

Addis Ababa University
College of Development Studies
Institute of Regional and Local Development Studies

*Resettlement and Conflict over Land use in
Southern Nations and Nationalities People Region
(SNNPR): the case of Dawuro Zone Resettlement
Site*

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A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Addis Ababa University in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree of Master of Arts in Regional
and Local Development Studies

June 2009

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

RLDS
E3 R7
2009

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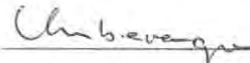
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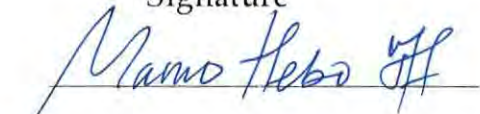
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Acknowledgments

I would like to express my special gratitude to my advisor Ignatius Mberengwa (Ph.D) whose contribution was essential not only for the accomplishment of this thesis but also my academic career in general. His comments and professional critics were essential in shaping the thesis as it is now.

I am indebted to my friend Ageno Atumo who was with me in field work. He helped me in arranging and facilitating the field work and being with me at time of data collection. I would also thank Wubalem Beyene, health extension worker in Neda, who accommodated us in our field work. Derese Alemayehu, the policeman in Neda, Ayelech and Tamirat also deserve thanks for their support in our Neda stay.

I am indebted to Dawuro Zone Agriculture and Rural Development Department. Especially, Tsenga Shenu, head of the department, helped me in providing data and facilitating to access required information from the department in my request. His moral support also encouraged me in my hard times in field work. Tadyos, head of food security section, also was cooperative at time, thank you.

Finally, I would like to thank my brothers Tesfaye, Desta, Teshome and Eyasu(Joshua) for their support and encouragement in my entire study. The prayer and concern of my father Mengesha Marra is invaluable in all my achievements.

Thank you all who helped me in any way! God Bless You!

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Acronyms

E.C: Ethiopian Calendar

EPRDF: Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front

ETB: Ethiopian Birr

FGD: Focus Group Discussion

HHs: House Holds

ILO: International Labor Organization

IRR: Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction

masl: meter above sea level

NGO: Non Governmental Organizations

NPP: National Population Policy

RRC: Relief and Rehabilitation Commission

SGM: Social Geometry Model

SNNPR: Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Region

TGE: Transitional Government of Ethiopia

Glossary

Belg: A season from February to April

Dega: Highland agro climate

Enset: A root crop widely grown in southern Ethiopia

Godare: One season root crop

Kebele: The lowest government administration unit

Kiremt: A season from June to September

Kola: Low land agro climate

Manna: Potter who perceived as having bad spirit

Teff: Small seeded grain, endemic to Ethiopia, from which injera is made

Woreda: Administration unit between kebele and zone

Woynadega: Midland agro climate

Abstract

Resettlement has been used as a rural development program with other objectives to reduce rural poverty and tackle food insecurity. In Ethiopia also it has been used with different explicit and implicit objectives. This thesis aimed at assessing the prevalence of conflicts in resettlement areas and their causes by taking one resettlement area of Essera woreda of Dawuro zone.

The study used both qualitative and quantitative data collected through household survey, FGD, key informants interview and personal observation. These data were analyzed and interpreted in line with the objectives of the study.

The study findings are that in selected resettlement area, the prevalence of conflict is high due to different factors. These factors include ethnic differences, resource competition, poor planning and implementation, lack of good governance at kebele level, population inflow and illegal land sale. Among these factors, ethnic difference is the main cause. It is found that the implementing body of the program overlooked ethnic differences of resettlers and hosts and it led to antagonistic relation between hosts and resettlers. The program resulted in twofold effects for resettlers, providing land for them, and then making them food secured; and making the life unsecured due to antagonistic relation with hosts. For the hosts in turn it contributing nothing but cleared the nearby forest and created competition on grazing lands.

It is found that conflict resolution means used so far were not effective. They were not participatory and not addressing the root causes. The real features of the relations between hosts and resettlers are overlooked by the government. Ignoring the ethnic differences and failing to handle it properly may further create ethnic conflicts not only in the study area but also in other parts of the region. Having so many ethnic groups in a given state is neither blessing nor a curse, it depends how they are handled.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

Resettlement is a world wide rural development policy practice, particularly in developing countries, each undertaking the program under specific motives of its own (Desalegne, 2005). The common aim of rural resettlement undertaken in most countries include; increasing the material well-being of the resettled population and social revolution in the rural areas through peasant associations and cooperatives, relieving high population pressure and provision of land for landless population, utilization of underutilized frontier resources, and increasing rural production. Resettlement is also initiated to rehabilitate populations affected by natural disasters, wars, conflict tensions, and unfavorable climate hazards (ibid).

Land resettlement or colonization schemes have been adopted in many countries, often at enormous costs. Although they have a common aim of raising the incomes and living standards of the rural landless, resettlements nevertheless appear to differ in their approaches and objectives. Issues of population redistribution and efficient utilization of unused lands are predominant in many developing countries (Oberai, 1988). There have also been instances where extensive resettlement programs have been adopted in place of more radical agrarian reforms (ibid). Resettlement, so, has been used as a means of rural agrarian reform.

When we look at the World experience of resettlement in general, it has been undertaken in many developing countries as a rural development program with different specific objectives. The achievement of its objectives, however, depends on the specific country objectives and specific factors.

Resettlement in Ethiopia has a long history. Both self-initiated and government-sponsored resettlement have been undertaken in the history of the country. The first resettlement scheme took place during the imperial regime where a large number of peasants were relocated to Sidama and Illubabor areas. After the fall of the imperial regime, the Derg regime took the resettlement strategy aiming to resettle about eight million people in order to solve recurring drought problems and ease population pressure (ibid). The resettlement program was one of the controversial policies of the regime. The government made little preparation and planning before moving large numbers of people. Areas selected for resettlement were not suitable for peasant agriculture and found to be infested with many kinds of diseases. This led to a lot of suffering, death and family separation (Mihret, 1994). But the government on its part argued that resettlement was a sound policy to rehabilitate the drought-affected population by moving them from the degraded areas to relatively fertile and sparsely inhabited areas (ibid). The current government, EPDRF, also took the same action with the aim of resettling about two million food-insecure people. Thus, intra-regional resettlement schemes were launched in Oromia, Amhara, Tigray and SNNPR regions since 2003 (Desalegne, 2005).

Studies show that the main pushing factor contributed to the movement of people was food insecurity (Gemechu, 2008; Helena, 2007; Desalegne, 2005). Some of the causes usually mentioned for food insecurity include: land degradation, drought, high population pressure, subsistence agriculture, small farm size, land fragmentation and landlessness (Desalegne, 2005). In addressing the above-mentioned problems, the government has developed and been implementing different policies and strategies. Despite its questioned success story, resettlement is among the most exercised programs in the history of the country (ibid).

Resettlement is often conceived as a process by which people are relocated and settle in areas said to possess considerable unutilized or underutilized potentials (ibid). But some scholars argue that the idea of underutilized potential or underutilization is controversial. These terms are defined and considered usually from the policy makers' point of view, but not from the hosting people's point of view. For instance, Gemechu (2008) mentions that for traditional rural community who sustain itself through hunting, gathering, shifting cultivation and pastoralists, there is no as such unused or underused resource. Failure to consider the resource use interest among the resettlers and hosting people often leads to violent conflicts. In some studies it is indicated that there are few cases where resettlers and local hosting people formed good partnership. In most cases the relationship was described as hostile and violent. Helen (2007) stated that increased population pressure and over consumption of resources can be causes for conflict. Such conflicts can be exacerbated when it involves different ethnic groups of people.

In Southern Nations, Nationalities and People Region (SNNPR) resettlement program has been undertaken by moving people from food insecure areas to where the land is fertile. One of the resettlement areas in the region, Dawuro zone in its five resettlement areas hosted people from different parts of the region. Mainly resettlers come from Sidama, Wolayta, Kembata and Tambaro, and Hadiya zones. Competition for resources in addition to ethnic diversity of the hosting people and resettlers, created an ethnic conflict tension in the resettlement areas.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

As a solution for food insecurity in Ethiopia, resettlement is identified as one of the ways to tackle the problem. The approach has been mainly undertaken by moving people from highly degraded areas to relatively fertile areas. As part of national strategy, SNNPR state government has been undertaking resettlement program in order to tackle the problem of food insecurity. The resettlers predominantly come from zones and special woredas, where population pressure is great and food insecurity is most chronic. These resettlers are mainly hosted in zones and special woredas of the region where there is ample space with productive land and few population pressures. Even though the government announced that the resettlement solves chronic food insecurity problem, studies show that poor planning, failure to consider socio-cultural contexts of people, little regard to host population, lack of infrastructures and others contributed to the failure of the program (Masresha, 2008; Desalegne, 2005).

Studies show that many resettlement areas of Derg regime ended with return to the original place because of conflicts (Desalegne, 2005). After the fall of the regime, the current government came with a new ideology of ethnic federalism. This change has affected many resettled communities in the southern and western parts of the country. In the early 1990s, numerous rural communities from northern parts of the country were compelled to leave their settlements involuntarily because of conflict. Massive return migration took place from the south and southwest to the north and to urban centers, particularly during 1991-93. This transitional period was followed by widespread human rights abuses, including loss of lives. A great many of the victims were people of northern ethnic background, settled in the southern part of the country (ibid).

Researches show that in current resettlement areas also there are conflicts and antagonistic relations between hosts and resettlers due to different factors (Gemechu, 2008; Helen, 2007; Tesfaye, 2007; Gebre, 2004). These studies identified different factors of conflict such as grazing land, forest products, and imposition of the program without the consent of hosts in different areas of resettlement. However, these researches did not address conflict mitigation ways in the resettlement areas. Moreover, no research is done in current resettlement areas of SNNPR which overlooked ethnic diversity of the region as well ethnic differences of the host and resettlers. Therefore, this research fills the gap by focusing on issues of resettlement and conflict in relation to ethnicity by taking one of resettlement areas in Dawuro zone. Moreover, it suggests the means to tackle those conflicts in resettlement areas as both immediate and long run options.

In order to address the issue stated above, case study research design is employed in which primary data gathered through a cross sectional survey of households included in resettlement program. Thus, among five resettlement areas in Dawuro zone, one site is selected as case. Site selection is on the base of characteristics of the resettlement sites in the zone. Among five resettlement sites, three of them are characterized by hosting either only resettlers from one ethnic group or resettlers come from the zone itself. Whereas two are characterized by hosting resettlers from different ethnic background and the host people populated relatively densely, and endowed with natural forests which were the source of income for some of the host people, which are related to objective of the study. From these two, Sengeti (Neda) is selected randomly for the study.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

1.3.1. General Objective

The general objective of the study is to assess the prevalence of conflict between the resettlers and host people and to suggest the mitigation measures that need to be done in selected resettlement areas of SNNPR, Dawuro zone. In addition, specific factors contributed to conflicts will be identified.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

The study has the following specific objectives

1. To assess the nature of resettlement in general,
2. To highlight the nature of host-resettle relation in resettlement areas.
3. To assess the incidence of conflict among host and resettlers and identify specific factors contributed to the conflict among the host and resettlers,
4. To suggest additional measures that can be instituted in order to alleviate the conflict.

1.4. Research Questions:

The research attempts to answer the following questions.

1. What are the factors that contributed to conflict among the host and resettlers?
2. Is there any impact of resettlement on the livelihood of the hosts?
3. What the relation between the hosts and resettlers looks like?
4. What measures should be taken in order to alleviate conflicts in sustainable way?

1.5. Significance of the Study:

The regional state government has been undertaking resettlement as a solution to food insecurity problem in drought areas. The ethnic difference of the host and resettlers in addition to resource use conflict in resettlement areas, created conflict tension. Therefore, the study may highlight the situation in resettlement area with respect to conflict. Therefore, it may help stakeholders (regional, zonal and woreda government authorities, and NGOs) for any further intervention. Moreover, it may help other

scholars in providing secondary information in the issue, and it may initiate others to further research the area.

1.6. Research Methodology

This methodological part deals with the study design, target population, source of data, the way of sample selection, and instruments development- questionnaire, key informant interview, focus group discussion, and personal observation.

1.6.1. Study Design:

This case study is based on primary data gathered through a cross sectional survey of households included in resettlement program. The subjects of this study are households who moved from their areas of origin to the resettlement area of the study area. In addition it included hosts around the resettlement area.

1.6.2. Target Population:

The resettlement program undertaken in the study woreda resettled households from different areas of origin and ethnic backgrounds together in different five resettlement sites. The target population of the study is therefore, resettlers of one of these sites and the hosts around the resettlement area.

1.6.3. Instrument Development

In order to gather adequate and reliable data, instruments employed are questionnaire, key informant interviews, focus group discussions and personal observations.

- a. **Questionnaires:** individuals, mainly heads of households, from both hosts and resettlers responded to questionnaires. These questionnaires contained both close ended and open ended questions. Questions that raised include; household characteristics, ethnic background, common resource use, host-resettle relation, impact on livelihood, any experience of conflict and conflict resolution methods. These questions first developed in English and later on translated in to Amharic.

Before conducting the actual survey, a pre-test was made in order to identify unexpected problems in the time of actual survey. Six enumerators were recruited and trained for short time to manage data collection process.

- b. **Key Informants Interviews:** in an effort to get in depth information about the issue under consideration, unstructured interviews were conducted with key informants such as Zonal administration officials, woreda level officials, community representatives (from both hosting and resettlers), youth and women from hosting community. The selection was purposive depending on the information they might provide on the issue under consideration.
- c. **Focus Group Discussion:** focus group discussions were also used to gain further insight on issues not adequately covered by the questionnaires. Four focus group discussions containing ten people held with community representatives and randomly selected households from resettlers. Similarly, three focus group discussions held with hosts which each group contains eight members.
- d. **Personal Observation:** for this study, the researcher also used direct observation. Direct observation is an important indicator or mechanism to cross-check the data gathered through other methods and supports the whole information through eye witness. It is important as it enables the researcher to realize the actual situation in resettlement areas as in relation to hosts and resettlers.

1.6.4. Data sources:

For the study two data sources are employed. These sources are primary and secondary sources. Primary data sources are questionnaires, key informant interview, focus group discussion, and personal observation. In addition to primary data sources, secondary data were collected from different sources such as reports of kebele, woredas, zone and regional state, NGOs.

1.6.5. Sampling Technique

There are 941 household resettlers in the study area Neda resettlement site. Ethnically, resettlers are from Wolayta and Tambaro of which 500 households are from Tambaro and 441 from Wolayta. There are also 336 households of host people around the resettlement area. For the purpose of the household survey, approximately 12% of each ethnic group is included in the sample. Individuals included in the sample are selected randomly. Where as people involved in key informants interview and focus group discussions (FGD) are selected purposely based on their position, understanding the issue, awareness, and willingness to participate. The following table shows the number of sample size for household survey form each ethnic group.

Table 1.1 The number of sample size from each ethnic group

No	Ethnic background	Total households in Neda	Sample taken	Percent	Remark
1	Tambaro	500	60	12	Resettlers
2	Wolayta	441	53	12	Resettlers
3	Dawuro	336	40	12	Hosts
	Total	1,277	153		

Source: Zone Agri. and Rural Development office, 2009

1.6.6. Data Processing Method

Analysis of quantitative data obtained through questionnaire survey was made using descriptive statistics such as graphs, arithmetic means, medians, and charts. The analysis of qualitative data collected through focus group discussion, key informant interview and personal observation was made in line with the presented data by elaboration and also cross tabulations.

1.7. Scope and Limitation of the Study:

The study has been limited to the investigation of resettlement and conflict in resettlement areas. It focuses on finding the specific factors that contribute to conflict and suggests solutions to resolve conflicts. Time shortage and financial constraints limited the researcher not to stay long in the area and observe how conflicts are managed among groups. Unwillingness of some officials to give the required information is the other limitation. Because of the sensitive nature of the issue, some people refused to participate in FGD.

1.8. Organization of the Thesis

The thesis has five chapters. The first chapter is introduction which contains the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study and methodology. The second chapter reviews the related literatures. In this part theoretical backgrounds and conceptual frameworks for resettlement and conflict are discussed. In addition, empirical studies done by other scholars are reviewed in this part. The third chapter provides the description of the study area. The fourth chapter is results and discussions. The last chapter is the conclusion and recommendation part.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter reviews related works that deal with the issue under consideration, resettlement and conflict. The first part discusses definitions, concepts and theories on resettlement and conflict. This is followed by the conceptual framework of the study. Empirical studies on resettlement and conflict form the last part.

2.1. Resettlement and Conflict: Definitions, Concepts and Theories

2.1.1. Resettlement

Different authors use different terms for the process of population distribution or redistribution to the new locations. Desalegne (2003) cited in Gemechu (2008), identified 'resettlement', 'colonization', and 'transmigration', as all referring to the phenomena of population redistribution, either planned or spontaneous.

