo

Condominii jedhanii
Lafa Midhaani fixanii

English

In the name of condominium,
They finished up all crop lands

This two - lined song is produced to express that crop lands are divided and used in the name of condominium housing development projects, an activity that is widely undertaken by both the Addis Ababa City Administration and the Oromia National Regional state. Many of these houses are constructed in the suburbs between the city administration and the regional state on lands which were previously used for crop production and animal grazing. This song is used not only to express the community's

grievance for losing their crop land but also to show that the people are not benefiting from the housing projects that are going on in their areas. This is clearly expressed by the terms such as ‘*jedhanii*’, ‘*fixanii*’, which often refers to a third person plural meaning ‘they said’. These terms in the song indicate that the people were complaining that they are not part of the activities, including project planning and implementation. In general, the songs and sayings are focusing on urban related issues. The next couplet also complements what is expressed in the song above.

Afaan Oromo

Utuma jiru harrasii

Laftti Oromo ciramtee dhumte ammasii

English

At our presence

Oromo land is being divided again

Although both songs convey similar intentions, this one contains a wider meaning than the first in the sense that it includes the repetition and continuity of Oromo land division and expropriation in their area. The word ‘*ammassii*’ is used to convey this message. It is to mean, ‘again, for the second time, for the third time, or for several times’.

3.2 The Contested Meaning of Land: Land is Money

3.2.1 Investment Projects

Today Ethiopia claims that it is in a developmental state in which public investment plays a decisive role for the country’s economic development. Private investment in both rural and urban areas was highly encouraged to take momentum. As a result, a large size of land is currently reserved in what is called Land Bank by the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. Harrison (2007:7) argues that there is no one unifying definition of

the concept. With reference to developing countries like Ethiopia, however, he states land banking is connected with land access for public purposes, be it for housing, for managing land markets, or for directing land speculation. This is often associated with, in advance of land acquisition, the needs to have clear guiding principles such as improving access of the poor and other target groups to land, supporting the implementation of development projects, to reducing inflation in land prices, promoting public/private partnerships, and improving the land tenure structure in developing countries (UNESCAP 1993).

In this connection, Desalegn (2011:11) presents the total size of investment land under Federal Land Bank of Ethiopia. However, the writer does not indicate whether this data includes urban land or not.

<u>Region</u>	<u>Land in Hectares</u>
Amhara	420,000
Afar	409,678
Benishangul	691,984
Gambella	829,199
Oromia	1,057,866
SNNPS	180,625
Total	3,589,678

For any critical person who reads this dissertation, the idea of a land bank might be superfluous since this resource has practically fallen in the large hands of the government. Similarly, urban land reservation is undergoing a similar process in different parts of the country. In Laga-Xafo Laga Dadhi town, an eight years old urban center, a

significant number of projects are under construction while others have already begun operating by transforming large farmland into built - up areas. I have tried to identify the number of public and private development projects together with the size of land allocated for each project. Although my aim was to know the situation since the establishment of the town, I was able to obtain only the type and number of privately owned projects which were recorded by the investment Bureau of the Municipality for the last four years (2008/9-2011/12). From the data I could sense that capital was playing a major role in speeding up the land expropriation and the changes in the lives of the land losing farming community. The source of the capital was both domestic and foreign. The following table shows types of investment, size of land, and initial capital of the private development projects for the four years period of 200809-2011/12.

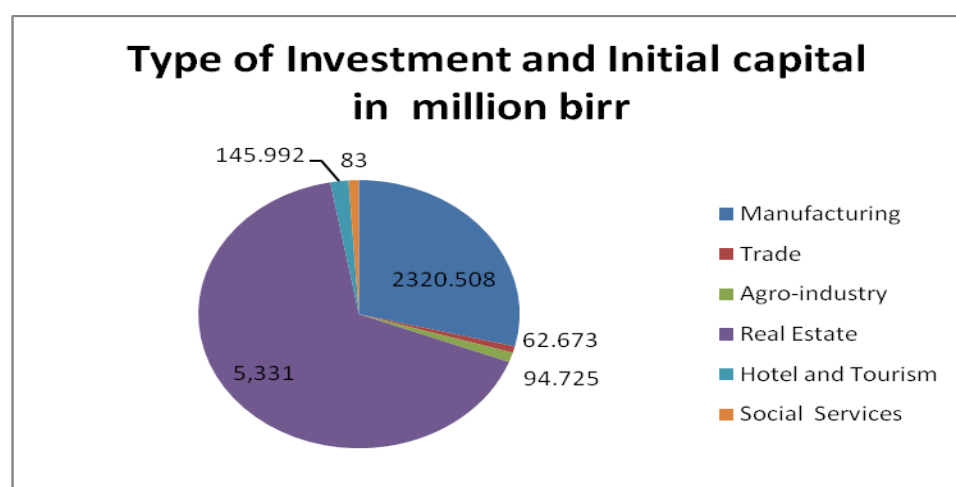
Table 5: Types of Investment, Size of Land and Capital (2001 –2004 E.C (2008/09 – 11/12)

Investment Type	No of projects	Land size in m ²	Capital (in Million Eth Birr)
Manufacturing	37	439,395	2,320.508
Hotel and Tourism	19	142,861	145.992
Trade	16	32,034	62.673
Agro- Industry	8	66,096	94.725
Real Estate	8	2,373,930	5, 331.00
Social Services	7	136,544	83.00
Total	95	3,190,860	8,037.898

Source: Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi Investment Bureau (May 2012)

In this document only six types of projects were registered. Of all the projects, manufacturing holds the highest number which was thirty seven. This type of project was allocated a total of 439,395 m² of land having an initial capital of 2320.508 million Birr for four years. These projects include textile industries, food processing factories, and other similar projects in the town. The number of hotels and tourism projects was nineteen, ranking second in the list. 142,861 m² of land was leased for this type of private projects with a total of 145.992 million Birr. Although real estate projects were few in number, the size of land they were given was huge being 2,373,930 m². The size of land leased for social services such as private health centers and schools was the least. In general, 3,190,860 m² of land was allocated for ninety four private investment projects that entered into an agreed to invest a total of 8,037.898 million Birr. The following pie chart is presented to depict the amount of initial investment capital shown in Table 4 above.

Figure5:Type of Investment and Initial Capital in Million Birr



Source : Laga Xafo Laga Dadhi Investment Bureau (2012)

Regarding the owners of these private development projects, most of them were found to be Ethiopians. However, a few were owned by investors from different countries. For example, ROPACK International Real Estate is the property of a South African company while ASHARIF Real Estate is owned by a Sudanese businessman married to an Ethiopian woman.

There were a few Ethiopian Diaspora members who had secured land for various businesses. One such establishment was a real estate construction by an Ethiopian American. During my visit to the site, I found that there were three flags flying over the head of the compound of this real estate. One of them belongs to the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia while the second one is that of the Oromia National Regional State. The third one is of a stranger who belongs to the United State of America. What symbolic meanings does this strange flag have to do with the researcher, for the local people, and the local urban administration? Although I could not hear the real cause from the mouth of the owner, for he was out of Ethiopia during my observation period, I can give at least three different interpretations. On the one hand, it could be used as a means for thanksgiving to the American government and its people. Why could this happen? Ethiopian diaspora people left their country for various reasons at different times. It is often told that their destination has been the USA, a country which is assumed to be very much liberal in hosting refugees of the world. In this way, many Ethiopians have now secured American citizenship and have, consequently, enjoyed the privilege that the Ethiopian government offers the diaspora people. They have got work permits and are able to accumulate wealth in Ethiopia.

As a result of the Ethiopian government's free market economic policy to enhance the role of the private sector in the country's economic development, the foreign direct investment policy has attracted many international investors and the diaspora to invest in Ethiopia. Many Ethiopian diaspora in different parts of the world have now come to their country to involve in different businesses activities. It seems that the government has offered a special privilege for such people in that they are allowed to get land for constructing their own residences on permit base. In such a way, many of the suburb areas of Addis Ababa and other big towns in the country have attracted the diaspora¹⁵ whereas some of them have constructed houses for renting while a few have sold the land and went back to their country of citizenship.

Today, it is usual to find new residential areas tagged by foreign names such as The Washington *Sefer/village*/, Israel *Sefer*, London *Sefer* to mention some in Addis Ababa. In this way, the Ethiopian diaspora acknowledge their country of residence, for these countries are the sources of the capital that the diaspora have invested in Ethiopia.

For the owner of the real estate mentioned above, the meaning of putting the American flag might be much wider than our expectation. He might have used it for adverting that America is the land of money. Or, it might have been used for security purposes in the sense that in case a resistance or an opposition happens to hinder the investment project, there is a powerful world country, America, behind the capital. In such a way it could, in its turn, be instrumental to react to the kind of resistance that took place from August to

¹⁵ One of my informants told me that there were some people who secured land in the name of diaspora though they had never gone aboard once in their life. This informant added that those individuals accessed land only through nepotism and corruption.

December 2012, or it could be used for all purposes. This resistance will be discussed in Chapter Seven of this dissertation. A further interpretation of putting the three flags over the real estate could be to show equal loyalty to the two countries and the Oromia Regional State.



A Real estate with three flags¹⁶ (photo by the researcher, December 2012)

As stated earlier, the capital that was being invested in this research area is of both domestic and international sources. Accordingly, eight of the companies that own the investment projects are foreign nationals while the remaining eighty six are Ethiopians.

¹⁶ From right to left, these flags belong to the Oromia National Regional State (in which the study area is located), Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, and the United States of America.

The following table is an illustration of the nationality of the investment companies with their initial investment capital.

Table 6: Investors' Nationality, Number, and Their Initial Capital
in Million Birr (2001- 2004 EC/ 2008/09-2011/12)

Nationality of investors	Number of investments	Initial Capital in million Birr
Ethiopian	86	72,433
Italian	2	21
South African	1	85
Turkish	3	1550. 6
China	1	40
Sudanese	1	39
Total	94	174,168.6

Source: Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi Investment Bureau (May 2012)

The above table shows that 86 of the private development projects were owned by Ethiopians while the remaining 8 projects belonged to nationals of five different countries. The amount of initial capital for the foreign company's ranges from 21 million to 1550.6 million Birr while that of the capital for investment projects owned by Ethiopians was 72,433 million Birr.

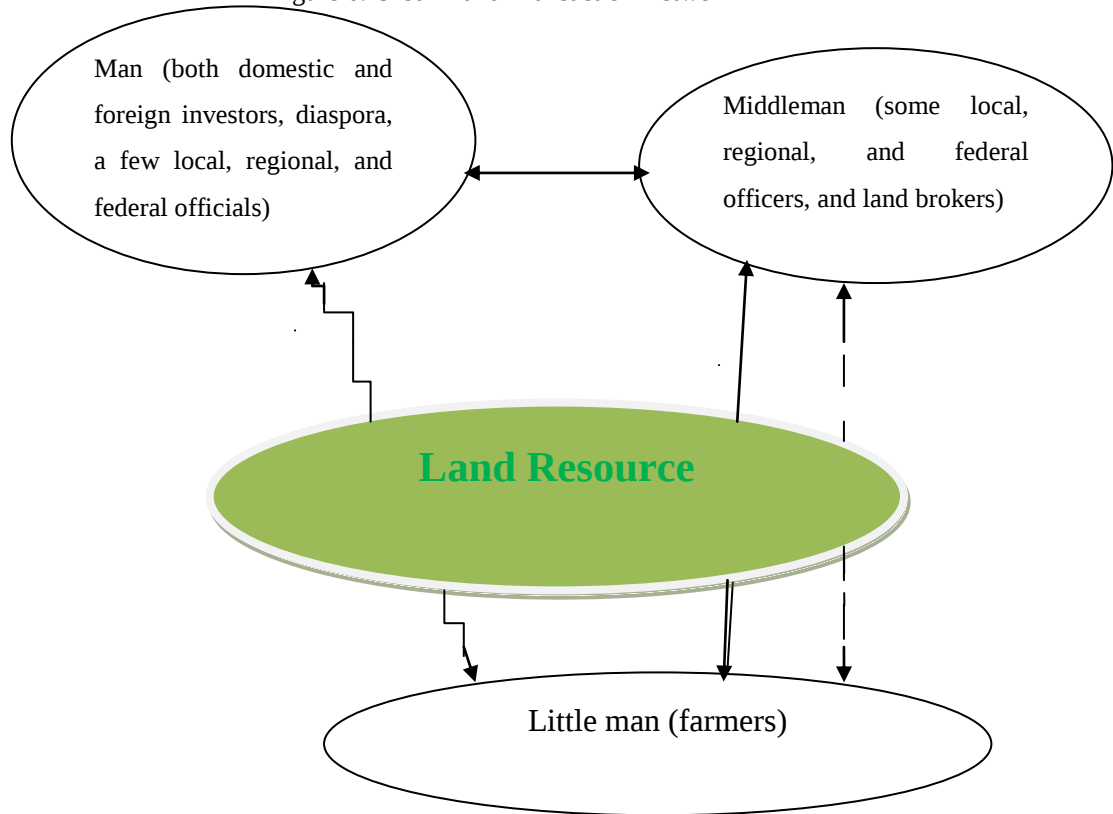
3.2.2 Major Actors in the Land Transaction

For realizing any of the activities in the area, land is the main resource on which every actor plays. As land belongs to the government and people of Ethiopia, it was merely through the government regulations that anyone could secure it for private development projects in the town. In the case of Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi urban administration, there were formal government institutions such as the Investment Bureau, Land Administration and Environmental Protection Bureau, and other offices that had legal power to involve in the land measurement, land allocation, and land valuation. In that way, these offices became the main actors institutionally and structurally authorized in the whole process of land deals for development projects. Apart from the legal practice that the government promoted, there were many actors, who sometimes acted by corrupting the whole system. That is illegal. They all came to play in the process of land transaction at various stages. These actors appeared in three different but sometimes similar faces for they could move up and down the ladder of identity formation and socialization in the land market. In this part of the chapter, these three personalities or actors and their roles in land transaction will be discussed.

The pictures of these actors in the whole processes of urbanization in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town can easily be captured by Pattillo's (2007:113) *man*, *middleman*, and *littleman* concept of boundary formation. Her study deals with the working of race and class in urban politics. The writer superbly captures the divergent class interests, class conflicts, and lifestyle breakage within the black community in North Kenwood-Oakland in the United States of America. The *littleman* in Pattillo's (2007:113) observation is at

the bottom “who does not vote because politicians never listen....” In my observation, this man is the one who is disadvantaged, voiceless and powerless, whose resource is abused for he cannot speak the language of the *man* or of the *middleman*. He is the land losing man who has no power to negotiate over the land resource. The *man* at the top is the one who, irrespective of his color, race or ethnicity, has owned every resource thereby the power at every level. He is the man who has come to Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town with his money, be he a foreigner or a domestic investor, the wealthy / *Abbaa Qabbenyaa*/, to establish business firms such as real estates, food processing complexes, and manufacturing industries. Together with this adulating *man* is the colorless man who often has the power to twist the policies and laws there in the government bureaucracy and politics at higher level. It is difficult to exactly know who this disguising man is who is different from the local government employees in the urban management. Such a man is always with long invisible hand which can easily touch everyone in the process of land transaction, investment and profit making.

Figure 6: Urban Land Transaction Network¹⁷



Key: ↔ legal and direct; ← — → Legal but indirect; ↔ Direct but illegal

Source: The Researcher's own fieldwork observation

In the capitalist system, particularly in the developmental government policy of Ethiopia, the *man* is always in the vanguard line of development. This is the *Abbaa Qabeenyaa* (in Afaan Oromo), the *balehabet* (in Amharic), and the investor, who is often able to make every local government agents sing for him. It does not take time to become a hero of this kind since preparing an investment project and presenting a certain bank account with the

¹⁷ This network of actors functions in both legal and illegal ways.

minimum initial investment capital set by the country's investment policy and going through the legal procedures suffice to appear as a *man*, the investor.

In that *man-middleman-littleman* economic and power relationship, where is the position of the *man*? Actually he is always at the top of most positions which are created by himself, the government policy, and the *middleman*. This top most position of the *man* is highly pronounced by the government through all forms of its media to propagate its national economic policy at large and through the *middleman* who is sometimes given responsibility to sing for the *man*, thereby making the *little man* do the same. In the land transaction, the *man* can easily access land resources since he can lobby anyone at any level through the power of capital. In such a way, the *man* has developed a distinctive image for himself and for the other two. He perceives himself as one who shoulders the biggest responsibility of lifting up the nation from the filth of poverty. This perception of the self is often acknowledged by government machineries. He also feels that he can lobby the *middleman* to play the role of a messenger to reach the *littleman*.

The *man* sometimes pretends that he sympathizes with the one at the bottom, the *littleman*. He knows that the *littleman* at the bottom might lose some advantages while maximizing his gains.

In May 2012, when I was observing what was going on in the compound of the municipality, I met an Afaan Oromo speaking woman in her mid-fifties, who was queuing for facilitating the legalization of a plot of land she secured for an investment project located near Laga Dadhi River. I asked her if she was aware of the challenges that

the farming community had experienced as a result of the fast urbanization in the town. She said, “*Bayye dhaban malee. Laftti irraa fudhatame. Laftti irraa fudhatame; lafa qotan hinqabani.*” (They are highly affected; they have lost their land; they have no land to cultivate.)

A similar opinion was given by one of the real estate development administrators, Mr. S. Although this informant was able to speak Afaan Oromo, I found out that he was comfortable in using the Amharic language to conduct the interview. “They took cash compensation but misused it; they were not ready to stand up to the challenges. They are neither educated themselves nor educate their children. This is something that must seriously be considered”.

However, this all passion could not go further to change the position of the *littleman* at the bottom in the new economic and social structure under formation. In general, the *man* is a foreigner or an Ethiopian who has the greatest power in his hands for he has accumulated the capital that the Ethiopian developmental state trusts to propel as gears of the country’s economic growth. With his capital, he is able to hire or lobby the *middleman* who is in the bureaucracy.

As stated above, between the *man* and the *littleman* is the *middleman* with his own characteristics and roles to play. The actor at this layer of the power relationship serves as a go-between to facilitate the land transaction or transfer from the *littleman* to the *man*. On the one hand, he is the one who operates the government bureaucratic machines at the local, regional or federal level with a fluid behavior in the sense that he can easily move

up and down on the ladder of the relationship. He could be the engineer who measures farmers' land, the economist, the sociologist, or the agriculturalist who takes the responsibility to value land and determine the compensation rate, or an influential politician at any level. The *middleman* is sometimes nebulous and, at some points, invisible as he possesses the power to instruct others indirectly from the top. In so doing, he gains more access to the capital accumulated by the *man* or abuses his legal power to accumulate wealth on his own by accessing the land resource through the local agents. In this way, he changes his position in the structure by becoming a *man*. Even after being a *man*, he might not stop acting in the middle to sustain his access to land from the *littleman*.

On the other hand, there are true mediators, the *dallalaa*¹⁸ (brokers) who are there to facilitate both the legal procedures and the illegal transactions thereby getting a commission. This *middleman* is very close to the *littleman* for he values the importance of knowing the location of each plot of land in the farmers' villages. This man can come out of the few educated children of the farmers or experienced, land *dallalaa* (broker) from the capital city, Addis Ababa, or an active migrant from other parts of the country. He often speaks the local language or associates with a fellow local man to succeed in his business. In my observation, unlike the one from the bureaucracy or politics, I could find none of such a man who had completed his metamorphosis from *middleman* to the social stratum of *man*.

¹⁸ They not only facilitate the land transaction among different actors but also are able to buy and sell it.

In some cases, the address of the *dallalaa* is not clearly known but they have their own chain of operation. He represents a group which had contact with the ones in Addis Ababa. Some have legal associations. They go between the *man*, the other *middleman*, and the *littleman* in facilitating land market processes. Although people whom this middleman represents had come bare hand to the area except their long tongue, some had already accumulated substantial amount of wealth of their own including many plots of land reserved foreseeing future market advantages. They were also strangers to the area apart from some young people who were emerging among the local community to take part in such a lucrative money making activity.

The *middleman* can be the local bureaucracy that possesses its own structure and actors. These people in the local government structure are also called *orma* / others/ among the farmers for at least two main reasons. Firstly, most of the employees are not familiar with and do not come from the localities. Surprisingly enough, almost all the government employees in the bureaucracy have never lived in that newly established town, like the investors, they are living in Addis Ababa. They come to their office in the morning and go back after work. In this respect, I asked the officials who participated in one of the discussions whether this ‘distance mode’ of administration could be competent. Admittedly, all the six participants agreed that it was not fair to manage the municipal bureaucracy in that way, although the problem emanated from lack of residential places for the employees in the town. But I could sense that, since many of the new settlers were strangers to the area, the guarantee for local self administration might be challenged. The new settlers may start to claim for power in the urban administration using demographic

factors as an advantage. So, gradually, the Oromia National Regional State could lose its administrative power over Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi and other similar towns around Addis Ababa.

During my stay in the town, many of my informants told me that most of the municipal employees at the top positions were not from the locality. One of the major reasons attributed to this problem was education. My key informant, BT, told me the following: *Dur namni bayyeen hin baranne bari. Amma reefuu ejooleen tokko tokko babahaa jirti. Barumssi murteessaa dhaa bari.* (In the past many people were not educated; it is this time that some young people have come up educated. Education matters most).

Although it may require a further research of its own, one may ask why many people were not educated in a locality at the distance of twenty kilometers from Addis Ababa. In the last twenty years, more than ever before, educational service has been expanded all over the country including this particular research locality. My informant in the Education Department of the municipality told me that there were many government primary schools at all levels. Many children were at school, and I found some who had already completed their college education. Yet, they did not assume any higher position in the urban administration except a few who were found at the low level in various offices such as agriculture, cooperatives, revenue department and others.

As I have stated above, the people at the higher position in the municipality were not native to the area. Some of these employees were considered *orma* /strangers/ who serve

as *middleman* in the whole process. They are the ones who always stand at the front in facilitating the land transaction, legalization, and compensation.

Some government employees were also involved in this activity. I asked one of the experts in the Office of Agriculture whether he had any information about the situation of land and house brokering in the town. He informed me that many young people from the town and Addis Ababa were engaging in this activity and earning a lot of money. He narrated his own experience saying “I myself am a beneficiary. Last time I mediated a land purchasing process for a man and earned 30, 000 Eth Birr out of it. It is difficult unless we do this”.

I also asked how the amount of the commission was determined at the end of the land transaction. He told me that the common understanding was 2% of the value of land or house purchased or sold. But the mediator / *dallalaa*/ gets the commission from both the seller and the buyer. Therefore, practically, the rate of commission is 4 % of the value of the land purchased. Provided that the value of the land market was very much fluctuating, the price of a one m² plot of land was nearly 1500 Eth Birr at the beginning of my fieldwork in February 2012. Thus, we can make a simple calculation of the amount of money that this kind of *middleman* /*dallalaa*/ who mediates the purchase of 5000 m² plot of land earns. It becomes 750,000.00 Birr .Out of this the broker earns 4% (2% from each party) which is calculated as $4 \times 750000 / 100 = 30,000$ Birr. It is easy to imagine how much such a *middleman* earns without adding any value to the land resource. This is merely to show how the people in the middle could accumulate capital to become *man* in the social structure. There were some people who had already completed their

metamorphosis from *middleman* to *man* during my fieldwork. The following extract from my interview with GT substantiates this argument.

There is a man I know well. We always communicate although he does not tell the details of his present living style. Once he was an ordinary government employee in the Municipality. You know, he stopped working there three years back. Now he has imported some dump trucks but I do not know the exact number. He has become a contractor. There are other government employees, including even policemen who sold two or three plots of land and bought their own vehicles and established their own shops and began to run their own businesses.

Consistent with Pattillo's argument, the overall nature of the *middleman* is fluid and slippery here in our case. He can easily align with the *man* at the top, mostly by providing information or awareness regarding the respective legal issues. This is mainly true for the *middleman* in the bureaucracy. He does this by expecting a certain form of reciprocity or fear of the manipulative power that the *man* assumes. Thus, the information given for the *man* is often true and genuine. Contrary to this, if this *middleman* at all aligns with the *littleman*, this is mostly done in a calculated manner that meets his own interest and that of the *man* at the top, either with financial or other power. Therefore, the information given for the *littleman* is usually untrustworthy and disempowering¹⁹.

In general, the actor at the last and bottom most layer of the power relations in the land market is the *littleman* who was a *man* in his own image before the urbanization processes and acceleration of land market in every village. He is now *littleman* for he has no legal power to negotiate over the land resource that he has been caring for. Through

¹⁹ This is consciously done in order to make the farmers lose trust in the local government and to compel them to sell their land illegally as quick as possible.

the *middleman* of various images, he hands over the land to *man* or, in rare cases, involves in illegal land markets opting for better price. In such away, he gradually loses all his vigor and submits to seek wage employment from the *man* thereby loses his manhood or independence.

This social and economic structure has resulted in an unusual version of self perception and the other's perception. In my observation, I realized that the *man*, the *middleman*, and the *littleman* have formed a territory or an aperture leaving the first two layers on one side and the third one on the other side. The next part of this chapter depicts how actors on both sides perceive one another.

3.2.3 Disintegration within Integration: Perception of the 'Self' and 'Others'

The present fast urbanization in Ethiopia directly complies with the theory that urbanization minimizes distance or boundary and thereby results in deterritorilization of space and interaction. The expansion of big urban centers to peri-urban areas, forceful inclusion of small self-containing urban centers politically and economically powerful cities, two-way migration, expansion of infrastructure and services all lead to the fading of the territory in an urban space. That is what Hahns and Kastner (2012: 207) call "urban life-worlds in motion." This motion of urban world keeps the actors integrating with a minimum limit of boundaries.

This motion of urban worlds and integration of identities contains a discrete disintegration leading, in its turn, to an invisible territory of identity through two main concepts of presenting the 'oneself' and the 'other'. Anyone in anthropology, sociology,

or psychology would then suddenly rush to judge that the point raised in this part is not new. I admit that Foucault (1982) clearly used such words as the ‘self’ and the ‘other’ when he was writing about the *Government of the Self and Others*. In this work, Foucault used these terms in examining the practice of truth - telling - understood as a form of self - formation - in ancient philosophy. In doing so, Foucault engages in explaining some of the key issues related to power, truth, and self-formation, and showing how the courage of the truth forms the forgotten ethical basis of Athenian democracy. A somewhat recent anthropological work, *Reflexive Ethnography: a Guide to Researching Selves and Others*, was published by Davies (1998). The concept of the *self* and the *other* in this work is entirely different from that of Foucault. Davies, as a postmodernist, uses these terms to refer to a wider context of the position of an ethnographer in writing about others.

Admittedly, my reading into these works has breathed life into my understanding of the ‘self’ and ‘others’ in the process of territory formation²⁰ in the urbanization process in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town. I observed that there were two forms of expressing oneself and others: *kenya* (ours, we) and *orma* (others). Both have double faces, but not as they were used in the senses reviewed above. One side of the *kenya* is the old system, values, traditions, beliefs, and above all the livelihood which was entirely dependent on agriculture and land resource.

