

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY STUDIES
(IPSS)

INTER-HOUSEHOLD CONFLICT OVER FARMLAND IN JAMA
WOREDA OF SOUTH WOLLO ZONE: IMPLICATIONS ON
HUMAN SECURITY

BY
MULUGETA TESFAYE TESHOME

JUNE 2016
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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF
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Thesis Approval

The is to certify that the thesis entitled “Inter-Household Conflict over Farmland in Jama *Woreda* of South Wollo Zone: Implications on Human Security” by Mulugeta Tesfaye Teshome is approved for the degree of Master of Arts in Peace and Security Studies, complies with regulation of the university and meets the accepted standard with respect to originality and quality.

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List of Acronyms

Art.	Article
CDED.....	Canada Digital Elevation Data
CHS.....	Commission for Human Security
CSA.....	Central Statistical Agency
E.....	Easting
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
GOs	Governmental Organizations
GPS	Global Positioning System
Ha.	Hectare
HSU.....	Human Security Unit
ILO.....	International Labor Organization
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
MoA	Ministry of Agriculture
N.....	Northing
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
Proc.	Proclamation
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
SSA	Sub-Sahara Africa

UNCCD.....	United Nation Convention to Combat Dessertification
UNEP	United Nation Environmental Program
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USAIP	United States of America Institute for Peace

List of Abbreviations

ANRS.....	Amhara National Regional State
EPLAUD.....	Environmental Protection, Land Administration, and Use Department
FGDs.....	Focus Group Discussions
FP	FGD Participant
I.....	Informant
IHCOFL.....	Inter- Household Conflict over Farmland
KI	Key Informant
KLAC.....	Kebele Land Administration Committee
RLAU R.....	Rural Land Administration and Use Regulations
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
VI	Victim Informant
°	Degree
"	Second
%	Percent
´	Minute

Definitions of Local Terms

Akirma	A type of grass species that used as boundary marker
Amare.....	Traditional conflict resolution institution
Debo.....	A type of social gathering for work

Dega	Temperate climate zone
Equib	Village based traditional saving system
Ekul	Equal share of the share crop arrangement
Gasha.....	A shell of strong material that fighters used for protecting themselves during fight
Gebar.....	freehold, or sometimes referred to as private
Got.....	Village or sub-village in a kebele
Gult	Granted Land for Officials
Irbo	One- fourth share crop arrangement
Kebele	Local administration level below woreda (district)
Kire	Village based traditional administration unit
Kolla.....	Tropical climate Zone
Mahiber	Group Commemoration of saint's day
Rist	Hereditary land right
Samon	Church Owned Land
Shimigilina.....	Traditional conflict resolution institution in the study area
Siso.....	One third of share crop arrangement
Sodeka.....	Type of charity festival for villagers
Woreda	Local administration equal to district
Woyane	Traditional fighting game for winning beautiful female
Woyna dega	Mid temperate climate zone
Yemengist	Government owned land
Zikir.....	Commemoration of the deceased
Zone	Sub-regional Local Administration Unit

Abstract

Land is sole source of survival and means of identity manifestations for many developing countries. Farmers in the study area are suffering from farmland conflict and its associated impacts. The focus of this thesis is investigating and describing different factors of inter-household conflict over farmland and assessing its impacts and human security implications in the study area community. Descriptive-case study qualitative approach was employed in studying the problem. For the purpose of deep investigation of the issue in-depth interview with farmers, key informant interview, and FGDs were data collection instruments. The present researcher collected data from three Kebeles of the Woreda by considering representation of climate zone in the Woreda, abundance of the case and accessibility for transportation. The finding of the study indicated that boundary encroachment, land eviction, drainage conflict, inheritance land disagreement, and crop sharing and contract disagreement are the common types of farmland conflict. Inter-household conflict over farmland occurred with the interaction of underlined factors and risk factors. The divisive institutions, maladministration, individuals' unproductive competition over farmland, defectively implemented land administration programs, disharmonious land administration laws, and the values of land for individuals are identified as underlined factors for the conflicts to happen. The culture of violence, disobedience to the law, the availability of small arms and light weapons, and other forms of social conflict are also risk factor by creating fragile peace among the members of the community. The conflict affects the economic, social, political, and psychological wellbeing of the study area residents. It poses economic, social, political, environmental and human security threats too. The effort made by the local government to combat the problem is not sufficient. It is imperative to revise and harmonize land administration laws if not changing some faultily legislated articles. Above all digital land registration and date administration should considered by governmental organizations and non-governmental organizations who are working in land administration sector. Immediate intervention is urged in saving severely devastating environment.