According to Wood (1977), resettlement refers to the "settlement" of people for a second or subsequent time and the process of movement from a source of home area to a destination or resettlement. According to him, resettlement refers not only the physical process of becoming settled or stationary as opposed to mobile but also to the process of settling in or becoming established in an area. Establishment involves the development of social contacts, formation of economic basis for subsistence, establishment of physical assets, process of psychological set up for familiarity with places, and adaptation of physical and cultural environments (ibid).

Oberai (1988) on the other hand defines resettlement as a planned or spontaneous movement of people to areas of underutilized agricultural potential. He notes that it as a process of population redistribution, the movement of people from excessively populated areas to sparsely populated parts. Land redistribution is the principal objective of the resettlement.

Scudder (1985) also further defines resettlement as the spontaneous and sponsored settlement of areas which are largely uncultivated at the time of their occupation. The distinction between spontaneous and sponsored settlers refers to whether the settlers are self recruited or respond to the recruitment initiative of sponsoring agency, usually the government. The author gives emphasis on the phrase "largely uncultivated" in his definition. According to him, the emphasis is given because the lands are in fact occupied by others- the hosts at the time of resettlement, or if currently unoccupied, are always subject to rights of customary use tenure by the hosts.

The working definition of the study is that the definition given by Kasahun (2000) cited in Helena (2007), which reads as:

Resettlement is a movement of people from areas where there are no factors that are suitable for the smooth maintenance of life to areas presumed to be endowed with potentials that could provide opportunities for the life nourishment. Hence, resettlement is understood as planned or unplanned movement of people to get access to enough land and adequate rainfall for the betterment of their livelihood.

2.1.2. Conflict

Conflict is defined in different ways according to the specific area of study. For instance, Gove (1976) defined conflict as prevalence of violent clashes competition, or mutual interfaces among different groups of communities resulting in causalities produce hostilities, disruption of relationships and displacement of people. According to (Week, 1994) conflict is the assertion of right, claim or demand over cultural values of status, power, and scarce resources. In such situations, conflicting groups struggle to win or to gain dominance in their cultural, political, and territorial settings. Through their struggle, the winning party gets advantage over all the system of the society at the expense of the opponent.

Ahmed (2005) defined conflict over resources as the interaction of interdependent people who perceives incompatible goals and interferences from each other in achieving these goals. According to some authors (e.g. Helena, 2007; Irobi, 2005) conflict is inherent and necessary part of the human life. It is the result of long term process and interaction between people. Conflict is understood as having a dual nature- on one hand, it can tear, apart the relationship of group of people living together and on the other hand, it can be the force to build relationships.

Conflict definition, thus its resolution, is usually approached through the investigation of the concerned party involved. These may be ethnic or socioeconomic groups, or the state and its organization (Wood, 1993). With this, greater attention should be given to the parties involved. Resource conflict is a type of conflict that is instigated by existing but insufficient resources in a given area. The root cause of the conflict can be land grabbing by powerful groups, competition among settlers on the use of water and pasture, similar interest to access to natural resources (Bereket, 2004).

The link between natural resources and conflict is strong (Wood, 1993). Shortages of natural resources lead to competition which may result in conflict. In addition, fighting and insecurity may prevent appropriate management of natural resource and reduce their production, thereby worsening shortages and intensifying competition and conflict. Conversely, changes in the management of natural resources may increase the supply of benefits which people seek and so reduce competition, while economic diversification or policy changes demand for particular resources and so reduce competition and its potential conflict (ibid). The above mentioned author classifies different actors involved in resource conflicts, to mention some of them,

- Inter-group conflicts between different ethnic groups,
- Intra-group conflict between different socioeconomic groups within ethnic group,

- Conflicts between the state and people,
- Intra-government conflicts between different groups and organizations within government,
- Temporal conflicts which involve the interests of present and future generation.

In order to address these conflicts, a holistic view is needed of the circumstances in which people live and use natural resources. These circumstances are affected by a range of socioeconomic and political considerations which affect the supply and demand for natural resources (ibid).

2.2. Towards a Conceptual Framework on Resettlement and Conflict

2.2.1. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework on Resettlement

Over the years, scholars dealing with resettlement research have formulated a number of conceptual frameworks to analyze and explain the various impacts of the program. Some have managed to develop theoretical models that could help in analyzing and explaining the impacts of 'planned' resettlement (Tesfaye, 2007). However, some of models are holistic in their approach but have instead focused more on subject-specific impacts on socioeconomic, behavioral, of spatio-temporal aspects. Similarly, others have given due attention to the temporal and spatial dimension of involuntary resettlement (ibid). As a result, each approach has its own strength and weaknesses for the analysis and explanation of resettlement that have taken place in different places and contexts. For this study, some of the models are discussed and used in analyzing the impact and nature of resettlement in study area according to their emphasis and focus area.

To start with, Scudder (1985) developed a four staged model of the resettlement process. These stages involve some simplifying assumptions and stages overlap in reality. These stages are; (1) planning, initial infrastructure development, and resettlers

recruitment; (2) Transition; (3) Economic and social development; (4) Handing over and incorporation.

In the first stage of the model, some important issues include searching alternatives, considering the scale and scope of intended farming systems, land tenure for resettlers and negotiation with hosts, resolution methods for expected host –resettlers' conflict. In addition, initial infrastructure development should be given emphasis. Moreover, resettlers recruitment should consider social analysis (either men or women or both are to be moved first), type of production system, availability of off farm activities, and experience of skills of resettlers (ibid).

According to the same author, the second stage of the model is transition. Two important points are emphasized here; firstly, in this stage resettlers are moving from one habitat to the other and, secondly this transition period must come to an end before resettlers' families can be expected to take risks and significantly increase their productivity.

Scudder (1985) further explains the third stage of the model that resettlers react on wide range of investment strategies to achieve higher level of productivity through the diversification of family estate. Increased productivity and rising income also tend to increase on farm employment. He finally explains the last stage of the model. This stage is handing over stage and incorporation. The resettlement program can't be considered a success until control of project activities have been handed over to the resettlers and their local institutions.

The above model developed by Scudder (1985) gives a clear theoretical model regarding resettlement process. In the conceptual framework it is presented that how communities, households, individuals respond to resettlement. The model shows how behavioral reactions of resettlers are reflected in stages of recruitment, transition, development, and handing over of the program of resettlement. However, the

framework did not articulate the major predictive impoverishment risks to resettlers. Besides, it lacks the cumulative impacts of resettlement programs on resettlers, host community and the environment. In this study, the model will be used in analyzing the overall process and nature of resettlement of the study area.

The other theoretical model that can be used to analyze the impact of resettlement is Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model developed by Cernea (2000). The model states eight important dimensions of the risk of resettlement on settlers, the host community, and the environment with their cumulative effect on these groups. IRR model of resettlement has four major interlinked functions (ibid). These are (1) A predictive function, (2) A diagnostic function, (3) A problem-resolution function, and (4) A research function. Further, the eight impoverishment risks of resettlement are landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, loss of access to common property resources, social disarticulation (Gebre 2004). Recently, loss of access to education has been added as 9th variable (ibid). The IRR model is helpful in analyzing the impact of risks of resettlement on hosts and resettlers, their contribution to conflict. Mainly some of the risks (landlessness, loss to access to common property resources, and marginalization) of resettlement are used in analyzing the impact of resettlement on livelihood of the hosts and resettlers in the study area.

Dowing (1996) cited in Tesfaye (2007) also developed a 'Social Geometry Model' which emphasis among others, the social and spatio- temporal dimension of involuntary displaced and resettlement. From the perspective of social geometry, social dislocation accompanying involuntary resettlement may change some of the spatial and temporal dimension which defines peoples' identity, threaten intangible spaces, and moral order. According to the model, attachments to space and time are a powerful binding force for displaced social group (ibid). The SGM (Social Geometry Model) explains how moral, social order and identity of the stakeholders of resettlement mainly, the resettlers and the hosts, is affected by resettlement programs. Thus, the social relation in resettlement

areas is affected. Hence, it may contribute to the antagonistic relation, in many cases, between the resettlers and hosts in resettlement areas. Therefore, the model is helpful in analyzing the impact of resettlement from social and psychological point of view, where other models overlooked and put emphasis on economic variables.

For the purpose of this study, the above three models on resettlement are used to analyze the impact of resettlement on both resettlers and hosts from different perspectives. Because a single model cannot explain resettlement from every dimension, it is better to see from different perspectives. The first model of four stage of Scudder (1985) used to describe the overall process of resettlement, IRR model used to analyze risks related resettlement to both resettlers and hosts, and Social Geometry Model used to analyze how the moral and identity of resettlers are affected because of resettlement.

2.2.2. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework on Conflict

Economic factors have been identified as one of the major causes of conflict in Africa. Theorists believe that competition for scarce resources is a common factor in almost all conflicts in Africa (Irobi, 2005). In multi-ethnic societies like Ethiopia, ethnic communities violently compete for property, rights, jobs, education, language, social amenities and good health care facilities. There are different theories towards the cause of ethnic conflicts among different groups. To mention some, Gerhard Mare (1993) cited in (Irobi, 2005) confirms that conflicts over resources and ethnic conflict appear to be a response to the uneven development in a given country, which caused ethnic groups to mobilize to compete for resources along ethnic lines. It follows that multi-ethnic countries are likely to experience distributional conflicts.

Another major cause of ethnic conflict according to Nnoli (1987) is psychological, especially the fear and insecurity of ethnic groups during transition. It has been asserted that extremists build upon these fears to polarize the society. Additionally, memories of

past traumas magnify these anxieties. These interactions produce a toxic brew of distrust and suspicion that leads to ethnic violence.

Gurr's (1994) Relative Deprivation Theory offers an explanation based on an ethnic groups' access to power and economic resources. It states that group value is based on the economic and political positions held by respective group and the competition to take the power over these resources leads to violence conflict.

According to Rothschild, (1996) ethnic conflict is a sign of a weak state or a state embroiled in ancient loyalties. In this case, states act with bias to favor a particular ethnic group or region, and behaviors such as preferential treatment stimulate ethnic conflicts.

The above mentioned approaches to conflict explain conflict between different groups from ethnic point of view. These theories used to analyze conflicts among ethnic groups. In this study, the causes for conflicts among hosts and resettlers which are ethnically different groups are analyzed in light of the above theories of ethnic conflicts.

On the other side of conflict studies there are scholars who argue that the reason for any conflict is scarcity of resources (e.g. Ahmed, 2005; Atiklt, 2003). Scarcity can be explained by different approaches. Modernization theories of development argue that conflict and scarcity is structural and internal (Ahmed, 2005). They believe that the mode of production which different stakeholders are using leads to scarcity and conflict. So it should be modernized for its own sake (ibid).

According to Gibson (2006) cited in Markos (2004) development induced projects produce a wide array of ethno-political responses. But development practitioners and policy makers remain remarkably insensitive to sources of variability in both ethnic and intra-ethnic behavior. In such cases competition for resources and scarcity created through development interventions such as resettlements (ibid). On one hand, it creates

shortage of resources and limits their access to it, and on the other hand, due to scarcity and ethno-politics tensions, it accelerates conflicts which results in both material and psychological losses. From this point of view, development induced interventions require attention in both planning and implementation.

The other approach called populist approach, generally explains scarcity and conflicts as due to interventions and disturbances, both are external. According to Helland (2000), cited in Ahmed (2005), interventions can restrict access to grazing lands, decrease ownership security, increase local conflicts, clash production strategies, and demographic growth. According to this approach, development interventions, if not planned and implemented properly, can lead to conflict. It can be seen that natural resource tenure and management arrangements are an important sources of conflicts. For this study, the model is used to analyze the nature and causes of conflict in the study area. As the approach states that the main cause of conflict is intervention, resettlement is considered as development intervention.

In sum the study attempts to analyze the issue of resettlement and conflict in line with the above theoretical frameworks. Resettlement has its own risks and it creates scarcity over resources. The scarcity of resources in turn leads to competition and competition leads to conflict. There are also other facilitating factors of conflicts such as ethnic difference, power balance, economic position and policy environment. In the Dawuro zone resettlement areas in general and in Neda, the study area, such issues are analyzed.

2.2.3. Concepts on Conflict Mitigation

2.2.3.1. Multimodal Approach to Conflict Mitigation

In recognition of the diversity of factors that fuel conflicts between two or more parties, scholars agree that the definition of intervention should include any efforts involving external and internal parties that focus on amelioration of social, economic, political,

physical, and psychological conditions in the conflict region (Woodhouse,2006) . One of the models to conflict resolution method, which is called Multimodal Approach, is discussed here and used as a conceptual framework for the study. Multimodal approach states that in addition to the political forms of arbitration, mediation, negotiation, conciliation and reconciliation, as well as recently recognized way of interactive conflict resolution, some other mechanisms need to be included in addressing any resource and ethnic based conflicts (Keashly, 2006). These mechanisms include structural change, short term development aid efforts, long term economic investment plans- both private and public, public education, community building efforts, physical and mental health works, religion reconciliation works, and community empowerment. According to the model, there are specifically six factors that contribute to the resource and ethnic based conflicts. These factors are (1) historical, (2) religious, (3) demographic, (4) political, (5) economic, and (6) psych-cultural factors. A multimodal approach of conflict resolution recognizes that these six forces are interrelated and operate simultaneously at different levels along different time lines. A holistic system approach, therefore must consider cross-level efforts that are both sensitive and flexible in efforts at building sustainable peace in protracted conflicts (ibid).

The model is useful in addressing conflicts from many dimensions, which traditional and political way of resolution methods are not concerned of it. Besides, it approaches conflict from their root causes such as political, historical and economical. However, the practical applicability of the model is under question because it is more complicated and touches every dimension of the community under conflict. So it may not be realized in a given time under limited resources. Nevertheless, this study uses the model to suggest some conflict resolution methods in the study area.

2.2.3.2. Participatory Approach to Conflict Resolution

It is inappropriate to apply settlement approaches based on legal mechanisms and conventional negotiations to identity and ethnic conflicts (Jeong, 2007). According to the same author, conventional conflict resolution methods such as negotiation, arbitration, judicial settlements and conciliations have proved insufficient in many intractable conflicts. The basis of resolving ethnic and other identity based communal conflicts lies recognizing in the fact that freedom, autonomy, and recognition of concerned parties are valued. This argument calls another means to resolve conflicts based on ethnic and identity of groups. Participatory approach to conflict resolution gives due attention to the above mentioned factors (ibid). The approach solves conflicts and finds long lasting solutions that benefit both parties.

When conflict resolution approach is participatory, it connects the peace accord and its supposed recipients (Ginty, 2006). According to the same author, when conflicts are resolved in participatory approach, the core conflict causations are addressed, grievances are minimized, and languages and conceptualizations which understood by the locality are employed. Similarly, Jeong (2007) identifies the advantages of participatory approach over other methods of conflict resolution method. These include;

- It can change the structural dynamics that lead to competitive situation,
- It can meet the psychological needs and a sense of belongingness that can't be met in a certain systems,
- It can change antagonistic feelings and hostile emotions and then eliminate coercive power based relationships,

Lederach (2000) cited in Keashly (2006) states that people and their everyday understandings is key resource in conflict resolution. Conflict interveners need to tap into that well of knowledge and experience if they are to psychologically and politically empower people and successfully resolve the conflict. Similarly, Lund (1996) argues

that conflict resolution should be non violent participatory whereby every person can influence and change socioeconomic and political institutions that impact their lives. Galtung (2002) further argues that what is important to recognize is that it is not only the agreement reached but the processes of resolution itself. It is not enough to come up with 'better solution' or better peace agreement' to end conflicts. Even the best peace agreements are insufficient to guarantee a good peace process unless it is based on wide spread support and involvement of large number of people at every level of society (ibid). As the above author argues, the 'elitization' and monopolization of peace process by governments and NGOs is not only insufficient for bringing peace but also it is often damaging.

From the above arguments, it can be understood that conflicts among different groups in general and resettlers and hosts in particular demands participatory approach to resolve. These direct beneficiaries of the resolution process need to be involved in every steps of the process. From this perspective, conflict resolution mechanisms in the study area analyzed.

2.3. World Resettlement Experiences

When we look at the World experience of resettlement in general, it has been undertaken in many developing countries as part of rural development program with different objectives. In some countries it contributed for rural development in alleviating poverty and providing land for landless farmers. But in others it failed due to different reasons. The following paragraphs discuss the experiences of some countries.

In Sri Lanka, the policy of land colonization and irrigation was considered to have a major impact on population redistribution. Land suitable for cultivation in wet areas was scarce; the colonization of land in dry areas and irrigation was accelerated (Oberai,

1988). The scheme resulted in increased food production and considerable relief of population pressure in wet zones.

In Indonesia, the idea of population transfer was started around 1905, when additional labor was demanded in the southern part of the country. After the independence, the pace of population movement dramatically increased (Arndt, 1988).