The other side of the ‘we’ is the new urban structure having its own peculiar residential patterns where the new settlers call themselves ‘we’ as urbanized, and ‘they’, the others, are not. In this case, ‘they’ refers to the farming communities who are still sticking to live

²⁰ The territory formation is reflected in terms of settlement and social interaction.

on farming. In this manner, the actors have formed a territory which some people call territory formation. This phenomenon is expressed in the following extracts from the interviews I had with people from the two sides. FW, an informant, has this to say:

We produce different kinds of crops like *xaafii*, barley, beans. Those who have enough land produce more other crops. But our area is now urbanizing and consumers and evil people have destructed the land. Our people have stopped producing many crops. We used to produce every crop except maize and sorghum as the area is a highland. Previously, we did not know, count how much we produced. We simply harvested and stored. You cannot imagine how cheap the grain was. *Qunnan tokko shilingi tokko bari*/You know one *quna* of *xafii* (approximately 20 k.gs) cost 50 cents/.We still produce little with the help of fertilizers because we do not have enough land.

This time, I switched to another question asking how many hectares of land he lost at the time. The man continued “**We** do not know hectares, but **they** came and measured the land for themselves-*Irruma deemani safaratani*. (**They** pulled their meters and measured). Though little, **they** gave us compensation money”.

This concept of the ‘self’ and the ‘other’ is also observed from the new settlers’ side. Keeping myself far from being judgmental, one major attribute for this disintegration of identity can be the absence of common economic or social background where one side of the actors consists of the farming community with its own means of livelihood while the other side, the investors and their clients, are a collection of actors with almost similar understanding of urban life. The following interview with one of the residents in the compound of Ropak International Real Estate further elaborates the reality:

One day **our** company organized a feast and invited the neighboring farmers. The purpose was, I think, to socialize with the local people, the farmers because the people who live in this compound are strangers. In the middle of the festivity,

they started singing and dancing. The situation started to get worse. **They** continued singing in **their** language complaining that others, **we**, took **their** land. The party ended with some questions in **our** mind.

A feeling of this kind towards members of the farming community not only reinforces the social disintegration between the two sides of the actors but also creates suspicion between each other. It obscures the presence of one in the mind of the other and thereby results in absence of true compassion. One of the administrators in the Country Club Developers, a real estate company, supports my argument on the territory formation between the native farming community and the new settlers.

Many of **them** are improving their livelihoods. **Their** children are employed here in our company. **We** trained them in carpentry, wood work, and metal work. Some people like WD now earns up to 1600 Birr every month. Some are guards here. You can ask **them**.

These are examples of social territory formation which explain social disintegration within spatial integration forming a structure where different types of identities float in the motion of urban life worlds. At present rate of urbanization in Ethiopia in general and in Laga Xafo - Laga Dadhi town in particular, spatial integration will continue to shrink the concept of boundary in time while it will, at the same time, continue to nourish the prevalence of discrete social identity of the different actors. This, in its turn, facilitates the emergence of what Iaquinta and Drescher (2000:5) call “old timer - new comer conflict”.

Overall, the major cause for the formation of such a social and an economic territory is the reflection of the unchanging Ethiopian state - society relationship concerning land.

Consistent with Tadesse (2009: 136), the interaction of the state and its conquered subjects show a regular pattern in the behavior of the state which has “led to a growing discontent and to confrontational relations between groups and the state.” Such a relationship, in its way, has influenced the way different groups perceive others and has altered their way of identifying themselves.

In general, in this chapter, we have seen that the meaning of land has been changing over time whereby the old meaning by the local community is now overshadowed by a new one which has resulted in several changes that are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

A CHANGE CHANGES MUCH

This chapter deals with some of the major changes that have occurred due to a single change, change in the meaning of land and its functions. It presents the consequences of land expropriation, land valuation and compensation issues, farmers' way of managing cash compensation, the journey the community is making from producers to consumers, and their overall evaluation of their living condition while transforming from a rural to an urban way of life.

4.1. Land Expropriation and Its Consequences

One of the major causes for the rapid change of the whole situation in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town was massive expropriation of all forms of land that have been under the possession of the farming community. As stated in the previous chapters, land, that was not only used as a major source of livelihood but also as a means of identity formation, and even to the extent of tracing one's genealogy, cannot serve this purpose anymore. In order to learn if the Ethiopian Government really had an internationally acceptable guiding principle to effect land expropriation, compensation payment, and land use rights, I consulted some legal documents and professionals in the School of Law of Addis Ababa University. To this end, I found out that the approach that the Ethiopian Government follows to expropriate land in my research site could be explained within the frame of some major theories of land expropriation and payment of compensation.

Daniel (2009) shows that there are two common approaches to explain land expropriation, each of which might have its own impacts on the taker or the loser of land in the whole process. The first is what is called *Indemnity Theory* or *Owner's Loss Theory*²¹. In this type of land expropriation, the loser is expected that he /she would be in as good a pecuniary position, as he /she would have been if his /her property had not been taken. This directly implies that someone who loses a certain plot of land for the purpose of public interest is entitled to sufficient compensation of any kind so as to be in at least a living condition that is comparable with his/her status before the land expropriation took place. That is to mean, the “dispossessed owner would go out into the market and purchase with his /her cash compensation a property roughly equal or similar to the one which had been taken” (Daniel 2009: 2001).

The second approach is *Taker's Gain Theory*. This theory holds that the government body that has legal ground for land expropriation should pay only for what it gets (Daniel 2009: 201-202). This is often practiced in countries like Ethiopia where the Government fears that paying compensation for the disturbance of livelihood activities on the land or other remote damages would bleed dry the purse of the Government. So, from the practice in Laga Xafo Laga Dadhi town, it is evident that the Ethiopian Government uses this Taker's Gain Theory in order to expropriate land for development activities.

It was extremely difficult for me to obtain comprehensive data concerning the total size of land expropriated for all types of urban development activities, and the exact number

²¹ This theory is often used in the field of law.

of farmers who had taken cash compensation. The absence of such complete information in various departments of the municipal administration is attributed it to the lack of skilled manpower.

Thus, there was no separate section for managing data pertaining to expropriation and payment of compensation for the land losing farmers. This emanated from a lack of a clear municipal administrative structure which made some of the authorities monopolize the power in controlling most of the data which are not easily accessible for others. Above all, land has been highly politicized and its transaction was a major source of corruption for some people who want to enrich themselves illegally. This forced the officials not to disclose most of the data they had in their folders. Because of these reasons, it was not easy for me to collect exhaustive data. However, as it was the case for other figures regarding the number of development projects, the following data is compiled from the Investment Bureau and the Municipality to show the size of land expropriated between 2001- 2004 E.C /2008/09 -2011/12 G.C/.

Table 7: Type and Size of Expropriated Land in Four Years' Time
(2001- 2004 E.C) / (2008/09 – 2011/12)²²

Year in Ethiopian Calendar	Type and Size of land in m ²				
	Crop land	Grazing land	woodlot	Total land in m ²	% of change
2001	189,143.70	49,759.30	6,319.00	245,222.00	Initial
2002	1,034,378.00	49,009.60	36,065.85	1,119,453.45	+ 356.50
2003	216,268.05	46045.94	120.00	262,433.99	-76.55
2004	1,657,173.00	6514.11	0.00	1,663,687.11	+533.9
Total	3,096,962.75	151,328.95	42,504.85	3,290,796.55	---

Source: Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi Municipality

and Investment Bureau (May 2012)

During the aforementioned four years, three types of land were expropriated for the approved private development projects. In 2001 (2008/09), the size of expropriated crop land was 189,143.70 m² while grazing land counted for 49,759.30 m² in the same year. The impact of this decrease in the size of crop and grazing land is tremendous. On the one hand, it affected both the quantity and variety of crops that the farmers used to

²² This data does not include the size of land expropriated for constructing government institutions, services, and land distributed for private residential house construction.

produce. In this connection, DB, one of my key informants, told me that the variety of crops he produced decreased from six to three. On the other hand, decrease in the size of grazing land forced the farmers to reduce the number of their cattle. In order to capture the opinion of informants regarding the current size of their land, I asked directly during the focus group discussions and unstructured interviews in which all of them told me that their land has decreased and they had reduced the number and types of animals they used to rear. The expropriated size of woodlot was the smallest (6,319 m²) of the three types of land in 2001(2008/08). Yet, the decrease in the size of woodlot had negatively affected the farmers' source of construction materials for themselves and the income they were gaining from selling wood products such as from eucalyptus trees.

The third year in the list was the most dispossessing year for farmers who lost their land because of urban development activities. During the period from 2001 and 2002 E.C (2009/2010), the total land expropriation rate had increased by 78.1% while it was decreased by 76.55% in the period between 2002 and 2003 Ethiopian budget year. Again, the rate of expropriation increased by 533.9 % from 2003 up to 2004. However, no government official could explain the exact reason for these fluctuations in the size of expropriated land across the four years. But it was confirmed that a total of 3,290,796.55 square meter of land was documented as expropriated within the four years in the name of private development projects. As stated above, this total land size might not exhaustively show the exact size of land expropriated in the specified period of time due to data mismanagement in the municipal administration.

In order to substantiate the above data with the view of my informants, some questions were included in the survey questionnaire to know whether the size of their land had practically decreased due to land expropriation for development projects. Accordingly, 177 (99.4%) of the farmers who responded to the structured survey reported that the size of their land holding was decreased as indicated in the following table.

Table 8: Trends in the Farmers' Size of Land in Four Years
(2008/09 – 2011/12)

What happened to the size of your land?	Increased	Decreased			No Response	Total
	0 (0)	177 (99.4%)			1(0.6%)	178 (100%)
Causes	-	Taken away by development projects	I sold part of it	No response	-	178 (100%)
	-	161(90.4%)	16(9.0%)	1(0.6%)	-	

Source: Survey (October 2012)

In addition to understanding about the changes in the farmers' landholding, knowing the causes for such a change was equally important for me to make reasonable conclusions. Out of the 178 farmers who filled in the questionnaire, 161 (90.4%) of them reported that the size of their landholding has decreased due to expropriation for development projects while 16 (9.0%) informants reported that the size of their land had decreased for they sold

some portions of it at different times. In this regard, I asked one of the interviewees why and how he sold his land. He explained to me that he got a better price for he sold his land on his own. This informant further explained that he decided to sell the land as soon as possible for fear that expropriation would continue with no sufficient cash compensation. But, as indicated in Chapter Three of this dissertation, the Ethiopian Constitution (Article 40) does not allow land sale as land belongs to the government and to the people of Ethiopia in general. It seems that it is only the government who can lease land to users while citizens are granted only use rights.

I was interested to know the exact size of land my informants had during my fieldwork. In June 2012, I asked GB, a farmer, whose land had been expropriated near the main road. At about 9:30 a.m in the morning, while he was about to ride his oxen for plowing somewhere outside the town, he volunteered to talk to me. After I told him the purpose of my interview, I asked him if there was any change in his land holdings and livelihood as a result of development activities. It was after GB angrily said the following that I realized the way I began my interview was not appropriate. “What change do you ask me?! I am getting mad. Land has all gone. Because of this, my family dispersed. This is what I can tell you for the moment”.

After the last statement, this informant left me where I was and started driving his oxen. I followed him to, at least, arrange an appointment for further interviews in the future. He agreed and we departed. Before conducting the interview for the second time with this informant, I decided to know more about him through other people. I went to my key informant, TB, a member of the cabinet in the urban administration.

He was very much aware of the situation of GB and narrated the story in the following way:

I know him very well. His land is taken and he moved to Dambal Safara (a village) and established there by constructing a house of many rooms. He has taken cash compensation. Now he is ordered to leave the place again because the new plan of the main road from Abba Kiros (Church) via Laga Dadhi River, from west to east, will affect his house. He has finished the cash he has received. After this, there is no way to help this man; there is no land to give him.

Even though many informants did not report any physical displacement, it seems that this particular farmer will not have an alternative but leave the place. During my next appointment, I asked GB to tell me how and when his family was dispersed. He narrated that his land was taken, some time eight years earlier, for which he had received a cash compensation of nearly 150,000 Birr. However, he wastefully used the money for he had no awareness on what to do with it. As soon as his wife knew that GB extravagantly spent the money, she decided to divorce. So he was with no partner during my interview. That was why he shouted that he was getting mad. The finding from this specific case is consistent with Shipton (1989) gender dimension of his theory of “bitter money”. He argues that the money that comes from selling of forbidden commodities, in our case the land, benefits men rather than women and that it upsets the balance of control of wealth between the sexes.

This story is a typical example of some farmers who totally lost any form of their land possession within a relatively short period of time. The result of the survey supports the above findings in that the majority of the informants who filled in the questionnaire reported that they had less than one hectare of both grazing and crop lands. Specifically,

114 (64.0 %) of the informants said that they had less than one hectare of grazing land whereas 41 (23.0%) of them reported that they had grazing land of 1 up to 2 hectares. Only two respondents (1.1%) reported that the size of their grazing land was estimated to be between 2 and 3 hectares. Twenty-one respondents (11.8%) expressed that they had no grazing land at all.

A similar situation was observed in the informants' possession of crop land. In this regard, 23.8% of them reported that they had no crop land at all whereas 39.3% of them had a crop land of less than one hectare. 20.2% of the informants had one up to two hectares of land for crop production. The following table illustrates the available type and size of informants' landholdings during my fieldwork.

Table 9: Current Size of Informants' Landholdings

What size of land do you have at the moment?	Type of land	
	Grazing land	Crop land
Less than 1 ha	114(64.0%)	70 (39.3%)
1- 2 ha	41(23.0%)	36 (20.2%)
2 – 3 ha	2(1.1%)	6 (3.4%)
More than 3 ha	0 (0.0%)	1(0.6%)
No land	21(11.8%)	42 (23.8%)
No response given	0 (0.0%)	23 (12.9%)
Total	178 (100%)	178 (100%)

Source: Survey (October 2012)

The above table presents what had happened to the landholding of the individual informants. However, what is more important is knowing the effects of the changes as a single change can change many things in this typical emerging town. There were a number of consequences observed as a result of the alteration in the farmers' landholding patterns. These changes can be explained in terms of the amount of cash compensation that the farmers have received while giving away all types of land, management of cash compensation, changes in the amount of crop production and number of livestock, sufficiency of production for household consumption and sources of income for additional food supply, family relationship and family members' contribution for the wellbeing of one's family. As all these elements are noteworthy for understanding the transforming power of urbanization and the extent of changes, most of these issues are discussed in the following parts.

4.2. Land Valuation and Estimation of Compensation

Land valuation was one of the activities that should have been carried out by the concerned government body to facilitate the execution of land expropriation and payment of compensation. Proclamation number 455/2005 dictates this to be effective. Although the regulation that was provided for the implementation of the above proclamation clearly states who should involve in the land valuation and estimation of compensation, in terms of their profession and qualification, I could see that land valuation and determination of the rate of cash compensation was done by an ad hoc committee formed by the top leadership of the Municipality. However, it was often complained that there was no

transparency in the processes dealing with these two issues because of the inconsistency between the local practices and what is provided in the law.

In support of the above idea, some of my informants reported that their land was measured in their absence and procedures followed to estimate the cash compensations. On March 15, 2012, I interviewed FG, a farmer, whose land has been expropriated. When I asked about the size of land he lost as a result of the expropriation for development activities, he said “*Nut maal beenna irruma deemanii safaranii. Gamada isaanii harkisanii safaran.*” / We do not know. They pulled their ropes and measured our land/. Another farmer who was interviewed by the VOA Radio, Afaan Oromo Program, complained that the whole process was not transparent in that they did not know how the land was expropriated and who had taken it.

In order to know more about these transparency issues in land valuation, I went to the Office of Agriculture and interviewed an expert who was a member of the land valuation and compensation estimation committee I mentioned above. He told me that there was not that much clarity in the processes. The following few lines were taken from a long interview I had with him.

There is not much transparency. Farmers are complaining that the engineers measured their land in their absence. The engineers who measure land, I think, have the feeling that they (farmers) do not make any difference. But, I believe farmers should be informed that their land is wanted for development activities. It is after this that land should be measured and compensation determined.

This opinion directly goes with the intention of Proc No.455/2005 which dictates that farmers should be informed and be convinced that their land is going to be expropriated

for development projects. However, the results of the survey questionnaires indicate that more than half of the informants (58.4%) reported the fact that they were not consulted when their land was measured for expropriation while 37.1% of them reported that they were informed (See Table 10).

Table 10: Farmers' Knowledge of Land Expropriation Process

Informed	Number
Yes	66 (37.1%)
No	104 (58.4%)
No response	8 (4.5%)
Total	178 (100%)

Source: Survey (October 2012)

In the present Ethiopian governance system, transparency and participation are often enunciated although majority of the informants reported that they were not informed about the decision making processes over their land possessions and did not know how their land was measured and valued for compensation purposes. Why these important elements, transparency and participation, were lacking and how this situation is explained within the *Actor-System Dynamics Theory* stated in the theoretical part of this paper? From the above data, one can tell that, despite the existence of a top-down system in which different actors play their games in this study area, the voice of an actor may not be equal to that of another, where one is louder and another is almost silent. In addition, some actors can easily propel the system while others may not even get access to it, and

some actors may corrupt the whole system in the absence of common transparent means of operation.

4.3. Cash Compensation and Its Management

While dealing with the changes in the farmers' land holdings, land expropriation and investment, it is worth considering the compensation processes, rate of compensation and farmers' way of managing the cash they had received. As shown in the previous part of this chapter, a huge size of land was expropriated in the newly established Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town. The prevailing relevant laws and experiences reveal that displacement compensation can be given in cash or in terms of land to land, although the latter was not realized. For instance, Article 2 (1) of Proclamation No. 455/2005²³ defines compensation as "payment to be made in cash or in kind or in both to a person for his property situated on his expropriated landholding." A wider legal explanation was given in Article 8(1) of the above proclamation which states that:

A rural land holder whose landholding has been permanently expropriated shall, in addition to the compensation payable (for property and improvements made on the land) be paid displacement compensation which shall be equivalent to ten times the average annual income he secured during the five years preceding the expropriation of land.

Based on this, a farmer who gave away 3000 m² of his farm landholding in 2012 got cash compensation according to the following formula. The average annual income of the

²³ Notwithstanding the provision in this proclamation, the concerned body in Oromia National Regional State has been improving the rate cash compensation at different times. It was nearly 29 birr per meter square at the end of my fieldwork.

farmer in the last five years (F.Y 2008 – 2012) was 3,278 Birr. Therefore, this farmer earns the total cash compensation of 3,278 Birr x 10 years which is 32,780 Birr.

Why the amount of cash compensation was determined by using the past five years' of annual income and multiply it by ten as a benchmark based on the average annual income of the previous five years to compensate the loss? Why the past years were used as reference rather than forecasting the value of the property and purchasing power of money in the coming five or ten years? This same question was in the mind of one of my informants who used to involve in the land valuation and estimation of cash compensation.

In my expertise I feel that the yield of the land should not be valued based on the last five years. It must be based on the current market price. What is the use of going back to the past five years whereas the farmers who receive compensation are living today and they want to live in the future?

An important practice I observed was that the concerned administrative bodies were improving the rate of compensation every year for crop and grazing land although it was not to the level that would satisfy the needs of the land losing farmers. The following table illustrates the rate of compensation for each type of land, the total amount of compensation, and the number of farmers who received compensation between 2001 and 2004 E.C (2008/09 – 2011/12).

Table 11: Type and Size of Land, Number
of Farmers and Amount of Compensation

Year	Size and type of land in m ² and rate of compensation						No. of farmers	Total Compensation in Birr
	Crop land		Grazing Land		Woodlot			
	Size in m ²	Compensation in Birr/ m ²	Size in m ²	Compensation in Birr/ m ²	Size in m ²	Compensation in Birr/ m ²		
2001 (2008/09)	189,143.70	10.20	49,759.30	7.50	6,319.00	12.62	49	2,122452.82
2002 2009/10)	1,034378	12.20	49,009.60	7.50	36,065.85	12.62	258	**
2003 (2010/11)	216,268.05	16.85	46,045.94	9.00	120.00	12.62	76	2,606,098.45
2004 (2011/12)	1,657,173.00	16.85	6514.11	16.85	0.00	12.62	21	1,203,937.65
Total	3,096,962.75		151,328.95		42,504.85		404	**

Source: Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi Municipality (May 2012)

** Data not available

As indicated in Section 4.1 of this chapter, improper data management at municipal level has affected the information regarding the number of farmers who received cash compensation and the total amount of money paid for the same purpose. Informants from both the community and the various offices in the municipality had the feeling that the compensation estimation process lacked rationale and seemed to be uncaring. As a result, it remained discontenting causing complaint and frustration among the farmers whose lands were expropriated. One of my informants, who was a member of the committee assigned to value land and estimate the compensation rate from the Office of Agriculture told me that:

The municipality uses our professional skill in estimating land values, land market, etc. For example, I am asked to prepare the compensation estimation for this year. Yesterday, I was looking into the documents. We prepare the value of crop land and grazing land and recommend compensation rates. We are not given mandates other than this. For the duration of 2003 E.C, it was 16.85 Birr for crop land. For grazing land it was 9 Birr for every m^2 . I hope there could be an improvement in the near future. It is according to the proclamation issued in the year 2005; it is Proclamation No. 455/2005. It is the average of the past five years' production. Then it is multiplied by ten years. The people working in the compensation office take this from us. I was doing this when I was in the Barrak *woreda* Agriculture Office.

He continued giving an example on how the value of grazing land is estimated.

Assume that a farmer has a hectare of grazing land. Assume that 300 *bonda* of straw is obtained. (A *bonda* is a rectangular shaped bundle of thrash prepared for sale. It is used for animal feed or for house construction). This is multiplied by ten years. Then we assume that one *bonda* values thirty Birr. Then it becomes 300 *bonda* from a hectare of land multiplied by 30 Birr ($300 \times 30 \text{ Birr} = 9,000 \text{ Birr} \times 10 \text{ years}$). It is a lot. Is it not? (He turned to his colleague who was listening to us). The listener nodded in agreement). That is the assumption.

A further issue that should be considered is the rate of cash compensation determined by the concerned government organ in the municipality, I recorded that the rate was improving from year to year. In 2009, the rate was 10.20 Birr for one m² of crop land while that of grazing land was 7.50 Birr. In the following year there was no change in the rate for both grazing land and woodlot whereas the rate for crop land was raised to 12.20 Birr. In the following two years (2011/2012), the compensation rate for crop land increased to 16.85 Birr while that of grazing land and woodlot remained the same in all the four years.

Concerning the sufficiency of the cash compensation, I had interviewed many of my key informants. Here is the opinion of an informant, GB, an officer in the Office of Agriculture.

It is not enough. It must forecast the market price of the coming five years. We must assume that the land is valued in terms of the coming ten years. But I often ask myself and can't get an answer. It is not enough. I am sorry. If improvement is made farmers will be happy, I tell you the truth.

From the above opinion, one might argue that the informant is not aware of the current Ethiopian land tenure policy in the sense that an individual has only a land use right and, therefore, he/she is entitled to compensation for the property he/she has on the land. Yet, whatever position we might take in this regard, the data obtained from the informants show that the farmers were not satisfied with the amount of cash compensation they received. A Deputy Manager for Security in one of the real estates expressed the

inadequacy of the cash compensation in short “*Not enough. There are people who have already eaten up all the compensation and became poor.*”

Data from the FGD, unstructured interview, and the survey show that the amount of cash compensation for land was not sufficient to sustain the land losers’ livelihood. The following extract from the interview with one of my informants, DB, proves this by saying, “For eight hectares of land they gave me seventy five thousand Birr. Since then, nobody talked to us. They do not care if someone uses the cash compensation as he wants. We cannot speak for ourselves”.

When I asked him if the compensation was sufficient, he said: “*isiin maal gooti, ganzabin? Harka duwaa jira naminni amma.*What does it (money) help? People are remaining bare handed now.” Here Shipton (1989) concept of “bitter money” can be a point of discussion as far as the above informant is expressing that the cash compensation is not attractive. The man hated the money not because it is ill-gotten but it is ill-given by someone else, and hence bitter.

Similarly, G. H, an informant, expressed the following opinion in one of the focus group discussions:

We want to eat and live. We do not want to be endangered and do not want to cause harm to the government. We cannot oppose what the government says. But we ask the government to think for us, manage us .We pray not to commit evil, and let Him keep evils away from us. *Ganzabin hinteesu allaattii yaabbattee fiiddii. Erga miilli kundhufee bayaee hinqonu.* ((Money does not stay longer as if it flies with birds). Money does not stay longer, we cannot keep it aside. We eat it, we wear it. You see, we do not produce much after these feet have come. There are many feet of others, new people. Only powerful ones can resist the situation; those who have strong muscles.

This narration of the informant implies that he wanted to be obedient to government policies and laws, although he was not satisfied with the amount of cash compensation he had received. Consequently, he appealed that the government must realize these problems for the land losing farmers that they do not produce enough food for their household consumption. At the end, this narration shows that extra power might be required to endure the challenges.

Regarding the sufficiency of the cash compensation, none of my informants in the FGDs and in-depth interviews reported that they were satisfied by the rate and amount of compensation. In addition to discontent with the amount of compensation, there was also a serious lack of awareness in managing and properly utilizing the cash compensation they received. Receiving cash compensation had appeared with its own challenges. Here comes Shipton's concept of 'bitter money'. The informants complain that the cash compensation was not only insufficient but does not stay longer since it is ill-gotten money by transacting a resource that is not culturally acceptable to sell. Farmers who used to produce crops did not practically have much cash in their hands except their assets in kind. Therefore, since they had no clear plan on how to spend the money, most of my informants told me that they spent it on household consumption and house construction. The survey results complement these findings.

Table 12: Purposes for which Informants
Used Cash Compensation

How farmers spent cash compensation	Respondents
School fee	5 (2.8%)
House construction	69 (38.8%)
Engaged in IGAs	18 (10.1%)
Saved in the bank	3 (1.7%)
Rented Land	5 (2.8%)
Household consumption	70 (39.3%)
Two or more activities ²⁴	8 (4.5%)
Total	178 (100%)

Source: Survey (October2012)

The above table shows that the informants were spending most of the cash compensation they received on two major activities for their living; that is, house construction and household consumption. These two major activities have consumed 79.2% of the total expense. Only 10.1% and 1.7% of the respondents had used the cash for some income generating activities and for saving, respectively. This implies that they had no extra money to invest in other activities that might be a guarantee for adapting to the future opportunities and challenges of urban expansion and for sustaining their livelihood, at least as it was. The savings they have, therefore, do not seem sustainable since there are

²⁴ These activities may include children's school fee, house construction, money for land rent, and household consumption.

frequent desavings by some informants. SG, a woman, said that she was constantly withdrawing the cash she saved in order to buy grain for household consumption. She states “We were three children who inherited land from our father. Now they have taken it away and gave us 300,000 Birr. Nobody told us what to do with it. We always desave it for purchasing grains for household consumption”.

Lack of awareness in financial management also had a serious impact on the farmers’ way of using the compensation. Some of the informants, like DB, told me that nobody had advised them to properly use the money they received: ...*abbaan waan fedhe yoo godhe idaa qabuu?* (Do they (concerned government body) care if someone uses the money as he wishes?) I also understood this fact in the group discussion with the workers in the municipality where they admitted that training was not at all offered for the farmers on how to manage their cash compensation.

4.4 Journey from Producers to Consumers

As stated in the previous parts of this study, all the informants who were engulfed in the urban administration of Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town were producing different types of crops and used to rear animals. By doing so, apart from being self - sufficient, they were highly contributing to the supply of agricultural products for the consumers in the nearby capital, Addis Ababa. However, the swift introduction of urbanization into the area has changed this trend and the role that the farmers used to play in market relations was threatened. It seems that farmers were transformed from producers to consumers. This situation was confirmed by the opinions of the informants and the results of the survey

questionnaire. A woman, farmer and potter, with whom I had a long in-depth interview on 16 May, 2011, told me the following: “We received the cash compensation. We used it to buy grain for food since what we produce is not sufficient to feed our children.”