Key words: Household, Conflict, Farmland, Human Security, Jama woreda

Chapter One

1. Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

The global environment identified as farmland is around 1.47–1.53 billion hectares. It is around 11% of Earth's land mass. On this limited landmass, 75 % of the world's rural people are living and engaging in farming with high population growth rate over the past two decades (Bruce, 2013). From 1990–2007, the cultivated land expanded by 1.9 million hectares per year. Around 16 % of the arable land under used now is degraded and as a result decreased the amount of farmland in the world. Therefore, researchers expect further expansion of farmland in the future (Evanco, 2010).

The developing countries are exposed to the risk of environmental degradation and the dispute over land since they are utterly dependent on farming. The large majority of the African population depends on land and land-based resources for their livelihoods. The social and economic development for most of the African communities is determined by access to land (Zwan, 2011). Contrary to these contexts in developing countries, six million hectares of additional land will need to be brought into production each year until 2030 to meet the increasing demand (FAO, Mountain Partnership Secretariat, UNCCD, SDC, CDED , 2011). This alarming expansion of farmland in the face of unstable political system in African countries resulted in conflict and human security threat.

Anseeuw and Alden (2010) stated that failures of African governments to recognize and resolve land disputes is triggering extended protests, increase violences and disable the political success of the states. Land is always at the front line to many conflicts in Africa. Researchers' brief survey confirms that the onset as well as escalation of chronic conflicts are directly related to land claim (Schwartz, 1999; Pickmeier, 2014; Mwesigye, Matsumoto, 2013; Holden, Deininger, Hosaena Ghebru 2009; Dessalegn, 2009; Deininger, Castagnini, 2004). According to conflict researchers, common denominator of unstable African states is the claim for access to land. In Mali's northern part, Nigeria's Niger Delta region, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Botswana, and Rwanda conflicts over land is remaining quite sensitive (Anseeuw and Alden, 2010). Currently land question in Sub-Saharan Africa is also quite vulnerable to different conflicts, contest, disagreements and exploitation which have negative impacts on the socio-economic and political fabrics of many societies (Bob, 2010). In the same vein environmental degradation, maladministration and

unsustainable consumption contribute to or cause for violent conflict in the developing countries. Coincidental to the above factors, at the beginning the 21st century food and fuel price crisis seem to have had contribution for the global land rush (Mulugeta, 2014). This development further increases the economic and social value of land in Africa as well as in Ethiopia. Due to these several local conflicts are erupted between different actors in recent years in these area (Wood, 1993 and Boone, 2014).

Ethiopia is geographically located in the vast Horn of African plate and it lies within the tropical region. Its topography is mountainous covering land area of about 1, 104, 300 square kilometers. The highly diverse population is also estimated at about 92, 206, 005 (CSA, 2016). Despite the apparent abundance of land in Ethiopia, agricultural land with a dependable growing period represents a fraction of the total land area (Tesfaye, 2005). Moreover, land degradation is quite extensive and severe, particularly in the highlands more than 1500 meters above sea level, which account for about 40% of the total land area. The highlands of Ethiopia are home for 90% of the total population and 65% of livestock (*Ibid*). Population continues to rapidly grow in these highlands. The average annual population growth rate is 2.7% (CSA, 2007). Land degradation and population growth exert pressure on diminishing supplies of arable land for cultivation and pasture. There are signs of declining farm size, fragmentation, excess demand for land and pushing cultivation on to marginal lands, and rural landlessness of Ethiopia (Dessalegn, 2009). Therefore, it is not surprising if natural resources (farmland, water, grazing land and forests) become causes of conflict.