There were also cases where resettlement took place in order to develop new areas. In developing new areas, the government might have objectives of increasing agricultural production, provision of land for landless, and relief of population pressure in overcrowded areas. For instance, Oberai (1988) discussed the case of Philippines. In Philippines, the earliest settlement projects had the colonization of frontier as major objectives. It was thought that an influx of Christian settlers into regions such as Mindanao and Palawan, would lead to the assimilation of cultural minorities or at least reduce the threat of raids or war against other regions. Therefore, the initial projects sought to achieve a major shift of population with the aim of changing economic and political character of the frontier areas. From this perspective, the program was successful. But as the frontier areas rapidly filled up, conflicts began to arise between the original tribal inhabitants and the resettlers. Land disputes contributed to the problems, which culminated in the violent uprising led by Muslim separatists in the early 1970s (ibid).

In Tanzania, land resettlement program had far-reaching objective which was complete transformation of rural society. The Villagization program was an attempt to evolve a coherent rural development with the aim of fostering communal production on the Ujamaa (socialist model), thus achieving growth with equality. The objectives of the nucleated settlements were to mobilize land and labor for communal production and to achieve equitable income distribution (Maroo 1988).

In Somalia, resettlement program was aimed at settling war refugees and the 1974 drought stricken population, but the achievements of these resettlements have been much below the target (Ragsdale, 1988). Factors that contributed to failure include poor site selection, failure in irrigation project implementation, and lack of commitment in administering the project.

In Peru, resettlement was started with the objective of colonization of forest lands. It was hoped that the colonization of the forest highlands would absorb a significant proportion of the country's population increment. Ecological problems, the decline of international cash crop prices and shortage of human power, however, proved detrimental to the consolidation of the objective, colonizing and promoting large estates (Oberai, 1988).

As it can be seen in the above discussion, resettlement has multidimensional objectives including economic, social, and political motives. The success or failure of a given project, therefore, is measured on the base of its objectives. But in general scholars agree that more emphasis should be given to livelihood of resettlers in evaluating the resettlement projects rather than political achievements (e.g. Desalegne, 2003; Pankhurst, 1992; Alemneh, 1990). Political gain should not be at the expense of the life of people.

2.4. Ethiopian Resettlement Experience

In the history of Ethiopia, rural -rural migration is a common feature and linked with the move to escape from shortage of productive land, in addition to some other implicit motives. There have been both self initiated and government sponsored population movements in Ethiopia. The following discussion highlights resettlement in Ethiopia under the three regimes; Imperial, Derg, and the current EPRDF governments.

2.4.1. Resettlement under Imperial Regime

The earliest policy initiative on resettlement mainly planned for northern peasantry, had two principal objectives. According to Desalegne (2003), the one explicit objective was by providing State land to landless peasants, increasing agricultural production and government revenue, too. On the other hand, implicit objective was increasing political power in Southern parts of the country by moving soldiers, and administrators from North and Central (ibid). In the third five year plan (1968-73) of the imperial regime, the first published document paved the way for planned resettlement program. The document explicitly states that the government had an intention to resettle Northern peasants to the South and Southwest (Pankhurst, 1992). Both the above scholars argue that the then resettlements were not carried out on free lands. Resettlement at the time resulted in widespread reaction and violence with local/hosting people. Moreover, the intention was not only to alleviate land shortage (Markikas, 1974; Pankhurst, 1992; Gemechu, 2008). These scholars argue that the population pressure in the South and West other than the specific places where the program was launched was more than that of North. The question they raise is that if the program is the response of land shortage, why did people not move from South to South. This justifies that resettlement programs were not only for land provision, but also political reasons (Gemechu, 2008). At the time, in addition to planned government sponsored resettlers, self initiated migration to the South was common. Government encouraged them and provided land for them where they wanted to settle. And there were times when Northern people considered as right to resettle in any part where the land is fertile (ibid).

2.4.2. Resettlement in Derg Regime

During the time of revolution, two initiations promoted resettlement (Gemechu, 2008; Pankhurst, 1992). The first one was the Land Reform Proclamation of 1975. The Proclamation nationalized all land resources and this created State intervention in land distribution and land relocation. The second was the establishment of various agencies

that were responsible for undertaking resettlement such as Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC) in 1974, and Settlement Authority in 1976 (Eshetu and Teshome, 1988). Mainly, the objectives of Settlement Authority were settlement of unemployed people, displaced groups, landless, peasants, and nomads. The Authority was to provide settlers with agricultural inputs on credit basis, water supply, health care and education. According to the above authors, there were three target groups that were to benefit from resettlement program.

The first target group was the urban unemployed of working age and in need of productive employment. ILO Employment Advisory Mission to Ethiopia estimated in 1973 the urban unemployment to be between five to ten percent of the urban labor force and concluded that in comparison with Sub Saharan African countries, it was not a serious problem (ILO report 1973, cited in Eshetu and Teshome, 1988). But the government insisted on targeting those groups.

The second target group of planned resettlement program was that of people displaced due to disasters. This group by and large was inhabitants of the highland regions of the country who were the victims of drought and famine due to bad weather conditions and low land fertility due to over use (Eshetu and Teshome, 1988). With this regard, scholars argue that settling people with traditional bad agricultural practice which deteriorates land in new fertile lands could soon lead to similar deterioration of agricultural lands in these new areas (Gemechu, 2008; Eshetu and Teshome, 1988; Scudder, 1985). So it may not be a sustainable way for agricultural productivity. They argue that the best way to tackle the problem of land misuse in highland regions is to keep the population there and raise the productivity of land through land reclamation and rehabilitation programs.

The third target group of planned resettlement was nomads. In this group, for instance till 1983, 7,000 nomads settled in some 15 settlement areas (Eshetu and Teshome, 1988). The recurrent drought and dislocation of nomads had contributed to the effort.

However, the change on lifestyle, provision of infrastructure, practice and cost of irrigated agriculture made it difficult to achieve the designed objectives (ibid).

After the revolution, the pace of resettlement increased dramatically. In the first decade of post revolution period, resettlement pattern continued in targeting famine victims. In 1984, about 600,000 people were relocated from drought affected and over populated regions of the country to five major resettlement sites namely Metekel, Metema, Asossa, Gambella, and Kefa (Gebre, 2004). Resettlement continued to be seen as a remedy for all ills and a way of furthering a hotchpotch of economic, social, and political objectives for dealing with famine, providing land for landless, increasing agricultural production, introducing new technologies, establishing cooperatives, removing urban unemployment, settling pastoralists.

The overall program was criticized for its coercive nature of implementation, which resulted in excessive mortality and family separation for resettlers. It was equated also with violation of human rights (Alemneh, 1990; Pankhurst, 1992; Gemechu, 2008). From an environmental point of view, it resulted in destruction of forests, then devastation of wild life, and immense land degradation (ibid). From the host population point of view, it was viewed as a continuation of Northern appropriation of the land resources in South and Southwest (Alemneh, 1990). The program also negatively affected the livelihood of the host population by distancing them from their livelihood basis, such as forests and grazing lands (Gemechu, 2008).

2.4.3. Resettlement under the EPRDF

Before coming to the power, EPRDF criticized the implementation of Derg's resettlement program (Robert 2004 cited in Gemechu 2008). The Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) officially stated the negative consequences of massive resettlement programs. In the document of National Population Policy issued in 1993, it stated that the massive movement of people from one part of the country to another,

voluntary or involuntary, aggravated the problems of environmental fragility in 1970s and 1980s (National Population Policy 1993 cited in Gemechu 2008). Beginning in 2003, to the contrary of the affairs, the government launched a large-scale resettlement program with the objective of settling 2.2 million chronically food insecure people. The program under the current government is designed to be voluntary and implemented intra-regionally.

Official statements claim that the resettlement program is based on four pillars and thirteen principles. The four pillars are voluntarism, availability of under-utilized land, consultation with host communities, and provision of minimum infrastructure. Partnership, community participation, transparency of program design, and development are some of the 13 principles (Helena, 2007). According to studies, more than 180,000 households were resettled between the years 2003 and 2005 (Helena, 2007; Gebre, 2004). The Western and Southern parts of the country were selected as areas of destination with the usual argument used by previous regimes that the areas were sparsely populated and underutilized (Gemechu, 2008). Research undertaken in resettlement areas of the current government reveal that the program still follows top down approach and conflict over natural resources, grazing lands, and forests remain challenging (Helena,2007; Gebre,2004; Gemechu,2008).

In addition to conflict over resources, the existing political environment makes the current resettlement program more challenging. As it is known the political orientation of EPRDF is ethnic based federalism. With a view to alleviate poverty, famine and drought problems, government has embarked upon a policy that promotes agriculture and the development of rural infrastructure. Besides, the government adopted a national population policy in July 1993 (Markos, 2004). The policy focuses on five major objectives, two of which are directly related to migration and resettlement: (1) reducing the rate of rural-urban migration and (2) ensuring a spatially balanced population distribution pattern (NPP 1993 Cited in Markos, 2004). Indeed, policies aimed at

ensuring spatially balanced distribution are more important. The question arises as to whether the political environment that has made ethnicity the basis for structuring federal constituencies is compatible with such policies. In the present political situation, can communities from the environmentally degraded areas of the country be resettled in the resource-rich areas of the country to produce a spatially balanced population distribution? This question is more important in the case of SNNPR where there are many ethnic groups. The possibility and sustainability of the resettlement programs aimed at balanced population distribution in the region is more difficult than any other regions because of ethnic diversity.

Therefore, in the present conditions of Ethiopia where concerned multi institutions are weak and under current political orientation, many researchers agree that undertaking resettlement programmes might repeat the same problems of previous periods, even worse, ethnic conflict (Gebre, 2004; Gemechu, 2008; Teketel, 1998). This is why rehabilitating the target population at their area of origin is recommended as an priority approach to ensure food security and rural development in Ethiopia in general and in drought prone areas in particular.

2.5. Resettlement and Conflict: Empirical Cases of Ethiopia

Conflicts between communities are the most complex and dynamic in their nature. They involve significant number of people and complicated interests that may involve diverse groups. Conflicts in Ethiopia occur not only because of limited/ scarce resources but also because of ethnic differences and lack of good governance (Helena, 2007). In Ethiopia, where resources are shared among different ethnic groups, the problem becomes more complex and relentless. According to Ayele and Gebre (2001) cited in Helena (2007), in Ethiopia there are four major causes of conflict. These are resource based conflicts particularly over land and water, boundary issues such as demarcation, introduction of new language, and status and power. Due to recurrent

drought and resource degradation as well as the intensifying role played by State's policy measures and administrative decisions, in most areas there have been various types and levels of conflicts. This study focuses on conflicts over resources in resettlement areas.

Conflicts over resources in resettlement areas have been common phenomena in Ethiopia since the conquest of the South and Southwest in the late 19th century and the subsequent political support for resettlers who came from North (Wood, 1977). According to Scudder (1985) when resettlement programs are undertaken, lands are occupied by hosts communally, if currently unoccupied, are always subject to rights of customary use and tenure by the hosts. Because population densities tend to be relatively low and the hosts tend to have relatively low social status and little regional and national power, their lands are sometimes taken away without their consent and adequate compensation. Even if they don't lose their lands, they are rarely incorporated in overall resettlement/development programs, and this omission increases the chances of conflict between hosts and resettlers (ibid).

After the fall of Derg in 1991, the current government, EPRDF, voiced a new political ideology aimed at enhancing ethnic equality. To address problems of ethnic disruption inherited from previous regimes, the new government restructured the country's former provinces into new regional states according to their ethnic/linguistic compositions. This change has affected many resettled communities in the southern parts of the country (Markos, 2004). In the early 1990s, numerous rural communities of Northern ethnic origin were compelled to leave their settlements involuntarily. Massive return migration took place from the South and Southwest to the North and to urban centers, particularly during 1991-93. This transitional period was followed by widespread human rights abuses, including loss of lives. A great many of the victims were people of Amhara ethnicity, settlers in the southern part of the country (ibid).

Atiklt (2003) indicated by referring one case study done by Assefa Tolera (cited in Atiklt, 2003) in Wellega, that there have been conflicts in different levels between the indigenous Oromo people and resettlers who came from Wollo. Indigenous people were marginalized and pushed further by resettlers from their grazing land and then officials granted land for resettlers. This escalated conflicts over land among the host and resettlers. According the author, ways used to tackle conflict include; arming the resettlers, intervention of military forces whenever conflict occurs, and implementing private land holding system in the area. Privatization of the land was unfamiliar to the area and further discouraged the hosts, but more strengthened resettlers to feel the sense of ownership to the land. But these measures failed to avoid or minimize the antagonistic and hostile relation between the groups (ibid).

Gemechu (2008) indicated that in Jida Ayana Woreda of East Wellega Zone, access to and competition for natural resources led to conflict between resettlers and hosts. Factors that contributed to conflict include shortage of grazing land, shortage of water and decline in access to it, shortage of farming lands, lose of their historical land which have been inherited from their forefathers, indiscriminate clearing of trees, and cultural differences. The regional governments are silent to such conflicts other than reacting whenever it occurs. Cultural and ethno-linguistic differences contribute more to conflicts in addition to the above mentioned factors, but the government states that communities with in each respective region enjoy access to resources with in given constitutional and legal frameworks. However, there is no clearly stated national or regional policy statement as to how local communities relay on natural resources (ibid). Even plans and specific programs on the use of such resources usually favor the resettlers by stating their constitutional rights to use but the hosts who depend on these resources are denied.

Yonas(2005) indicated in his research in Kafa that environmental degradation which was the cause for the displacement of Northern people now being waged as a final

combat in Kafa due to resettlement. The new comers cut big trees which the indigenous people never did it because of spiritual and cultural reasons. This resulted in antagonism between the two groups. In addition, the farming practice of new the comers which is extensive and required large tracts of land in opposite to the hosts, pushed the hosts from their lands which they used for shifting cultivation and grazing. These and other factors contributed to conflicts among the groups.

In East Wellega zone, Gidda Kiremu Woreda, Tesfaye (2007) discusses the conflict that took place on 2000 between the host Oromo people and Amhara resettlers who moved in to the area during the Imperial and Derg regimes. As pointed out by the author, political environment, among other factors, contributed to the big clash among the groups in the stated area. In the context of ethnic federalism, the hosts forced resettlers to leave the land by claiming the land where resettlers had been living belongs only to the Oromo. It was not only the community but also the government officials and administrators contributed to the conflict by politicizing ethnic differences. Moreover, the request of resettlers by claiming self administration as separate woreda or zone for they are ethnically different from the local hosts contributed to the clash. Besides, the language use in schools and government offices, which the hosts insisted to use their language in any offices and the resettlers opposed to use their language in respective areas, aggravated the conflict. Solutions given to the conflicts in these areas were not sustainable and long lasting because they were targeted only for immediate problems rather than solving the root cause of conflict which is quest of land and identity (ibid).

In Metekel resettlement area, there have been conflicts between the hosts Gumuz and resettlers Amhara people since the implementation of the program (Gebre, 2004). The Gumuz resisted the resettlement program to extent of killing resettlers on the roads, in the forest, in the fields, and even in their homes. The government reacted to the conflict by hiring militias and police to protect resettlers (ibid). According to the same source, the conflict continued when the resettlers demanded separate administration, and the

hosts requested for the evacuation of resettlers from Metekel after 1991 change of government. In 1994 the resettlement areas were set as separate districts answerable to the regional government bypassing the Gumuz dominated Metekel zone. Further this solution taken by the government created another challenge and hampered the normal activities of the district (ibid).

One of the four pillars of the current resettlement program provides that regional governments should consult host communities to discuss the necessity of the program and secure their consent. The real involvement of host communities in the program, however, may be considered as nominal, minimal, and in some cases non-existent (Gebre, 2004). In Chewaka area public meetings were organized to inform the local people about the resettlement plan but not to secure their consent. As Helena (2007) pointed out, the relation between resettlers and the hosts in Chewaka is hostile and it is discouraging for resettlers. According to the same source, this hostile relation is handled through the intervention of government. As the resettlement was implemented without the participation of the hosts, conflict resolutions still exclude the hosts. Workshops and trainings aimed at creating awareness in mutual respect and peace buildings still top down and involve selected few. The efforts were not such participatory conflict resolution methods so far used in the area (ibid). In Guyo Dakuba, authorities silenced youth resistance against resettlement by cutting a deal with traditional leaders and elders. The same to other areas, local people excluded from the program and kept aside as passive elements (ibid). Tension and conflicts reigned in resettlements where the concerns of the host people were overlooked. As can be seen, top down imposed resettlement program may aggravate the resettle host-conflict.

From the above discussions it can be understood that conflict over resources between the resettlers and the host is common in current and in previous resettlement areas with different factors contributing to it. In recent times, conflict appears to escalate due to the current political orientation and scarcity of resources due to population pressure.

Ethnic based federalism created ethnic identity awareness more than ever before and contributed to conflicts among different ethnic groups. In addition, population pressure and resource deprivation created scarcity by its own and contributed conflict. In the above reviewed previous works of resettlement, conflict and its facilitating factors were discussed but the means to tackle these conflicts both from short term and long term policy approach were not given. This study so tries to identify the factors contributing to conflict in resettlement of study area and suggests means to mitigate conflicts. Moreover, it tries to suggest policy options to the appropriate approach of resettlement that can minimize conflict in resettlement areas. Besides, in order to tackle the push factors to resettlement, food insecurity and drought, suggestions will be made.