As shown in Table 12 below, 82% of the farmers who filled in the survey questionnaire reported that the crops they produced were not sufficient for their household consumption and, therefore, they had to buy grain from the market.

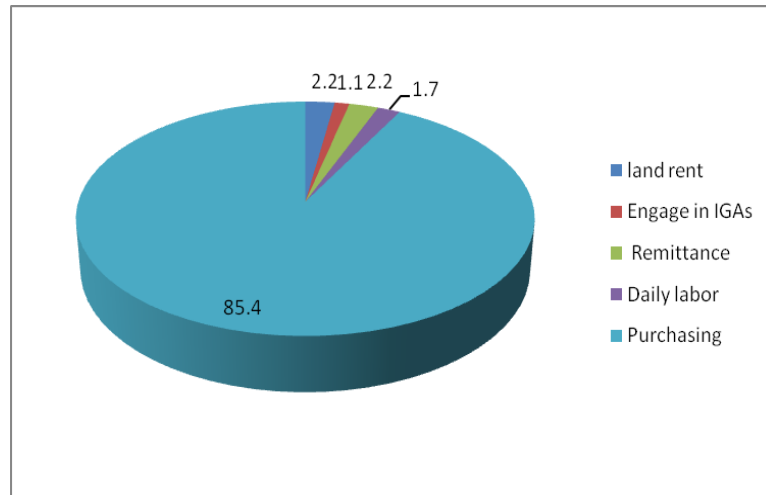
**Table 13: Sufficiency of Crops and Ways of Obtaining
Additional Sources of Food**

Are the crops you produce sufficient for your consumption?	Respondents
Yes	31 (17.4%)
No	146 (82.0%)
No response	1 (0.6%)
Total	178 (100%)

Source: Survey (October 2012)

So, the farmers need additional source of food for their families. The most common way of getting food items was by purchasing it with the cash compensation they had received. The following pie chart depicts informants’ ways of obtaining additional source of food for household consumption.

Figure 7: Farmers' Ways of Obtaining Additional
Sources of Food in Percentage



From this pie chart, we can see that the majority of the respondents purchase grain for food since what they produce was not sufficient. To strengthen this particular finding, the case of a farmer, DB, was paraphrased in the following to illustrate the situation.

DB was a retired guard in one of the real estate development projects in the town. He told me that his family used the cash compensation only for household consumption. He received a total compensation of 78,000 Birr for eight hectares of land at the rate of four Birr per m² of land. *Ishiin hinjirtu kaa nyaanne findhee.* (We have finished it all up). In this talk the word *Ishii* stands for something small or despised. It was an expression of the

inadequacy or inappropriateness of the cash compensation. This perception of the informant closely goes with Shipton (1989) concept of “bitter money”²⁵.

In the middle of our conversation, the context helped DB to talk to his wife about the issue he had with one of the owners of the real estate projects. He declared good news to his wife that the owner of the company allowed the family to take one *bi’ajo* / dump truck/ of sand to finish constructing their new house. Hearing that, the wife started blessing the man for his assistance to the family. *’Ammallee biftuun ganama isatti habaatu namticha kana’* (Let the morning sun shine up on the man), she said. I wish him (the owner of the real estate) a bright future. This statement is metaphorical in two ways. From the woman’s point of view, it might be to acknowledge the man for his being generous. Someone who critically examines the opinion of the informant, however, might perceive that a sense of dependency is clearly observed since the woman was blessing someone who has taken the family’s land by displacing them. In this way conditions continued to help the farmers undertake their transformation from producing to consuming though no one could exactly tell how long the whole process would take to complete transformation.

4.5 Farmers’ Evaluation of Their Own Living Conditions

In order to show the trends in the living situation of the farmers before and after their inclusion in the urban administration, one general question was posed to the informants during the in - depth interviews and the survey questionnaire. Accordingly, among the

²⁵ In this study, it argued that any amount of money by anyone in the land transaction is is bitter since the community believes that land is a source of fertility and selling it away, therefore, is considered as denying fertility.

informants in the in-depth interview and the FGDs, most of them reported that their living condition was worsening. The following extract was drawn from the interview I had with a farmer, FG, on June 10, 2012. “It is going down! We have nothing. We have no land; CCD has taken it away. I received 10,500 birr of cash compensation. No more farming. We are in a problem”.

A similar opinion was given by a woman, TD, whom I interviewed on December 14, 2012 some minutes before she went into the hall where one of the public meetings was held to deliberate on the farmers’ complaints in the presence of representatives from the ruling party. TD explain the situation saying “Yes, we have taken the compensation and we live on it now. We do not have other things. We purchase food and the cash is going down every day”.

The result of the questionnaire substantiates the position of the above informants. Like the informants in the interviews, the respondents of the survey questionnaire were asked to evaluate what had happened to the overall living condition of their respective families. They were asked to tell whether their living situation was improving, worsening, or remained as it was as a result of the urbanization process in their area. The following table illustrates the opinions of the respondents.

Table 14: Farmers' Evaluation of Their Own Living Conditions

Variables	informants
Improving	12 (6.7%)
Worsening	146 (82.0%)
No change	20 (11.2%)
Total	178 (100%)

Source: Survey (October 2012)

As can be seen from the above table, 146 (82%) of the informants reported that their living condition was worsening after the introduction of an urban way of life into their area. Only 12 (6.7%) informants asserted that their living condition was improving, and 20 (11.2%) of the respondents said that there was no change in their overall situation considering their inclusion into the urban administration.

Overall, although there could exist a certain assumption which some people might go for, which argues that urbanization transforms and improves the quality of life, it could not convincingly do so among the farming community in this particular town. This deteriorating living condition of the informants made them perceive the urbanization process incompetent. This view is examined in a cultural concept of *fafee*, borrowed from an elderly farmer in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town. This concept will be discussed in Chapter Five.

4.6 Movement from Urban to Rural: A Challenge to Rural-Urban

Migration Assumptions

When urban anthropology gained its status as a sub-discipline of anthropology, one of the major subjects of study for anthropologists in urban areas was rural-urban migration. Admittedly, this topic is still on the agenda of many anthropologists in the world. Evidences in my study have shown that the trend in this pattern of human movement seemed to be bi-directional as a result of the present multifaceted challenges, which low and high income urban dwellers experience. In addition, it could also be due to the fact that the fast rate of urbanization requires more built-up areas in developing countries like Ethiopia. In my observation and the statistical data from the municipality, I came to know that most of the settlers who owned most of the constructions for both business and residential purposes were people from big urban centers, particularly from Addis Ababa, due to different push factors. At the present high rate of urban development activities, the Ethiopian government could not provide the required size of land for all projects in the capital city.

Although it might require a rigorous study of its own, I can hint here that the same is also true for low- income urban dwellers, particularly government employees to secure land for private house construction in Addis Ababa. In addition, people who were engaged in small business activities could not also afford the persistently increasing cost of house rent. These factors have become major causes for people to migrate from the centre to the nearby towns. During my fieldwork, I came cross government employees including university professors who were constructing their own houses in Laga Xafo - Laga Dadhi

town. This constant movement of people, both poor and rich, from centre to the peri-urban areas in search of better job opportunities and services seems to remain a challenge for anthropological study whose main focus was on rural - urban migration.

Overall, as we have seen in this chapter, a change - change in the land holding system- which has caused a lot of changes at individual and community level, and many of the changes were not perceived as an advantage by members of the farming community consulted for this study, likely due to lack of awareness of the whole process of transforming a formerly rural society to an industrialized one, or because they see that the current living condition of some people is changing downwards.

CHAPTER FIVE

FAFEE-A CULTURAL LENS TO EXAMINE

ONE'S LIFE AND A SYSTEM

5.1. Cultural Meaning and Application of the Concept

The Oromo have their long established way of transmitting their cultural values they feel worth sustainable. In doing so, whatsoever they do or encounter / be it bad or good/ is the result of the will of *Waaqaa*, the creator God. For everything that happens, they say *Waaqatu godhe; hojii waaqayyooti. / It is the work of God/*. This can also be used by an individual, a group, or a society being under different forms of stressful conditions or in the state of being helpless. Under His all-powerfulness, it is believed that there are some negative things happening to an individual, a group, or the larger community that can be perceived as the outcome of God's punishments, for wrong doings or curse from forefathers, which are still under the will of God. At the same time, there are many ways of expressing such concepts referring to misfortunes.

One of these concepts is the concept of *fafee*, which I picked up during my first round of fieldwork in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town. It was from February to June 2012. It was when I first interviewed one of the farmers, DB, who was the first to give away his landholdings for development projects and received cash compensation in 2005. In expressing his attitude towards what had happened to him and his fellow farmers after their land was expropriated, he gave me this statement: “... *Asis dhaqinee achis dhaqinee nama nudhagahu dhabnee, waan fafateetu nu argate.*” (/We went here and there, nobody

listened to us; we felt unfit). This part of the informant's talk immediately took me back to my older memory when I was a school child being with parents in the country side. My father frequently used the term *fafa* when he got angry at our, his children, acts that he presumed to be out of the accepted *norms* or practices in the community. Among the Tulama Oromo around Addis Ababa, the concept is referred to as *fafee*.

This part of my paper, therefore, is committed to the contextual meanings of this particular concept of *fafee* and its wider applicability to a variety of contexts in the daily life of the Oromo people, particularly among the Tulama Oromo who have lost their farm lands for development projects. In most of the literature I have read for this part of my study, this term often explains incompleteness, incompetence, acts out of the accepted norm, ineptitude, uselessness, and similar concepts that stand for absence of skill, capacity, or vigor to accomplish a certain responsible task within the expected norm. Literally, among the Tulama Oromo, the concept stands for a person's physical incompleteness, be it naturally or in any way. For instance, someone who does not have a certain part of his body (one of his legs, hands, ears, eyes, to mention but some) is seen as *fafee*.

After staying longer with the farming community in Laga Xafo –Laga Dadhi town, I came to learn that the term *fafee* is widely used to allude to wider concepts apart from physical blemish. Therefore, it is important to deal with this wider understanding of the concept before I discuss how the Tulama Oromo, particularly the community under study, uses it in the context of urban sprawl, urban maladministration and urban structural

malfunctioning. *Galmee Jechoota Afaan Oromo /Afaan Oromo Dictionary/* (1996: 161)

gives an explanation of the term as follows.

Fafa (adj) = *yartuu, yookiin fokkuu / silly or immature/; eg saani jabbii fafa dhalte / the cow has given birth to a silly calf/.*

Fafachuu (action) = 1. *Fafa ta'uu /being silly/. Eg. Sobni nama fafeessa /Lying makes someone silly/. 2. Hanquu ta'uu / being unfit/; eg.Daarri miicamnaa fafate / After washing, the cloth has become narrow and unfitting/.*

Fafee (adj) = *fafa Kan ta'e; xinnoo / Someone or something little, or immature /; eg Mucaa xinnoo fafee tokkotu isa arabse / A small immature boy insulted him*

Fafeessisuu (verb) = *akka fafeessu gochuu / Making someone or something to make someone or something unfit or incomplete/.*

Fafeessuu (verb) = *fafa taasisuu, xinnessuu eg Laaxaa mureti fafeesse /making someone or something unfit or incomplete/.*

From the above dictionary definition, someone who speaks Afaan Oromo may not find anything new. The question is why my informant used the term while he was explaining to me what had happened to his family and his community as a result of the land expropriation for both public and private development projects. I further continued inquiring into the cultural and philosophical understanding of the concept among the Tulama Oromo living in the area. The following parts of this chapter, thus, deal with the wider conceptual and world outlook of the society.

5.2 Cultural Application of the Concept²⁶

In Oromo culture in general and among the Tulama Oromo in particular, there are some acts and deeds that are considered *fafee*. During my interview with the elderly people I have consulted them to generate data for my larger research project, I had got a list of cultural concepts that are related to some acts which are considered to be *fafee* among the community. But I am going to briefly discuss four of them which I feel can elaborate the concept in various cultural practices of the community.

The first concept is related with physical incompleteness, particularly congenital. For a family that has got a baby with one eye, one leg, or any incomplete part of the physical body, is assumed to be cursed. It is believed that the family has committed an act against the will of God, and hence He has revenged it. My informant, BT, told me that this type of *fafa* or the name of the *fafee* is not often mentioned and is kept as a taboo. In addition, no one chuckle at someone who is congenitally *fafee*. This is mainly for fear that someone who laughs at or ridicules such a person or an animal with *fafee* part of the body may encounter *fafachuu*, being *fafee*, in his/her family in the future.

The concept can also be associated with marriage or sexual affairs. Among the Tulama Oromo, one of the most serious cultural practices that need inspection is marriage. Olson and John (2003:5) provide nine definitions of marriage which include demographic events, the joining of two family and social network, legal contract between the couple

²⁶ The concept *fafee* is applicable irrespective of sex, wealth, or social status. However, it mainly refers to the male in the case of war or group fighting in which women are not expected to involve.

and state, a reproductive unit, an economic union, and the context of most human sexual activity. This is truly the case in relation to the perception the Tulama Oromo have for marriage institution. Therefore, a naturally competent person is expected to marry. A man or a woman who remains unmarried is considered to be *fafee*, unfit or incomplete in the community. He/she is not invited to participate in some critical social meetings of certain purposes for he/she does not meet the requirements. In a related manner, a member of the community who has a sexual affair with his /her close or distant kin is *fafee*.

Being coward is another concept attached to *fafee* at individual or group level. *Lunoomuun fafa* / Being coward is frivolous/. In their history, the Tulama Oromo are known for their being fighters. It is not allowed to retreat from any form of group feud or individual confrontation of any cause. A mature young man who is beaten by his village fellow man is not accepted by his family. Even the father of the defeated is liable to ridicule in his village.

It is also culturally *fafae*/ shame/ for a wife to beat her husband. In Oromo culture, it is acceptable for a married woman to endure the punishment her husband induces onto her. What is surprising is that she cannot even run to one of the village families for protection. If she does so, she might be seen as wayward to her husband or to her marriage at large. She cannot at all react to his deed. If she does so, she is considered manish and the husband is also scoffed at by his fellow men in his village.

It is equally *fafee* for a man and a woman in the context of the value the Tulama Oromo attach to ethics of work. A normal man or woman, who is naturally able, has the land and the resource, is expected to always engage in daily activities and produce. But sometimes there could be a few deviants who, despite their possession, wander here and there in the villages to share and eat what others have got through their labor. Such individuals are socially disregarded and not even called for traditional work parties. In case such a person happens to join a work party organized by a member of a village, he/she is always insulted by songs sung during cultivation or harvesting in the field. Therefore, the norm encourages hard work if a member of the community wants to be fit and socially acceptable.

In the context of the present research, the concept of *fafee* is used to explain the individual capability, awareness, skill and commitment at all levels of the urban administration in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town. Similarly, it can also be used in a wider context in which there is no clear structure with any defined responsibility and accountability. In the eyes of the farmer who made a comment in the public meeting held on December 10, 2012, the procedure followed to assign the urban administrators is equally *fafee*. “*Akka aadaa keeynatti bulchaa keeyna nutu fillata. Amma ammo gararraadhaa gadi nuti fidani maal goona.* (In our culture, we should elect our leaders. Now you brought some from above. What can we do)”. For the above speaker, it is *fafee* to assign a manager or a mayor without the knowledge or interest of the society.

In most of the discussions I had with the informants for this study, they were all aware that the government was expropriating their land in the name of development which

seems mainly to serve the immigrant haves. According to the informant farmers, these immigrants are called *orma*, stranger, not native to the area. These *orma*, for the local community include all the non-farming community. In the due process of my research, I have learned that this group also encompasses real estate developers and their clients, the government policy implementers, the *dalalaa* (broker), and the Ethiopian diaspora. The expropriation is facilitated by the locally appointed individual government employees such as the land administrators, engineers, and the locally emerging businessmen including the *dalalaa*. Since such local appointees are not working in favor of the interests of the community, the community calls them *fafee*, incomplete, incompetent, inefficient, and incapable to defend the interest of the people. With regard to inadequacy of individuals' capacity to manage the situation, an informant farmer told me the following: *Nu maal beena isaan afaan tokko dubatuu silaa* (What do we know? They speak the same language).

By speaking the same language, the speaker expresses that the government appointees follow the same pattern to favor the system they are serving, sometimes, without listening to the immediate concerns of the local community. This shows that the individuals who were employed to serve the community betrayed their men and spoke the language of *orma* (strangers, others). That they have common language of their own which, in most cases, is not familiar with the local community. In this particular view, Sardan's (2005) concept of development language is worth mentioning. For this writer, the "developees" and the "developers" do not speak the same language. Most of the developees do not know the development language of the "developers."

On the other hand, it was found out that there was a serious problem in the structure of the municipality, particularly in handling the cases of the land losing farmers. The system was *fafee*. In order to support this argument with enough evidences, I interviewed people at different levels in the town. These include the administrator in the municipality, experts in the Office of Agriculture, and the farmers themselves. Sometime in the first week of May 2012, I went to talk to the municipal administrator to get an overview of the structure of the urban administration. I asked him if he could serve with a copy of the approved structure of the administration. In my interview he informed me that the urban administration did not have a clear structure except that there were fragmented units which an urban administration is expected to possess in the present Ethiopian urban administration system. Thus, I could not get an organogram of the urban administration.

In March 2012, I went to the Office of Agriculture to know if the office was legally established and included in the administrative structure of the municipality. I found four people sitting in a congested room engaged in their daily routines. The size of the room was approximately 3m x 3 m (9 m²) wide whose roof and wall were made up of old corrugated iron sheet. Except the office coordinator, GT, all of the three experts were born in that area, in the heart of the town, where urbanization has been deepening its roots for the last seven years. Their parents and they themselves were victims of the process of land expropriation and compensation. Therefore, they had an up - to date memory to be witnesses. Leaving the other three for later interview, I decided to have an in-depth interview with the coordinator.

My first question to GT was about the responsibility of the Office of Agriculture in the municipality. As it was the case for many of my informants in this town, this man was very suspicious and hesitant to easily respond to my questions. He referred to the municipal administrator saying that the office was established in 2012 and that it was the municipality who knew the objective of the agriculture. Up to his knowledge, his office did not have any clear objective and structure which in principle had to be part of the structure of the urban administration.

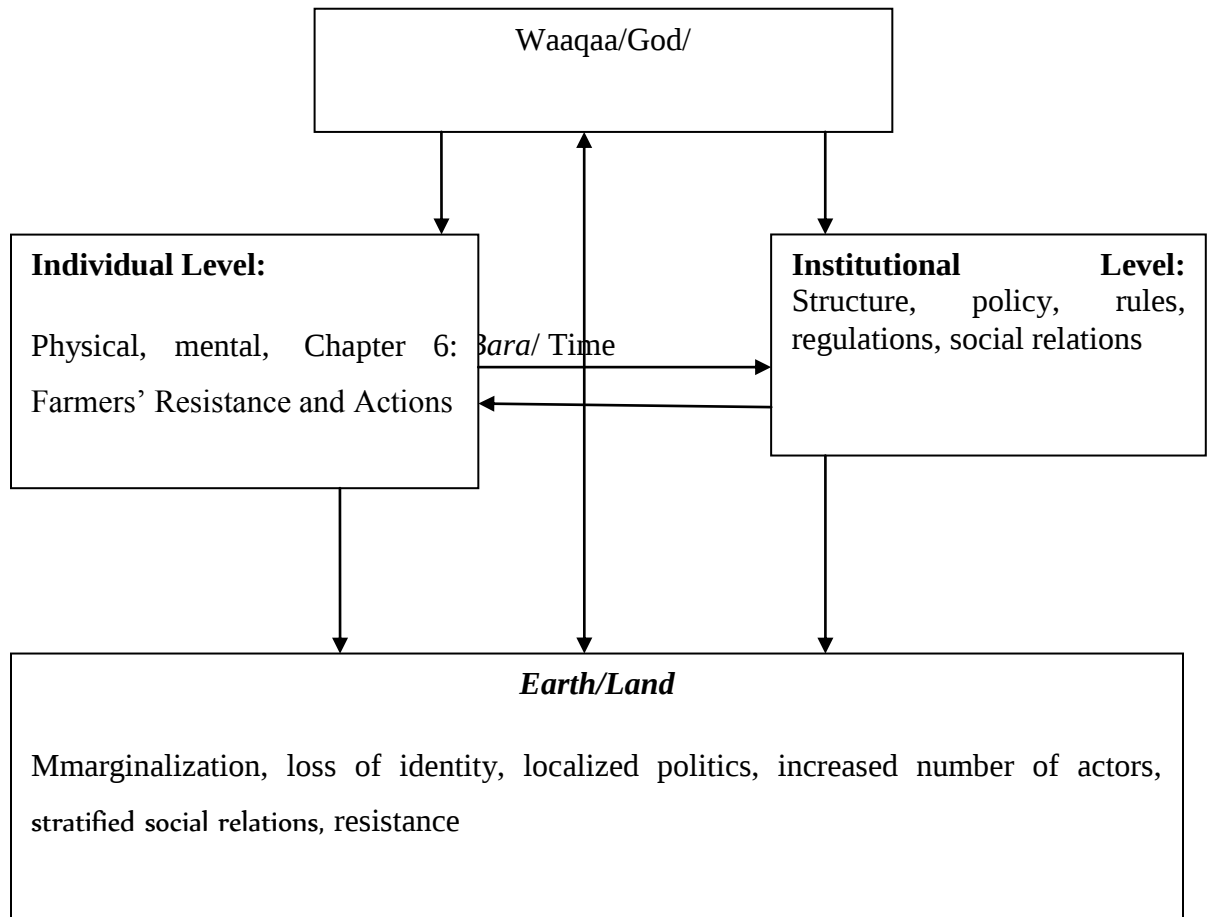
The informant said “*Kana sii deebisu hindanda’u, bulchinsa magalaatu beeka*” (I cannot answer your question; the municipality knows this). In our further discussion, GT expressed his feeling that there had to exist *caseefama* (a legal structure) and budget for the office he was heading at that moment. But there is none. *Caseefami odo jiiratee waan bayyee hojechuun hindanda’ama* (If there were a structure a lot could be done). After looking at the cultural interpretation of the concept, it is equally important to explain the idea is applied to the analysis of urban administration in the town.

5.3. Two Levels of *Fafee* Application in Urban Administration

From all the discussions I had with informants at all levels, I could learn that absence of a formal government structure had opened ways for malpractices in land administration, compensation, estimation, and payment. This indicates that the administration is *fafee*, not complete or incompetent to provide the required service. However, at least at

conceptual level, this cultural lens can be exhibited at two major levels: individual and institutional levels and can be summed up with the following simple conceptual diagram.

Figure 7: *Fafee* - An Oromo Cultural Lens



The farming community members had accepted that all the above incapability, incompetence or insufficiency of services at individual, group, or institutional level, and all the challenges that had happened to them were with the will of God in the respective periods. Therefore, it is believed that God has already set specific time or period for

something positive or negative to crop up on the land-*earth*. That is why DB, one of my informants, said *Waaqatu bara akkasii nutti fide* / God has brought such a time to us /.

A wider interpretation can be made from the above diagram that many of the components are organized in a way that one can be a cause of one and a consequence of another *fafee*. For the moment, the concept can broadly be explained at individual and institutional level.

5.3.1 Individual Level *Fafee*

Individual level *fafee* in the urban administration mainly deals with the individual civil servants working in the urban administration offices such as the office of land administration and finance. This was clearly indicated in the public meetings and individual interviews I had with some of the farmers. The following is an extract taken from the interview I had with one of the young leaders of farmers' movement during the blatant resistance continued from August to December 2012 in the town.

People who are assigned to administer the *ganda* (the lowest administrative unit in the urban administrative structure of Oromia Regional state) do not have the capacity. For example, BM, who used to administer Ganda 02 (Laga Xafo River area) for six consecutive years now, has accumulated wealth. He has two mills, a hotel and restaurant; he has two dump trucks and an automobile.

Here, in the above interview, the informant felt that administrators at various levels had no capacity (it could be in terms of the kind of training or level of education the administrators had) to accomplish their duties to the expected standard. The above

interview also shows that the administrators had embezzled public wealth and hence *fafee*, unfit for the position they assumed.

Similarly, a man who was attending the public meeting held on Friday, Nov.28, 2012 said the following in front of the man who was chairing the meeting being represented by the regional government.

In our culture, leaders are elected by the community. Now you brought leaders from top there. We can do nothing. Where are the previous administrators? A man who sold our land for forty-cents has now come to administer us. Now we have our own educated children.

For this speaker, the people who had been appointed or are coming to administer the town are morally and socially *fafee*. They are morally *fafee* because they expropriated the farmers' land for extremely low price, only forty cents at the beginning. They are also *fafee* for they are not elected by the community and, at the same time not legitimate.

5.3.2 Institutional Level *Fafee*

Institutional level *fafee* is far wider than the one at individual level. At present the Ethiopian government has its own urban policies and urban administration structures that are assumed to facilitate a smooth delivery of services. This assumption is expected to prevail in all the urban centers of the regional states. Oromia Regional State, through its different level of urban development offices, provides legal frameworks and institutional arrangements for the town and cities in the region. Having this in mind, I interviewed the municipal manager of Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town, AO, in April 2012, to know if the town had clear structure for proper functioning of the urban administration. He replied "Up to now we do not have administrative structure on paper. It is Oromia Urban

Development Bureau that prepares and offers urban administration structures for all towns in the region. We are still waiting for that”.

This situation made the urban services to be complicated and ineffective in the eyes of the farmers who are physically residing within the administrative boundary of the town. They complain that they do not have any legal status to consider themselves as urban dwellers. This lack of working institutional structure is *fafee*.

Whenever one talks the incompleteness of a certain system or structure, it is likely that there could appear some practical consequences on the ground. In situations where there are failures for an institution or a system, or the individual for that matter, to meet the expected standards while giving services, there would appear unexpected consequences or uncertainties. If all the above understandings are prevalent in the present context of the urban administration in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town, it is evident that there appear some forms of prejudice.

In this study, I have observed that there are two forms of prejudices which I have labeled as subconscious and conscious ones. In order to understand what I mean by subconscious type of prejudices, I have referred to many of the international (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948) and national documents (both federal and regional) such as the 1995 Constitution, Oromia Regional State Rural Land Holdings Proclamation No.137/2007, Land Expropriation and Compensation Proclamation No 455/2005, Urban Land Lease Proclamation No.721/2011 and many more legal documents of Ethiopia. The provisions in all these documents declare that they are in place for the sake of prevailing

justice equally among citizens. For example, Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948, Article 7) states:

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

In the same manner, Article 25 of the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Proclamation No 1/1995 puts that:

All persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection without discrimination on grounds of race, nation, nationalities, or other social origin, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, birth or other status.

This provision of the Constitution has attractively put that any person is equal before the Ethiopian law. It ensures the just treatment of all human beings irrespective of any background. In this case all the legal documents are very much conscious of the rights of mankind.