However, there is a divergent view on the relation between resource [land] and conflict. Though the interrelation between the two is debatable, scholars agreed that conflict over natural resource such as land is part of and exacerbates the struggle over political, economic, cultural and religious struggle in the society (USAIP, 2007). Literatures on this issue can be summarized in to scarcity related conflicts, abundance (resource curse) related conflicts, and resource governance related conflicts approaches can explain land disputes at macro and micro levels. Advocators of each theory support their positions with good empirical and theoretical evidences. Thomas Malthus and neo-Malthusians see population growth and land degradation as potential sources of conflict by causing scarcity of resource. The struggle for survival may involve fighting over scarce resources (Homer-Dixon, 1999). Extreme environmental scarcities may eventually lead to conflict for scarcity theorists. Opposing to scarcity theory, the resource curse theorists considered abundance of a certain valuable resources leads to rent-seeking behavior and violent conflicts (Sachs and

Warner, 1995). The advocates of this theory believe that abundance gives reason to fight for and the capacity to invest in conflicts.

The two theories have recently been contested by Mehlum, Moene and Torvik (2006a, 2006b) who find that institutional imperfection is decisive for the resource conflict. Conflict will happen on abundant resource when institutions are resource grabber friendly. One of the main reasons for the increasing incidence of land related conflicts in Africa is the failure of land administration systems to respond to the increasing land pressures (Deininger and Castagnini, 2006). However alleging a single factor for numerous types of land conflicts is not helpful to address the problem. A number of factors could be responsible since land has several form of attachment for developing country society.

The level of escalation and the nature of land conflict are different as the context differs. Deininger and Castagnini (2004) assert that in an environment where access to land is across groups or governed by factors such as ethnicity, it can give rise to the conflict runs along ethnic lines. It also spread to areas where completely unrelated to land. There is several land conflict along ethnic line in the southern, southeast and southwestern Ethiopia. In the study area, individuals are not mobilized through ethnic line. The only mobilizing factor is family hood. Therefore, inter-household conflicts over farmland is common types of conflicts that frequently happened in the northern highlands of Ethiopia for centuries.

Jama has 42,000,299 ha. of arable land with continues loss of soil quality from the total area of 105,000,193 ha. (Abidu, 2010). As the number indicates, the arable land is quite small when we compared to the total land area. Because of scarce farmland, many households have not land since they emerged after land redistribution program in 1991/2. They support themselves by renting land and by telling land for share crop. This implied that land is important factor of production, means of survival and source of conflict in the study area. Therefore, it is far from undisputed whether land related conflicts in the study area are a serious issue to warrant attention by policy makers or researchers.

Different researchers are confused by the definition of household. Bruck and Schindler (2008) defined households as the smallest analytical unit of social organization, production and consumption. Household members are likely to share a common residence, wealth, inheritance, and reproductive activities. The specific content, intensity, and frequency of these activities vary by society's stage, life cycle, and economic status of household members. Household inhabitants

may be kin, but they may include friends, lodgers, and servants, and there are certainly family members who are not temporarily or permanently co-resident and cooperating (Netting, 1989 as cited by Brück and Schindler, 2008). Therefore, the inter-household conflicts over farmland (IHCOFL) is mobilizing this smallest unite of the society, household in land conflict.

IHOFL is dominant type of natural resource conflict among others in the study area according to local authorities' personal communication. Despite the increasing incidences of farmland conflicts, previous studies on this topic have been limited to some specific incidences that are related to large-scale civil strife or politically motivated conflicts. Some recent studies indicated that rural households experience on small-scale land conflicts with relatives, neighbors, proprietors, or local governments (Berihu et al., 2015; Deininger and Castagnini, 2004). These small-scale conflicts have significant impacts on productivity of land, scope of future growth, environmental sustainability, political stability and societal development of a certain community in rural areas. This study investigates micro-level farmland conflict in Jama *Woreda*, South Wollo Zone.

Identifying legal, economic, social and environmental causes of inter-household conflict over farmland and assessing impacts and its human security implications is important to inform stakeholders for considering intervention and conflict management mechanisms. This research will provide an overview of the nature, causes, and security implications of inter-household conflict over farmland in Jama *Woreda*.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

At the turn of the twenty-first century, more people were killed in developing countries particularly in sub-Saharan Africa than the rest of the world due to resource conflict (Bruck and Schindler, 2008). Conflict theories believe that individuals' reliance on single source of survival leads to frustration for fear of losing this resource. Galtung and Webel (2007) stated that the consequent stage of frustration is aggression and violent conflict unless positive intervention not considered. Ethiopia in general the study area in particular is not exceptional on this reality.