In sum, as rural development policy, governments use resettlement as way out of food insecurity. As it has expected outcomes, there are also related risks to it, usually the implementing bodies fail to consider. Resource scarcity, political environment, and weak institutions with lack of good governance, contribute to conflict among hosts and resettlers. There are ample of studies which show that there are either exploded or likely to explode conflicts in resettlements areas. For insistance, Helena (2007) in Chewaka, Desalegne(2008) in Jidda Ayana, Gebre (2004) in Metekel, Yonas (2005) in Kafa, and Desalegne (2005) are some of the studies which shows conflict incidence in resettlement areas. Resettlement has its own risks and it creates scarcity over resources. The scarcity of resources in turn leads to competition and competition leads to conflict. There are also other facilitating factors of conflicts such as ethnic difference, power balance, economic position and policy environment. In the Dawuro zone resettlement areas in general and in Neda, the study area, such issues will be analyzed. In the following chapter the Woreda in which the study kebele is located and the study area is introduced.

Chapter Three: Description of the Study Area

This chapter deals with the general description of the study area. First it introduces the Woreda in which the study area is located. Then it introduces the study area Neda resettlement area. Both biophysical and socioeconomic characteristics of the study area in which the study conducted are discussed.

3.1. Description of Essera Woreda

Essera woreda is one of the five Woredas in Dawuro zone administration. The Woreda shares boundary with Tocha Woreda to the North, Lomma Woreda to the South, Mareka Woreda to the East, and Konta special Woreda to the West. It is located 327 km west from the capital of regional state, Hawassa and 79 km west from Tercha, the capital of zonal administration. Its altitude ranges from 500 masl to 2500 masl. Total land area of the Woreda is about 110,018 hectare (SNNPR Food Security Bureau, 2004). From its total area, 26,404.32 hectare (24%) is "Dega" (highland agro climate), 49,728.14 (45.2%) is "Woynadega" (midland agro climate), and 33,885.54 (30.8%) is "Kolla" (low land agro climate). Total population currently is 65,751, which is 33,291 male and 32,530 female(CSA, 2008).

Essera Woreda is one of the areas of the country which receives rainfall in its two seasons_ "Belg" from February to April and "Kiremt" from June to September. These seasons are time of crop production in the Woreda. As other parts of the region, mixed agriculture is common in the Woreda. Crops mainly produced include maize, "Teff", sorghum, wheat, and bean. Other cash crops such as coffee, sesame, and vegetables also commonly produced (SNNPR Food Security Bureau, 2004).

Land utilized for agriculture is 24% of its total area, 20% potentially cultivatable, 10% for grazing, 30% forest coverage, and 16% is occupied by roads, houses, water bodies and other infrastructures. The Woreda is endowed with large forests which is home for wild animals such as lion, elephant, buffalo, others. One of the National parks, Chebera_ Churchra, more than half part is located in the Woreda (ibid).



Source: Dawuro Zone Agriculture and Rural Development Department

Figure 1: Map of Dawuro Zone

3.2. Resettlement in Essera Woreda

Essera woreda of Dawuro zone is one of the destinations selected by the regional government for hosting resettlers from different drought affected zones and woredas. The regional government plan for resettlement was to resettle a total of 100,000 heads of households within years of 2003 to 2005. Resettlers are from zones and woredas of the region where population pressure is high and food insecurity is most chronic (SNNPR Food Security office, 2003). As the part of the regional government plan, the woreda currently hosted more than 4,000 households in its five resettlement sites. These resettlement sites are Neda, Manara, Boyna, Hagali, and Yucha. The sending zones and woredas of resettlers are Wolayta, Halaba, Hadiya, and Kembata_ Tambaro.

Both sending and hoisting woredas prepared before the program was actually implemented. In sending woredas preparation includes selection of potential resettlers and visiting the hosting areas. According to information from zone food security office, representatives of resettlers visited the respective areas of resettlement and reported to the potential resettlers before they move. According to the document of regional government, the selection criterion include, landlessness, food insecure, healthy, young/ adult, peasant farmers capable of producing enough by enduring the inevitable initial hardships in the new sites. In addition, the resettler is expected to be free from any form of debt, and other sideline misbehaviors such as theft and dishonest. This selection process was done by the respective kebele councils on the base of voluntary choice of resettlers without any external pressure, coercion or manipulative mechanisms.

The preparation process from hosting side also includes consulting the hosts, provision of infrastructures, and preparation of temporary shelters. The regional government document prepared during the program implementation states that the above mentioned preparations were done before the resettlers move the area.

The entire planning and implementation of the program was managed by the regional government. There was a committee headed by the head of the state which was responsible for the program execution. According to information from zone food security office, at all levels of administration, there were committees with the same responsibility. There were also other technical committees which were responsible for the assessment of the technical aspects of planning and implementation.

3.3. Description of Neda Resettlement Site

Among five resettlement areas in Essera Woreda, Neda is the one hosted resettlers came from two zones, Wolayta and Kembata_Tambaro. Neda, the study area, located about 18Km east to the capital of Essera woreda, Essera_Bale. Before the resettlement scheme, the area was totally forest land covered with different local tree species. According to the development plan document of the woreda, forest coverage was between 1,500 hectare and 2,000 hectare. The local host people were not allowed to farm the forest land and to reside in it. But informally they had been using the forest as one of the source of income in honey collection and timber production. After the resettlement program, these forests cleared and the land distributed to resettlers. Currently, about 20 to 30 hectare of forest coverage left but its sustainability is under question.

With regard to climate, according to information from kebele agriculture extension workers, Neda resettlement area is 75% "Woynadega" (mid land agro ecology) and 25% "Kolla" (lowland agro ecology). The climate is suitable for production of various crops such as maize, "Teff", wheat, "Enset" and others. In addition, it is favorable for livestock production. As other parts of the south-western part of the country, the area is ever green and has high rainfall distribution. The rain fall distribution in the area ranges from 1,600mm to 2,000mm annually. The altitude of the area ranges from 1,700 masl to 2,000 masl.

Main crops produced in Neda include maize, sorghum, bean, "Teff", "Enset", and "Godare". Other cash crops such as coffee and ginger also commonly produced. The area is with variety of alternatives for farmers to produce according to the market and weather condition. It also allows farmers to rotate crops so as they can maintain their land fertility. Cow, ox, sheep and goat are the main livestock produced in the area. As other parts of the zone and region, farmers in Neda involve in mixing farming system which crop and livestock production undertake simultaneously.

With regard to population of the Neda resettlement area, before the resettlement program, nearby the forest land there were 336 households of local host people. In resettlement program 941 households moved to Neda from Wolayta and Kambata_Tambaro zones of SNNPR. For administrative purpose, resettlers are in one distinct kebele named Neda and the host in different kebele administration named Sengeti. In Neda, the total population is 7,172 (3,306 male and 3,806 female) (Kebele administration file).

In Neda resettlement area, there are three ethnic groups, Wolyata, Tambaro and the host Dawuro. In terms of the number household Tambaro 500, Wolayta 441, and Dawuro 336. According to the information from kebele officials after the return of some of resettlers, Dawuro people come to the resettlement either legally or by owning land through informal and illegal sale. But the number of returnees and the number of Dawuro people currently in Neda resettlement area is not clearly known. The following table shows the ethnic distribution in Neda as of the beginning of the program, 1996 E.C.

Table 3.1. Ethnic diversity of the population in Neda resettlement area

No	Ethnic group	Number of HHs	Sending zone	Language they speak	Remark
1	Dawuro	336		Dawurothua	Hosts
2	Tambaro	500	Kambata_Tambaro Zone	Tambaro	
3	Wolayta	441	Wolayta Zone	Wolaytatua	

Source: Zone Food security office

With regard to religion, Protestant is the dominant one, according to kebele officials. It is also true for the region which 55.5% of population is Protestant Christian (CSA, 2008). Majority of resettlers both from Wolayta and Tambaro are followers of Protestant Christians. Whereas, majority of the host Dawuro people are Orthodox Christians with few Catholic and Protestant followers. It is observed that in the area Protestant churches use different mechanisms to serve the people who speak different language. In one of the churches, "Mulu Wongel" church, people worship together in one congregation regardless of ethnic difference. They use common language, Amharic, as medium of communication and some times translate to each others language. Whereas, in "Kale Hiwot ", people worship in two different places set to serve people according to their language. Those are separately administered by their respective language speaker people.

Chapter Four: Results and Discussions

This chapter presents the results and discussions. In first part, backgrounds of sample households are presented and discussed. In second part, the overall nature of resettlement is discussed in light of the government stated policy and program implementation strategies. Thirdly, economic aspects of the resettlers and hosts in the study area are discussed. Under this part the impact of resettlement on both resettlers and hosts is discussed. The fourth part deals with land use and land use conflicts in the study area are. In its fifth part, common property resources uses are discussed. Next, relation between resettlers and hosts is discussed. Then, factors contributed to conflict between hosts and resettlers are presented. Finally, conflict mitigation methods are discussed.

4.1. Background of Respondents

This study uses a sample of 153 households. The sample included both hosts and resettlers. The respondents are only the heads of households. The summary of the respondents' background information is presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Respondents Background Information

Attribute	Category	Frequency	Percentage
Sex	Male	148	96.7
	Female	5	3.3
	Total	153	100
Age	<30	51	33.3
	31-40	66	43.3
	41-50	36	23.3
	Total	153	100
Education	Illiterate	32	20.8
	Primary school	66	43.3
	Secondary school	37	24.2
	High school	17	10.8
	Above high school	1	0.83
	Total	153	100
Religion	Catholic	15	9.8
	Orthodox	36	23.5
	Protestant	102	66.7
	Total	153	100
Ethnicity	Dawuro	40	26
	Tambaro	60	39
	Wolayta	53	35
	Total	153	100
Occupation	Only Farming	0	0
	Only Herding	0	0
	Both farming and herding	153	100
	Others	0	0
	Total	153	100

Source: Household survey, 2009

1) Sex Composition of Respondents:

With regard to sex composition of respondents, out of 153 sample households only 5 are female. The number of female households is few in sample because of the fact that the total number of female households in Neda resettlement area is few, only 12. Out of 941 households of resettlers only 12 (1.27%) are female. In this cause female households comprise 5 (3.2%) of sample size (Table 4.1). The reason for such a small number of

female households in resettlement might be that females are more risk averse than males due to culture. Moreover, they are not encouraged to leave their place of birth and move to resettlement areas to live independently. Among the hosts around Neda, all households are headed by male, so females either were not willing to respond or, it was the male take the responsibility to respond about the business of the house due to cultural and traditional causes. Because of the above mentioned factors and others, the number of female households in sample size is very low.

2) Age Category of Respondents:

Table 4.1 shows that the majority of resettlers are young with age category of between 20 to 40. Among sample of 153 respondents, 51 (33.3%) are between 21 and 30, whereas, 66 (43.3%) are between 31 and 40, and 36 (23.3%) are between 41 and 50. With the objective of achieving food security, youngsters are voluntarily moved from their area of origin to the resettlement area. In FGD, it is revealed that when they were selected for the program, age was one of the factors. The candidate should be within the age limit which he/she be able to work and with the capacity to cope up with all hardships in resettlement areas.

3) Educational Background:

Educational status may contribute to the achievement of the resettlement program, in the sense that educated people can cope with the new environment easily than others (Helena, 2007). The general understanding is that educated households can plan their family size, the type of crop they produce, how and when to market their product, than uneducated ones. In the sample households selected for the study, respondents range from illiterate to above high school level of education. As Table 4.1 shows, 32 (20.8%) respondents are illiterate, 66 (43.3%) are primary school level, and 37 (24.2%) are secondary school levels. There are also 17 (10.8%) high school completes, and 1(0.83%) above high school level. When they are oriented for the program, some of the officials

told them that they will get job in resettlement area for the reason that there is shortage of educated people in hosting woreda. This promise motivated high school completes who are young and jobless to involve in the program. Moreover, young people who were landless and dependent on their families were highly motivated to involve in the program because it provided land and allowed them to maximize their potential. This contributed to see many high school completes in the Neda resettlement area.

4) Religion:

Protestant Christianity is the dominant religion in the study area as the same to the region in which 55.5% of population is Protestant Christian (CSA, 2008). Majority of the resettlers are Protestant Christians. Orthodox and Catholic Christians are also there even though they are few in number. As Table 4.1 shows, out of 153 sample households 102 (66.7%) are Protestant Christians. 36 (23.5%) are Orthodox Christians and the rest 15(9.8%) are Catholics. Being a member of the same church may contribute to the creation of harmony among resettlers which come from different ethnic backgrounds. According to FGD, the language difference hindered them from being served in the same congregation. It is observed that there are churches set to serve separate groups according to their language.

5) Ethnicity:

Since there are three ethnic groups in the study area, the sample included households from all the three ethnic groups. As Table 4.1 shows, from a sample of 153 households 60 (39%) are from Tambaro ethnic background, 53 (35%) are from Wolayta and 40 (26%) are from the host Dawuro.

6) Family Size:

As common to any rural family which needs to have more children, resettlers in Neda also have and desire to have as more children as possible. The reason is that more children mean more labor for agriculture and support at their old age. Even though it is not significantly high, some respondents revealed that they have two wives which contributed to large family size. Moreover, after the arrival and food production of resettlers, the number of people flowing to the area gets increased. Relatively secured food production and agriculture labor demand pulled additional people to the area. In FGD the hosts revealed their worry on increased inflow of people that may create tension for new incomers are young and jobless. Whereas, resettlers by their part said that the reason for inflow is increased agricultural production which created additional labor demand. It is observed that these people have been obtaining land through illegal selling which is one of the causes for conflict in the area. The average family size in the study area, Neda, is 7.4 with minimum of 4 and maximum of 15. The average family size of the area is higher than both regional and national average rural family size which is 4.9 (CSA, 2008).

7) Occupation of Respondents:

Mixed agriculture is common in the region with crop cultivation and livestock production taking place together. In the resettlement areas, resettlers also practice mixed agricultural system. In Neda resettlement area, selected respondents are all engaged in such mixed agriculture. Table 4.1 shows that all (100%) respondents are engaged in both crop cultivation and livestock production.

4.2. The Nature of Resettlement in Neda

Current resettlement program rests on four pillars. These are voluntarism, availability of underutilized land, consultation with the host community, and provision of minimum infrastructure (Helena, 2007). These pillars seem a lesson from past failure of resettlement programs. This study assesses the nature of resettlement in the study area in line with these pillars. It tries to see whether the program is implemented according to the stated pillars or not. The following discussion presents the results.

Table 4.2: Willingness of Resettlers

Did you come to resettle willingly?	Responses	
	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	113	100
No	0	0
Total	113	100

Source: Household survey, 2009

Resettlers came to Neda from two zones, Wolyata and Kembata_Tambaro zones. Either the resettlers moved voluntarily or not, sample of 113 households from resettlers were asked. As Table 4.2 above shows from a sample of 113 households, all of them (100%) responded that the resettlement area is their choice. In FGD also it is revealed that no household moved without his/her consent. It can be said that resettlers moved willingly.

Main pushing factors which forced resettlers to move from their area of origin include landlessness, decrease productivity of land, and drought. As Table 4.3 below shows out of 113 sample households 49 (43.4%) respondents replied that the main factor for their coming to resettlement area is landlessness. They did not have any land before. Whereas, 52 (46%) respondents stated that the cause was decreased land productivity. Even though they had land in their area of origin, its productivity was not sustaining

their life. Remaining 12 (10.6%) stated the cause for their moving is drought. Frequent drought which contributed to famine pushed those farmers.

Table 4.3: Factors Contributed to Resettler

Factors contributed to resettler	Responses	
	Frequency	Percentage
Landlessness	49	43.4
Decreased productivity of land	52	46
Drought	12	10.6
Total	113	100

Source: Household survey, 2009

These sending zones, Wolayata and Kambata _Tambaro are known by high population pressure and drought (Woldie- Sellasie, 2004). Due to these factors resettlers willingly moved to resettlement area. The program was voluntary in a sense that resettlers were convinced that they would attain food security if they are included in the program. Since the main factors for the food insecurity in the sending woredas are landlessness, decreased land productivity, and drought, farmers accepted the program for it provides them land with favorable climate condition. There was no resettle moved to the area without his/her consent. According to the information from resettlers in FGD, they were ready to take any risk attached with resettlement because it was their decision to move. In addition, it helped them to work hard and attain food security because it was their first and main objective in moving to the area. But some participants revealed that they were promised many things by the concerned government officials. They were told that they would be given tractors for farming, constructed houses, job for high school completes, and food aid for the first two years. When they arrived at the place, these all were not true, except food, temporary shelter and seeds.

With regard to land availability, which is the second pillar of the current resettlement program, it is known that the area was forest land. Moreover, it is known that no land taken from the host people.