If these legal documents all ensure the equality of the citizens, where does the cause of prejudices and marginalization lie? First, even though the law claims that it treats all human beings equally, there is no clear and transparent system of accountability and means of controlling such conscious misdeeds within the subconscious system. Informants told me that individuals who embezzled public land resources were not often seen punished. Secondly, during my fieldwork, I came to learn that the urban administration of the town did not clearly show or indicate the status of the farmers

whose livelihood was literally dependent on farming, but live within the administrative boundary of the town. Although I was convinced that, by evidences from the federal and regional legal documents, the system was not deliberately set to discriminate any section of the residents in the town, some of my informants felt that they were not well treated or were marginalized by the individual actors in the system who favor the migrant new comers to the area in the name of development or investment. The perception is clearly put in the following extract of an interview with a farmer. *Hunddi issaanii tokko. Afaan tokko dubatu. (They are all one. They speak the same language)*. Is there any point of blaming the government system? In spite of the existence of clear government policies and regulations, there was no legal instrument to effect accountability and transparency in the process of land measurement, land valuation, or payment of compensation upon land expropriation. The following extract is taken from an interview given by a farmer, SL, on the Voice of America (VOA).

If we see the way Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town administration takes land, firstly, above 75 % of the land dispossessed from the farmers is used for residential house construction. But we do not know who takes the land. The administration sells it. We do not know people who are constructing the houses here.

Although the statistical data that this informant gave does not go with the town structure plan (see Figure 2), it indicates that he was aware of the situation since he was a member of the municipal council. In addition, the following part of his narration clearly shows that he was aware of the national laws.

Although land belongs to the government and the people (of Ethiopia), they are the farmers who have been using the land here. We know that a farmer should

give his land for development activities. But when he gives the land certain requirements should be fulfilled. But these requirements are not there.

SL argues that, notwithstanding the country's Constitution that land belongs to the government and the people of Ethiopia, preconditions should be in place before expropriating land for development activities. However, since information was recorded from an interview from a radio program, it is difficult to tell what these requirement or preconditions are. In this detailed interview, SL explains why he assumes that the process of land expropriation was not transparent.

A farmer is not informed why he/she should leave the land. He/she does not know the boundary. The payment compensation is not transparent. The land is measured at the absence of the farmer. Farmers are not asked. The administration sends the engineers and bulchinsa ganda /local administrators. / After the size of the land is known somehow the amount of compensation is determined, the data is taken to the municipal administration then the land losing farmer is called to collect the cash compensation. If a farmer complains that he/she is not clear about the compensation process and the legality of the remaining plot of land, he/she is taken to the police station by the police and the local armed force.

The above interview shows that the informant had developed a sense of being excluded from the process of land measurement, land valuation, and compensation determination.

This obviously eroded the negotiation power of the land losing farmer. However, towards the end of my fieldwork, I went to the municipality to know if there was a problem of transparency in executing land expropriation and payment of cash compensation. I interviewed, AY, an urban engineer, who served as the head of Land Administration and Environmental Protection Department until the coming of the farmers' resistance in 2012. He said that there was no farmer whose land was expropriated without consultation though he was on the farmers' side regarding the insufficiency of the cash compensation.

Persistent with Burns, Baumgartner and Deville (2002: 223) Actor-System Dynamics Theory, actors of the system may abuse their knowledge, resource, power and authority relations, role relationships, struggle and control over resources, including physical structures and tools. In this sense, there is no clear or covert discriminatory system but individuals who exercise their power in the system interpret the regulations or laws against the interest of the state or that of the community. I call this a conscious act in a subconscious²⁷ system. The acts are conscious in the sense that the actors, irrespective of the law, accumulate the land resource in the name of their relatives, brothers, sisters, or friends. In a public meeting held on December 10, 2012, one of the young participants said, “AY, the previous head of the Land Administration Department has 46 plots of land in this town. His wife is working in the revenue office. They take all this land by the name of their relatives and even by the name of their dogs”.

Such a conscious act is, by no means, allowed in any of the state laws. This conscious act within the subconscious system results in another conscious but an opposite act by way of discriminating the subconscious system together with its conscious actor(s). This, in turn, results in the sense of being discriminated and being marginalized. The effect is much wider resulting in the discrimination of the whole system together with its actors. The development projects and their purposes are questioned which goes with Ferguson’s (1990) idea of ‘development as an anti-politics machine’. This form of prejudice is very much informed which I label as conscious discrimination. From the informants’ point of

²⁷ The concept ‘subconscious’ used here to express, at normal circumstances, any government system or institution does not consciously discriminate an individual or a group within a nation who is not legally sanctioned. Therefore, any injustice may occur without the knowledge of the law and that of the people who exercise it.

view, since the system did not serve in the way they want it would, they said that it was not theirs. At this point, it is not only the institutions or the system that was prejudiced but the individuals who were serving for the maintenance of the urban administrative institution or system. The community is conscious that the actors of the system consciously work against their interest. As a result they consciously discriminate the actors feeling that the system is manipulated.

But if the system consciously propagates that everyone is equal before the law, why is it not conscious about the conscious misdeeds of the actors in the urban institution? Two major reasons can be drawn from in-depth interview results of the individuals in the community. Firstly, even though the laws and regulation are clearly put, there were no transparent and accountable control mechanisms to prevent the manipulation of the laws by individual actors. Of course one may claim that there are legal procedures and institutions such as the criminal law and Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission in the country. However, since the abuse of the land resource was committed in a sophisticated way, there were no equal counteracting measures from both the federal and regional governments. Secondly, the moral and skill of the individual actors is questioned by the community. Soon after the peasants began to resist the situation, most of the civil servants in the urban administration stopped giving services for they were easily agitated and frightened by the resistance which will be discussed in Chapter Six. The following extract is taken from the interview with one of the workers in the justice office in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town. “There is no work now. People have stopped working. I think

they did right. What if someone goes to their office and spites on them? They have to hide for some time”.

The other consequence observed in my fieldwork was the increased number of actors in the social relations. Before the establishment of the town, farmers were engaged in routine social relations with frequent meetings of people with similar social and livelihood activities. The expansion of both public and private development projects had forced the farmers to involve in wider relations with a greater number of actors with different interests than before. Issues they discuss and the modes of communications were also varied. They communicate with government agents, the private project owners and their clients, the *dallala* (brokers), the new migrants who came to town in search of jobs in the new real estate construction industries, manufacturing, or other sectors. Therefore, the increased number of issues and actors made the farmers busier than usual. Whenever such multiple actors appear with different, sometimes incompatible, interests it may result in resistances of different forms by individuals or groups who presuppose that their interest is not accommodated, or their voice was not heard. The resistance that took place by the farmers from August up to December 2012 in this particular town is discussed in Chapter Six.

In all the actors' interactions we have been discussing so far, where is the role of *Waaqaa*/God/ and *Lafa*/Earth/ across time? In Oromo culture, *Waaqaa*/God/ and *lafa*/land/ know everything that happens on earth and *Waaqaa* rejects injustice. He is always there for justice to prevail on *lafa* /land/. Then why did the farmers begin to resist by their own? Were they questioning the power of *Waaqaa* or *lafa*?

CHAPTER SIX

FARMERS' RESISTANCE AND ACTIONS

In Chapter Five we have seen that members of the farming community in the study area have analysed the processes and impacts of the urban development activities through their own cultural lens, *Fafee*. This chapter examines why and how the farmers have resisted to the urban development activities. It also deals with different forms of resistances that the farmers have employed to make their voice heard.

6.1 General Overview of Peasant Resistance in Ethiopia

Although resistance is one of the most debatable concepts in social science studies, we always find ourselves in a wave of resistance because we do not trust, believe, accept, or we do not sense that what is presented to us has a direct relationship with our daily life. Or, people resist to other people's acts, ideas, actions, or principles because they are skeptical or suspicious. Similarly, an act that is perceived to be a resistance may not be considered the same by the other. Likewise, there is no agreement regarding the causes for a certain form of resistance. Yet it is always among us in our everyday life in different forms and at different times. By referring to Gregg (1993: 172), Hollander and Einwohner (2004:534) provide a definition of the term as an "active efforts to oppose, fight, and refuse to cooperate with or submit to...abuse behaviors and ...control." In addition, these writers identify seven forms of resistance: overt, covert, unwitting, target-defined, externally-defined, missed, and attempted resistance."

Available sources show that peasant resistance has never been common in the history of Ethiopia except a few that actually caused regime changes in the twentieth century. In relation to this, Gebru (1991:1) argues that it is important to question why Ethiopian peasants rebelled but also why they did not, for peasant revolt was not significantly common in the history of the country. However, this writer argues that there were some forms of resistance that had been exercised with good causes of their own contemporaries.

It is important that people do not resist, for protest is an everyday phenomenon, but they do so individually, covertly, and non-confrontationally, and therefore much less effectively in causing major changes in existing relations of domination and subordination (Gebru 1991: 4).

In Ethiopia, farmers' open resistances began during the first half of the 20th century taking different durations, from a few days to several years (Beirut 2007: 215). Beirut argues that the first peasant rebellion took place in Tigre after the Italian occupation came to an end, and other serious farmers' resistances to the government could be cited.

Exactly two decades elapsed before the next major peasant resistance eruption. This was the rebellion in the south-eastern province of Bale, and it lasted from 1963 to 1970. Here the connection between peasant exploitation and rebellion was much more direct than in the case of Tigre. The institution of the *salad* in 1951 had had the effect of reducing many peasants to the status of tenants.... While the government was absorbed in crushing the Bale uprising, another broke out in the north, Go jam (Bahiru 2007: 215 -16).

In Ethiopia the main cause of all these conflicts and resistances has been land which is an essential asset for both rural and urban dwellers. Pertaining to the present EPRDF led government of Ethiopia, the transition of the system of government from the so-called

‘command to a market-oriented economy’, since 1991, has brought radical changes in many of the country’s policies. One of the issues in which a radical transformation has taken place is the tenure system of both rural and urban land. Land is given due attention in many of the government documents including the 1995 Constitution which provides the following:

The right to ownership of rural and urban land, as well as of all natural resources, is exclusively vested in the State and in the peoples of Ethiopia. Land is a common property of the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia and shall not be subject to sale or to other means of exchange (Article 40:3).

It is assumed that this Article is the source of all forms of land policies at federal government level as well as at regional states. It is believed that land is a key natural resource that requires proper consideration. Misusing this resource not only wastes the other scarce resources but also affects other sectors of development altering by the livelihood of millions of citizens. Proper utilization of land requires the recognition of use rights over it and conditions of use and facilitating the smooth transfer to other users.

The issue of land is economically, politically, and socially the most sensitive and significant aspect of human beings. As stated above, since long, land has been the major source of controversies, disputes or conflicts among individuals, groups, societies, and/ or countries. This implies that land ownership is an extremely basic state of affairs. Because of the very nature of land and the value every one of us attaches to it, there always

happen conflicts or resistances whenever a new or unusual form of landholding system comes to effect.

In Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town, land has been expropriated for public and private development projects. On the one hand, the public development projects are exhibited in the form of road construction, services like water, electricity, schools, hospitals, local government offices and many more government development activities. The private projects, on the other hand, comprise real estates, manufacturing industries, hotels, and other privately owned profit - making establishments. As I have stated in Chapter Five (Section 5.1), more than 4979.8 m² of land was expropriated only for different kinds of private development projects. Although there is no reliable record, a significant size of land was also expropriated for public development activities and house construction associations in the four years, 2001 up to 2004 E.C (2008/9-2011/12) budget years. As shown in Chapter Four, this massive land expropriation has unquestionably resulted in the land dispossession of the farming community, thereby affecting their livelihood.

The history of land expropriation for development purposes, particularly in the context of urban development in Addis Ababa and its surrounding, is a history of dispossession followed by dissatisfaction and lack of voice. But, different from the usual, the farmers in Laga Xafo - Laga Dadhi have been acting in response to the malpractices of land expropriation and payment of compensation, and the overall urban management system. The main purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to discuss some of the contemporary forms of farmers' resistance in the town.

Before discussing the specific forms of resistance, it is important to have an overview of two main issues. The first one is land expropriation which has been mentioned several times in the previous chapters of this study. Different sources define this concept in almost related ways. To be clear, we can start from the 1960 Ethiopian Civil Code which defines the concept as “Expropriation proceedings are proceedings whereby the competent authorities compel an owner to surrender the ownership of immovable required by such authorities for public purposes” (Proclamation No 165/1960, Article 1460).

In the above provision of the 1960 Civil Code, there are some central concepts that are crucial even to interpret the current expropriation practices in the research site. The first is the idea of surrendering ownership. Literally, to surrender is to admit defeat. In this understanding, the land expropriating “competent” authority can compel the owner of the immovable property to be expropriated in the name of public interest. Therefore, it is given that the loser has no choice except surrendering as ordered. Secondly, public purpose is a more crude and wooly concept in that it can easily be misrepresented. In the case of the land expropriation in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town, this public purpose can be perceived to be partial. The land expropriated in the name of public purpose is often seen to be instrumental for the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few owners of large business establishments or companies at the expense of the wider interest of the majority of the native farming households. Other proclamations such as Proclamation No. 455/2005 (*A Proclamation to Provide for the Expropriation of Landholdings for Public*

Purposes, and Payment of Compensation) and the new “*Urban Land Lease holding Proclamation No.721/2011*” of Ethiopia have similar intents. In both proclamations, the concept ‘public purpose’ or ‘public interest’ is void of concrete meaning.

The second concept is resistance, particularly in relation to the land tenure system and land expropriation. Resistance in different forms examines power, inequality and social change (Hollander and Einwohner 2004: 535). In opposition to what is stated in the Civil Code of Ethiopia, it is usually a struggle for not surrendering or, it may be perceived as an instrument to threaten or challenge a certain act that the resister considers to be not in favor of him or her. In this sense, it develops into a conflict. Kerkvliet (2009) divides resistance into three forms: official, everyday, and advocacy. Official resistance deals with scrutinizing authorities in organizations that construct, implement, alter, and/or avoid policies regarding the allocation of resources. Everyday resistance, according to Scott (1985), on the other hand, explains how people accept, abide by and/or question the norms and regulations of authority over the production and distribution of resources in an indirect and unplanned manner. Finally, the advocacy form of resistance is a “direct and concerted effort to encourage, condemn or reproach and contest policies and authorities and even the system and the manner in which resources are produced and distributed (Kerkvliet 2009: 231-2).

Although studies on resistance prominently examine organized, large-scale movements that pose a threat to the state, Scott (1985) argues that peasant uprisings are more often everyday forms of resistance. This is because subordinate classes have few opportunities

to undertake organized and open resistance since they risk violent or otherwise debilitating reprisals from their teasers. Therefore, peasants resort to expressing their dissatisfactions through covert and unorganized measures that are the ‘weapons of the weak’. Scott also argues that resistance does not need to be recognized to be effective. He says that its intent is more important than its outcome. The individual resister’s state of mind may not be as critical as the collective understanding of the morals that becomes the main cause of the resistance. In this regard, Malseed (2008:503) explains:

For such acts to be considered part of a ‘movement’ of resistance, villagers need not be conscious of each and every action as a step toward larger goals, but there should be an atmosphere of communal acceptance and support, like-mindedness of action and consistency with commonly held ideas of social justice.

The moral economy of peasants, which “places the subsistence ethic at the center of the analysis of peasant politics” (Scott 1976: 3), is at the heart of rural politics. This moral economy can be expressed in various forms. There is a nonlinear connection between resistance and social change which explains the interest in visible social movements and revolutions, regardless of whether they successfully reform the power structures that impeded the movement. However, resisters may also support structures that they oppose in order to question their place within the state. Thus, resisters have varying objectives, and acknowledging these complexities is crucial to understand farmers’ resistance. Similarly, in the case of Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town, as it could be elsewhere, farmers may adjust their forms of resistance to best suit their circumstances where it turns to be a resistance of every minute in every action.

Farmers' resistance may be unstructured and sometimes occurs without leaders. There are some writers who assume that such a movement is likely to become fruitful. Malseed (2008: 498), for instance, found out that among Karen villagers, "...non-compliance strategies have flourished for so long largely because there were no leaders or structures for the state to kill, arrest or buy off." Scott (1985:33) also explains that "open insubordination in almost any context will provoke a more rapid and ferocious response than an insubordination that may be as pervasive but never ventures to contest the formal definitions of hierarchy and power." Overall, although many writers argue that unstructured resistances could be more sounding than structured ones, people like the farmers in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town go for structured movement when they feel they have no other options. This does not, however, mean that the possibility of unstructured everyday resistance is entirely ruled out.

The literature on resistance I have examined has demonstrated that covert, unorganized, unstructured forms are most commonly undertaken by the rural poor farmers. However, the increasing tensions, especially in the battle between capital and the rural land losing farmer, may result in the emergence of advocacy politics which, as a form of resistance, may deepen and transform to a more organized and overt approach. It is in the above broader context that this chapter deals with the new forms of resistance that the farming community used to react to what was going on in their villages as a result of the land expropriation in the name of development activities in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town.

Despite the long history of land expropriation due to urbanization, particularly after the establishment of Addis Ababa, in the second half of the 19th century where Tulama Oromo predominantly inhabited, there has never been open resistance from the farmers who have been losing their farmlands. As a result of the interest of the Ethiopian rulers during the Menelik regime, in the first half of the 19th century, those Oromo farmers had gradually begun to lose possessions over the land and the migrant supporters of the system occupied most of the areas and the native Oromo began to move to the suburbs except a few who were loyal to the rulers. Moving to the hill sides and beyond, they continued to supply the urbanites with crops, fuel woods and cow dung to satisfy the needs of the urban dwellers in Addis Ababa.

As stated above, however, there was no strong resistance to the urban expansion at the outlay of farmers' land use right and livelihood. Sometime, before ten years, twenty three peasant associations were formally made to fall within the administrative boundary of Addis Ababa (Zenawi 2007). Yet, I could not secure the relevant data as to the number of households in those peasant associations. Although it needs a study of its own, most of the farmers who had been living in those peasant associations were not urbanized but run away to far off places in search of farmlands for sustaining their usual farming livelihood. There is no record to trace the whereabouts of most of those farmers although one might find some young people, especially the educated ones, who have already started leading an urban way of life. These people are engaged in some urban activities such as transport services, construction, and daily wages of different forms by gaining skills from experience.

In the case of the farmers in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town, urbanization seems to follow the same pattern that the expansive nature of Addis Ababa has exhibited to date. Many of the people who have constructed houses in the town are migrants from different areas of the country. What is new about this urban centre is that many farmers and their children are still living in the town despite the fact that they were not granted of the use rights over their remaining plots of land due to the fact that the Oromia National Regional Government officially declared that urban land permit and issuance of site plan was suspended. Therefore, there was a feeling among the farmers that they did not have any guarantee for not losing the remaining land and, thus, started to openly resist any act that went against their interest in the name of development because as, Foucault (1980) argues “there are no relationships of power without resistance...”. In relation to this, Motoji (1998) argues that resistances can take both soft and hards forms. For him, hard form of resistance is the attempt that the poor often show in the form of revolt, riot, or even day-to-day illegal activities. Motoji describes the other form of resistance as soft which appears in everyday life of the resistance through various ways such as networks, organizations, and rituals. In general, both hard and soft forms of resistance are exhibited in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town although the former is more common and structured one, which is categorized into six types for easy understanding in this dissertation.

6.2 Types of Farmers' Resistance in Laga Xafo - Laga Dadhi Town

6.2.1 Petition

Whenever an individual or a group feels that a certain external agent is acting or going against his or its interest, he or she might resist, for resistance can be an every minute act which can be exhibited in a blatant or stealthy manner. However, the latter is common among people who believe that they have no power to confront but to act passively. Petition is often used as a smooth way of reacting to injustice among the Oromo in general and among the Tulama Oromo group in particular. Traditionally, the Oromo use this approach to express their grievances to higher administrative bodies when they experience any form of misdeeds by local authorities against their will. During the Imperial Regime, for example, community elders were selected and sent directly to the Emperor in case a local administrator or a landlord violated the interests of the community by disregarding the law. This is entirely performed by what they call *jarssummaa* (mediation) by *Jaarsa biyyaa* (community elders). In the case of the farmers in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town, this approach has served two purposes. On the one hand, it has helped the farmers to express their dissatisfaction with the matter at hand. On the other hand, it has served as a way of pretending loyal to the system.

Yet, the petition as a form of resistance by the farmers was the first type and an old way in the sense that it was ineffectively employed by Ethiopian farmers during the Imperial rules when land was the major cause of conflict since it was concentrated in the hands of few feudal lords. In this regard, Gebru (1991:22) argues that “Ethiopian peasants had

more than sufficient reasons to grumble, even to resist seeking amelioration, they frequently petitioned local officials and the central government, and sometimes sent delegations to the emperor.”

Consistent with the above argument, the contemporary resistance in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town was a practice in which farmers elected their own *Jarasa biyyaa* (community elders) to go to the regional government *Caffee* (council) to appeal that they were losing their land in an unfair way for which they did not receive commensurate compensation. This was done in 2004 when some of the first major real estates were granted a large size of land. One of the affected farmers, DB, remembers that the appeal was taken to the *Caffee* Oromia (Oromia Regional Council) by a group of elders who were elected by the community. This informant narrates the case as “At the beginning, we went to Caffee Oromia to appeal that our land is robbed and the compensation is not fair and sufficient. Nobody listened to us. They advised us to go back home and live on what we were given. They did not care”.

This informant told me that the representatives of the *jaarsa biyyaa* (community elders) were informed that there could be no change to what had already happened except receiving the cash compensation meant for them. In the meantime, public and private development activities continued widening their coverage increasing in number and sizes in all directions. The farmers never stopped complaining. In 2010, a section of the farmers’ community who was living in *Gandda 01* (*kebele 01*, the smallest administrative unit) prepared and submitted a formal petition to the Office of the Oromia Regional State President. This petition was signed by about 260 people of different age groups ranging

from as young as 18 to as old as 82 years. Of these petitioners, 150 (57.7 %) were male while the remaining 110 (43.3%) were female. (See list of the petitioners in Annex 4). This shows that people of all age group were aware of the changes and its impacts in the locality although their attempt remained fruitless and unheard since there was no official response to their petition. (See the petition and list of petitioners in Annex 2).

There were three major concerns that were presented in the petition. The first one refers to the lack of good governance and transparency in the utilization of public funds. Here, the community questioned the budget utilization procedures and quality of the services. Pertaining to this, it was indicated that every government project expenditure in the municipality had increased by 100% by the time this petition was submitted. Secondly, the social services such as water, electricity and education were reported to be inefficient and of less quality. The last major problem includes matters pertaining to the employment, assignment and capacity of the government employees in different offices of the town administration. This was labelled as *rakkina siyaasaa* (political problem). The petition showed that more than 80% of the workers in the various offices were all relatives of one another while more than 50% of them came from one particular locality. A deep interpretation of this *rakkina siyaasaa* could be made in the sense that these petitioners were complaining that they and their children were not represented in the local administrative structure. That was lack of participation and thereby lack of trust. Evidence that substantiates this complaint was an opinion given by a farmer in a public meeting held on December 14, 2012 in the public hall of the town. While explaining what had happened to them by the people who were assigned from the top to manage the

municipality, the man said: *Amma nuyyuu nama barate qabina. Maali.* (Now we have educated people. Why?)

After two years of the first petition, another one written on August 17, 2012 was submitted to the municipality. This petition was signed by about 930 people organized by the leadership of relatively educated young people among the community. From that time onwards, everyone in the town was excited with this issue. Young people were entirely enthusiastic looking forward for winning attention for their worries about their contemporary problems and their future.

This petition was much more organized and more formal than the former (See Annex 5) and was submitted to the municipality where copies were made to eight different offices: Office of the Regional President, Office of Dh.D.U.O (OPDO, a ruling party in the regional state), Oromia Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission, Ethiopian Human Rights Council, Ethiopian Human Rights Commission, and public and private media agencies, including foreign ones.

There were some major issues raised in this petition. First, it sought an official explanation for the interview given by the Mayor on ፍፍተ- ነፃነት, *Finote Netsanet* (a weekly news paper, September 8, 2012, p.16). The cause of the request for explanation was the interview that the Mayor gave to the reporter of the same news paper stating that there were no residents who were denied a legal land ownership certificate (site plan) for their land possession. However, the petitioners complained in the application that the Mayor's opinion was far from the reality on the ground that there was no one who had

practically secured a legal certificate. Second, this petition states that 90% of the people who owned land were not residents of the town but unknown people from somewhere else. Moreover, the petition showed that the petitioners were told to wait until their case was decided upon by a higher body. Finally, they took a position not to wait any longer but take the case to the court of law. However, the case was not presented before a law - court, until I formally completed my fieldwork.

The young leaders of the resistance followed an almost similar procedure to complain that they were not given the land they were promised. In order to know the whole story, I had an in-depth interview with one of the active members of the young, BS, in Dale Dambal village. The informant told me that, in 2002 E.C. (2009/10), a meeting was called to inform the farmers that their land was wanted for development activities. In that meeting, in addition to discussing many development related matters, the authorities promised that every household would be given a 500 m² plot of land for house construction, while every child (above 18 years of age) was promised a 140 m² plot of land. Soon after, in both *ganda* (kebeles), about 420 young people were registered for the same purpose. Then the land was divided and a lot was drawn. Out of the 420 people, only 300 could get the chance of securing the land while the remaining 120 were advised to wait for further decisions. In the meantime, land permit and issuing of site plans were suspended for unlimited period of time. My informant, BS, in the interview I made on November 23, 2012, further elaborates the situation as follows:

We presented our petition to the chairman of the *Ganda*. But he told us that he did not know anything about our case. Then we had a general meeting with the Mayor to discuss the matter. In the meeting the Mayor said “you can go anywhere; you cannot make any change”. Then we went to the regional government to talk to the President but we were not successful because they did not take our case seriously. Then we went to the regional government to talk to the authorities in the Land Administration and Environmental Protection Bureau. Again this Bureau told us to go to the Finfinne Zuria Special Zone. The administration of the special zone could not help us either. Finally, we found out that they all are the same.

The above two major petitions had many elements in common which indicate that the cases were perpetuating. As the situation was worsening and complicated, yet not addressed, the community began to look for other alternatives to have their voice heard. The choice they had was using local and foreign mass media as a last resort to express their grievances and resist to further actions. In this respect, both print media and electronic media were in use between August and December 2012. The following subsections of this chapter will discuss how these media were used and what impacts they had for the success of the intended objectives.

6. 2. 2 Print Media

Media can be instrumental for individuals, groups, or governments for a number of purposes. It can be for expressing opinions or feelings about a situation one experiences at some point in time. Groups may employ certain media to claim for their collective rights or set agenda for governments regarding their specific concerns. Internal organizations might also use media to intervene with human or animal rights. Governments, on the other hand, could use the media for introducing new policies, for propaganda, for campaigning in political rallies, and many more purposes.

The use of media seems to be highly valued among the farmers who were complaining about their status in Laga Xafo - Laga Dadhi town. Print media, particularly newspapers, were the main instruments that the people used to express their grievances and thereby their resistance. These media were local private newspapers of which the most frequently used newspaper was ፍኖተ-ነገነት (*Finote Netsanet*). Although there are no sufficient private newspapers in Ethiopia, this one was among a few that were found in the market. As land expropriation and farmers' grievances continued, a series of articles with various titles that explained the situation in the town were edited in this newspaper. All of the writers of the articles were unidentified people with pen names. The following discussion is based on an article edited in the newspaper on ነሐሴ 1 ቀን 2004 ዓ.ም (August 8, 2012). An Afaan Oromo speaker who reads the name of the writer of the following article in the newspaper might stick eyes on the name *Iyya Dabarsaa*. Literally, in Afaan Oromo, *Iyya* means shouting, yelling, an outcry, or an objection. *Dabarsaa* is to pass something, some information, or an object to someone else. Therefore, this pen name seems to be intentionally coined to capture the eyes of the readers by way of requesting them to pass his message to others for communicating the writer's position (See the news paper article under Annex 4).