Table 4.4: Land Size Change of Hosts

Is there any change in your land size due to resettlement?	Responses	
	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	0	0
No	40	100
Total	40	100

Source: Household survey, 2009

The host people were asked in survey questionnaire either their land holding decreased, or any impact of resettlement on their land holding. As Table 4.4 above shows from a sample 40 host households, all of them (100%) replied that their land holding is not decreased or there were no change due to resettlement on their private land holding. It is observed that except for forest land which was common property resources cleared for the purpose of resettlement, no individual land holding have been affected due to the program. So it can be said that the land used for resettlement was at least not owned privately. But this doesn't mean that the land was free of use. The argument in this regard is that there is no such free resource, any development program affect at least some one in resource use (Desalegn, 2008). These resources were used as a source of livelihood for the local people living in and around it through hunting, gathering, and shifting cultivation. In fact conclusion of free land and unutilized resources arrive at without any detailed study (Pankhurst, 2004). In Neda resettlement area also what happened matches with the above argument. According to key informants of host people, it was concluded and reported that the land was free where in fact it was not. It was free from the perspective of government but it was not free from perspective of local community. There is still policy bias towards the common property resources and there are no policies and regulation how the local people depend up on these natural resources for their livelihood use the resource with the resettlers or any development projects(ibid). Such government induced implementation by itself contributes to the antagonistic relationship between the resettlers and the hosts.

food, oxen, seeds, some money for their house expenditures, according to information from interview with zone official. Other infrastructures such as potable water, health, and extension services are still problems in the area. Water source which was developed at the initial time now is out of function due to lack of maintenance. It is observed that children and women travel long distances in search of water. As it is informed in FGD it is not known that who is responsible to solve the problem. The woreda administration claims that the region is entirely responsible for the program, whereas the regional government document on the program in general states that the woreda administration is responsible after the resettlers are food secured. The problem is still critical without knowing which body will solve it.

With respect to the above four current resettlement pillars, Neda resettlement program is implemented partly according to these pillars whereas, partly as any other previous resettlement programs implemented hastily and overlooking some realities in the ground. The program learned from past experiences that it is voluntary and at least in areas where resettlers can sustain their life. These selected hosting areas are conducive for agriculture and human settlement. But it failed to consider the impact of program in hosting community, and the provision of basic infrastructures still under question. Moreover, political objectives are more important than the explicitly stated objectives.

4.3. Economic Aspects of Resettlers and Hosts in Neda

Economic aspects and income generation activities in the area are used to measure the impact of resettlement on both hosts and resettlers. These factors for comparison used are land size and availability, annual income and its sources, and occupation of the households. The following part discusses the above points and other related issues.

4.3.1. Land Size and Availability:

Descriptive research in sub-Saharan Africa strongly associates rural poverty with the lack of land. In Ethiopia also it is found that positive and significant causal effect of

land ownership on some indicator of a household's welfare (Sumpasi, 2009). Therefore, provision of agricultural land is one of the ways of tackling rural poverty. As rural development policy, through resettlement program land has been given to resettlers in order to alleviate poverty.

Regional government planning for resettlement document shows that each resettler receives 2.1 hectare pilot of land. As Table 4.6 below shows, in Neda resettlement area also resettlers are provided with 2.1 hectare each. From sample of 113 resettler households all responded that their land size is as planned by the regional government which is 2.1 hectare. On the other hand, the host Dawuro people around Neda have more land than resettlers. It is found that from a sample of 40 host households, 2 of them (5%) own the same size with that of resettlers, whereas the majority, which is 34 (85%) own 3 hectare of land. The remaining 4 households (10%) own 4 and more than 4 hectare of land (Table 4.6).

Table 4.6: Land Holdings by Resettlers and Hosts

Category	Land size in hectare	Frequency	Percentage
Resettlers	2.1	113	100
Hosts	2.1	2	5
	3	34	85
	4 and more	4	10

Source: Household survey, 2009

With regard to the fertility of land, it is found that the land given to the resettlers is highly fertile. As Table 4.7 below shows, sample households ranked their land according to its fertility. Among 113 resettler households, 109 (96.5%) ranked their land as highly fertile and fresh. Whereas 4 (3.5%) ranked their land as fertile. No household responded that his/her land is highly degraded, degraded or moderately fertile. It is reasoned out that high land fertility is due to the fact that the land given to the resettlers was forest coverage before. On the other hand, from 40 sample households of hosts, 3

(7.5%) ranked their land as highly fertile and fresh, 34 (85%) ranked their land as fertile, and 3 (7.5%) ranked as moderately fertile. The land of hosts is not fresh because the land has been being used for agriculture for long time.

Table 4.7: The Perception of Farmers Towards Land Fertility

Land fertility	Responses			
	Resettlers		Hosts	
	Frequency (n=113)	Percentage	Frequency (n=40)	Percentage
Degraded	0	0	0	0
Moderately fertile	0	0	3	7.5
Fertile	4	3.5	34	85
Very fresh and fertile	109	96.5	3	7.5
Total	113	100	40	100

Source: Household survey, 2009

4.3.2. Annual Crop Production:

Farmers in Neda resettlement area mainly produce maize, sorghum and “Teff”. These crops are used for both consumption and market. In addition, other crops such as “Godare”, “Enset”, and sugar potato are produced. According to the information from key informants, these crops are not marketed, but used only for house consumption. Even though the land size given to resettlers is the same there is a variation in annual production of resettlers. The production variation is also seen between the hosts and resettlers.

Table 4.8 Annual Crop Productions

Crop production in quintals	Resettlers		Hosts	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
<10	17	15	15	37.5
10_20	25	22.2	16	40
21_30	40	35.4	9	22.5
31_40	11	9.7	0	0
>40	20	17.7	0	0
Total	113	100	40	100

Source: Household survey, 2009

Table 4.8 shows, among 113 sample resettler households, 17 (15%) responded that their annual production is less than 10 quintals. Whereas, 25 (22.2%) responded that their annual production is 10 _ 20 quintals, 40 (35.4%) with production of 21_30 quintal, 11(9.7%) with annual production of 31_40, and 20 (17.7%) with annual production of more than 40 quintals. It can be seen that majority of sample resettlers (35.4%) produce 21_30 quintals. On the other hand, from sample of 40 host households, 15 (37.5%) responded their annual production is below 10 quintals, 16 (40%) 10_20 quintals and 9 (22.5%) 21_30 quintals. Among the hosts no household is found who produce more than 30 quintals. But there are 31 households from the resettlers who produce the stated amount annually. It can be said that resettlers produce more than that of hosts. This could be because of the land fertility, incentives given to resettlers, and the motive of resettlers to win food insecurity problem which was the cause for them to resettler.

Table 4.9 Surplus Production

Surplus Crop production in quintals	Resettlers		Hosts	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
No surplus	11	9.7	21	52.5
<5	28	24.8	17	42.5
6_10	50	44.2	2	5
11_15	12	10.6	0	0
16_20	7	6.2	0	0
>20	5	4.4	0	0
Total	113	100	40	100

Source: Household survey, 2009

After having the annual total crop production, the surplus is calculated by deducting annual consumption from annual production. Table 4.9 shows from sample of 113 resettlers 50 (44.2%) produce a surplus of 6_10 quintal whereas, 11 (9.7%) produce no surplus at all. On the other hand, 21 (52.5%) of hosts produce no surplus. It can be said that farmers are producing surplus product. Accordingly, the income they generate is determined by the amount of surplus they produce.

4.3.3. Annual Income and its Source:

The type and extent of economic activity highly determines the amount of annual income. Especially in rural areas where farmers are subsistence farmers, climate of location and land fertility affects the income of farmers. In Neda resettlement area resettlers' main source of income is crop production. In addition, livestock production is the source of income. As Table 4.10 indicates, sale of crop products is the main source of income for farmers. From the sample of 153 households 109 (71.2%) responded that their main source of income is sale of crop products, 15 (9.8%) responded that their source of income is sale of livestock and its products. The remaining 29 (18.9%) respondents replied that they generate income from both sources.

Table 4.10: Sources of Income

Sources of income	Responses	
	Frequency	Percentage
Sales of crops	109	71.2
Sale of livestock and its products	15	9.8
Both crop and livestock sale	29	18.9
Total	153	100

Source: Household survey, 2009

Despite the fact that resettlers are facing grazing land shortage, livestock production is the other source of income in the area. As other area of the region, it is common to see farmers engage in both type of agriculture. In FGD and key informants' interviews, it is revealed that some farmers produce and sale charcoal from the nearby forest and some other collect forest honey and generate additional household income. But this is not revealed in the household survey. It might be for the reason that such practices are perceived as illegal since the forest is highly protected by government.

From the above mentioned sources of income, the average income of both resettlers and hosts was calculated. The calculation is done as follows. First, from the annual crop production in 2000 E.C, the amount left after household consumption and supplied or to be supplied to the market is multiplied by the current market price. This gives the annual income from crop production. Second, the number of livestock sold by household is taken as another source of income. Then the sum is taken as a total income for each household. Table 4.11, shows the range of income and the number of households that fall under each range.

Table 4.11: Range of Income

Income range in ETB	Resettlers (n=113)		Hosts (n=40)	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Below 2,000	10	8.8	28	70
2,001 to 4,000	45	39.8	7	17.5
4,000 to 6,000	36	31.8	5	12.5
6,001 to 8,000	15	13.2	0	0
8,001 to 10,000	2	1.7	0	0
Above 10,000	5	4.4	0	0
Total	113	100	40	100

Source: Household survey, 2009

Table 4.11 elucidates that from resettlers' category, 45 (39.8%) fall under the range of 2,001 to 4,000 ETB, which is the highest percentage. From the same category, 10 (8.8%) fall in the income range of below 2,000 ETB. Whereas, 36 (31.8%), 15 (13.2%), and 2 (1.7%) fall in the range of 4,000 to 6,000ETB, 6,001 to 8,000 ETB, and 8,001 to 10,000ETB respectively. There are also 5 (4.4%) respondents whose income is above 10,000ETB. Whereas, from the sample of hosts, 28 (70%) fall under the range of blow 2,000 ETB. The rest 7 (17.5%) and 5 (12.5%) respondents fall in the range of 2,001 to 4,000ETB and 4,000 to 6,000ETB respectively. Among the hosts no household has income above 6,000ETB. From this it can be concluded that there is income difference among resettlers and hosts.

The literature on the issue of land size and economic growth normally focus on investigation of the relationship between farm size and productivity. In other words, since land distribution will normally entail transferring land from large to small farmers, farm size is analyzed to find out whether it can explain differences with regard to the cost of producing a unit of product. However, it often takes for granted that a small farmer is poor and a large farmer is rich, so that one cannot clearly distinguish whether results are related to farm size or to social class. According to (Sumpsi, 2009) more complete analysis should therefore focus on investigation of the relationship between both land size and social class, and productivity. Taking this into account, productivity can fluctuate from one farm to another, due to the presence of economies of scale, or to differences in transaction costs, economic efficiency or productive incentives.

Factors that might have contributed to the income difference between hosts and resettlers include level of education, age factor, extension services and incentives. As revealed in FGD with hosts, the host Dawuro people around Neda accustomed with producing only for consumption. It could be because of market problem which farmers do not have any incentive to produce surplus. Moreover, as information from key informants' interview, the hosts work culture is not market oriented. Whereas it is revealed in FGD resettlers plan their production as for consumption and for market. Usually crops produced for consumption are "Enset", "Godare", sorghum, and sugar potato whereas for market maize and, "Teff". Such planning is not common in host people. Such planned way of production may be a lesson which the host can learn from resettlers. Extension service and technical support provided to resettlers at their time of arrival might contribute to the difference in level of production.

4.4. Land and Land Use Conflicts in Neda

This part discusses land use and land use conflicts in general. Specifically, land uses, land demand and supply, and land as source of conflict will be discussed.

4.4.1. Interest Conflicts in Land Use

The most direct link between rural land and economic growth relates to the extent to which the productive potential of land is being exploited: over-use of land generates negative externalities and undermines long-term productivity, while under-use implies opportunity costs. Therefore, if market or other forces are producing high proportions of misused land, public action on the allocation of land could be reasonable on the grounds of trying to alleviate poverty and improve economic growth (Sumpsi, 2009). However, in order to build a case for land distribution it needs the consideration of potential impact on land use that the reallocation of land could have. In the same way, resettlement programs undertaken in lands where the host people used to depend for their livelihoods should consider the consequential impacts. Otherwise, it has its own impact on both hosts and resettlers. In one way or the other, this creates conflict tension among the hosts and resettlers, and even with the government.

With regard to the ownership of land resource, the public ownership of land is granted by the constitution. Article 40 of the constitution, (FDRE, 1995) states that the right to ownership of rural and urban land as well as all natural resources is exclusively vested in the State and in the peoples of Ethiopia. In the same article it is stated that land is a common property of the Nations, Nationalities and People of Ethiopia and shall not be subject to sale or other means of exchange. In article 52 of the constitution the regional governments are given the duty to administer land and natural resources according to the Federal law. The regional states are made to mainly along ethno- linguistic grounds and those communities within each respective region enjoy access to resources with in the given constitutional and legal framework. However, there is no clearly set policy

statement as to how local communities relying on these common property resources to use these resources and how their rights are to be protected (Desalegne, 2008). In SNNPR where ethno-linguistic grounds used for zonal and special woreda administration structure, regional government involvement in land use issues creates problems. Especially, when the land is used to resettlement in which the land is given to resettlers who came from other zones and woredas, the situation becomes worsen. The approach may evil the peaceful interrelation between different ethnic groups in the region. For some zones and woredas, it is the reflection of power balance problem. It is the way in which the centers exploit the peripheries. As it is seen in Neda resettlement area, the approach of regional government highly affected both the hosts and resettlers whom the program designed for. The hosts were affected by furthering them from natural forests and grazing land which were their base of livelihood, while resettlers were affected by the hostile interaction with host people and woreda administration, which their stay is under question.

According to key informants' interviews, there were three interest groups in land use in Neda; the host people, the woreda administration and the regional state government. They wanted to use land according to their interest. The host had interest of using the forest as their source of livelihood engaging in timber production, honey collection, and charcoal production either legally or illegally. They had been using it even in the times of government protection. The woreda administration had the interest of maintaining the forest by protecting as Local Park. It had a motive of keeping the natural forest and wild life inside it and attracting tourism. By this aim the local people were not allowed to settle in forest lands, cut trees, and clear for agricultural purpose. While the regional government identified the area as one of resettlement site in order to host resettlers from different zones and woredas. This conflict of interest temporarily resolved by the win of regional government that the area hosted resettlers. Even after the resettlement program was implemented this conflict of interest continued. After the land has been distributed to resettlers the host dispute with resettlers in grazing land, and the woreda

administration disputes with resettlers on forest land. The issue become serious once upon time to the extent of clashing each other, according to the information from key informants. The case will be discussed later.

4.4.2. Individual Land Use:

As discussed in the above part, at macro level land in Neda used as forest land, grazing, farming land, residential, and other purposes. Land relocation for purpose of resettlement changed the pattern of land use. At individual level farmers use their land for both grazing and crop cultivation.

From the sample of 153 households, all of them (100%) replied that they use land which they are given for both farming and grazing. They shift their farms so as to graze their cattle. In the same manner, the response to the question either they have separate grazing land or not, as given in Table 4.12, 153 (100%) responded that they donot have separate grazing land. They were asked where their cattle graze. They replied that out of their private land holdings, they use some pilot of land for grazing by shifting seasonally.

Table 4.12: Grazing Land Availability

Do you have separate grazing land?	Responses	
	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	0	0
No	153	100
Total	153	100

Source: Household survey, 2009

In addition to shifting to graze their cattle, farmers also shift in crop production. Since the climate is conducive for production of variety of crops, they use their land accordingly. One can observe that both annual crops such as maize, "Teff" and sorghum, and perennial crops such as "Enset", coffee, and fruits on the farm of

resettlers. In short run, they manage to use their land for crop cultivation and grazing land. But in long run it seems the land fertility will be affected due to intensive farming. According to information from key informants' interview, farmers do not have experience of such intensive farming. This may lead to land degradation due to overuse in future. Moreover, in the area there are no technical supports and awareness creation trainings in land conservation and management. Farmers use the old traditional way of farming which exposes the land to different factors which affect its fertility negatively in future. The worry of some resettlers and officials is that after some period of time due to the fact that intensive farming and lack of land conservation methods may affect the fertility of land in turn farmers will be in danger. Thus, it requires awareness creation towards land conservation and management among farmers and at least provision of alternative grazing land for the cattle of resettlers. Otherwise, the poor resettlers will be in the vicious circle of poverty due to poor fertility of land in future.

With regard to demand for land, sample households were asked that either the land they own is enough or not. As Table 4.13 shows, out of 153 sample households, 117 (76.4%) replied that land is not enough and the rest 36 (23.6%) replied that it is enough for them. This shows that farmers perceive that land is not enough for them even for farming. Some of resettlers in FGD revealed that the fertility of land and its high return increased the demand for it since farmers want to produce more and get benefited. This high land demand might have contributed to the illegal land sale in the area, which is highly practiced in the area, according to information from key informants.

Table 4.13: Demand for Land

Do you think that land is enough to produce?	Responses	
	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	36	23.6
No	117	76.4
Total	153	100

Source: Household survey, 2009

Respondents who replied that land is not enough for them were asked that what solution they use to tackle the land shortage. Among the alternatives given augmentation of existing land, addition of other farm land and involving in off- farm activities, as Table 4.14 shows, out of 117 respondents who responded that the land is not enough for them, 99 (84.6%) replied they need additional plot of land, 11 respondents (9.4%) take involving in off- farm activities as a solution and 7 (6%) take augmentation as a solution for land shortage. In the study area any alternative economic activities are hardly found with which resettlers can sustain their livelihood. Because of that, the entire population either resettlers or hosts dependent up on the land and its resources. For them land is every thing.

Table 4.14: Means to Solve Land Shortage

If land is not enough, what do you think is solution?	Responses	
	Frequency	Percentage
Obtaining additional land	99	84.6
Involving in off farm activities	11	9.4
Augmentation of existing land	7	6
Total	117	100

Source: Household survey, 2009

As the above discussion shows the demand for land is high. Resettlers need additional land for additional production. In FGD it is also revealed that farmers are motivated to have more land because of the land fertility which yields good return. This attracted even the host people to involve in illegal land market. Some resettlers who are either not interested to live long there or needs cash, sell their land partly to resettlers or to hosts. According to information from key informants' interview, the hosts Dawuro people are interested to have the land in case resettlers leave. But resettlers sell the land to their relatives there in Neda or call their relatives from the sending woredas. This

also by itself created tension that land sale transaction done on the base of ethnic background.

4.5. Common Resource Use

In many rural areas, common property resources are the base for livelihood of rural people. Their scarcity and lack of proper utilization from both people and government sides leads to conflict. The struggle is for life sustenance in some areas, whereas in other cases it is political and way of domination. In the study area, Neda resettlement area, there are common property resources which have been used as source of base for livelihood for people before and after the resettlement program. These resources include forest, water, and grazing land. The discussion below briefs how these resources are utilized among the resettlers and hosts.

4.5.1. Forest

As discussed earlier, Neda resettlement area covered with forest before the land given to the resettlers. The forest was one of the opportunities for resettlers in Neda than any other sites in Essera woreda. However, after the arrival of resettlers, rather than being source of benefit, it became source of conflict among resettlers and hosts. The forest hence became a challenge not only now but also in future unless due attention is given.

In order to know the forest usage in Neda, households in sample survey were asked either the forest is accessible or not. All 153 (100%) sampled households replied that there is no access to forest. Among the given reasons, government protection is the main reason which hinders access to forest. After the forest land is given to resettlers, some remained forest cover (around 20 to 30 hectares) is protected by government, according to information from kebele development agent. In household survey no household mentioned forest as source of livelihood.

Even though it is protected by government, forest use in Neda created tension among the hosts and resettlers. In FGD the hosts said that the forest was their image which the area was known by it. In addition, it was the source of income for them through collection of honey, production of timber, production of charcoal and hunting of wild animals. But now it was cleared and what was left is highly protected by government. Because of this, resettlers are perceived as the one who caused the destruction of forest even though it was the government project allowed them to do so. According to FGD information, resettlers on their side complain that the forest use is discriminatory in a sense that the hosts are favored. They complain that the woreda administration and concerned party for forest protection discriminate in forest use. According to information from key informants of resettlers, in case when the hosts are seen in cutting trees or hunting wild animals the punishment is not as such strong, even some times they left free. But if resettlers do the same the consequence will be very cruel and strong. The following case obtained from one of the key informants from resettlers may illustrate the issue.

Before a month three people, one was from the hosts and the two were from resettlers gone to forest called Woyssha and killed one buffalo by gun. The gun was provided by one of the group members who was from the hosts. After the case was investigated by kebele administrators, immediately the two, resettlers, were persecuted, whereas, the one from hosts is still yet to be found. It is because they donot want to persecute him since he is from Dawuro.

For the above case kebele administrators responded that the one who is from hosts was not the member of this kebele, he is from somewhere else. They were asked that either the forest usage is discriminatory or not. The response is that there is agreement among the hosts, resettlers and woreda administration that no one is allowed to use forest and any of its product. Even they are not allowed to cut trees on the land given to them until they are given certificate of ownership to their land. The hosts perceive using the forest as their right. On the other hand the resettlers ask the question of fairness. The concerned kebele administration failed to practice the agreement made and that created

a gap. The consequential impacts of this is that the resettlers adversely look the forest resource and they donot have any sense of belongingness. For sustainability of the forest it is challenging. Moreover, it created a tension among resettlers and hosts one who feel the sense of ownership and the other as destructor.

4.5.2. Water

The other common property resource in Neda is water. In the area there are four medium rivers. It is known that water is used by community mainly for drinking their cattle and household consumption. Other uses of water such as irrigation and fishing are either not known or the situation and land topology is not appropriate for such purposes. But these rivers are not accessible to all resettlers due to location. Some resettlers were given land near to water whereas the others far from it. According household survey, water access is a critical problem in the area.

Table 4.15: Access to Water

How do you describe your access to water?	Responses	
	Frequency	Percentage
Distant	138	90
Limited access	7	4.5
Medium	3	1.96
High	5	3.26
Total	153	100

Source: Household survey, 2009

According to Table 4.15, among 153 surveyed households, 138 (90%) replied that they the water is far away from their residential area, 7 (4.5%) respondents replied that they have limited access. The rest 3 (1.96%) and 5 (3.26%) replied that they have medium and high access to water respectively. As mentioned above the rivers found in the area are not equally accessible to all due to their location. Further the pathways to these rivers were not properly planned and even the plans were not implemented. According to

information from resettlers, land formerly planned for roads have now become farms by some resettlers thus blocked the access to rivers especially to cattle. When they appeal to kebele administration they couldn't get proper solution since the kebele administration is corrupted with ethnic biased, according to FGD. Since there are three ethnic groups in the kebele getting justice is hardly possible. According to some key informants, every thing is done according to ethnic background. Therefore lack of good governance aggravates the problem of water access.

With regard to potable water the kebele is with critical problem. One water source developed at initial time as part of the program now out of function. It is observed that children and women travel two to three kilometers in search of drinking water. Otherwise, they used to drink river water which is not clean. The responsible body for the provision or maintaining the previous water source is not clear. There is lack of coordination among woreda, zone and regional government bodies in supervision the program. Kebele officials were asked that either any body tried to solve the water problem. They responded that it has been reported to woreda and zone administration but they couldn't respond. These above mentioned bodies by their side shift the responsibility to the regional government which was the implementing agency of the resettlement program. Still now it is not known which body should at least maintain already developed water source. But the problem is critical for resettlers, according to their information.

4.5.3. Grazing Land

Before the resettlement program, the hosts used to graze their cattle around the forest area. But now their access to free grazing land is limited. The hosts now are restricted to graze their cattle on their land. According to the FGD with hosts, limited access to common grazing land affected them both in their cattle number and its productivity. This in turn affected their livelihood which is dependent up on both land farming and cattle herding. But according to the household survey information the change is

difficult to arrive at conclusion. At the time of household survey, host respondents responded that their cattle size has been decreased. It is difficult to measure the change quantitatively due to the fact that these farmers do not have any recorded data of their cattle size before six and seven years back, and traditionally it is not common practice to tell exact number of their cattle size. Thorough research may be required to uncover this fact. The study assumes that, at least, the impact is sensible that host farmers are limited from the grazing land and use their land for both grazing and farming.

On the side of resettlers, shortage of grazing land is critical problem, too. As it is revealed in FGD, it is the household who decides and manages the land to use for the purposes of farming, grazing and residence. Since no common land is apportioned to grazing, they face shortage of grazing land for their cattle. Resettlers who especially came from Kambata_Tambaro used to having more cattle in their area of origin. There in their area of origin, even though there is shortage of land for farming, they used to have common grazing land which is not used for crop cultivation. Since they take as their culture, now they have interest to have more cattle, according to FGD information. But they are not given either private or common grazing land in the resettlement area. This shortage of land hindered them to diversify their source of income other than land farming.

According to key informants from the resettlers and hosts, the shortage of grazing land affected in three ways the resettlement program. The first is that it contributed to crop damages that lead to conflict in the area. People from different ethnic background and culture are highly susceptible to conflict with each other. So such individual disputes can lead to group conflict make its base on ethnic background. The second is that the shortage of grazing land can affect the livelihood of both hosts and resettlers in long run. As the area is known by mixed agriculture grazing land is one of the necessities. For supporting the food security objective it becomes one of important factors. Therefore it can be said that the shortage of grazing land can hinder the food security

objective. Thirdly, it contributes to natural resource degradation through over grazing. Since farmers use their land for both cultivation and grazing by shifting, land productivity decreases as a result of over grazing.

Zonal and woreda administrations were asked about the availability of grazing land. According interview with these concerned bodies, the program entirely planned for farmers engaged in crop cultivation. Grazing land was not in the land planning at the beginning. Providing at least common grazing land seems impossible because of land shortage. When the land was planned for the program, livelihood strategies of the resettlers were not considered. Resettlement as rural development plan should have taken in to account the livelihood strategies of the direct beneficiaries. Neda resettlement plan in specific and Essera woreda resettlements in general are not planned accordingly.

In general, common property resources in Neda on one hand are not properly planned and used; on the other hand they are source of conflicts. Situation worsens because of ethnic differences of competitors, influx of population to the area and lack of proper plan for their utilization. Unless managed and handled properly, these resources will continue to be the challenge to the sustainability of the program.

4.6. Relation between Hosts and Resettlers

The issue that is given less attention in resettlement planning and the most important and crucial in terms of sustainability of the program is the relation between resettlers and the hosts. Tensions between the hosts and resettlers have tended to relate in the first instance to use of natural resources (Pankhurst, 2004). Resentments towards the resettlers had already built up in some cases before their arrival because in many cases the program imposed without the consent of the hosts. Moreover, delimitation of areas of land, with access to water, forest products are some of factors exacerbate tension in resettlement areas (ibid). In many cases the land is given to resettlers is fresh and fertile,

they can be successful in terms of food production. This success of resettlers often generates a sense of resentment and envy on the part of host people. Since resettlers are perceived as being prospered at the expense of the host people (ibid). Moreover, the ethnic diversity and cultural differences also play a great role in the type of relation prevails between hosts and resettlers. In the study area, Neda, the above mentioned factors are important to the relation between resettlers and hosts in varying degrees.

In Neda resettlement area there are three ethnic groups. The relation among these groups entirely defined in terms of their ethnic background. As Table 4.16 shows, out of the 153 sample households 135 (88.2%) described that the relation between the resettlers and hosts is not peaceful. Only 3 (1.96%) of them replied that the relation between different ethnic groups is peaceful. The remaining 15 (9.8%) showed the situation is difficult to express, it is in between.

Table 4.16: Relation between Different Ethnic Groups

How do you describe the relationship between different ethnic groups?	Responses	
	Frequency	Percentage
Peaceful	3	1.96
Conflict	135	88.2
In between	15	9.8
Total	153	100

Source: Household survey, 2009

In FGD participants revealed that incidence of conflict is high as a result the relation between the hosts and resettlers is not peaceful. The relation in general can be categorized in to two on the base of ethnic diversity. Thus, resettlers with hosts and, resettlers with resettlers are the dimension of relation in Neda.

When the relation between the host Dawuro and resettlers is considered, the host Dawuro people did welcome the resettlers when they arrived to Neda by providing foods, constructing temporary shelters, and providing house utensils willingly. The resettlers were surprised by the welcome because it was above their expectation, according to the information from resettlers in FGD. In the discussion with hosts, they were asked about the welcome event. They said that the reasons were first for humanity sake and the other is to share benefits from the program such as roads, schools, health centers, and grain mills as they were oriented by woreda and zonal administrators. But latter on the attitude of hosts gradually changed due to the following factors, according to information from FDG and key informants interview.

The first is that the promised benefits to the hosts did not realize. These promises and stated benefits were all to the resettlers. The resettlers were over treated by the government in the sense that all supports and benefits such as credit, extension service, and some other services either the hosts never experienced these benefits before or not benefiting with the resettlers. This exclusion of the host led them to develop negative attitude towards the program and towards the people. Pankhurst (2004) strengthens the above situation. He argues that the exclusion of hosts from benefits of the program and over treatment of the resettlers create resentment and envy in hosts.

The second factor is that different interest groups used propaganda towards the resettlement program. For example in election 1997 E.C. it was one of the issues for election campaign between opposition parties and the ruling party. Opposition parties moved the local people to protest the program by attacking resettlers through different means. The other interest group was some activists from teachers, students and government workers informally organized to protest the program. What this group did was that since the program was already implemented the way was attacking resettlers so forcing them to leave the area. The hosts near the resettlement area were given the assignment. They attack the resettlers in market places, in schools and in different

service provision centers. Later on the movement was stopped due to government intervention and some of the group leaders warned. The negative attitude still prevails among majority Dawuro people even in other woredas. The reason is that there are woredas in the Dawuro zone with high density of population and with degraded agricultural lands. So they prefer to send their people than to see people resettle from other zones, other ethnic group. It is observed that the resettlers are highly unsecured so that their movement is limited to certain areas where they move together or towns where at least there is police protection.

In FGD with hosts, they were asked about the existing relation between the host and the resettlers. What is interesting is that they don't want to create good relation with them. As they informed, they want to discourage resettlers in any way so that they leave the area. Because of this, there are cases when they attack resettlers in market areas in pretext of cultures and differences in belief. According to them, the resettlers have bad spirit, called "Manna", which kill people specially girls and boys. So, if they remained silent they will kill children. But there were no cases in which a single child was killed by the spirit. In Dawuro there are people who are termed as "Manna" who are highly discriminated because of the belief that they possess evil spirit which kill other people. This belief used as a means to attack resettlers as if they were having that bad spirit. The other interest groups which oppose the resettlement program encourage the local people to attack resettlers so that they will leave the land.

Social integration and interaction play great role in minimizing the tension among different groups. Inter marriage and involvement in social activities can contribute to the integration of hosts and the resettlers. But in Neda such social integrations are hard to find. According to the key informant interviews, there are no cases which the hosts and resettlers get married. It seems impossible to marry each other. In sum the attitude of hosts towards the resettlers is negative and discouraging.

On the other side, the attitude of resettlers towards the hosts is twofold. Among the resettlers, those who came from Wolayta who can communicate with Dawuro people since they speak the language from the same family, Omotic, claim that Wolayta and Dawuro are one. They don't want to talk about the differences; even they claim they are ethnically one. The difference is due to politicians just to get advantage out of it, according to the Wolaytas. But the hosts Dawuro do not accept the claim of the Wolyatas. According to the host Dawuro, the claim comes from the interest of using resources of Dawuro.

The historical background of the Dawuro people shows that before incorporation into the Ethiopian empire, it had encountered conflict with some of the neighboring ethnic groups, mainly with Wolyata (Data, 2007). A huge stone wall called "Kawo Hallala Kella", which runs hundreds of kilometers from the eastern to southwestern border of Dawuro is a remnant of defense strategies followed by Dawuro kings during the conflicts with neighboring ethnic groups. This past historical hostile relation among these ethnic groups does have its effect on the current relation. Nnoli (1987) argues that past traumas create psychological tension among groups and that leads to uprising conflicts. Similarly, the relation between hosts and resettlers mainly Wolayta, is affected by the past historical relation.

Even though Wolaytas talk about the oneness of the two ethnic groups, the Dawuro people still believe that they are ethnically different. They look each other as opponent rather than as one. In recent times the tension gets increased due to the fact that Wolyata have interest to engulf Dawuro in the logic of one language but the Dawuro wants to maintain its ethnic identity through self administration. This increased self awareness among the Dawuro and the motive of the Wolaytas now created a tension in Neda also according to the information from key informants. There is no good relation among these two groups of people.

The relation among the resettlers who come from two different ethnic groups is not positive and friendly. Since the beginning, the interaction between resettlers from different ethnic groups is limited even they are mixed each other in terms of land distribution. According to the FGD with each group selected people, there is high competition among each other to take power of kebele administration. There are no cases in which they involve in social activities such as religious and self help work groups. There are distinct Protestant Churches which serve people according to their ethnic group. It is observed that resettlers are not feeling free because of the tension among resettlers each other. They prefer if they were given separate area.

According to the interview with zone administration, mixing them together was not planned at the beginning. The main concern at the time was just to provide land and settling them. It seems that rushed implementation of the program caused such problem. It will cost a lot especially to the resettlers since a little dispute can lead to big clash among these ethnic groups. According to the policeman there in Neda, individual dispute is even now immediately taken as ethnic (group) dispute. People perceive disputes among neighbors as attacking their respective ethnic group, so that collective reactions are common.