(ሰሚ እስከናገኝ እንጮሃለን ፤ሰማይና ምድርም ይጮሃሉ by Iyya Dabarsaa, ፍኖተ-ነፃነት, August 8, 2012: 9)

The writer kicks-off his article begins his writing with a four line poem which I have translated as follows:

<u>ሰሚ እስከናገኝ እንጮሃለን ፤ሰማይና ምድርም ይጮሃሉ</u>	<u>We cry ;the sky and the land cry, too</u>
ጉልበት እስከሚዝል ጀምበር እስከሚትጠልቅ ጠማማዉ እስኪቃና ጎባጣዉ እስታረቅ እሪ እንላለን እጮሃለን ገና ተገፎ እስከናየዉ የበደል ደመና	We cry, cry and cry , until our energy wears out, Till the sun stops its light; We cry , cry and cry till it gets right, Until the cloud of injustice peters out.

Source: *Finote Nestanet* (August 8, 2012, page 9)

Note: The English version is a contextual translation by the researcher.

The article sums up the concerns of the community in lines appealing that the concerned body should take the measures recommended:

- Native dwellers, farmers, should be certified for the ownership of their land.
- Evicting farmers from their farm land should be stopped as soon as possible.

- As more number of site plans was produced in comparison with the official population of the town, the causes of this act should be investigated by a legal body.
- People who owned the land distributed in the name of the young people in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town should be known.
- Corrupt and rent seekers in the municipality should be brought before the law.
- Source of the administrators' wealth should be investigated by the Anti-Corruption Commission.
- The past and present leadership should be evaluated in consultation with the community.

In addition, a series of articles were edited calling for action to address several issues for four consecutive weeks until the newspaper was banned by the government. One of the articles was the one edited in the same newspaper on Tuesday, August 15, 2012 and aimed at describing the actors who directly or indirectly participated in the land expropriation and illegal land markets forcing the farmers to lose their established way of life.

The writer of the above article, Who is Selling Oromia, claims that he/she was born to Oromo parents in Kotebe area to the west of Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town and east of Addis Ababa. He/she says that he/she belongs to the Gullale Oromo *Gosa* (clan) which is a section of the larger Tulama Oromo. He/She tells the history of Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town stating that the name was coined from two rivers, Laga Xafo and Laga Dadhi rivers

which later join and provide water for the Laga Dadhi Dam which supplies water for Addis Ababa.

The writer, in the middle of his /her article, questions the meaning of development and what it looks like. This writer illustrates that there were many development projects including flower farms and real estates in all directions in and near the small towns around Addis Ababa. He/she argues that land was grabbed in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town in the name of development where the investors profited in millions while the farmers misused the meagre cash compensation they were given and became destitute. Towards the end of the article, it is shown that the ruling party (Oromo People's Democratic Organization, OPDO) fails to protect the rights of the people in the town. Finally, the author complains that law was not enforced as per the Constitution of the Ethiopian Federal Democratic Republic which states that land is not subject to sale (Article 40.1).

On December 13, 2012, another article appeared in the same newspaper, ፍፍትነት, *Finote Netsanet* (Vol.1, No.62. pages 10 -11) with a pen name ቀለሙ ሁንኛዉ (Kelemu Hunengaw). This article seems to be the end of all the articles in that it was written to praise members of the farming community who had struggled to protect their land. This article develops an analogy by citing what King Ahab had made to a poor farmer, Naboth, in Israel as stated in the Old Testament (1ኛ ነገሥት 16: 30). Although the writer of the article does not properly cite the story in the Bible, it is true that it was stated in the First Kings (Chapter 21:1 - 4) of the Bible that King Ahab abused his power to take

Naboth's vine yard whereas this farmer was not at all willing to give it away. The Amharic version of the story in the article is as follows:

አክሐብ እግዚአብሔር የእስራኤልን ህዝብ እንዲመራ ከሰጠው የንጉሥነት ሥልጣንና ከቸረው ሀብትና ጥበብ ይልቅ የኢዝራኤልውያን የናቡቴን የወይን ቦታ ሊነጠቀው ተነሳ። ምስኪኑ ናቡቴ ከአባቶቹ የወረሰውን የአባቶቹ የታሪክ አሻራ ያረፈበትን የወይን ሥፍራ ለቀጣይ ትውልድ እንዲያስተላልፍ በኑዛዜ ያገኘውን ለም የወይን መሬት ፤ አያት ቅድመ አያቶቹ ከግብፁ ፈርኦን ቤት ባርነት ተላቀው አምላካቸው ካወረሳቸው የተሰፋይቱ ምድር ያቆዩለትን የወይን እርሻ ንጉሰ አክሐብ ተመኘና “ ... በቤቴ አቅራቢያ ነዉና የአትክልት ቦታ አድርገዉ ዘንድ የወይን ቦታህን ስጠኝ ። ስለ እርሱም ከእርሱ የተሸለ ቦታ እሰጥሁ ወይም ብትወደድ ግምቱን ገንዘብ እሰጥአለሁ” አለዉ ። ናቡቴ ግን የዋዛ አልነበረም። በአባቶቹ ድርድርን አያውቅም። አክሐብ ንጉሰ ሰለሆነ አልፈራዉም ። ከአፍ እስከገደፉ የታጠቀ የጦር ሀይል በኖረዉም ልቡ አልራደም ። ዘራፍ አለ ናቡቴ! “ የአባቶቼን ርስት እሰጥህ ዘንድ እግዚአብሔር ያርቅልኝ ” አለዉ ፍርጠም ብሎ ። አሜን! አሁንም እንዲህ አይነት ነገሶታትን እግዚአብሔር ከኛም ዘንድ ያርቅልኝ! (**ፍኖተ ነፃነት** ቅጽ 2 ፤ ቁጥር 62፡10)።

The original English version of the story in the Old Testament is given below:

Sometime later there was an incident involving a vineyard belonging to Naboth the Jezreelite. The vineyard was in Jezreel, close to the palace of Ahab, king of Samaria.² Ahab said to Naboth, Let me have your vineyard to use it for a vegetable garden, since it is close to my palace. In exchange I will give you a better vineyard or, if you prefer, I will pay you whatever it is worth.³ But Naboth replied, “The LORD forbids that I should give you the inheritance of my ancestors⁴. So Ahab went home, sullen and angry because Naboth the Jezreelite had said, I will not give you the inheritance of my ancestors.

The writer presents the story in a way that suits the case of Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi farmers who were resisting giving away their land. The analogy is reasonably sounding in that the farmers in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town were objecting to the land expropriation which could erase their history if continued. The story in the Bible tells us that Naboth is claiming that he would not give away the land he inherited from his ancestors. In Oromo culture such an ancestral land is termed as “*Lafa Abbakoo*,” meaning ‘my father’s land’. In this context the term ‘father’ does not only refer to the natural father but also to the forefathers that one even cannot count after some generations but senses their presence through oral narratives. The Oromo people know that land has been inherited from father

to son. Now the history that links the dead with the living through land inheritance is blocked since land is no more inherited but bought in the immature capitalist model in Ethiopia. In general, Naboth's story in the Bible tells that people have been abusing their power to dispossess others who are powerless.

As the case remained unresolved uncertainties continued to rise in the town, using print media as a tool to express the farmers' grievances and resistances appeared again on October 16, 2013 in one of the private newspapers, *ኢትዮ - ምኅደር* (Ethio- Mehedar, p.11). The time was when I had almost completed writing the first draft of some of the chapters for this dissertation. The title of the article appeared in this volume of the newspaper was “*ለገጣፎ ለገዳዲ ፤ በብድር የተሸጠች ከተማ*” (በ ቀለሙ ሁነኛዉ) which is to mean **A Town Sold by Loan** (by a writer with a penname Kelemu Hunegnaw). I have included the full text in Annex 4.

This broader explanation of the situation in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town was beyond my expectation in all my data gathering stages. The writer of this article presented the overall situation of “land grabbing” and argues that Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town is one of the victims of this phenomenon. In addition, with matters pertaining to land, he contends that there were more than sufficient evidences for the prevalence of corruption although there was no government body to take corrective measures. Saying this, the writer provides points that he thought would support his position. With enough knowledge of corruption in land transaction, the local people called land as *ከራ አባ ሂንቃብኔ*, meaning ‘a property without an owner’. In Oromo culture a wealth or a property not properly managed is assumed to be without an owner. They express this with *horii abbaa hinqabne* (cattle

without owner), *lafa abbaa hinqabne fakaata* (it looks like a land with no owner), *qeeyee abbaa hinqabne* (a compound with no owner), to mention a few sayings. It is to mean that if land is not well managed it is considered as a property with no owner and vulnerable for abuse.

The writer of the above article, **Who is Selling Oromia** (in *Finote Netsanet*), argues that “land grabbing” in the town was carried out by actors who were in top government positions, including the State Minister of Ethiopian Revenue and Customs Authorities who were recently accused of grand corruption. On the other side, the local people were losing their land with a compensation rates between 0.70 cents and 26.00 Birr for the preceding years. The writer concludes argument stating that the lease price was not collected for the land leased out for private development projects in the town. Finally, the following statement is directly taken from the last paragraph of the article to show that farmers who were living in *Cimmisii* village were forced to leave the land after they made it ready for cultivation. “... ገበሬዎች መሬታቸውን በሚገባ አርሰውና አለስልሰው ለመዝራት ሲዘጋጁ ቦታው ለልማት ይፈለጋል በሚል ከሰላሳ ሄክታር በላይ የታረሰ ማሳ ጦሙን እንዲያድር ተደርጓል”.

This statement expresses that there were nearly 30 hectares of crop lands that were expropriated even after the farmers had prepared for cropping.

6.2.3 Electronic Media²⁸

As stated above, media play an important role in telling and retelling the opinions and feelings of people about their contemporary world. The leaders of the resistance in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town were well aware of the significance of electronic media in making

²⁸ Farmers have made use of the advancement of technology in today's world of the information age.

their people's voice heard. As they had education levels ranging from secondary school to university degree, it was not that much difficult for them to decide which media would benefit them to achieve their goals. By then, they knew that all the local electronic media were under the control of the government and, therefore, would not serve their interest. Therefore, foreign media were chosen as a means. This was a more sophisticated and reliable approach for the leaders of the resistance since they felt that their case would get attention both nationally and internationally.

The two foreign electronic media effectively used were Voice of America (VOA) radio and Deutsche Welle Radio of Germany. These two radio stations broadcast their programs in different languages spoken in Ethiopia. For example, Voice of America (VOA) has allocated one hour air time for its Amharic program every day whereas 30 minutes air time was allocated for both Afaan Oromo and Tigringa programs every day except on weekends.

As I stated earlier, a more organized petition was delivered to the Municipality and the Regional State Council in September 2012. On September 9, one of my key informants, BT, gave me a telephone call and told me that farmers had become serious about their land issues. The information he gave me was the following: *Qoteebulaan fala fide. Iyyachatti jira. Gara nama dhibba ja'a kan taan walii mallatteessanii galfataniiru.* (Farmers are becoming serious. About six hundred people have signed a petition and submitted it).

At the same time, he mentioned the name of the people who facilitated the signing of the petition. Then I started caring for the matter and, the next day, went to my youth informants to be sure of it. The time was when the Ethiopian New Year was celebrated. These young men advised me to stay away from the area for fear that the urban administrators might suspect me of being involved in the movement, which actually was out of my knowledge. Thus, I had to follow the matter at a distance for about a week but with frequent contact with my two key informants. On October 6, 2012, I called BT in the evening at about seven o'clock to check if there was anything new regarding the resistance movement. My fifteen minutes interview resulted in the following words of the informant: *Kalleessa ganama ijjollee torba hidhanii jiru VOA irratti ibsa kennitan jedhanii*. (Yesterday the police arrested seven young men for giving an interview to the VOA).

After that, I decided to meet BT to know more about the action taken by the local government and, therefore, had an appointment for October 8, 2012. On this day BT told me that another big event had taken place the day before. He said that, following the arrest of the resistance movement leaders, many farmers gathered in the compound of the municipality to complain that their children who were arrested should be released immediately and unconditionally for they were elected by the community. The management of the urban administration stopped its usual activities since the people continued shouting that they would not leave the compound until their children were set free. Soon, the Mayor organized an ad hoc committee to handle the matter for which my informant, BT, was a member. After the committee had a short meeting in the Mayor's

office, the Mayor promised that the seven people would be released the following day. That was realized and they were released on bail on October 8, 2012 after I had had my interview with BT.

In the meantime, I continued my effort to get the list of the people in the petition together with conducting frequent observations and informal discussions with people in the streets and cafes. On October 10, 2012, I called BT, my key informant, to request if he could get me a list of the petitioners. He promised it but could not do so in a short period of time. The tension between the municipal administration and the leaders of the farmers' movement became stern. On October 10, 2012, VOA, as part of its one hour Amharic program transmitted an interview with two farmers, a man and a woman, regarding the severity of the challenges they face due to land dispossession for development projects in the town.

Similarly, on October 11, 2012, VOA, in its Afaan Oromo program, conducted an interview with one of the leaders of the movement. This person, SL, was a member of the Municipal Council in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town. Since the interview was long, a part of it is extracted and presented as follows:

I am a resident and member of the municipal council. Firstly, the land that is taken from the farmers is supposed to be used for house construction of the residents. Now the land is taken by people whom we do not know. Houses are constructed but we do not know the owners. We know that land belongs to the government and the people of Ethiopia, these farmers have been using the land for several years. Farmers are not informed of why and when they should leave the land. Even the size of land to be expropriated is not clear to many. *Qoteebulaan jiraatus hinjirannes bulchaa Gandaafi maandisootatu irra deemaa*. The rate and amount of cash compensation is not known. Land is measured in the absence of

the land holder. The people in the municipality call the farmers simply to take the cash compensation at the end.

This position of the above speaker is consistent with Logan's (1995:23) findings. In his study on the type of resistances as a result of the development of two American urban centres, Tucson and Albuquerque, he found out that "the first to resist were residents with access to political power who felt no qualms in asking the political system to redress their grievances."

On October 5, 2012, Friday evening, a VOA Amharic correspondent from Addis Ababa reported the following.

Until this news is produced, the police arrested seven people. These are Mr Mekonnen Tesfaye, Mr Gemechu Worku, Mr Sisay Lemma, Mr Getachew Teferra, Mr Diriba Guda, Mr Metiku Negusu and Mr Endalkachew Mengistu. According to official sources, police began arresting the people starting from 8 a.m. in the morning, probably by securing a court order the day before. Although police did not have a search warrant it has searched the houses of the arrested people. While searching, some documents including a list of 900 people who petitioned to be given a site plan for their houses was found. Internal sources of information indicate that a judge of the court in the municipality went to the police station and talked to the detainees. Even though the people under arrest asked for the right of bail, they were denied it. The judge ordered the public prosecutor to investigate the case and present the people to the court on October 9, 2012 (Meleskachew Amaha, VOA Correspondent from Addis Ababa).

In this report the journalist stressed the seriousness of the case stating that the legal institution in the town was not comfortable with the situation and decided to involve in the resolution of the problem as soon as possible. One major legal issue raised in the above news was the violation of human rights. The correspondent expressed that the police searched the houses of the movement leaders without securing a search warrant

from the court. Notwithstanding some legal exceptions in the country's criminal or civil procedures, the above action can be considered as a measure taken against the intent of the Constitution, Article 26 (1), of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia which guarantees that "Everyone has the right to privacy. This right shall include the right not to be subjected to searches of his home, person or property, or the seizure of any property under his personal possession."

Furthermore, the Constitution in its Article 26(3) guarantees that:

Public officials shall respect and protect these rights. No restrictions may be placed on the enjoyment of such rights except in compelling circumstances and in accordance with specific laws whose purposes shall be the safeguarding of national security or public peace, the prevention of crimes or the protection of health, public morality or the rights and freedoms of others.

On Sunday, October 10, 2012, at about 11:00 am, I called my key informant, BT, and asked what was going on after the seven people were arrested. He happily informed me that they had almost settled the case through a *jarssummaa*, negotiation, and all the arrested people were released on bail. As stated above, he was one of the *jarssotaa* (community elders) who were nominated by the Mayor to mediate the petitioners and the urban administration until a permanent solution was found.

At this point, one may ask why the leaders of the new movement resorted to using foreign media. As I have indicated, most of the print and electronic media in Ethiopia are owned by the government and, therefore, the leaders were not confident enough to use local media except the private newspapers mentioned above. This might emanate from fear of being suspected in mobilising people against the acts of the local government

which might be interpreted as going against the development endeavours of the country at large. In connection with this, GT (in my interview October 11,2012) told me why they decided to move in that way and use electronic media, particularly radios to express their discontent regarding the whole process of land expropriation and land use rights. Although this informant was a fluent speaker of Afaan Oromo, he often switched between Amharic and the Afaan Oromo language. So I asked him to continue speaking in one of the languages convenient for him where he unconsciously finished the interview in Amharic.

The preparation of the master plan was completed in 2007 and site plans were issued in 2008. Surprisingly enough we were not informed of it. The youth were asked to register for site plans. Why was it planned to accommodate the young people before their parents, the owners of the land? It was not done in an organized way. I suspect this was done for fear that the youth may come up with another question. The administrators think that it is enough to address the problems of the youth as the parents may not be a challenge. This might be one of the techniques they used. But we cannot use government media to explain all this. Do you understand?

This informant complains that the way the local government managed land issues and the land losing farmers was not transparent, particularly at the top of the municipal leadership. I asked this informant why the expected transparency and commitment was not there. Since the Amharic version of the interview is too long to put here, the following is an extract in which the informant explained matters related with transparency and other issues of concern:

The land allocated for investment projects and for residential areas is different. In the case of land for private house construction, one should not be displaced since the main purpose is to make people get living places. It should not be done by displacing someone. Any national or international law does not allow this. But it

has happened in Laga Xafo Laga-Laga Dadhi town. This is the cause for raising our question. We have even started our question stating that our human right is violated. Secondly, the authorities are responsible for not serving us, the indigenous people, because indigenous people have special rights, special rights for living. They should not be displaced. Why the indigenous people could not be certified for their land ownership? Why doesn't it begin from them? Years pass by but no change. Nobody knows the number of the site plans prepared. Nobody knows who has secured them. Whenever we ask for legal ownership of land, they tell us to keep quiet. This generation cannot keep quiet anymore! Enough! Of course we do not object to the newcomers' land access; they are citizens of the country. That is not our question. Some new comers take ten to fifteen legalized plots of land. We oppose to the land grabbing under the network of a few individuals. This is corruption. The procedure is not transparent. The authorities force us not to question but negotiate with them. We do not want that. They are responsible for the illegal land distribution.

In my interview I found out that this informant was questioning the whole procedure arguing that the local people, indigenous people, should not be displaced in order to satisfy the interests of a few new comers in the name of development. From his opinion I could guess that this informant had read *United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* (2004) regarding the rights of internally displaced people. He was also raising the question of human rights by challenging that what was practised was not at all supported by national or international laws. As to his opinion, since the procedures were not transparent and the system is corrupt, the community would not further tolerate such practices. This shows the continuity of the resistance.

6.2.4 Plots against Local Government Plans

Plotting against local government meetings and plans was one of the approaches that the farmers in the town used in order to object to land dispossession and urban maladministration practices in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi. As I stated in the foregoing

sections, the farmers' resistance against all forms of local administration malpractices reached its peak in September 2012 and the subsequent two months. September is the first month of the year according to the Ethiopian calendar when government institutions often begin to fully promote the implementation of their annual plans. The government, in principle, promotes community participation in initiating and implementing local government annual plans for development activities. In line with this, a series of meetings were arranged by the municipal administration (*bulchinsa magaala*) in order to discuss the annual activity and budget plans for the year. For example, I could not attend two such meetings which could not be held as a result of the agitation made by the leaders of the new farmers' resistance movement. On November 2, 2012, *Kebele 02* Administration called a meeting for this same purpose but failed since the farmers were not ready to attend the meeting until their concerns were addressed by the urban administration.

A very misleading nature of the situation for a layman was the fact that every individual who availed herself or himself for the meeting said that she or he had no problem with the government. They openly spoke out that they love their country, like their government, and always go for the ruling party. That was the way leaders of the movement oriented their people. Of course, this, to some extent, helped them to escape from being suspected that they were supported by or supporters of some of the opposition parties in the country. However, this approach could not help them to win empathy from the representatives of the regional government who came to lead the public meetings.

Pretending that they had no problems with the government, the youth and other community members gathered in front of the public hall many times but did not enter the

hall. They continued discussing about their problems and how to continue their resistance until the end. The following picture shows an episode of such an experience.



The youth plotting against a local government meeting
(Photo by the researcher, Friday Nov.30, 2012)

Another meeting was arranged for the following week (Friday, November 9, 2012) whose result was not different. On this day, people gathered in front of the hall and stood here and there in groups. Most of them were young people while others were women and men of adult age. Some young people were moving from one group to another to agitate so that everybody would refuse to enter the meeting hall. This plot was successful, as the meeting was postponed to the following week. The following picture shows while people discussing before deciding to boycott the meeting.



Young people at crossroads before the meeting

(Photo by the researcher, Friday Nov.9, 2012)

Continuous discussions and consultations were made between the leaders of the movement and the local urban administration before the next meeting. In this way an agreement was reached that the next meeting would be conducted in the presence of the representatives from the Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO). Therefore, the next meeting was held with the chairmanship of a top official from the political organization (OPDO). The meeting went on for more than two hours in which many questions were asked. Different from the questions asked in both print and electronic media, new and unexpected issues were raised. One of these was the question of representation of the local community in the leadership of the municipal administration.

As I have indicated in Chapter 5, people have the feeling that they are marginalised particularly in the assignment of top officers in various sectors. Consistent with this, an old man in the first row said: *Amma ijoolleen keenya barataniru. Isaanuu nubulchuu danda'u.* (Now that our children are educated; they can administer us). This opinion was commended by the farmers and their children in the meeting. True, people often criticize the previous regimes for education was not expanded to the suburbs of Addis Ababa and the farmers' children could not advance in their education. However, after the present EPRDF-led government came to power in 1991, education was one of the sectors that received great attention and the community in this study area has much benefited from the expansion of education in the country.

As many more similar questions were added from the young people, I came to know that people in the urban administration leadership, including the Mayor, came from other places and the questions were addressing dissatisfaction over power and challenging the actual principles of participation and representation.



A public meeting discussing causes of the resistance (Dec.7, 2012)

6.2.5 Resistance Manifestations through Supernatural Power

It is common for someone who feels that he/she is powerless or helpless to resort to seeking support from the supernatural force to intervene in the unbearable situation he/she finds himself/herself in. For religious people like the farmers in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town, it is often the case to resort to the protection of *Waaqaa* (God) when they feel that they lack power to resist challenges in their lives. I have clearly observed this feeling among the farming community.

On July 2, 2012, in Dalle Dambal Village, one of the farmers' villages, where I had interviewed two farmers two days before, everything was in its usual situation. I spent the next days in the university to get some reference materials. On July 4, 2012, I went back to the field to talk to some young people in the village. As soon as I arrived there, at about 9:00 a.m in the morning, I started roaming around for my usual observation. On my

way I met a farmer with unhappy and mourning face gazing at a far place beyond a small temporary stream meandering from west to east in the village. It was rainy season in the area. I knew that farmers were busy in the wet seasons and, therefore, was surprised why that farmer stood idle in the morning of a working day. Saying *attam bultan* (good morning, an expression used to greet a guest or an elderly person, or in respect of someone in different contexts which is common in Oromo culture) I started my communication with the man. I also asked him if he could spare some time before he went for work and I understood that he had enough time to stay with me when he told me that it was not a working day. *Harra hojiin hin hojetamuu beeki. Ayyanaa.* (People in our village do not work today. It is a holiday). “Don’t you know that?” the man asked me. Soon it came to my mind that the people are followers of Orthodox Christianity. I apologized for my misunderstanding and said ‘*Harri Madanalamiidha edaa* (It is Holy Saviour day).

Among the Orthodox Christians, it is not allowed to work on some specific days on which they celebrate the Saint’s days. The day was the 27th of Sene (June) in the Amharic Calendar. It was *Madanalemii* (Holy Saviour Day). According to the doctrine of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, this name stands for Jesus Christ of Nazareth in the New Testament. On such days including the Saints and Angels’ days, villagers do not work but engage in such activities as visiting relatives, settling disputes, or participating in some Saints’ memorial festivities organized by some households. Every household has its own preference to prepare a memorial celebration for one of the Saints or angels or both. In addition, in this month, most elderly people fast because it is traditionally known as *Sene*

Tsom and religiously called *Yehawariat Tsom*, a continuous fasting of about 34 days starting from June 8 to July 12 every year in memory of the fasting of the 12 Apostles after the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

As I said earlier, the man I was talking to was still in a deep thought which I could not understand. I asked him if there was anything wrong that morning. Then he said, “Last week wind came from nowhere and demolished houses. This is a curse. God began to act like men. I think God takes vengeance against misdeeds”.

I soon started to think why the man was blaming God. Of course, I knew that human beings acts were altering the lives of the villagers unusually. Damages caused by the wind were additional but natural. I asked if he could take me to the place to see what had happened. He agreed. I saw houses, some were squatters, whose roofs were totally removed, walls crashed, and doors broken. The squatters were those that were built on the plots of land that were illegally bought from the farmers by some migrants from other places. I also found a family which was living in a warehouse rented from an individual who was constructing his house on the site given for the Ethiopian diaspora people there. The area is locally called *matoo arbaa*, which means ‘one hundred-forty’. It is a newly coined name to show that the size of the land given for each individual diaspora for residential purpose is 140 m², hence the name of the site.

During that morning, it was difficult for me to stay in the village and talk to people. So I had to go back to the main road side to stay in one of the restaurants to have coffee and get time to plan my next work. While I was sitting on the veranda of *Baarii fi Restoranti*

Dagim (Dagim Bar and Restaurant) at about 10:35 in the morning, three young boys between 20 and 25 years of age came to sit next to me. They started discussing their business affairs, about their partners, and their usual daily gossips. It took me some time to associate myself with them. While they were talking about the cold weather and the kind of breakfast they had, I got the chance to communicate and keep the conversation going. Two of them were Afaan Oromo speakers while the third one was from Wolayta, one of the nationalities in the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples Regional State, in search of job. He was passive listener while the two were talking and laughing. I approached one of the Afaan Oromo speakers and asked if he was a son of one of the farmers in the town. He confirmed this:

My name is TA. I completed grade ten two years ago. We have our own work by organizing ourselves into a micro and small enterprise development association. We were 15 at the beginning but one has withdrawn. We are 14 now. We remove soils from different construction sites of individuals and companies. It was last year that we contributed 1000 Birr each to start the business. We are all men. The name of our association is *Waldaa Waliigaltee* (Waliigaltee Association). We are profitable and now we have raised our capital to 500,000 Birr within this one year. We have decided to buy an earth moving machine for further business expansion. In addition, we have a long plan to involve in the production of construction materials such as hollow blocks.

Although this young man told me all the above information regarding their new job, my purpose was to seek for further information about the damage caused by the storm. So I asked him if he knew what happened to people and their properties because of the heavy rain and wind. Then he said, “Sometimes God acts like humans. It is the work of God. Many moon light houses are damaged. Did you see it? I think God is in retribution now”.