Top down approach in planning and implementation causes failures in development projects, especially resettlement (Gebre, 2004). Resettlers are considered as passive recipients of the project. As direct beneficiaries, they need to be consulted, their needs and interests to be considered in plans and implementations at least to some extent. In Neda resettlement area resettlers were not given attention as direct beneficiary of the program. According the information from resettlers, they have worry on the sustainability of the program even. The worry of resettlers now is that there are conflict tensions. Due to factors such as illegal land sale, lack of good governance, high rate of in flow of people to the area, and limited resources the tension gets increased and increased time to time. Moreover, since the conflict resolution mechanisms are not

sustainable and participatory, their trust on the sustainability of the program gets decreased. According to the information from key informants' interviews, the woreda administration is partial towards the host and it doesn't have any concern about the resettlers. They feel that they are not protected and secured.

4.7. Factors Contributed to Conflict

As to the causes of conflict, in Table 4.17 it is given that ethnic difference is the leading factor. Out of 153 households 97 (63%) replied that conflict is caused because of the ethnic differences of resettlers and hosts. Competition for grazing land and water are other causes with responses of 25 (16.3%) and 13 (8.5%) respectively. According to information from FGD these even resource conflicts are not genuinely for resources, it is because of ethnic factors. The remaining 18 (11.76%) respondents mentioned some other reasons for conflict than the above stated ones. These reasons include poor planning and implementation, population flow to the area, illegal land sale, and lack of good governance.

Table 4.17: Causes of Conflict

Causes for conflict	Responses	
	Frequency	Percentage
Ethnic differences	97	63.4
Grazing land	25	16.3
Access to water	13	8.5
Others (population flow to the area, illegal land sale, and lack of good governance)	18	11.76
Total	153	100

Source: Household survey, 2009

According to the information from resettlers in FGD, there are indications of the achievements of the overall objectives of the program in Neda resettlement area. Their worry now is not about food insecurity and drought, rather the sustainability of the program. The main reason for their worry is that the prevailing conflict tension in the

area. Starting from the very beginning, for the last six years, the host and resettlers, resettlers among resettlers, and resettlers with woreda administration look each other in antagonism way. The placement of different ethnic groups in one area in addition to poor planning and implementation, lack of good governance, and competition for resources use contributed to conflict in the area. These factors contributed to conflict in Neda resettlement are discussed below.

1) Poor Planning and Implementation

In 1999 E.C. after four years of program implementation, there was clash between resettlers and woreda administration. The main cause for conflict was forest land. When the regional government selects the area as a resettlement site in 1994 E.C. physical plan was done by expertise from the region. According to information from zone food security officer, the plan was sent to all concerned parties, zone, woreda and region. The plan clearly put forest land, resettlement area, roads, schools, and all other land use details. When the program launched and land distributed to the resettlers, it was not implemented according to the plan. According to information from the woreda officials, those expertise sent from region were from the sending zones and woredas who were biased towards resettlers. Woreda administration complained many times that the land was not given according to the plan, rather forest land was being given to resettlers, but it was not solved at the initial times. The complaint of the woreda was that expertise given the responsibility violated the land use plan and failed to carry out their responsibility accordingly.

Resettlers settled on the land they were given, started to produce and develop the land. On the other hand woreda administration complains that forest land was given to resettlers but the woreda didn't have authority to stop forest clearance because it was totally the regional government which manages the entire program. According to information from kebele officials, later on after four years of the program, because of

pressure from the host people and great destruction to the forest, the woreda administration forcefully displaced around 112 households from the land planned for forest. But these people protested the approach massively by attacking woreda officers sent to operation. It is informed that those woreda officers were kidnapped by displaced resettlers for a day and night. Finally the case was ended after the interference of zone administration without the loss of human life.

As it can be seen the plan of regional government was not implemented properly. The regional government should have supervised the entire implementation processes. It seems these who were given the responsibility of land distribution did not use their responsibility properly. The woreda administration by itself should have taken measures at the early stage before the resettlers started to develop the land. After farmers invested their time, resource and money on the land, they were displaced without any compensation. In sum it highly affected the innocent resettlers.

Resettlers perceive that the host woreda administration worked as if it was against them. They feel that the government body which is supposed to protect them in time of conflict, created a conflict just to attack them and return them. The other surprising, according to the FGD with resettlers and personal observation, is that after the resettlers were displaced, the land is given to some Dawuro people in the logic that the land was their forefathers' land. Therefore, resettlers said that they were displaced not because of forest rather to give the land to hosts. Here the issue is controversial. On one hand, resettlers displaced from the land, which they had been developing for years for the reason of forest land, on the other hand the same land was given to the hosts. Resettlers lost the confidence to work on the land in future in fear of such action. The action exacerbated the tension of conflict among the hosts and resettlers due to the fact that the hosts get confidence to take any action against resettlers because they perceived as if the woreda administration was on their side.

As a result of the action taken by the woreda administration, the following consequential impacts realized. The first and most important is ethnic conflict tension. After the displacement of resettlers from the land, antagonism perception gets increased among the hosts and resettlers. According to information from the displaced resettlers, had they been from the same ethnic group, it would have not happened like that. They donot have long time intention to live there because of the tension. The other impact is that resettlers donot have any sense of ownership on the land they are given. They donot have moral and motive to conserve and manage the land, because it might be taken away some time in future. As a result land conservation and management is non existent there among resettlers which may affect the fertility of land. The third impact is that resettlers donot have any sense of responsibility to protect and mange forests around their area. This created difficulty in forest protection in sustainable way.

2) Population Inflow and Illegal Land Market

Resettlers in Neda are food secured and majority of them now are in a position to support their relatives in home area. Fertile land and good climate contributed to attain food security in short period of time, according to informants from resettlers. Surplus agricultural production in Neda pulled another population from sending woredas in search of land and job from their relatives. They came to visit their relatives or resettlers go to their area of origin and bring their relatives. Mainly these new comers are young, landless and high school completes. According to informants from resettlers, the population inflow is due to the fact that there is high land shortage in the sending woredas, and there is relative work access in resettlement areas such as share cropping and crop marketing. But these new comers all are not involved in the job as expected because of the competition.

Population pressure contributed to conflict in Neda in that the new comers involve in cutting trees for timber and charcoal production, hunting wild life and honey collection. They clash with hosts some times each other in use of these forest benefits. Since as population increases and resources limited, competition for those limited resources creates tension. In Neda also in addition to other factors, the above mentioned population pressure created tension.

The other related problem with population inflow is that the demand for jobs in government offices. Newcomers who are high school complete claim and some times dispute with woreda administration whenever there are vacancies. The woreda administration states that resettlers came to the area in the primary objective of food security, but not in search of jobs. So they are not supposed to compete for any vacancy with the local host candidates. The case once become serious and the regional government and zone administration convinced resettlers that they can be employed in the following two conditions. One, only after the hosts are considered, if all host candidates are selected and any vacancy is left (which seems impossible). Second, only if they completed their high school in the host Essera woreda. Resettlers complain that their right to work in any where in the country is abused.

According to key informants from woreda administration, the logic of woreda claim is that it is their budget which the hosts are supposed to be benefited. So the sending woredas have their own budget, which they can employ their people. No one has a right to claim on others' budget. Whereas, resettlers opt for two alternatives, as it is observed. They try to compete in host woreda; if it fails they go for to compete in their sending woredas. As a result, the host woreda administration officially blocked the chance for any vacancies to resettlers. The host woreda even in future has implicit plan not to hire any candidate from the resettlers in the pretext of language. Any one to work in a given woreda is supposed to know the local language which is the main challenge for resettlers. From this point of view, in future the situation for both resettlers and

hosting woreda is challenging. It is challenging for host woreda because the claim of resettlers to get jobs in government offices and the pressure from host people in order not to compete with resettlers in their own land is difficult to manage and handle. In the same notion, the challenge to resettlers is that they are supposed to know and speak the local language, otherwise, they are not supposed to get any job in the host woreda, which is difficult at least in short run. Overall the program was insensitive to the highly sensitive localized and ethnic based decentralization. What is happening in Neda is that the result of such insensitive approach to facts and overlooking these facts.

The inflow of people created another problem which is illegal land market. Competition for land through sale is created ethnic tension in the area. According to the information from key informants, some resettlers who are not interested to live long there sell the land partly or totally in illegal way. It is illegal because land sale is constitutionally prohibited since land is state property. It created tension in that some resettlers sell the land to their relatives who are resettlers by themselves or to new comers. The hosts compete in the illegal land market in claiming that if the resettlers leave it should be returned to hosts. According to FGD with hosts, there are some informal groups who perform the task of regaining the land. These groups involved in land regain negotiate resettlers to sell their land and leave the area. So some of resettlers who are indifferent either to live or leave, sell the land. But there is no legal ground to any land sale transaction and in turn leads to fraud and cheatings. In addition, loose social and traditional values in the area because of less interaction among each others gave room for frauds and lack of alternatives to negotiate. So, those who become cheated or the victims of fraud usually use forces to return their rights. Thus illegality and competition contributed to exacerbation of conflict tension.

The concerned government body should impose some restrictions or conditions on the transfer of land title. Without such intervention, the resettlers either sell the land thus become landless or subdivide the land among their relatives and make the land holding

uneconomic. Both the situations are undesirable; as they contradict the basic objective of the resettlement program, in addition to contributing to conflict tension.

3) Ethnic and Cultural Differences

Ethnicity has been a neglected dimension in both development theories and practices. It is this blindness which in retrospect seems remarkable, hard to explain and important to correct (Hettne, 1996). According to the above author, modern development theories take ethnicity as traditional obstacles to development which ultimately supposed to be disappeared in the course of development. Claims to ethnic identities were thus seen as anti- development. Further it is stated that the neglect towards ethnicity reflects itself in state development policies and programs. The SNNPR state resettlement program is one of the reflections to the unawareness to ethnicity.

In Ethiopia and other African countries ethnicity has been politicized to the point of inciting violent ethnic conflicts rather than using ethnicity as natural difference. Moreover, ethnicity has been used as a base to be partial on policies and programs even in state level (Hettne, 1996). Markikas (1998) cited in Tesfaye (2007) affirms that ethnicity and political mobilization on the basis of collective identity based on cultural affinity is one of variables frequently involved in conflicts.

The current political environment of Ethiopia politicized as the way that distinct ethnic group controls resources within its administration boundary, including land. Whereas, from the state both federal and regional states part, there is no clear policy statement in which the diverse people in the country or region use resources (Gemechu, 2008). The policy gap attributed to the misuse and miss management of resources within the given delineated boundary of an ethnic group. Therefore, in resettlement areas of the current government, the host people complain that some regional government cadres take out

their lands. Just as the previous emperor period when lands were given to the northern peasants, the same thing happened now, according to the hosts in Neda.

Ethnic tension in the sub region (Wolayta, Dawuro, Gamu-Gofa) started in 1992 E.C. At the time the protest against the government imposed common language use as primary education medium of instruction created tension among these ethnic groups against each other (Vaughan, 2006). The then dispute resolved by the segregation of North Omo zone in to three zones and one especial woreda (ibid). According to the information from Dawuro elders, still there are intentions from the Wolayta to dominate Dawuro through different mechanisms to exploit resources. According to the information, the domination usually exercised by the regional government officials who are from Wolyata. This and the previous dispute between the two ethnic groups highly affected the interaction between the resettlers and hosts in Neda. According to discussion with host Dawuro people this resettlement is one of the means to dominate and exploit resources.

The hosts Dawuro people claim that as separate and distinct ethnic group their land should not be given to any one. The Dawuro land belongs to the Dawuro people and for the coming generations. They raise the case of previous northern colonization. At the time the land was taken out, free land distributed to soldiers and peasants moved from north. In the same way according to Dawuro elders, their land is taken and given to their neighboring ethnic groups who utilized their land.

The cultural differences also contribute to the conflict among resettlers and hosts. As discussed earlier, there are people among the hosts who perceived as having bad sprit called "Manna". These groups of people are highly discriminated and subject to physical and psychological attacks. According to the information from the hosts, there are also among resettlers who are having bad sprit. The bad thing is that it is believed that if these "Manna" are kicked, the sprit will not be functioning. So, some of the

resettlers are the victim of such bad practice. According to the information from policeman in Neda, there were cases which some resettlers were attacked by hosts on market days when they returned to their homes. While the hosts said that resettlers with the bad sprit will kill their children, so they are supposed to be treated according to the culture, though explicitly not attacking but discriminating. According to resettlers' information, the practice of hosts is just a simple pretext, the reason behind is discouraging resettlers so as they leave the land.

The woreda administration has been trying to change the attitude of hosts and create conducive environment among the groups. According to information from the woreda administration, orientation was given to hosts around Neda. Moreover, legal measures taken on individuals who involved in such actions. It seems challenging for the woreda because of two reasons. One, it is traditional practice that cannot be changed over night. So it needs long time to change the belief which people have been doing. Second, it is not only traditional practice but also a means to attack resettlers so discourage them to leave the land which is deliberately designed by some group of host people. They are informal groups many of whom are not nearby residents rather from different parts of zone and region.

With regard to ethnic deference another factor which exacerbates conflict among resettlers and the hosts, according key informants interview and FGD, is language use in primary school (grade 1-4). Since the language spoken in Neda is three, Dawurothua, Wolatatua, and Tambaro, it is difficult to have uniform language as medium of instruction. Resettlers claim their children need to learn by their mother tongue, but the host woreda administration was not willing to recruit teachers from sending woredas who speak and can teach respective language. According to FGD, the dispute created once that resettlers protested the action of woreda that it is imposed the host people language on them. Currently there are teachers recruited by regional government, who teach in two primary schools using respective languages. In future, it seems that

children can speak the local language, Dawurothua that it can be used as common language of teaching in schools. But the issue is not only language, but also it is the issue of identity. So even the children can speak the local language, resettlers may not let be medium of instruction for their children. It is observed that resettlers are not willing let their children forget their original language. It seems complicated hence increases the antagonism relation and facilitates conflict.

It can be said that the resettlement program was not sensitive to such ethnic, cultural and language differences of the resettlers and hosts. But the reality is that such differences are playing their own role in negative interaction among the groups. In turn it affects the overall objective of the program. Material benefit is given due attention in the program, but social, psychological, and cultural values are not given attention, which are equally important. As primary needs get satisfied, naturally people quest such social and cultural values which are their identities. The quest of these values by itself creates tension among resettlers and hosts. That is why in Neda the future relation among hosts and resettlers seems in question.

4) Lack of Good Governance

In Neda resettlement area for administrative purpose all resettlers are included in one kebele. This kebele excludes the hosts previously living in the area. The hosts have separate kebele administration named Sengeti.

Good governance plays a vital role in maintaining peace and security in areas where there are different interest groups and diversified cultures. In cases which there are different motives, if people are discriminated based on their background, conflict may follow. Discrimination and partiality are the reflection of lack of good governance. In Neda kebele administration officials are not performing their responsibility ethically. According to the information from key informants, the base of discrimination is

ethnicity. Kebele officials favor in different ways their ethnic groups. One of the resettlers in key informant interview revealed the following case.

My family size was 12 when the food aid was given. At the time food aid was given according to your family size. I was given only half of what I deserve. What they did was they increase the family of their relatives or their family size by simple hypothetical names and collect the aid. They sell to others or they consume by themselves. No one listen your complaint because every one there belongs to the same group.

Two ethnic groups of resettlers, Wolayta and Tambaro compete for the kebele administration position. According to the FGD, all others are favored if the head of kebele is from their ethnic group and others are disfavored. Even though the election of kebele officials is on the base of competence, willingness to serve, and knowledge, after taking the position, they compete each other to dominate one another. This competition contributed its part to the antagonistic relation among the resettlers. Woreda administration was asked about the issue and they approached in two ways as solution to the problem. One is shifting the position to two ethnic groups by given certain period of time. But it severely aggravated corruption. It was perceived as taking chance to get advantage over the other. The second was that distributing existing administrative positions equally by sharing them. Still they failed to work in collaboration and peacefully rather attacking each other. According to woreda officials, the woreda get tired off the issue. In time of the field work of this research there was a conference mainly discussing the issue of good governance in the kebele. At the time of conference, all kebele officials demoted, the new ones are to be nominated.

Resettling different ethnic groups in one site contributed to the competition over power and led to corruption. According to woreda officials such issue is not serious in other resettlement areas in Essera where at least resettlers are ethnically uniform. When the program was planned, such issues should have been expected and at least conflicts

should have been minimized. The region and zone administration overlooked the ethnic diversity and to the extent resettled three ethnic groups in one site.

5) Shortage of Grazing Land:

As discussed in earlier section, resettlers were given separate neither private nor communal grazing land. In the household survey, all of the respondents replied that they use the land they were given either for cultivation of crops or for grazing purpose. The land which the hosts had been using for grazing was given to resettlers after the program is launched. Due to that the hosts some times clash with resettlers in trying to graze the land even it is given to the resettlers. According to the information from FGD with the resettlers, some hosts deliberately destroy the farms of resettlers claiming that it was their former grazing land. There are cases which created group dispute among resettlers and hosts because farm of some resettlers were destroyed by hosts' cattle.