This feeling was shared by the letter to the editor of *ፍኖት-ት ጸነት* (Finote Netsanet) on August 8, 2012. The writer argues that God got angry at the unjust acts of the leadership in the town. According to him/her God revenges acts by bringing a serious storm which damaged the health station, buildings of the Technical and Vocation School on Friday Sene 22, 2012. On Monday (Sene 24, 2012), the same thing happened which damaged the Office of the Mayor and a few houses. *ይህ የእግዚአብሔር ክፍሎች ነው*. This is the arm of God. God does not tolerate human's mistreatment and misery in the name of development/ said the writer.

The writer used a certain analogy by citing the Bible, that God punishes wrong doers like He did with the Egyptian Pharaoh who enslaved the Hebrews for about-thirty years, out of His will, where the Pharaoh was later defeated. In the same manner, this writer argues that God caused the storm to punish wrong doers for displacing the farmers from their land. This shows that the community does not have any power to defend itself and has left the case to the Creator, *Waaqaa*. This form of resistance is not as explicit as the other three. Yet, one can see the underlying interest or wishes of the individual or the group who hold the above opinion. This entirely amplifies the role of religion as a means of protection in a desperate situation.

6.2.6 Lawsuit

Although land dispossession has its own history around Addis Ababa, taking one's grievance or complaints to the court was not common among the farmers who had lost their land under different regimes in Ethiopia. But I found out that a farmer whose land

was taken away for development activities in the town sued the urban administration for it expropriated the accuser's land. Although he had complained for several times at the municipal level, he was not heard. Therefore, he decided to sue the Municipality at Oromia High Court in 2010. On May 31, 2012, I found this man in the compound of the municipal administration while he was taking care of his compensation issues. I interviewed him and he narrated the whole steps he followed and the final outcome of his lawsuit as follows:

My name is NM. Two years before, I sued the administrators for they took my land and gave it to others without paying me compensation. The court ordered them to reconsider the case. However, there was no measure taken by the municipality. Rather they began to revenge for I took them to the court. Now I have 1000 square meters of land which I got during the Dergue Regime in *sefera* (*sefera* is a village established during the rural vilagization process). I have planned to construct houses on it for rent. *Maal gonaree* (What can we do?)

In this interview, NM is suspicious of the trustworthiness of the justice system in dealing with land disputes in the locality. Rationally, if a certain higher legal body refers a case to another at a lower position, it is often expected that it is managed somehow. But this does not happen in the above case. I asked the man why he did not go back to the court to report that the local administrators could not act as ordered. He told me that the local administrators were harassing him for accused them and they might revenge if he push the case farther that.

6.3 Expectations and Realities

In this chapter, so far, I have presented different approaches that the farmers in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town used to react to the impacts of urbanization in their villages. As

indicated in the interview results with members of the community, they had reasons for their actions. At the same time, they expected that the resistance would be recognized by both the regional and the federal governments. Of course, I cannot say that their effort has remained fruitless. The alternatives they chose as a means of expressing their grievances helped them to be heard, if not listened to. Although they did not match with the expectations that the resisters had when they began their movement, there were some immediate outcomes. Using foreign media and submitting their petitions to some human rights organizations in the country had saved the leaders of the movement from being stressed by the local administration.

Whenever a certain group of individuals start thinking of resisting against a certain power, there could, in most cases, be a commitment or at least an expectation in favor of the resisters at the end of their actions. However, this may not always be true. The outcome of the farmers' resistance led by the youth in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town resulted in fleeting outcomes. Soon after the leaders who mobilized the farmers for resistance were arrested by the police, the civil servants in the municipality interrupted their work almost for a month lest they might be harassed by individuals who had grievances.

In October 2012, I went to the office of the legal department in the town and had an interview with a public prosecutor. He told me that people in different departments of the civil service in the municipality had stopped providing their usual services. He states the situation as follows: "People stopped working in the offices for over a month now. They

simply collect their salary. I think they took the right measure. Anyone can go to their office and harass them. It is right to hide themselves for some time”.

The result of the farmers’ action helped the civil servants to be aware of the actual intention and, that it was not merely a temporary event but an organized and conscious effort. From the regional government’s side, sometime in November 2012, all the five executive members of the municipal administration including the Mayor were dismissed from their position and new people were appointed in their place. Although this measure of removing old leadership and replacing them by new ones was one of the results of the resistance, the movement remained without addressing the major concerns. That is why the resistance had openly continued until the regional government Police Commission deployed riot police in the town for some fifteen days. From that month onwards, the case remained pending from both sides. Some of the top officials who lost their position in the urban administration were assigned to serve in other offices at the regional government level. On August 14, 2013, I went to the municipality to check if there was any development after my exit from the fieldwork. I interviewed the head of the Land Administration and Environmental Protection Office in the municipality where he informed me that some major actions were proposed but are not yet realized. One of the proposals was to raise the rate of cash compensation to 26.40 Birr per square meter of crop land and 16.50 Birr for grazing land (See the previous compensation rates in Chapter 5 for comparison). In addition, he informed me that the Oromia Land Administration had already proposed to issue site plans for farmers and their children aged 18 years and above. There was also a plan to offer special support for people who

would plan to engage in business activities other than agriculture. One of these supports would be land provision free of lease or without auction.

In conclusion, in resisting the contemporary action of land expropriation and displacement, the farmers had a good cause that losing their land might mean losing their history and social bonds. Detaching people like the Tulama Oromo in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town from their sense of identity associated with the area as their ancestral land would mean destroying the history of one people and replacing it with that of another people whose history is culturally traced somewhere else.

At the end, I could not find a better idea to conclude this chapter than drawing on the work of Chamberlin (2003). Dwelling on the relationship between land and the way people associate it with the making of their own history, Chamberlin (2003) published a book entitled *If This is Your Land Where are Your Stories: Finding Common Ground* to explain what he heard from a meeting between an Indian community in northwest British Columbia and some government officials who went to inform that the land was wanted for development projects.

The officials claimed the land for the government. The natives were astonished by the claim. They couldn't understand what these relative newcomers were talking about. Finally, one of the elders put what was bothering them in the form of a question. "If this is your land," he asked, "where are your stories?" He spoke in English, but then he moved into Gitksan, the Tsimshian language of his people – and told a story (Chamberlin 2003:1).

Similarly, from my informants' view, I learned that the farmers in Laga Xafo- Laga Dadhi town were forced to give away their land for people whose history and story

cannot be traced to that particular area. No one denies, in terms of urban development and economic and social transformations, that there are immense practical achievements that could change agricultural land into construction and manufacturing sites. That is mainly true for the young local people and immigrants who came to the area in search of a job.

CHAPTER SEVEN

TAMING NEW LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

In the foregoing chapters, it is shown that the farming community under study has experienced several challenges ranging from changing the means of their livelihood to the extent of losing the land resource that they have been using not only as a source of livelihood but also as a means of tracing their identity. Although it might be difficult to put back together the usual appearance, at least in the eyes of the farmers, there are attempts made by both the concerned individual farmers and the government to enable the land losing farmers adapt to the new urban way of life. From the farmers' side, they have begun to exercise some other means of livelihood activities other than their traditional farming. On the other hand, the Ethiopian government, at least in principle, promotes that any development project, be it private or public, should create job opportunities for the community that hosts the development projects. Development project owners in a particular area are, therefore, assumed to be abiding by this underlying supposition of the government's development plan. This chapter deals with the major commitments and alternatives chosen by the land losing farmers to face up to the adverse impacts of the whole urbanization process in this newly established town.

At the moment, members of the farming community that are affected by urbanization have been piloting many strategies to tackle the challenges. These strategies are encouraged by actors in both the government and the private investment projects that have had a major contribution for the alteration of the farmers' former living condition in

a relatively short period of time. At present, the farmers are engaged in many non - farming activities that they believe will sustain their survival.

7.1 The *Eegumsaa* Approach

Eegumsaa / guard/ is an alternative for the physically able male farmer household head to sustain himself and his family. It means simply serving, in most cases in the private companies. Before the inclusion of the farming community into the urban administration, this job was considered as a part-time work for some farmers who were spending most of their time on agricultural activities on their own land. However, since their land is expropriated, there are no activities that can fully be a source of their livelihood. Thus they, particularly male farmers, have resorted to serving as security guards in the development projects for which they are paid wages on weekly or monthly basis. Many of these farmers are serving in real estate projects, manufacturing, or even small private house construction sites owned by individuals. An informant, an engineer in one of the largest real estates in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town, told me that there were nearly 160 guards that were hired in the company and were serving on shift basis. Even though it was difficult to exactly tell whether all of them were land losing indigenous farmers in the area, I was informed by some of the guards in Country Club Real Estate Developers (CCD) that, at the beginning, when the government leased the land to the companies, the farmers and their children were promised job opportunities. In order to realize this, most of the real estates have now recruited the relatively unskilled or uneducated male household heads as security guards on their project sites.

In addition to the individual in-depth interview, a focus group discussion was made with some of the guards and the concerned authorities in the real estates in order to capture the opinion of the informants. At the same time, I frequently observed the daily activities of the guards. The findings show that the *eegumsa* approach was not a reliable or a sustainable means of income to maintain the livelihood of the guards. The following is an extract from the discussion I had with six guards:

My name is W. I used to live on farming. Now we do not want the construction of these houses (real estate houses). We have no other means of income. They took our land and started to construct houses on it. Now we are guards here. My salary is about six hundred. Our salary varies depending on our years of service. We serve day and night. They took a *maasaa* (nearly one fourth of a hectare of land) from me at the rate of 40 cents for one square meter.

While this man was talking, the second informant emotionally interfered and kept the discussion going on by saying “They took a hectare of land by giving me only eight thousand Birr. I am a guard here. My salary is 550 Birr”. The discussion continued with the opinion of the third person in the meeting who informed me that he had no land at all. “I am about 39 years of age. I have no land at the moment. I am a guard here. My salary is 350 Birr per month. I am educating my children”.

The three informants in the focus group discussion told me that each of them serves for 24 hours and gets off - duty for the next twelve hours. This was the usual practice. When they are off-duty, they work on their own individual routines which may be farming (for those who have some plots of remaining land), visiting relatives, going to markets, and engaging in other social affairs. The participants in this particular discussion agreed that the new job was not fetching them enough income and consequently their living

condition was deteriorating. The informants complained that owners of the real estates promised to help them in educating their children although that was not realized. This is clearly shown in the following view of W.

At the beginning, they (the company owners) promised to teach our children, but they did nothing. They did nothing for us. When we are absent from work, even for a day, they deduct about 50 Birr from our salary. Last week I went to attend the funeral ceremony of my aunt, and they deducted from my salary. There are people who could not get even this chance. My brother has lost all his land but he is not allowed to work here. We have now told you our problem from the bottom of our heart, what can you do for us? What else can I tell you more than this?



Eegdoota photo by the researcher (March 16,2012)

Although I had clearly informed my purpose of being there at the beginning of my consultation, these informants expected me to act in favor of them in averting the circumstances they were struggling with. In my observation and the discussions, I came to learn that the new urbanization process has made the people clueless about what to do in the future, except waiting from some other external body which, in my opinion, would

be fruitless effort. Their repeated question was “*Amma maal nuugootu?* /What can you do for us now? / In order to prove this argument, I asked the informants to tell me whether they had a clear plan for the future. The informants were entirely uncertain about their future. They have lost all or parts of their farm land through expropriation of land for public interests which has made them live a life without plan.

During my discussion and interview with the guards in two of the real estates, Ropack International Real Estate and Country Club Developers (CCD), I came across a lot of genuine views towards the present status of the people regarding the sources of their income and the level of satisfaction they maintain. Most of them told me that they got a monthly salary of 350 Birr up to 600 Birr. In addition, they had some plots of land outside the town and are still farming on part-time to supplement their income. In such a way agriculture became a part-time work for people who were once full-time farmers. Here, the power of urbanization is visible. For instance, after the group discussion, I had an in-depth interview with DB, one of the guards at his home which was found in the compound of the real estate project. My first visit to the family was on February 24, 2012, the first day on which I found only DB’s wife while she was herding sheep in front of her old house which would soon be removed from that area. After she told me that her husband was not at home, I requested her to spare some time to talk to me. She was hesitantly willing and told me the following:

He (DB) is a native here. He continued living during the Dergue regime too. I am the only wife of him. He is a guard in this company. I have given birth to eight children here in this house. Three are married; one is working here in this real estate as an electrician; one of my daughters is also a daily laborer. We have lost eight hectares of land. They took it. They gave us the compensation. When the man (owner of the real estate) first came here he promised us that he would construct us a house, and give us a lactating cow. I do not complain; I wish him long life for him; he gave us the cow. It has given birth to five calves since then.



A farmer's house being replaced by modern real estate villas

(Photo by the researcher, March 19, 2012)

This informant told me that her husband was a guard but retired. She repeatedly thanked the owner of the real estate. The woman also informed me that no land losing family except her husband got the chance to get a new house built for them. In that occasion, I was eager to know why this family was given such a special attention by the real estate company. The basic reason was resistance. Although farmers' resistance in the town was thoroughly discussed in Chapter Six, it is important at this point to see what others say how this retired guard, DB, had been resisting and thereby benefited a little better than others.

When I first arrived at the compound of the real estate, I met a veteran officer who was the Head of the General Service in the company. In describing how the company was supporting the land losing farmers in the area, he explained that there were many people who were employed as guards by mentioning DB as an example. Then I asked this officer to advice me on how to talk to DB. The man advised me that I had to be very careful while approaching DB for he is always drunk and very much aggressive against anyone who wants to talk to him. On the same day while I was heading to DB's house, I found a young man who was serving as a supervisor of the daily laborers in one of the construction sites in the real estate. I asked this young man if he could show me DB's house. He gave me the same advice that I received from the officer I mentioned above. The young man's words were the following:

It was me who was for the first time assigned to lead the group that was assigned to force DB and his family to leave the place for he had already taken compensation for the land. On that day he took out his gun and was about to shoot at me. God saved us all that day. Since then nobody talks to him. He still lives here. He is aggressive.

Doing so, the family lived more than six years in their old house encroached between new big villas of the real estate until March 2012 when the family was unable to resist any more but move to their new house which was found at the back of Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi Police Station in a village called Dalle Dambal. After three days of my observation in the compound, I went back to the same family to interview the man, DB, the retired guard. I found him in front of his endangered house. As usual I explained my objective to the man to which his immediate response, “Let it be; it might be good for us, but we have not seen any practical change. They asked us many times, but they did not help us”.

In this short statement of the retired guard, there was a feeling of hope and a feeling of dejection. Hope was in his words for he said “... *nuufuu shagadhaa*” to mean that my presence there and talking to the people might help them. There was also despondency in the words of the informant since he complained that other people interviewed him but did not make any improvement in his family’s situation. *Waan tokko waan nuradda’an hinqabnu* (We have gained nothing).

Leading me into the house, he continued complaining that he was asked many times such a question on the impacts of urban expansion though no solution was given. The house seemed to me that the family had never invested in it for many years for they knew that they would no longer live in it. My informant started to narrate the story saying that he

resisted for long time not to leave the place. Of course, before I met this informant, the real estate administrator told me that DB was a guard in the company being always a drunk and aggressive, and so I had to be watchful whenever I approach him. However, I found the man to be friendly and extremely extrovert. This informant, together with his family, was ordered to leave the place since he was given a plot of land somewhere in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town to construct a new house with the help of the real estate owner. The house was the one DB's wife told me about on the other day.

Towards the end of our conversation, I asked the man to compare his past and present living condition to which he replied, “*For both the government and the poor, it is the farmer who produces. There is no other way. How would the government feed all these people without the farmer; if we do not produce?*”

In this statement, he argues that for both *mangistii* /government / and *hiyyechaa* /poor/, there is no life without agriculture. Here the term poor refers to the general public while the government is indirectly put on the rich side in whose hand the power and wealth is concentrated. The above informant insisted that agriculture was his primary choice for he assumed that there was no life without farming. This shows that he was not satisfied with the employment opportunity he had in the real estate. That is why he said: *Maal gonaaree? Giddajiidha.* /What else can we do? We are forced/. This shows that such an informant was not ready to accept the new urban economic activities but stick to the old economic system which will not be plausible for farmers in that small but fast growing town near Addis Ababa. Such an opinion expresses the doubt that some informants had about the transforming power of urbanization from one economic system to another.

At the end of our conversation, he asked me what difference I could make saying: *Amma maal nuu gootu*. (What can you do for us now?) I confessed that I was not there to make any change to their situation but for a research. At that moment, DB warned me not to disclose all the information he gave me.

Another informant who was engaged in *eegumsaa* was GF who told me that he was thirty six years old when I interviewed him at his home which was near the Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi Police Station.

My name is GF I am a guard for a certain private company. I have four children. Two of them are in school whereas the other two are too young to go to school. I have received 10,500 Birr cash compensation. I think it was at the rate of 1.50 Birr for one m² of land. We do not exactly know that. I bought a farm land from another place. My wife is a potter. Yes, the area is urbanizing but what is the use if we do not farm? We are facing a challenge. Honest!

Although F.G. bought a plot of farmland from somewhere else, his feeling showed that he was in a desperate situation for he was not producing sufficient crops since his land was taken away. However, in order to sustain his survival, he was employed as *eegduu* (guard) where he earned about four hundred Birr per month with which he is not totally satisfied.

Why did these people prefer to engage in *eegumsaa* (guard) where they could have many non-farming employment engagements created as a result of the huge urban development activities in their area? It was to withstand the economic stress. Education and training make a difference as well. Before urbanization came to influence their farming practices, most of the community members had no advanced educational background and no

exposure to trainings for engaging in other livelihood activities. Moreover, some of the guards were too old to be fit for the new labor market, mostly the construction industry in the town.

In addition, the sustainability of this alternative is under question for two major reasons. The first one is the nature of project work itself. By its nature a project is an activity having its own definite beginning and end with its own unique goals and objectives. In this context, some of the development projects like the real estate companies have now completed their works and are ready to transfer the houses to their respective clients. Second, once the houses are transferred, the owners can find their own way of hiring security guards by whatever means they want, which might displace the present guards who were originally farmers and had no training in security works. In order to support this argument, I interviewed one of the residents who have recently begun to live in the villa house in Ropak International Real Estate compound. This man was a top official in one of the international NGOs in Addis Ababa. He told me that house owners in the real estate had already begun discussing how to outsource services related with security. If this is realized in the near future, hiring the security guards will be open for anyone who qualifies in the labor market where farmers may not be able to compete. In such a way, one of the potential risks of development projects, joblessness, which Michael Cernea (1997) explain might be the end of the situation.

7.2 Daily Labor

As stated earlier, in urban areas of Ethiopia where there are fast growing construction activities, and where people are forced to surrender their landownership, the circumstance urges them to go for alternative ways to endure the challenges that have come as a result of their alienation from land. In the case of the Tulama Oromo in the study area, the situation has been recurring and perpetuating since long. In support of this argument, Biratu (2010: 51) argues that the Tulama Oromo who were evicted by force during the expansion of Menelik into the heart of Finfinee (Addis Ababa) contributed in the construction of the Orthodox churches in different sites, the palace, and camps for migrant chiefs from the north. Although the objective of the present Ethiopian government is different from what had happened during Menelik's expansion, farmers around Addis Ababa are still contributing their labor for constructing huge public and private development projects which are widely practiced in the form of daily wage, and have become an alternative way for the farmers in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town to ease the economic stresses of their families.

This is particularly common among the young people. This type of work was accessible for every healthy and able-bodied person, with some skills, in manufacturing industries and construction companies for the time being. The informants I consulted for this particular section of the study mentioned to me that it was an easier way to get employed since some of the jobs did not ideally demand sophisticated skill or training. Although I

was not allowed to observe workers in the food processing factories, some of the large construction companies were kind enough to allow me to enter into their compound and see people at work. I observed that most of them fall in the young age group who chose this means of livelihood as an adaptive strategy to the new constraints and the new economic system at large.



Daily laborers²⁹ at work (Photo by the researcher, May13, 2012)

In most of the construction sites, many young men and women were observed keeping themselves busy all day long. The daily laborers were both indigenous and migrants from

²⁹ In this construction site, majority of the laborers were found to be women in the age group of 15-30 years of age.

other parts of the country. For the people who were children of farmers in the locality, the working hours were awkward, new, routine and unfamiliar compared to the previous time when they used to do the usual farming activities such as feeding cattle, milking cows, post harvest inspection, and many more agricultural routines. Yet the present daily labor engagement is so much routine in which someone has to do the same job from dawn to dusk. It could be from year to year for someone who is lucky to get such a long-time job. In most cases, however, the workers were migratory in the sense that they move from one company to another either in search of better pay or in the case when the number of workers is downsized in a company. This nature of the work itself makes the daily laborers unsafe or insecure.

During my observation and interview with laborers in the construction companies, I observed that they were unskilled and therefore engaged in menial jobs that did not earn them a dependable income. The following paragraph depicts the feelings of some of the daily laborers in three different companies.

”My name is HF. I work here in this real estate. I earn 26 Birr a day. It is not enough. It is almost equivalent to the cost of a meal.” A female laborer nearly in the age group of 20 to 25 had the same complaint that she was forced to go to that kind of job for she was neither educated nor trained. A young man who was a carpenter in the production and material supply of a real estate expressed his discontent stating that the wage he earns is not comparable with the advantages he had had before his family’s land was expropriated by development projects. On the other hand, I found a few workers who got skill training opportunities soon after their land was taken away by the private development projects.

This was through an attempt to realize what was promised by both the government and the development projects in giving priority to the children of the families whose land was expropriated. As a whole, the above findings and the discussion in Chapter 5.4 show that some members of the farming community have already begun to use daily labor as a source of income for their families.

7.3 Micro and Small Enterprises Development³⁰

One of the development strategies that the Ethiopian government has embarked on is the expansion of Micro and Small Enterprises in many of the economic sectors such as construction, petty trade, manufacturing, services, and other economic activities to create employment opportunities. It is planned as a means of income generating schemes by both the federal and regional governments. Therefore, it was a buzz of everyday day all year long during my fieldwork and was frequently heard on the media, particularly of the government ones, where government officials and beneficiaries tell the success stories of those enterprises. Micro and Small Scale Enterprises were also under implementation, though at their infancy stage, in Laga Xiao-Laga Dadhi town. While I was completing writing the draft of this dissertation, sometime in March 2014, I found that the urban administration has a separate administrative wing for handling matters pertaining to Micro and Small Enterprises Development, locally called IMX (*Intarprayzii Makiroo Xixiqqaa*) which is managed by the Deputy Mayor of the Municipality. A report from this office indicates that there is well documented information, at least for the past one year,

³⁰ The 2013 survey on micro and small enterprises (MSEs) in 13 selected major cities of Ethiopia show that 60% of the enterprises are male owned.

that 801 micro and small enterprises were organized until January 2014. The following table shows the details of the activity plan and percentage of implementation.

Table 15: Planned Number of Enterprises and Beneficiaries
for the year 2013/2014³¹

Types of Enterprises	Annual Plan		% of Implementation upto February 2014
	Number of Enterprises	Number of Beneficiaries	
Manufacturing	240	2136	44.45
Construction	280	2492	55.13
Services	80	712	6.20
Urban agriculture	160	1424	3.62
Commerce	40	356	-
Total	801	7120	-

Source: Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi Plan Report (2014)

When we examine the contents of the above table, plan implementation of manufacturing and construction are encouraging while the plan implementation of services and urban agriculture are at their beginning stages.

³¹ This yearly plan for micro enterprises development is not exclusively meant for benefiting the local people who have lost their land for urban development activities.

With regard to the opinion of my informants, although all the young people I interviewed knew about micro and small enterprises development program of the country and its objective, they reported that the enterprises were not functional except a few ones that had begun operating with a limited number of members engaged in activities such as cobble stone production. One of such enterprises is Derara Cilalo Cobble Stone Micro Enterprise which was operational towards the end of my fieldwork in January 2013.



Derara Cilalo Cobble Stone Production Micro Enterprise

(Photo by the researcher, Dec 29, 2012)

As it was a new experience for both the beneficiaries and the urban administration itself, leaders were complaining about the challenges they had experienced. For example, in the interview with GB, Manager of Derara Cilalo Cobble Stone Production Enterprise, I wrote down a list of achievements and challenges. This enterprise had 10 trained workers (one

female and nine male) of whom only four were members while the remaining six were employees. Out of these, four were children of the farmers in the town while six were job hunting migrants from other places. This enterprise was relatively successful for it had its own capital and fixed assets such as a car for transporting the products to their market destinations. However, there were many challenges listed by the manager. One of these was lack of market access proportional to the volume of production. Thus, there were times when products were not sold and workers stayed without salary. Because of this, GB told me that some of the workers were forced to go to other areas such as Addis Ababa, in search of job. Safety equipment was not available although that kind of working environment was dangerous for human health. Yet, with some doubts regarding their sustainability due to lack of proper attention and support, these enterprises can be profitable and can be used as a springboard for familiarizing oneself with non-farm activities and further business orientations.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS AND *AMMA MAAL NUU GOOTU?*

8.1 Conclusions

This dissertation has engaged in exploring the overall power of urbanization in transforming a particular farming community within a relatively short period of time around the capital city of Ethiopia. The main question that the dissertation has dwelt on is how urbanization has changed the life of a community that was entirely agrarian on a fertile farmland which had been producing surplus agricultural products for the nearby metropolitan area. Urbanization, in the due process, has brought about profound changes and uncertainties in the daily lives of the community in different age groups. The major cause for these changes is land expropriation in the name of development. As land has been perceived as a main source of livelihood for the almost 85% of Ethiopian population, detaching even an individual from this vital resource could result in irreversible psychological, economic and social consequences.

Most of the changes discussed in this dissertation are related with the land tenure systems and urban land policies in Ethiopia. In the Ethiopian land tenure systems, the government has been given a maximum power of ownership and hence has the responsibility to distribute this resource for the citizens. In the case of urban land, since the issuance of Menelik's Law in 1907, which made land to concentrate in the hands of a few

individuals, citizens have experienced a lot of changes in areas where urban development activities have been expanding. Among these people and in such areas, there are always changes, continuities, and uncertainties. In urban areas, the actor-system dynamism is getting complicated and is likely to continue for the coming unlimited period of time by widening the scope of its discourse and multiplying the number of actors in the present fast urbanizing areas of the country.

The development of the new “integrated development” master plan for Addis Ababa and Finfinne Zuria Oromia Special Zone will ignite the rapid interaction between the urbanites and the rural agrarian societies which live within the radius of 100 km² from Addis Ababa. Consistent with the objectives of this new master plan, small towns like Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi, Sandafa, and Shano (in the east), Dukam, Bishoftu, Mojo, and Adama (in the south), Burayu, Hollata, and Addis Alem, and Ginci (in the west), Solulta and Canco, (in the north), and Alem Gena, Sebeta, and Tulu Bolo in the southwestern direction of Addis Ababa will become a common play ground for the actors who will keep on the momentum of urban development activities.

The power of urbanization, above all, has changed the perception that the Tulama Oromo in that particular area have for land. In their culture, they perceive land as a source of everything for their survival in this world. Land has been considered as a means to trace even one’s own genealogy and history, for land had been traditionally inherited from father to children irrespective of the policies that the governments of Ethiopia offered as the only solution: ownership of land by leaving the citizens only with use rights. Urban land laws of the different regimes in Ethiopia have been set to serve the regimes in power

whereas a little attention has been given for individuals whose livelihoods have been affected by all forms of government-sponsored urbanization projects.

As urbanization has begun to germinate its seeds in the study area, the original meaning of land has started to be contested. Land is now taken as any commodity that anyone can buy or sell it overnight. Even within an interval of a few hours, someone who has bought a plot of land in the morning can sell in the afternoon with a certain amount of profit, without any value addition. This situation has forced the farmers in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town to deviate from their traditional understanding of land as a provider of everything to sharing the new meaning of land as a means of accumulating money. By the end of my field work, most of the land in the center of that new urban area was no more used for crop production or animal grazing but for building urban modes of houses and for establishing business setups.

This change in the meaning and functions of land has resulted in a perplexed perception of the self and the other on two opposing edges. On the one hand, the old way of taking one self as a self-reliant part of the globe is shrinking. Some of the farmers who have been consulted for this study have become the ones who count a lot of money that they have obtained through formal or informal land transaction but do not know how to use it. Many are no more producers but consumers spending most of the cash compensation on purchasing grain for their daily consumption without investing it in long term income generating activities. In such a way the cash compensation or any form of cash that they obtained through land market remains 'bitter money'.

Above all, where is this ‘bitter money’ now? Most of the actors I have mentioned in this dissertation possess it. It is in the pockets of the farmers who have received the cash compensation. It is also in the bank accounts of the local administration who leases land to the investors. The *dallalaa* who mediates both the legal and illegal land transaction has its own share. The individual civil servant or a political appointee who abuses his /her power at municipal, regional, or federal level has got the opportunity to accumulate this ‘bitter money’. Contrary to Shipton’s findings, however, the money that comes from unearned gain or the sale of culturally forbidden resources such as land may not remain dangerous for people who hold it because this may depend on the individual’s cultural background, knowledge, and the power relationships in the whole system.

In addition, the change in the meaning of land created conducive environment for the interplay of an unusual number of actors who have their respective roles in the land transaction for development projects. The proliferation of these actors with their own interests and roles, in turn, has become a cause for the emergence of new social statuses in which the actors in the whole system assume different pecking orders. In such a situation, it is likely for some actors to lose their identity, neither in the old nor in the new identity range, because of the power imbalance in the dynamics of the system.

In relation to this, together with change in the meaning of land, songs and sayings that members of the farming community used in the past changed gradually. Songs that were sung in praise of land as a source of fertility are being replaced by the ones that express grievances and discontents.

The emergence of different actors and formation of an unusual social structure seems to bring about a feeling of exclusion. This sense of conflict had brought about resistance that was exhibited in many forms. The resistance was entirely advanced in its form and approach in the sense that its leaders used modern means of communication to express their people's stand though none of the approaches was successful. However, consistent with Foucault (1980) argument, I can say that there were no, there are no, and there will be no relations of power without resistance.

The precariousness of the power among the actors and the prevalence of a system that nourished the unsteadiness of the power relations were the main reasons for the futility of the resistance. Actors in the resource distribution were willfully selected or co-opted in order to achieve the intended goals such as land expropriation and land lease. On the one hand, internal or local actors joined the system because either they were not conscious of the intention of the external actors or they were forced or tempted. On the other hand, external actors in the process were either parts of the ones in the old history of urbanization since the establishment of Addis Ababa, to rework their genealogies and deconstruct that of others, or they are new ones who have recently emerged by the help of their financial capital or any form of power but have chosen many of the features of the old system in distributing the land resource in the name of urbanization. In this sense, one can say that although actors change, the system in which they operate may maintain itself for a long time by recruiting new actors. Furthermore, though not many, there were global actors that came to take part in the new power structure through the internationally licensed free movement of capital and services across the globe, globalization. As a

whole, the findings with regard to the actor-system dynamics in the study area go hand in hand with Hancock's (1989:66) position that the area is "... a world in which go-betweens have been given a virtually unrestricted mandate to make deals, shape events, and decide the future of millions."

Irrespective of individual or group variations on some sensitive global issues of this kind, I found out that there was a mismatch among the actors' perception regarding the transforming power of urbanization. Actors who were operating the government machineries or the overall system and those who were involving in the investment of capital seemed to take the position that urbanization had positively transformed the lives of people in the area. The *man's* position is reserved for these types of actors. On the other side, actors who were entirely dependent on agriculture before the coming of an urban way of life were skeptical about it. This skepticism emanated from the disfavoring empirical evidences they could witness by comparing the before and after land expropriation scenario of their living condition. Understanding that their former way of life would not be restored, these actors at the *littleman* position began to seek for alternative ways of sustaining their survival. However, most of the strategies they chose as a means were temporary by nature.

This has found out that the current government of Ethiopia has been producing, adopting and reenacting its urban policies, proclamations, and regulations. The contents of many of the documents are found to be very much sounding at abstract level. Yet, when it comes to execution of laws and policies, gaps are frequently observed due to factors

related to human resource allocation in urban administration in the town. This, in its part, results in lack of commitment and inability to properly manage data.

Finally, uncertainties are frequent today. It is difficult to foresee what will happen to the remaining parts of the farm land bordering the territory of the municipality. Sooner or later, some parts of hither land may be included in the government land bank. It is equally uncertain to know the kind of corrective measures that the local government will take to restore the existing social and economic fracture among the land losing farmers. Most of all, it is the right time and right place to prove the positive transforming power of urbanization by making the farming community in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town be in a better living condition than they were in before the introduction of urban way of life into the area.

Amma maal nuu gootu? (What can you do for us)? This was the most difficult question I was frequently asked by my informants in the interviews. What is the role of anthropology or anthropologists in such a situation? Is the role of urban anthropology different from the usual traditional anthropological research by going one step to the level of harmonizing knowledge and its application? The situation I was in was totally not convenient for me to reach to such a level. In the middle of my field work, when I began to sense that the situation needed intervention of some sort, I talked to some of my key informants in the municipality if they had any plan for an intervention. Some of the officers were aware of the situation and reported that they tried to find a large plot of land near the main road to establish a farmers' association business complex which would

include training centers, grain trade, poultry, animal fattening, a modern warehouse, and recreational places which would serve at least two purposes.

In the first place, such an establishment would gradually introduce members of the farming community fully immersed in the traditional agricultural practices to an urban economic system. Second, it would serve as a source of income by creating employment opportunities in its different centers. At the beginning, this idea was well taken by my informants. I was informed that land was not a question for such a project since they told me that there was a large plot of land, about 60,000 m², which remained neither used for development projects nor cultivated by the farmers for the previous six or more years. It was unused for such a long period of time due to a certain legal dispute between the government and a company that reserved the land for investment. As time went on, however, the officers began to retreat by telling me that it required a political decision to plan such a big project. Of course, due to the complexity of the land transaction and the number of actors with different interests, I knew that it would be difficult even to mention such a matter to the top municipal political officials such as the Mayor. I learned that land issues were highly politicized and no one was confident to independently think differently outside what the government perceived was right.

Therefore, now I stick to the usual academic recommendations which often remain on the paper and on the shelf of institutions of higher learning in Ethiopia. However, at this point, I will suggest some alternatives that could be realized by both the federal and regional governments. The following part of this chapter, thus, presents some of these

alternatives based on my informants' question expressed as *Amma maal nuu gootu?* (What can you do for us?)

8.2 *Amma Maal Nu Gootu?* “What Can You Do for Us?”

In this dissertation, I have shown that members of the farming community in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town have already started piloting their own non-farm adaptive strategies and earn some income for their families. I have also indicated that some of my informants are at cross-roads with how to adapt to the opportunities and challenges of the urban development activities in their villages. Therefore, they were frequently asking me what I could do for them at the end of my research project by saying “*Amma maal nuu gootu*”. (What can you do for us?) Thus, a feeling of this kind shows that these people, in addition to their effort, need a support to strengthen their current adaptive strategies and seek other realistic alternatives to make them fearlessly stand against some of the constraints of the urbanization process in their areas. The following sections of this chapter, therefore, deal with some of the major alternative strategies drawn from the interests of the informants.

8.2.1 .Organizing: A Catch Word of the Day

One of the major alternatives that were suggested by my informants was organizing the land losing farmers into a certain form of association which could enable them engage in some non-farm income generating activities. An authority in one of the real estates in the town recommends the following:

The Municipality should mobilize the community and convince the investors to assist those people to cope with the unexpected challenges. There are farmers who lead a life not different from that of street beggars. So, the municipality should seek ways of assisting them to involve in non - agricultural activities like forming associations that can mobilize their cash compensation to start their own businesses. In this way, young children of the farmers can exercise to detach themselves from the no more possible farming practice. They cannot continue living in the way their fathers used to. That is over. Or, they have to go to some other places to continue living on farming.

From the above informant's opinion, we can extract two major suggestions for assisting the farmers. The first one is organizing the land losing farmers to begin non-farm business activities while the other one - resettling them in some other places where they can continue living on farming-may not be plausible for it can come with its own impacts such as social disarticulation and environmental degradation. Many similar feelings were expressed by men, women and the youth during the interviews and group discussions although there was a difference across age and sex in suggesting the kind of adaptive strategies they want to use. Elderly people and women often remained complaining, waiting for a certain body to interfere while the young informants had developed a certain vision of what they themselves and the government should do to make them cope with the challenges of the new urban environment. A few of the young people have already begun testing this strategy under the regulation of the local government. Here is the view of a young informant:

We are organized by the Cooperatives Office of the Municipality. We have ten members. We contribute 20 Birr every week by ourselves. Now we have 4,000 Birr. We work on extracting selected materials for construction. *Dirijitidhafi Warra mato arbatti gurgurra*. (We sell to private and government organizations and those who construct their own houses.) We rent construction machineries from private organizations. Machines are expensive and not easy to get. For some

time, we stopped production. But now we have started it for we have got the machines. One has to frequently visit the office to legalize a plot of land for such a business. There is a protracted bureaucracy. So, we have decided to do things in our own ways. We have planned to buy land to build our own working place.

This example shows that the youth are in favour of organizing themselves which can be practised under a close supervision of the Office for Micro and Small Enterprises Development in the Municipality. While conducting a focus group discussion with government officials in the municipality, a similar alternative was suggested that the land losing farmers should be organized into associations. Yet, there was no clear recommendation as to what kind of association should be established. However, specific associations such as cultural handcraft producers and associations of urban agriculturalists can be sounding provided that adequate working place is given and sufficient initial capital is mobilized.

8.2.2 Training

Most of the problem-oriented research works usually put the term “training” on the last few pages of their reports which sometimes cannot go further than a lip service. Often, it looks the fashion of the day in both academic and NGO reports. However, in the case of a community which feels that its members are going down to the level of being incompetent, *fafee*, anthropological research recommendations should take the position that the kind of training must be the one that capacitates a human being to acquire the required skills to be successful.

For someone who does not have the know - how to start a new way of life after being disconnected from the long established means of livelihood, there must be at least a way to familiarize him/ her with a certain transforming scheme. A lot of alternative approaches were suggested during the discussions with the farmers and representatives of line government institutions in the municipality. Training in financial management was the first one. Many of the informants from the farmers' community reported that no one advised them on how to save or utilize the cash compensation they received. For example, during my in-depth interview with an elderly man whose house was near the Addis Ababa-Dessie main road, I asked him if he had received any advice on how to use the cash compensation he had received. "*Maal jedhaniree; itti xaqqamamaa jedhanika.* (They did not say anything. They told us to use it").

As stated in Chapter Five, for a farmer who has been producing a variety of crops, mainly for subsistence, but has not possessed much cash in his hands, receiving a cash compensation amounting to three hundred thousand or more Birr might mean a lot. Such a farmer may feel that he is rich, thereby continue to spend on purchasing expensive things unless there is a mechanism to halt such a practice and make him invest the money in some activities pertinent to his level of understanding and financial capacity. This could be done merely through offering basic training in financial management. Besides providing training in financial management, non-farm skill training is also an irreplaceable alternative if one should be able to adapt to the new urban economic situation in the town. Overall, the trainings should be planned in consultation with the farmers so as to accommodate their needs.

8.2.3 Provision of Utilities as a Means of Value Addition

As stated in the previous chapters, farmers have lost both their farm and grazing lands. Yet they are left with some plot of land where their houses are situated with no sufficient infrastructure and utilities. From my observation, it is uncertain that some of the farmers could continue living in the town with their present livelihood practices and their resistance to adapt to the new situation. Therefore, it is as well likely that they sell the remaining land and move somewhere else by themselves. They may even decide to sell their houses. Thus, there should be a genuine plan to maximize the value of their land and their house. One possible way of doing this is the provision of infrastructure and utilities which could help the farmers to fetch a maximum of benefit that could assist them to sustain their living in the case of uncertain decisions. Such utilities include the pavement of roads and expansion of water and electric power supplies for each household. This, of course, will be realized where there is genuine commitment at all level of the government administrative structures.

8.2.4. Enhancing Cultural Industries

Ethiopia is often cited as an ancient country with an extraordinarily affluent linguistic and cultural diversity. It includes tangible and intangible heritages with both traditional and modern cultural expressions, languages, and centuries old know-how in handicraft production. During my stay in the field, particularly in Dale Dambal and Gawasa villages, I observed that there were farmers in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi Town who were exercising pottery along with their agricultural practices. I came across families where

wives and husbands were engaged in pottery in a very traditional way that cannot make a difference in the income level of the households.



A potter at work (Photo by the researcher, Dec.28, 2012)

Therefore, although not relevant for all the farmers in this study, enhancing this particular cultural industry can be used as a strategy for some people who have practiced it on their own. It can be enhanced by providing training to improve the quality of the products and by creating access to local financial institutions and market networks for the people who are engaged in this cultural industry.

8.2.5 Urban Agriculture

Urban agriculture is often considered as an urban based economic activity involving a variety of agriculture-related livelihood activities by individuals or groups of urban or

peri urban dwellers. Mesay (2013: 80) states that these activities “range from subsistence production and processing at the household level to more commercialized agriculture.” There are a lot of favorable conditions for the land losing farmers, particularly for the elderly to engage in urban agriculture to curb the frustration that may develop due to their detachment from the usual routine farming activities in Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi town. One of these opportunities is the fertility of the soil in the area. The other favorable condition for urban agriculture is the number of small rivers that flow throughout the year. Some of the rivers such Xafo and Dadhi are already under utilization for some small irrigation schemes by some farmers near the rivers. The capacity of these rivers can, therefore, be maximized by adding modern urban agricultural knowledge and practices where it can create better job opportunities for more people.

8.2.6 Stable Urban Policy and Political Commitment

This dissertation has found out that the emergence of this new urban center has brought about the multiplication of actors with various positions and roles. It is also seen that the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia has committed itself to witness that urban development is an engine for the economic development of the country. Arguably so, this commitment should be supported by holistic urban land management regulations in particular and a comprehensive national urban policy in general. Proclamations such as Proc. No 455/2005 should be amended in a way that they can openly address the grievances of the farmers who lose their farm land in the name of urban development and make them endure the challenges through the provision of a truly commensurate compensation by applying Owner’s Loss Theory. Together with this, one of the nominal

alternatives shown in the current land expropriation documents, land for land compensation, should be practiced in order to minimize any form of the trauma that land losing farmers, particularly the elderly, who cannot easily adapt to new urban way of life, might experience.

How could all this be implemented? Only one way, that is through genuine political commitment. In Ethiopia, top political leaders should first acknowledge the presence of the problems indicated in this dissertation and take time to think to come to their humane sense. This can be done by equipping the urban bureaucracy with professionalism where people are recruited based on merit. Flexible and forward-looking institutions that help the efficient functioning of land markets are equally important. In general, if one wants to increase the efficiency of Ethiopian urban centers in the present globalizing world, it should have a competent urban leadership that can realize the efficiency and the competitiveness of towns and cities in the country.

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Annex 1: Questionnaire

Dear Respondents,

This questionnaire is prepared to collect data for a research on ***The Transforming Power of Urbanization: Changes and Uncertainties in La Xafo - Laga Dadhi Town.*** Your genuine information is highly important for the completion of the study. Your name will not be given to anybody outside this research project.

I greatly appreciate your cooperation.

Part I: Demographic Issues

1. Age ---
2. Sex: A. Male B. Female

3. Marital Status :A. married B. unmarried

4 Family size:

A. 1-3 B. 4-6 C. 7 -10 D. 11 and above

5. Education

Illiterate _____ No Education _____

6. If Literate, grade level completed:

B. Grade 1 – 4

C. Grade 5- 8

D. Grade 9 – 12

E. Above grade 12

Part II: Livelihood Activities Before and After Land Expropriation

6. Have there been any changes to your landholding in the past four years? A. Yes

B. No.

7. If the size of your land is increased what is the reason?

A. I bought additional land

B. I rented additional land

C. I shared land with my parents

D. other reasons _____

8 .If the size of your land is reduced, what is the reason?

A. I sold part of my land

B. Development projects have taken it away

C. Other reasons _____ - _____

9. If your land has been taken away by development projects , what is the size?

A. 1- 2 hectares B. 3 -4 hectares C. 5- 6 hectares D. 7 -8 hectares

10. What size of grazing land do you have at this moment? (Write in M² or Hectare)____.

11. What size of grazing land do you have at this moment? (Write in m² or Hectare)____.

12. What types of crops were you growing before your landholding was taken away by development projects? (Fill in the following table)

No.	Types of crop	Size of land in Sq. meter	Yield per year (in quintals)
1	teff		
2	Wheat		

3	barely		
4	Beans		
5	Chickpeas		
6	Lentils		
7	beans		
8	others		

13. Have you grown any of these crops after your land was taken away?

No.	Types of crop	Size of land in m ²	Yield per year (in quintals)
1	teff		
2	Wheat		
3	barely		
4	Beans		
5	Chickpeas		

6	Lentils		
7	beans		
8	others		

14. How many livestock did you own before your land was taken away? Fill in the table below.

Type of live stock	Cow	oxen	calve	sheep	goat	donkey	Horse	chicken	Others (specify)
No.									

15. How many livestock did own after your land was taken away? Fill in the table below.

Type of live stock	Cow	oxen	calve	sheep	goat	donkey	Horse	chicken	Others (specify)

No.									
-----	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

16. Have started engaging in other occupations than farming after your land is taken?

A. Yes B. No

17. What kind of nonfarm activities are you engaged in after your land was taken?

- a. daily labor
- b. guard
- c. Petty trade
- d. Government employee
- e. Others, specify _____

18. Have you received any skill training after your land is taken away? A. Yes B. No.

19. If your answer is **Yes**, specify the type of trainings you have received.

- A. Carpentry
- B. Welding
- C. Beekeeping
- D. Building
- E. Entrepreneurship

Part Three : Community Associations and Social Institutions

20. . Currently do you belong to any community-based associations?

A. Yes B. No.

21. If Yes, specify what kind of association do you belong?

A. Idir

B. Uqub

C. Sanbate

D. Mahiber

E. Others, specify _____

22. What kind of work parties do you organize now?

A. Dabo

B. Jigi

C. Others, specify _____

Part Four: Compensation

23. Have you received compensation for the land taken away for development projects?

A. Yes B. No.

24. What did you do with the money you have received?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

d. _____

e. _____

f. _____

25. Were you informed how your land was estimated during the compensation

process?

A. Yes B. No

Write the reasons _____

Part Five : Youth and Children

26. How many children are there in your family? Age/ gender/education level. Fill in the table.

Age range	Number of children	Education/grade level attained/	Other comments
0 - 5 years			
6- 10 years			
11- 15 years			
16 -20 years			
21-25 years			
26-30 years			
31 years and above			

27. Has the labor contribution of your children increased or decreased after your land has been taken away?

A. increased

B. decreased

Please specify the reasons_____?

28. What kind of non- farm activities do the children engage in?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

d. _____

e. _____

29. Are all the children in your family attending schools? A. Yes B. No. If not why?_____

Part Six: Household Food Consumption

30. Is there any change in your household food habits? A. Yes B. No

If your answer is yes, give reasons._____

31. Are the crops you produce from your land sufficient for your consumption? A. Yes
B. No

If **No**, how do you obtain additional food items? _____

32. What kind of crops did you use as your stable-food before your land was expropriated?

- a. _____
- b. _____
- c. _____
- d. _____
- e. _____
- f. _____

33. What kind of crops do you use as your stable food after your land was taken for development?

- a. _____
- b. _____
- c. _____
- d. _____
- e. _____
- f. _____

Part Seven : Change in Women's Daily Activities

34. What kind of activities did women participate in before your were included in the urban administration?

- a. _____

- b. _____
- c. _____
- d. _____
- e. _____
- f. _____

35. What kind of activities do women participate in after you were included in the urban administration?

- a. _____
- b. _____
- c. _____
- d. _____
- e. _____

36. At the moment, how is your family's living condition in general? A. Improving

B. Worsening C. No change

Thank you very much!

Annex 2: List of Petitioners in 2010

Waaajjiraa pirzeedanti motumaa naannoo oromiyaatiifi

FINFINEE

IYYATAA

Iyatonii nuu jiraatotaa bulchinsaa M/xaafuu L/dadhii gandaa 01 kaan tanee iyyataa kenya akka armaan gadiiti ibsaana.

Innis nuuttii jiratotaa B/M/L/xaafuu L/dadhii gandaa 01 kaan tanee armaan duraa yeroo adda addaa dhimotaa rakkoo bulchinsaa garil fi rakkoo hawasumaa fi rakkoo dhimaa siiyasaatin waal qabatee bulchinsii magalaati fi godinaa addaa nannawaa finfineeti iyataa kaan turee yoo ta'uu hangaa yeroo amaatii debii qubsaa fi amansisaa ta'ee hinarganee. Kanaafuu waaajjirii prazeedantii motumaa N/oromiya dhimaa ijoo iyaataa kenyaatiif dhimotaa armaan olitii calaqsiiifamuufi furmaata qubsaa fi gahaa ta'ee nuuf lataa jennee amantaa gututiin garaa wajiraa kessaniti iyataa kenya akka armaan gadiiti dhiieefanaa.

Rakkoo bulchinsaa gariitiin waal qabatee bulchinsaa lafa irraati yeroo amaa keninsii lafa mana jirenyaatiif olii dhabachuun isaa ni yadatamaa. Hata'uu B/ lafa halaa dhokataafi iftominaa hin qabaneen firumaa fi namotaa angoo qabanifii kaan hiruu fi latamaa jiruu ta'uisaa ragaleen adda addaa ni ibsuu. Garaa biratiin imoo samichii lafa seran alaa kaan gagafama jiruuf qamni bulchinsaa kessatuu poolisii fi qamnii nagenyaa ittisuu qabusii rakkoo kanaa kesaa cubamani waliin samichaa seraan alaa gagessaa kaan jiraan ta'uun ragaan qabata maan ibsaa.

Rakkoo itti fayaadamumaa bajaata mottuuan kaan waa! qabaatee

Pirojectiifi qulqulinaa isaatiin waal qabtee ijaarsa waalii galtee ijaarsa irraa hangaa xumuraa kafattiin projectotaa sera faayinaansii fi qulqulinaa kaan hin qabnee ta'uun isaa ragaleen qabatamaan ta'aan akka ibsaanitii kafaltin seraan alaa dabalatan tokkon tokkon pirojectotiin hangaa dabalataa persantii dhibaa tokko (100o/o) isaa ol ta'uun ragaan qabatamaan ni ibsaa.

Rakkoo hawsummaan waal qabate ilaalchisee akkaa bulchisaa magalaa kenyaati degarsaa dhabilee motumaafi matii motumatiin barnotaa fi fayyaa irraati ijaarsii bulchinaan gagafamaa jiraa. Haata'uu malee qabatamaan hawasnii kenya taajilaa gahaa fi qutquluu ta'ee argachaa hin jiruu namonii qarshii qabaan da'imaan isaani qarshidhan magalaa finfineeti barsiifatu qotee bulaan galii gahaa kaan hin qabnee ijolee isaa barnootaa qulqulinaa hin qabnee barsiisuufi garagarumma umamee jiraa.

FKN pilaasmaafi hanqinaa kitabolee garagaraa kutaa labiratorii fi hanqinaa barsiisotaa fa'a akka rakkoo hawasaa magalaa kanaatii ta'anii jiruu. Garaa biroottiin imoo baldhinni investmentii kaan waal qabatee qotee bulaan benyaa fudhatee rakkoo hubanoo irraa kaan ka'ee qamnii isaa gorsu fi hojiitii galchuun debisee isaa ijaruu dhabuu irraa kaan ka'ee qotee bulaan M/L/xafoo belaa fi rakkoo hammatafi xaxamaa ta'een da'ima isaa waliin saxilamee jiraa. Kaanfu nutiis akkaa ilmaan qonaan bulaa tokkotii rakkoo xaxamaa kanafi saaxilamnee jiraa. Walumaa galaati akkaa bulchinsaa magalatii hojiin misomaa dursaa kenameefi hojetamuu kaan qabuu kaan akkaa bishaan ibsaa fi dandii kessaa kessaa hojetamuu bakkaa qabutii humnaa magalaa giduu galessaa osoo hin godhatiin. Basii gudadhaan galmaa walga'ii fi istadiyeemii basii iftominaa fi addamsaa sera fayinaansii hin egneen dabalata dhibentaa 100o/o bifaa hawwasaa hin mari'achisneen hojetmee jiraa.

Rakkoo siiyasaan waal qabatee

Rakkoo siyasaan waal qabatee akkaa magalaa kenyaatii halaa rammadii fi jijiraa hojetotaa motumaa akkasumas mudamtota ilaalichisee rakkoo jiruu nannoo fi firuuman kaan hojetamuu t'uun raggaan ni ibsaa. Fkn hojetonii motumaa ramadaman keessaa harkii saddetamni (80o/o) nannuma fi waal bekumsaa harkaa shantamaa ol (50o/o) dhalatotaa nannoo tokko irraa dhaltaan ta'uun isaa ragaan ni ibsaa. Akkaa waliigalatii wajjirii M/N/oromiyaa kanaa simitii gadii fagenyaan hubatee falaa ykn turmataa atatamaa akka nuuf latuu abdachaa debii garii kessaniitiif dursinee isiin galatefanaa.