On the other part, there is land which is not favorable for farming around the resettlement area usually used for grazing. According to information from the resettlers and hosts in FGD, this land on one hand, is small in terms of size and there is high competition to use it. On the other hand, hosts donot allow resettlers to enter with their cattle in to the land. The hosts claim the land belongs to them so that resettlers are not allowed to use. On the other hand resettlers claim that the land belongs to state, no one has right to exclude the other. So, all have equal right to use. Land which is not planned for any use perceived as communal but exclusion of one party from using creates tension. In addition to the prevailing group thinking in Neda, the above mentioned situation contributed to conflicts between resettlers and hosts. These conflicts resolved, according to key informants interviews, by intervention of government. There is a police station in the kebele which is responsible to resolve such conflicts among resettlers and hosts. According to interview with policeman in the kebele, since the intervention is after conflict occurs, taking any legal action couldn't minimize the

conflict occurrence probabilities. Hence, the situation demands sustainable and participatory way of conflict resolution methods.

4.8. Means to Mitigate Conflict

As discussed in the above sections, in the study area the prevalence of conflict is high and needs both immediate and long term solutions. Since the approach to tackle food insecurity problem created another problem, conflict, the solution that deals with conflict in resettlement areas needs to be addressed with the consideration of the root causes of food insecurity.

Table 4.18: Efforts Done By Government to Resolve Conflict

Is there any effort done by government to resolve conflict?	Resettlers		Hosts	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	78	69.1	28	70
No	35	30.9	12	30
Total	113	100	40	100

Source: Household survey, 2009

Currently the government takes the largest share in resolving conflicts. As Table 4.18 shows, 78 (69.1%) households from resettlers responded that government involved in conflict resolution efforts. The rest 35 (30.9%) responded that government did not have any role in resolving conflicts. From the hosts, 28 out of 40 households (70%) responded that government involved in conflict resolution efforts. Whereas, the rest 12 (30%) responded that government did not have any role in resolving conflicts. It can be said that regardless of its effectiveness and sustainability, government tried to make peaceful environment in the area. As it indicated by the survey, government intervention usually involves taking legal actions, conducting peace conferences, and creating awareness on mutual respect among different ethnic groups. According to the information from FGD and key informants interview, these government interventions are not still participatory. Government officials come and tell them what to do and not

to do. They are not given a chance generate solution. For instance, in peace conferences and awareness creation occasions, the procedures are similar to formal training.

But the effectiveness of these efforts is not satisfactory, as the respondents' information. As indicated in Table 4.19, out of 153 sample households, 101(66%) replied that the effectiveness of conflict resolution methods is very low. Whereas, 59 (38.5%) replied that the effectiveness is low. The rest 42 (27.5%) respondents responded that the effectiveness is moderate. Very low and low effectiveness of conflict resolution methods might mean that efforts are not sustainable and long lasting, they donot focus on the root causes of conflicts, and they are only directive rather than participatory.

Table 4.19: Effectiveness of Conflict Resolution Methods

The effectiveness of conflict resolution methods	Responses	
	Frequency	Percentage
Very low	101	66
Low	59	38.5
Moderate	42	27.5
	153	100

Source: Household survey, 2009

As the above discussion reveals the effectiveness of conflict resolution methods were not effective and sustainable. In FGD it was revealed also that the methods so far used were not participatory. Moreover, because of less social integration in the area, traditional and religious means to resolve conflicts are non existent.

Chapter Five: Conclusion and Recommendations

This part of the thesis presents conclusions on the overall issue under consideration. Then some recommendations will be presented in order to tackle the existing and predictable problems in the resettlement area.

4.1. Conclusion

As rural development program, resettlement gives an option to rural poor farmers in providing land in order to tackle poverty. Scholars agree that resettlement can be used as a means to tackle the problem of food insecurity and poverty. But the question usually raised and the concern of those scholars is on its implementation. This study, too, believes that resettlement can provide a favorable environment for resettlers so that they can sustain life if it is implemented properly. But in the study area and in other resettlement areas of the country, its poor implementation and lack of follow up take the lions share of contribution to its failure. The following are some concluding discussions about the resettlement of the study area.

Unlike the previous resettlement programs, resettlers in the study area moved voluntarily. They were not forced to resettle in this case. It can be concluded that the program was voluntary. Farmers accepted the program because of the pushing factors such as landlessness, drought, and famine.

It is found that the land which given to resettlers were not owned privately rather used as common property resources. Moreover, it is found that there was no change in land holdings of the hosts as a result of resettlement. But the forest and communal lands were given to resettlers. This affected the hosts who were dependent on these common property resources such as grazing land and forests.

In consulting the host people, it was done hastily without getting at least the approval of the hosts, rather the hosts were informed as any other party after the arrival of resettlers. The provision of infrastructures in resettlement areas is still the problem of resettlement programs. In the study area also the infrastructures are either non-existent or not functioning properly. Besides, there is no concerned body which supervises the provision of these infrastructures.

In the study area, land use and land use plans were not properly handled and they are the sources of conflicts. Land planned for forest coverage, agriculture, and roads are not used as to the plan and it became the cause of conflict. Inappropriate land use plan created hostile relation between the hosts and resettlers, and resettlers and woreda administration. This in turn affects the sustainability of the program.

As to the land size resettlers had given the same size of land size which is 2.1 hectare each. Even though the land size of hosts is greater than that of hosts, it is found that resettlers produce more than hosts. Similarly, in terms of annual income it is found that resettlers are better off than hosts. Factors contributed to such difference could be land fertility, incentives given to resettlers, and the motive of resettlers to win food insecurity problem which was the cause for them to resettle.

In the study, it is investigated that the relation between the resettlers and hosts, resettlers and resettlers is not friendly. The main factor to it is the ethnic difference. In the area there are two ethnic groups which are resettlers and one which is the host. This ethnic diversity in addition to competition to resources exacerbated conflict tension. Especially hosts and resettlers from one ethnic group (Wolayta) due to historical events look at each other as enemy. In future it may be critical and ethnic conflict may explode. The issue is now not only resource quest, but also identity issue and political. Ethnicity was totally ignored in the program but it contributed to the antagonistic relation between the hosts and resettlers in study area. Ignoring the ethnic differences and

failing to handle it properly may further create ethnic conflicts in the area and other parts of the region. Having so many ethnic groups by itself is neither blessing nor a curse, it depends on how we handle them.

In overall the program benefited the majority of resettlers in providing land for them and they are food secured. Resettlers now worry not about food security, but about the sustainability of the program. It is known that the environment in resettlement area is not conducive for them to think of permanence. The hosts, on their side, benefited nothing from the program. On one hand it took the land which the hosts have been using as their grazing land and minimized the access to land and forests, on the other hand the program entirely excluded them from any development programs.

It is found that the demand for land in the study area is high. This high demand led to both resettlers and hosts to involve in illegal land market. It is found that land sale takes place in ethnic bases. In turn this illegal land sale contributed to conflict in the area.

It is found that the incidence of conflict in the area is high. Factors contributed to the prevalence of conflict include poor land use plan, competition for use of common property resources, lack of good governance, ethnic and cultural differences, and population influx to the area. Ethnic and cultural differences take the largest share to prevalence of conflict.

Conflict resolution methods used so far were not effective. Mainly it was the government which takes the largest share in resolving conflicts. Since the intervention was usually after conflicts took place and they were not participatory by their nature, they were not sustainable.

4.2. Recommendations

Based on the above findings, the following recommendations are forwarded.

- Government organs especially regional government should keenly take charge of the resettlement programs even after their implementation. There should be also clear responsible body in provision and maintenance of infrastructure facilities to resettlers and hosts.
- By providing legal protection, strengthening kebele and woreda administration in building good governance and other related issues government should play its role in building peace in the area. Usually as seen the government politicizes every dispute so the root causes of the disputes and conflicts were overlooked. Rather than interpreting every thing from political point of view, the government is supposed to address the root factors of conflicts.
- Conflict resolution methods should be participatory. All concerned bodies need to be involved in the overall process of peace building.
- The hosts need to be protected through legal actions so that their resources such as forests, grazing land, and wild life shall not be damaged by the program. Moreover, the quests and complaints of the hosts to have access to these resources should not be overlooked. As it is seen in the study area and other resettlement areas, the hosts should not be ignored. The program should not consider hosts as passive objects and impose over them.
- Illegal land sale should be stopped so that competing for land on ethnic base will be stopped. Besides, cheating through illegal land sale and revenging will be minimized.
- There should be mechanism which controls population influx. Since population influx is one of causes of conflict, the sending woredas and host woreda should

work together in controlling the movement of people to the area to live permanently.

- The remained forest should be protected and there should be equitable access to both resettlers and hosts so that conflict over it will be minimized. Besides, forest management should be community based which participate all stakeholders so that there will be belongingness in both hosts and resettlers.
- The regional government should have clear policy statements which guides how resettlers will have access to jobs in government offices in host woredas and how hosting woredas treat such demands from resettlers. Moreover, it needs to state in which language and how resettlers' children in resettlement areas get education in primary schools and how the budget for it will be administered.
- In future, there may be quest to have independent woreda or any administrative organ from the resettlers' side whose number is large in number, which the hosts donot want to see. The regional government is supposed to act in head of time to manage such requests in order to avoid unnecessary conflicts.

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Annex I

**Addis Ababa University
College of Development Studies
Institute of Regional and Local Development Studies**

This questionnaire is designed to get information on resettlement and conflict in selected resettlement areas of Essera woreda. Some specific issues raised include, common property resource use, resettler and host relation, the nature of overall resettlement program and its impact on the livelihood of both hosts and resettlers, and other related issues. The data collected will be used for MA thesis and it will be confidential. Thank you for all cooperation.

Questionnaire

General Information

1. Name of respondent _____
2. Sex of respondent
 Male Female
3. Age of respondent
 Below 20 years 40-50 years
 21-30 years above 50 years
 31-40 years
4. Ethnic background _____
5. Religion _____
6. Education level
 Illiterate
 Primary school
 Junior school
 High school
 Above high school
7. The number of family members, Male _____ Female _____

Assets/Occupation and Income

8. Household occupation
 Farmer Daily labor
 Herder Weaving
 Pottery Selling firewood and charcoal
 Petty trade
9. Total land owned by household,
Cultivated _____, Not cultivated _____

10. Amount of land cultivated the year 2000 E.C

No	Type of crop produced	Amount of land covered in hectare	Amount of production in quintal	Remark
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				

11. Your amount of cultivated land before and after resettlement

- Before resettlement on average _____ hectare
- After resettlement on average _____ hectare

12. Production in the year 2000 E.C

No	Type of crop produced	Total production in quintal	Consumed in quintal	Sold quintal	Market price at time of sale per quintal	Total sale
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						

13. Livestock production in the year 2000 E.C

No	Type of livestock	Amount in number	Sold	Bought	Price at time of sale/buy	Remark
1	Goat					
2	Sheep					
3	Cow					
4	Ox					
5	Chicken					

14. Change on livestock production due to resettlement

No	Type of livestock	Number before resettlement	Number after resettlement	Change	Remark
1					
2					
3					
4					

15. Source of cash in the year 2000 E.C

No	Sources cash	Amount	Remark
1	Sale of crops		
2	Sale of livestock		
3	Sale of forest products		
4	Remittance		
5	Aid		
6	Any other source		

16. Do you have separate land for grazing?

- Yes
- No

17. If "Yes" how much in hectare? _____

18. If "No" where your cattle do graze? _____

19. How do you describe your access to land?

- High
- Medium
- Low
- No access at all

20. For what purpose you use land?

- Cultivation
- Grazing
- Renting
- Mortgaging
- Any other use

21. Your land in terms of productivity is

- Highly degraded
- Degraded
- Moderate
- Fertile
- Very fresh and fertile

22. Is there any change in your farm land size due to resettlement?

- Yes
- No

23. If "Yes", what are these changes?

24. If the size of your land is decreased, what is the reason?

- Inherited to children

- Sold to others
- Taken by government
- Any other reason

25. Do you think that land you have now is enough to produce?

- Yes
- No

26. If "No", what do you think is solution?

- Augmentation of the existing land
- Addition of another plot of land
- Involving in off-farm activities
- Any other

27. What facto(s) limit your access to land?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Distance | <input type="checkbox"/> Unavailability |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Conflict with others | <input type="checkbox"/> Others, specify |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Conservation project by government | |

Access to Common Resources

28. How do you describe your access to forest?

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> No access | <input type="checkbox"/> Medium |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Limited access | <input type="checkbox"/> High |

29. For what purpose you access forest?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Firewood consumption | <input type="checkbox"/> Charcoal for market |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Timber production | <input type="checkbox"/> Any other,____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Honey production | |

30. What are reasons for your limited or no access for forest?

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Unavailability | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Distance | <input type="checkbox"/> Conservation by government |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Conflict with others | |

Any other

31. How do you describe your access to water?

No access

Medium

Limited Access

High

32. For what purpose you access water?

For domestic use

For fishing

For irrigation

For animals

33. What are reasons for your limited or no access to water?

Unavailability

Conflict with others

Limited movement

Any other _____

Relation with Others

34. Is there any conflict now between resettlers and hosts?

Yes

No

35. What do you think are the reasons for conflict, if any?

Forest benefits

Because of ethnic

Access to grazing land

difference

Access to water

Any other

36. Is there any effort done by the government to tackle the conflict?

Yes

No

37. If "Yes", what are these efforts? _____

38. Are there any rules, regulation and agreements made to share resources with resettlers?

Yes

No

39. If "Yes", what are these agreements? (specify) _____

40. Before the resettlement did the government officials consulted with the host community?

- Yes
- No

41. What was the response of the community?

- Accepted the program
- Rejected the program
- Indifference

42. Do you think that the government imposed the resettlement?

- Yes
- No

43. Do you support the resettlement program?

- Yes
- No

44. If "Yes/No" what is your reason? _____

45. What are benefits you obtained out of resettlement? _____

46. What are social problems came with resettlement? _____

47. Did you come to resettlement willingly? (for resettlers)

- Yes
- No

48. If "No" what is your reason? _____

49. What were factors contributed to come here? (for resettlers) (multiple answer possible)

- Landlessness
- Decreased productivity of land
- Drought
- Parents

50. How do you take the feeling of hosts in resettlement? (for resettlers)

- It is negative
- It is positive
- It is in between

51. How do you describe the relationship between different ethnic groups in the resettlement area?

- Peaceful
- Conflict
- In-between

52. If it is in conflict what are the reasons for it?

53. What are mechanisms used to settle the conflict? _____

54. Who takes the initiation in settling the conflict? _____

55. The effectiveness of conflict resolution methods

- Very low
- Low
- Moderate
- High
- Very high

56. The role of government in conflict resolution _____

57. General comment _____

Annex II

Focus Group Discussion Guidelines (With Hosting People)

1. How do you see the resettlement program in general?
2. Before the program launched, were there any discussions with local /host people? If so, what were the points of discussions and final agreements?
3. How the relation with resettlers is described?
4. Are there any positive impacts of resettlement to local people?
5. Are there any negative impacts of resettlement in your livelihood?
6. Is there any experience of conflict with resettlers? If so, what are the factors contributed to it? How they were solved?
7. In use of resources such as forest, grazing land, and water, is there any formal or informal agreement, rule or regulation made with resettlers? If so, what are these agreements?
8. Ethnic, language and cultural differences affect the program not to sustain?
9. Are there any efforts made by the local government to reduce the tension of conflict between the host and resettlers?
10. How do you see the future of the resettlement in general?

Focus Group Discussion Guidelines with Resettlers

1. How do you see the program in general?
2. Is this place your first choice to resettle?
3. How do you describe the relation with the host people in social interactions?
4. How do you see the reflection of hosting people on the program?

5. In use of resources such as forest, grazing land, and water, is there any formal or informal agreement, rule or regulation made with hosts? If so, what are these agreements?
6. Is there any experience of conflict with hosts? If so, what are the factors contributed to it? How they were solved?
7. Is there any problem in relation to languages in schools? How do you think to be solved?
8. Ethnic, language and cultural differences affect the program not to sustain?
9. Are there any efforts made by the local government to reduce the tension of conflict between the host and resettlers? What are these actions?
10. How do you see the sustainability of the program?

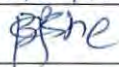
Interview Guideline to Local Administration

1. Are there any discussions with the local/host people before the program is launched? If so, what was the response the people?
2. Who initiated the program to host the program, regional government, and zone or woredas administration?
3. Is there any experience of conflict between the host and resettlers? If so, what are the factors contributed to it? How they were solved?
4. Do the local people oppose the program even after its implementation? If so, what are the indications of opposition?
5. Are there any active demands for land from the local people? What was the response for it from the local government?
6. In use of resources such as forest, grazing land, and water, is there any formal or informal agreement, rule or regulation made between hosts and resettlers? If so, what are these agreements?
7. How language use problem in primary school is being managed? Is there any request of use of their mother tongue? How it will be solved?

8. Are there any efforts made by the local government to reduce the tension of conflict between the host and resettlers? What are these actions?
9. Do you think that ethnic, language and culture difference affect the sustainability of the program?
10. How resettlers are represented in local government administration structures such as kebele, woredas?
11. What are the supports and supervision from regional government?
12. How do you see the futurity of the program in general?

Declaration

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

Name : Eshetu Mengesha
Signature: 
Date : July 14, 2009
Place: _____