Nagaa wajjin

	Maqaa	sala	Umurii
1	Belaye Getahun	dhi	35
2	Magarsa Gonfa	dhi	30
3	Asgadach Eshatu	dhal	27
4	Altay'ee W/Tsadiqi	dhi	60
5	Abayinosh Waldec	dhal	59
6	Asinaqch Asafaa	dhal	42
7	Girmaa Tafarii	dhi	45
8	Shimala Girimaa	dhi	24
9	Sisay Girimaa	dhi	20
10	Alamituu Girimaa	dhal	19
11	Fayituu Galataa	dhal	42
12	Tasifay'ee Lamaa	dhi	22
13	Eshetuu Lamaa	dhi	25
14	Sisay Lamaa	dhi	24
15	Tsigee Lamaa	dhal	29
16	Calii Lamaa	dhal	19
17	Dasitaa Lamaa	dhal	18
18	Buritukan Lamaa	dhal	19
19	Masarat Lamaa	dhal	19
20	Dojuu G/Mikw'eel	dhi	45
21	Iteetuu Mabrajuu	dhal	35
22	Asitaxiqee Gashauu	dhi	40
23	Meron Faafa	dhal	19
24	Lilii Laafaa	dhal	20
25	Fafaa Gamachuu	dhi	39
26	Furusoo Alenu	dha	38
27	Masfin Dhabii	Dhi	26
28	Wariqinaa Dhabii	Dhi	25
29	Xuriyee Dhabii	Dha	20
30	Bayanuu Gofaa	Dha	40
31	Abobaa Dachusaa	Dhi	22
32	Elimeesa Dhabbii	Dha	35
33	Elizzaa Dhabbii	Dha	23
34	Wubbee Dhabbii	Dha	26
35	Firrezer Taffaraa	Dhi	21
36	Takaliyyi Taffara	Dhi	26
37	Dammitu Tollaa	Dha	40
38	Balacho kabbe	Dhi	21
39	Mamusha Gurmuu	Dhi	22
40	Tada'lech Ehamibe	dha	25

Lakk.	Maqaa	Sala	Umurii
41	Bizuu Adunyaa	Dha	38
42	Nagashu Aboyyee	Dhi	37
43	Birgee Ishetu	Dha	35
44	Kuubalem Negashu	Dha	20
45	Dareje Nagashu	Dhi	23
46	Tsigee Nagashu	Dhi	20
47	Etenash Asrat	Dha	21
48	Tadalech Asrat	Dha	20
49	Enabab Asrat	Dha	23
50	Iskandir Ayalew	Dhi	35
51	Kindee Kabbadee	Dhi	46
52	Bontuu Enbatu	Dha	48
53	Wondosan Rattaa	Dhi	24
54	Gazahagn	Dhi	26
55	Wallala Gamnachau	Dha	56
56	Ayyanachoo Abbabaa	Dhi	23
57	Samual Shimalis	Dhi	22
58	Masarat Shimalis	Dha	21
59	Birtukan Abbabaa	Dha	38
60	Dajanne Abbabaa	Dhi	40
61	Ejigayew Tadassa	Dha	38
62	Shashitu Araddee	Dha	24
63	Tasfaye Kassaa	Dhi	39
64	Tabborr Damisee	Dhi	22
65	Alimaz Seffuu	Dha	23
66	Dastaa Bayanee	Dhi	35
67	Nagashuu Borraanaa	Dhi	45
68	Azalu Mangashaa	Dha	43
69	Birhaanu nugussuu	Dhi	24
70	Alinutuu Duribe	Dha	26
71	Ashanafi Saboqaa	Dhi	26
72	Mulluu Nugusu	Dha	27
73	Wanduu Iliku	Dhi	42
74	Baharu Lammaa	Dhi	22
75	Alamayo Goffaa	Dhi	35

		Sala	Umurii
1	Tashoma Aamayoo	Dhi	20
2	Birhanu Alamayoo	Dhi	22
3	Dabritu Balichaa	Dha	33
4	Zewudnesh Balachoo	Dha	52
5	Almitu Ogummaa	Dha	23
6	Getachew Balayne	Dhi	40
7	Dinguu Dirribaa	Dhi	40
8	Mitikuu Dirribaa	Dhi	25
9	Wasanne Bullii	Dha	58
10	Tarasu Dagafaa	Dhi	22
11	Bogalach Gurmoo	Dha	45
12	Walashet Gonfaa	Dha	28
13	Getuu Gonfaa	Dhi	26
14	Tafarraa Rorisaa	Dhi	52
15	Ayaluu Rattaa	Dhu	50
16	Ashanafi Taffarra	Dhi	20
17	Birgee Taffarra	Dha	23
18	Yohanis Tashome	Dhi	20
19	Girma Taffari	Dhi	45
20	Shimalis Girma	Dhi	25
21	Sisaay Girma	Dhi	23
22	Tasfaye Lamma	Dhi	25
23	Birtuu Lamma	Dha	20
24	Fayitu Galataa	Dha	45
25	Tsigee Lamma	Dha	35
26	Isheetu Lamma	Dhi	26
27	Caalii Lamma	Dha	20
28	Dasuu Lamma	Dha	21
29	Kubbaa Hayilu	Dhi	28
30	Masarat Lamma	Dha	20
31	Bogalee Nagassa	Dha	27
32	Robbit Aberaa	Dha	23
33	Asnaqech Aberaa	Dha	22
34	Birtukan Aberaa	Dha	25
35	Getachow Nagasa	Dhi	40
36	Sisaay Lamma	Dhi	23
37	Zinash Girma	Dha	22

Lakk.	Meqaa	Sala	Umurii
113	Abayne Girma	Dha	20
114	Afirasce Dinqee	Dha	42
115	Salamoon Waqjiraa	Dhi	27
116	Abushii Waqjiraa	Dhi	25
117	Tonkoluu Alamayoo	Dhi	20
118	Balachoo Kabee	Dhi	22
119	Tashomaa Alamayoo	Dhi	36
120	Tsagayee Bashiadaa	Dhi	18
121	Alamu Birhanu	Dhi	19
122	Yohanis Tashomee	Dhi	18
123	Adunyaa Girma	Dhi	21
124	Shitayee Wandimuu	Dha	22
125	Zawudinesh W/tsadiqi	Dha	50
126	Sanayiat Wubishet	Dha	23
127	Samuel Gizaa	Dhi	27
128	Alamituu Tashomee	Dha	28
129	Dajannee Asfaw	Dhi	47
130	Wanzee Dansce	Dha	46
131	Darajee Charuu	Dhi	38
132	Buzunaa Charuu	Dhi	19
133	Asinakech Zawudu	Dha	51
134	Bizee Nugusuu	Dha	20
135	Alamituu Daribee	Dha	22
136	Ashanafi Saboqaa	Dhi	35
137	Tsayii Nugusuu	Dha	29
138	Muluu Nugusuu	Dha	32
139	Damana Daribee	Dhi	20
140	Kubaa Nugusuu	Dhi	19
141	Zarifec Ayalee	Dha	18
142	Kibuu Warqinaa	Dha	18
143	Almaz Sefuu	Dha	19
144	Daribaa Karamaa	Dhi	26
145	Getahun Dajanee	Dhi	20
146	Taborii Damisee	Dhi	22
147	Hirquu Dagafaa	Dhi	23
148	Latuu Tashome	Dha	20
149	Magartuu Zawde	Dha	19

Lakk.	Maqaa	Sala	Umurii
150	Masarat Absaa	Dha	19
151	Dirribaa Fiqaduu	Dhi	18
152	Gazee Mangashaa	Dhi	28
153	Birtukan Mangashaa	Dha	26
154	Turungoo Bashadaa	Dha	27
155	Shawayee Lammaa	Dha	30
156	Baqalce Abataa	Dha	29
157	Kassaa Lamma	Dhi	35
158	Almaz Bashadaa	Dha	37
159	Getuu Kabadaa	Dhi	24
160	Mastawot Hayilu	Dha	28
161	Taddee Bajigaa	Dha	28
162	Teddii Bajigaa	Dhi	23
163	Darajee Fayisaa	Dhi	22
164	Ganat Getuu	Dhi	20
165	Tigist Getuu	Dha	19
166	Darajee Warquu	Dhi	36
167	Gazahagn Mangistuu	Dhi	40
168	Abdisaa Mangistuu	Dhi	38
169	Hirkoo Mangistuu	Dhi	41
170	Garamuu Taddasaa	Dha	39
171	Hayilu Kifilee	Dhi	25
172	Ababaa Charuu	Dhi	23
173	Buzunaa Mangistuu	Dhi	37
174	Kibuu Dagafaa	Dha	28
175	Balachoo Alamayoo	Dhi	17
176	Addisu Nugusuu	Dha	22
177	Minii Nugusuu	Dha	23
178	Simanyuu Zalaqaa	Dha	33
179	Hayiluu badhaasaa	Dhi	61
180	Zarfce Hayiluu	Dha	33
181	Kubaa Hayilu	Dhi	26
182	Darajee Assaffa	Dhi	27
183	Sajjiin ASiraat Qannoo	Dhi	29
184	Ayaluu Warqu	Dha	30
185	Nigatuu Getachow	Dhi	28
186	Burukii Alamayoo	Dhi	25

Lakk.	Maqaa	Sala	Umurii
187	Hubbee Bajiga	Dha	26
188	Dazee Bajigaa	Dha	29
189	Baqaluu Zalaqaa	Dha	36
190	Habtamu Hayilu	Dhi	24
191	Taddasaa Dajanee	Dhi	19
192	Mamush Gurme	Dhi	20
193	Birhanuu nugusuu	Dhi	26
194	Itenash Taddase	Dha	25
195	Abaraa Alamayoo	Dhi	20
196	Andualem Xilaahun	Dhi	25
197	Goshime Xilaahun	Dhi	20
198	Ermias Xilaahun	Dhi	19
199	Xilaahun Hayilu	Dhi	51
200	Tsagayee Hayilu	Dhi	50
201	Tamirat Abbaraa	Dhi	22
202	Danyee Dajanee	Dhi	19
203	Dajanee taddasaa	Dhi	42
204	Fiqaaduu Tasfayee	Dhi	32
205	Tashoma alemu	Dhi	29
206	Getuu Taddasaa	Dhi	30
207	Alamayoo Bashadaa	Dhi	36
208	Nugusuu Mgarsaa	Dhi	49
209	Bashadaa Dagafaa	Dhi	79
210	Alamayoo Goffaa	Dhi	42
211	Shifiruu Soeffuu	Dhi	50
212	Warqituu Fayisaa	Dha	70
213	Aster Abbaba	Dha	36
214	Nugusuu Boranaa	Dhi	53
215	Girma Gudaata	Dhi	54
216	Masfin Kidanee	Dhi	28
217	Bootee Dirribaa	Dhi	39
218	Alamu Yadatee	Dhi	28
219	Getuu Goffaa	Dhi	26
220	Dajanee Ashuu	Dhi	24
221	Charruu Rootisaa	Dhi	82
222	Tarikuu Leggesse	Dhi	24
223	Sajin Warquo Baulachew	Dhi	37

Lakk.	Maqaa	Sala	Umurii
224	Gutaa Mangashaa	Dhi	39
225	Mokoneen Bililinyi	Dhi	27
226	Mitiku Nugusuu	Dhi	20
227	Chaltuu Alamayoo	Dha	18
228	Kumaa nugussuu	Dhi	18
229	Hawwii Alamayoo	Dha	18
230	Mogos Nugusuu	Dhi	28
231	Kibuu Lammaa	Dha	39
232	Wayinishel Nugusuu	Dha	29
233	Darajee Assafaa	Dhi	28
234	Indalkachew mangistuu	Dhi	27
235	Dajane Alamayoo	Dhi	25
236	Asiraatee Abbabaa	Dha	35
237	Nugusce Alamayoo	Dhi	23
238	Birhaanu shifaara	Dhi	22
239	Xajituu gurnuu	Dha	48
240	Birqenash Shifaara	Dha	20
241	Shawayyee Shifaara	Dha	18
242	Kabbee Abooyyee	Dhi	30
243	Girma Gudaata	Dhi	58
244	Shaanbee Girma	Dhi	28
245	Aragash Dabalee	Dha	52
246	Gaalayee Girma	Dha	32
247	Turungoo Girma	Dha	30
248	Indale Girmaa	Dhi	20
249	Malasaa Girmaa	Dhi	18
250	Wubalem Girmaa	Dha	19
251	Fiqaadu Girmaa	Dhi	34
252	Bayyanuu Dammisee	Dha	54
253	Boggalce Lagaasa	Dhi	20
254	Tilaahun Lagaasa	Dhi	25
255	Wandasaa Nagasaa	Dhi	23
256	Mangistuu Dubbee	Dhi	23
257	Birqinash Ilayilu	Dha	20
258	Alamayoo Dammisee	Dhi	40
259	Darajee Warquu	Dhi	40
260	Fataahun Dammisaa	Dhi	35

Annex 3: List of Farmers Petitioned in 2012

Guyyaa 07/01/2005

Mootummaa Naannoo Oromiyaatti Bulchiinsa Magaala Laga Xaafoo
Laga Daadhitiif *BL/Baraaynatti 7/1/03*

Laga Xaafoo

Iyyattonni nuu Maqaa fi mallattoonni keenya Iyyannoo kanaan wal qabatee kan dhiyaate jiraattoota magaalichaa yemmuu taanu

Dhimmi :- Kaartaa qabeenyummaa Mana Jireenyaa Ilaalchisuun ibsa Gaazeexaaf kenname ilaallata

Magaalli Laga xaafoo Laga Daadhii erga hundeefamtee asii jiraattonni Parsantii 90 ol taanu kaartaa qabeenyummaa mana jireenyaa osoo hin fudhaatin turaan keenyaa ni yaadatama .

Kanumarraa ka'uun aantoonni ummataaf quqaman kenniinsa kaartaa magaalichaa ilaalchisuun qunnamtii ummattaatti wanta beeksiisanii kaantiibaan magaalichaa obboo Magarsaa Galataa Gaazeexaa Finoota Natsaannattiif deebii kennanii jiru.

Lakkoofsa gaazeexichaa 54 fuula 16 irratti oduu gaazeexaan dhiyaateef deebiin kaantiibichaan kennaman dhugaa ifaan jiruurraa akka malee faallaa waan ta'eef iyyannoo kanaan gaafachuuf dirqamnee jirraa .

Kaantibichi jiraataan kaartaa qabeenyummaa mana jeernyaa mirkaneessuu gaafatee dhabe hin jiru jechuun ibsa kennee jira .

Yaa ta'u malee hawaasni jiraataan kaartaa argachuuf nama hiree hin taane sirumaayyuu lafa bulchiinsaa Magaala Laga xaafoo Laga Daadhiitti %90 fayyadamtoota kan ta'an jiraattoota magaalichaa kan hin ta'in fi namoota hin beekammedha .

Magaalittiin yemmuu hundoofu kan jiraattoota turre dhalattonni magaalichaa mirgi heerri mootummaa nuuf kennee Eegamee dursi nuuf kennemee kaartaa qabeenyummaa mana jireenyaa mirkaneessuu argachuu qabanayyu .

Yaa ta'u malee ,nuti jiraattonni kaartaa akka hin argatin osuma beekamuu , sababa maqaan keechan tartiibaan qaama olaanutti waan dabreef akkuma eyyamameen isiinif kennina jedhamne eegachaa jiraanullee , kaantiibichi akka nuti gaafii kaartaa hin dhiyeessinitti fakkeessuun deebii gaazeexaaf kennan sirrii waan hin ta'inif dhimicha irratti jbsii fi deebiin sirrii ta'e akka itti kennamu gaafachaa ,yoo kun raawwatamu baate garu dhimmichaa gara qaama seeraatti dhiyeessuun mirgoota keenya kabachifachuuf kan dirqamnu ta'u keenya beeksifna

Kaantiibichi Gaazeexaa finoota Natsaannatiif deebii kennan jecha guutuusaa ragaadhaaf iyyannoo kana wajjiin walqabsifnee dhiyeessinee jirra

Iyyattonni 746 + 17

Garagalcha

- ❖ Waajjira pirezdaantii mootummaa naannoo oromiyaatiif
- ❖ Waajjira Dh.D.U.O (Dhaabbata Dimookraasii uummata oromoo tiif)
- ❖ Dhaabbata Eegaa Imimaanii oromiyaatiif *Sana Dargaa*
- ❖ Koomishinii Farra Malaamaltummaa oromiyaatiif *CI 5520128*
- ❖ Biiroo kominikeeshinii mootummaa naannoo Oromiyaattif *Sana*
- ❖ Gubaa'ee mirgoota sabummaaf
- ❖ Koomishinii mirga sabummaa itoophiyaaf
- ❖ Dhaabbilee Qunnamtii Uummattootaa ,Dhunfaa , Mootummaa fi biyya Alaa

Finfinnee

ሰማ እስኪገኝ እንጮሀለን ሰማይና ምድርም ይጮሀሉ



ኢያ ደበርሣ (ከለገጣፎ ለገዳዲ ክተማ)

ጉልበት አስከሚዝል ጀንበር አስከምትጠልቅ

ጠማማው እስኪታይና ኅባጣው እስኪታረቅ

እሪ እንላለን እንጭህለን ገና፤

ተገራ አስከናዎው የበደል ደመና።

[illegible]

የሰራው ሥራ ላለማ የግፍ ጽዋ ሞልቶ የሚፈለቅን የለገጣ፤ ለገዳ፤ ከተማን የሕዝብ ፍቅር ጆሮ ላለው ማለማት ነው። ፍጥረ ነገሳት ገዢው የህዝቡን ብሶት አስተውላ በአህዴድ ንግሥት ስለመዘገጋቱ ያወሳችው እጅግ በጣም ጥቂት ነው። እሳቱ እኔም የበኩሉን ለበለ።

ጥቂት ስለ እውነቱ፡

በጣጣ፡ ከሰዓዲ ከተማ ጋር ተዋላ ለጥባቢ
ለገዳ፡ በሚል በሁለት ቀለጻ፡ በሰዓዲ የከተማ
አስተዳደር መመራት ከጀመረች ሐምሌ 2004
ዓ.ም ፍቅሪ 6 እመታ፡ ከፊት ታሪካዊ የጋራ
ማንሰት የራሷምና ከሰዓዲ መንግስት ርዕዩ ከሰዓዲ
ወያኔ አገሩን ከሰባ ከተመለሰ በኋላ ነፍር በሰዓዲ

መልኩ የተዋረረው፡፡ ቀጥሎ ሲል በሰንጠረዥ የተጠራ ወረዳ ሥርወ ነዝና የጥላላ የካላላ በሚል ተባለ ገበሬ ማህበር የካላላ ተገቢ አደራው ይሆኑ ለዚህ ለበባ ጉያብር የተወሰኑትው ትንሹ ኩነት ማይላ እስከ ትንሹ የልወጣት ይርቻ ላይ ሁሉ ያሉትን የፌደራላዊ የልሚያ የልሚያ ክልል ስለሚገኙት ልብ ለሸፈተት፡፡ ሁሉም ሪጃያና እድሻውን ያለገደሉ እየዘረጉ ምድረቱን ተቀብረውት፡፡ የሱህ አደራ እያደረጉት፡፡ እትብቅ የተጠራውን የገበሬ ምድረቱ እያደረጉትና የጥን ሠራተኛ ለደረጉት፡፡ የገበሬውን ለገንጥ ማግኘቱ የላሳ ገጽ አደራረሱ አነሱ ሲሆኑትውን ገዙ፡፡ ለትዋልፍ ለአነሱ ገንጥ ለሊት ለሊት ለሊት ያሉትን ገንጥ ገንጥ፡፡

ለመሆኑ የለገጣ። ለገዳዲ መሬት
የማንነው?

[illegible]

መንግሥት አድራሻው የት ነው?

እድራሻውን የምታውቁ ጠቁሙን፡ የለገጣዊ ሀገሥ ከየትኛው መንግስት በሥራ ቀርቦ እንደሚሠራ ሃሳብ ገብቶታል፡፡ ሲሆስ ደምቶ የሚለው አካል የገናኗን የ4 ኪሎው መንግስት እንደሆነ ድርሰ ሀምቶች ሆኗል፡፡ ገና ከደብዳቤ ለመግባባት ስርዐት ሲደቀም የመታወቅ፡፡ ስሁን ደምቶ አየሰሰበት ለገናኗል፡፡ የኦሮሚያ መንግስት እንደሁ ለሮሞችን ፍፁም ዘንግቶታል፡፡ ለማንኛ ሰምን እንደራሙ አንጎን አያውቅም፡፡ ስሚያባው የለገጣዊ ነገሩ ገን እንደ የአምቲ ወደ ራሳቸው ሲገቡ፡፡ ራሳቸውም ለምቶ መለሱ፡፡ መሰሉ የገን የማስገባትቶቹ ደወል ነበር፡፡ ሳርዳር ደምቶ ለይዘደም፡፡ ወሱ ሳይደር አገራዊ ስብትና ብድን ይልና የሀገሡን አገልግላል፡፡

የእግዚአብሔር ቁጣ ከእርሳያም

ለኒ 22 እና ለኒ 25 2004ዓ.ም ፈጣሪ ለገጣፊ፣
ለገጣፊ ላይ የዌብ ስብረት ስንዘረ። የገጣፊ ራሱን
ለገጣፊ-ሌላን ህገብ ላለው ላቶን ለገጣፊ ራሱን
በተገደረ ጊዜ ደጋግቶ የዌብ ስብረት ስንዘረጣ።
በመጨረሻ ራሱን የወርሶችን የህዝብ ማኅ
በሰላ ተፈታ። እርሱ ለኒ 22/2004 መጠንጠን ገዢው
የዌብ ስብረት ይቀርብ ለውሳኔ ገሳብ የተሰማውን የጠና
ጣቢያና የብድክነት ማኅ ተፈታ ህገጣፊን አደራሰብ
፣ እኛ ራሳቱ ላይ ደግሞ እንጥቅም የህዝብ ጠብታ
ከሌለበት የተገሳብ ህይወት ገሳብ የተገደባውን
ደረሰና ጥቂት የመፍረስ ይሆኑት ጣቢያ ገንጥሎታል
ከላታው። እያረጋውም ከ3 ሚሊዮን ብር በላይ
የሚገመት የግብርት ውድድር ትክክለኛ ሲሆን፣ ይህ
የግብርት ውድድር ከገደብ ሆኖ፣ እ/ሮ አቶ አቶ ከፈጠረው
ህዝብ እንጂ ከቴላቶስ ጋር አይደለም። ከላግኝት
ለበበ የራሱን ልጅ የግብርትና ማስፈጸም ራሱን
ለግብርት ያህል ላይ አይተባብሩም።

ይድረስ ያገኛል ለሚፈልጉ አካል

የህዝቡን ብሶት በውል አጢኖ መፍትሄ
የሚሰጥ ወገን ከተገኙ የንዋሪው ጥያቄ ከሞላ
ጎደል የሚከተለውን ይመስላል።

• ስጥረት ሹማምንትና ደቀመገሙሮቻቸው በገፍ ከሚታደሰው የደቀታ ማረጋገጫ ካርታ ነዋሪው በነፍስ ወከፍ የዜግነቱን እንድ ካርታ እንጂያንኝ!

- ህጋዊ ባለሆነ መንገድ በማስፈራራትና በማለር ገበሬውን ከ እርሻ ቦታው ላይ ማፈናቀሉ በእስቸኳይ እንዲገታ!

• ከከተማዋ ነዋሪ ቁጥር በላይ የተዘጋጁ ካርታዎች ምንጫቸው እንዲመረመር!

• በከተማው ወጣቶች ስም በ140 ካሬ ሜትር የተሸነሰው መሬት ለማን እንደ ተከፋፈለ እንዲጣራ፤

• መስኞችና ኪራይ ሰብላቢዎች እንዲጋሰቡ!

- የባለስልጣናቱ የሀብት ምንጮች በፀረ ሙስና ኮሚሽን በኩል እንዲጣራ፤

- የቀደሙትም ሆኑ እሁን በስልጣን ላይ ያሉት ሹመኞች ተገባር በህዝብ እንዲገመገምና ነዋሪውን ለብስቦ ማነጋገር ከምንም ዕላይ ለንገዳዊ ጉዳይ መሆኑ ለንዲጤን።

ጥላይ ለጥላይ ነፃነት ይዟል

ገገጅት ክፍል

ወደገገኛቸው ቢበጥም እኛ አንድም የሆነውን
 ልጁን በመጥራት ብብን ተገድቶ አሳይን።
 ቢያውቁት ፍር ደብዳቤ ለመገንባትም የሚችሉ
 መንገዳችን መስታወት ነበረች። አንተም ልጄ
 እኛም አብረን ተገድቶ ስለነበርን ስለነበርን
 ቀን አንድ ባይሆንም ገንቢ ሙሉ የሆነውን ያደርጋል።

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ወላጆች የጉላሌ ኦርሞዎች

ሲሆኑ ኑርላችን አዚሁ ኩባቢ
አካባቢ ነው። ከኩባቢ ማዶ ጣፎ
የምትባል ደረት (ሊጋ) አለች።
ከዳዲ ደረት ጋር ትገናኛና
የመጠጥ ውሃ ግድግዳን ለገዳን
ትጥብለች። ከቅርብ ጊዜ ወዲህ
ለገጣፎና ለገዳዬ የሚባሉ የገጠር
የገበሬ ማህበራት ወይም ቀበሌዎች
ልዩ የከተማ አስተዳደርና ልዩ
ወረዳዎች ሆነዋል። ምንጭ ቢባል
የኦሮሚያ ከልል መስተዳድር አዲስ
አበባ ዙሪያ የሚገኙትን ቀበሌዎች
ልዩ የኦሮሚያና የኢትዮጵያ
የልማት ማዕከላት ተምሳሌት
አንዲሆኑ ነው።

ልማቱስ ምን ይመስለል?
ከአዲስ አበባ ወደ ምዕራብ ሲወጣ
በሆሎታ በኩል ብዙ የአበባ
እርሻዎች ይታያሉ። በበለጠ በኩል
የአካ አበባ ግርማ (ፕሬዚዳንት)
ሬል በቴትና ብዙ መጓዝኛች
ይገኛሉ። በናዝሬት በኩል ገሳን
የምትባል የኢንዱስትሪ ማዕከል

十四名分::

በምስራቅ በኩል የሰገጣጩና
 የሰገጣጩ ልማት ተግባር፤
 ፡ ልማቱስ ከምን አካያ ነው?
 ግለሰቦች የሪል ስቴት ባለሀብቶች
 የገበሬውን መሬት እየተቀራመቱት
 ነው። ይህም ብቻ አይደለም፤
 ፡ በምርጫ 97 ጊዜ የኦሮሚያ
 አስተዳደር በየገዢ መጠቀሚያ
 ሠራተኞችን በማፈጸት በአዲስ
 አበባ ዙሪያ መሬት እንዲገዛ
 አድርጓል። ለገጣጩና ለገጣጩ
 በዚህ ወረራ ለሰባ ሆነዋል።
 ፡ የሚገርመው ግን የሰገጣጩው
 ጉዳይ ነው። ኮፐቤ አካባቢ ሊምላ
 የአርሶ አደሩን መሬት በርካሽ
 ዋጋ ወስዶ ለራሱ ሚሊዮኖችን
 አንዳተረፈ ሁሉ ለገጣጩ አካባቢም
 በእነ "ሲሊቡ" (CCC) የወጣለት
 የሪል ስቴት ኩባንያ ተፈጥሯል።

“CCC” የሚባለው የሪል ባንክ ኩባንያ ሠርቶ የሚሸጣቸው ቤቶች ከአምስት ሚሊዮን ብር በላይ ያወጣሉ ይባላል። የሰነዱ “CCC”

ቤቶች ባለቤቶች ከሆኑ ሰዎች መካከል ቱባ ቱባ የኢህአዴግ ባለስልጣናትና ዘመዶቻቸው አሉባቸው ይባላል።

የኢህአዴግ ባለስልጣናትና
በተዘመደባቸው አንደኛው
የሚንደላቀቁባቸው ቤቶችን ሲያሰሩ
መሬታቸው የተወለደባቸው ስርዓት
አደሮች የት ገቡ ብዬ አጠይቃለሁ፡፡

እነሱም ብዙዎች ያገኙለትን ትንሽ ካለ ንግዝስ ጠጥተውበት መሬት አልባና ባዶ ኪለ ሆነው ከለማኝነት ያልበለጠ ኑሮ ይኖራሉ። ይህን ሁሉ የመሬት ችብቸባና ቅርምት መቆጣጠር የተሳነው የኦሮሞ ህዝብ ወኪል ነን የሚለው በክህደድ የሚመራው የኦሮሚያ አስተዳደር ነው። ታዲያ ኦሮሞጌቱ ምኑ ባይ ነው? 'መሬት' አይሸጥም አይለወጥም' የሚለው የመንግሥታችን አዲስ ምን በለው?