Inter-household conflicts over farmland are alarmingly increasing in the study area since the last fifteen years. Violent conflict is high in Jama *Woreda* (Getnent Shiferaw, Personal Communication, Decdember 2, 2015). According to him sever crimes are alarmingly increasing above the *Woreda's* annual plan in each year. The South Wollo Zone Security Office annual reports indicate that most of these violent conflicts and crimes are related with land dispute. Jama is the second in hosting homicide and sever beating for the last five years among 22 *Woredas* in the Zone. Land is the second leading cause next to blood feud as South Wollo Zone Security Office annual reports indicated. Considerable number of households faces land related conflict in each year.

In Jama, the *Woreda* courts are crowded by land related accusation files. The trend is increasing from year to year as the Jama *Woreda* court annual reports investigation indicates. In addition to case brought to courts there are many conflicts addressed by local mediators. Apart from land related conflicts other causes of inter-household conflict like blood feud and alcoholic drinks related conflicts are rooted in land dispute if we further unpacked according to the conversation with elders. Due to this Jama *Woreda* residents are under the threat of farmland related inter-household conflicts. Therefore, the researcher assessed this type of conflict and its implication for the human security in Jama *Woreda*.

Many studies have been done on land and conflict in East Africa as well as in Ethiopian in different time. Tesfaye (2005) and Dessalegn (2009) assessed interrelations between conflict and land scarcity, tenure change and public policy in Ethiopia. Both researchers concluded that tenure system and consequent land scarcity are causes for conflict. Both researchers uncover the changes in tenure system reforms were inconsistent to the demands for land right, equity, efficiency and environmental sustainability.

The work of MoA (2011) also showed that land related conflict is highly related to weakness of existing laws and misunderstanding of stakeholders. Similarly, Boone and Wood asserted that institutional arrangement to govern land and land access is the main factor for land conflict in Africa and in Ethiopia (Boone, 2014 and Wood, 1993). Apart from unsecured land right, weakness of existing laws, institutional failure, misuse of power, and environmental factors are identified as factors of conflict over land. In this line of argument, Yintiso demonstrated that environmental factors contribute to the escalation of inter-ethnic conflicts in Dassanech area (Yintiso, 2012).

Studies that have been undertaken on the nexus between land and conflict concentrated in the lowland area's inter-ethnic conflict, large-scale agriculture related conflicts and the issues of "land grabbing" (Tesfaye 2005; Boone, 2014; Wood, 1993; Yintiso, 2012; and etc.). In addition absence of tenure security in land administration sector (Tesfaye, 2005; Dessalegn, 2003, 2004, 2007, 2009; Yintiso, 2012; Deininger and Byerlee, 2011; Deininger et al, 2008 and etc.) accused for increasing vulnerability of land for violent conflict in these area. However, the nexus between farmland and inter-household conflict is not well investigated in the highlands of Ethiopia as well in the study area. In other words, considerable number of works analyze land conflict at macro-level processes rather than micro level dynamics. This macro level approach tends to produce unsophisticated analyses. It also downplays the importance of various complex political and social factors at the grassroots level (Cuvelier, Olin and Vlassen, 2013). The community in the study area is highly atomized (individualized) and could not be mobilized for macro level (for example ethnic) conflict. Despite evidence on increasing incidence of micro level conflicts with rural community (Deininger and Castagnini, 2004), little attention is given to study micro level land conflict. Therefore, it is imperative to conduct micro level study of land in the study area.

Inter household conflict over farmland and implications for the human security for Jama *Woreda* community are not studied yet. Therefore, the study intended to fill a yawning gap by exploring the nature, identifying the factors, and explaining the effects and analyzing security implications of the inter-household conflict over farmland to create more peaceful and secured environment to live. The study will also contribute in uncovering the issue for further research, policy measure and human security intervention measures. More specifically the following research objectives were addressed in the study.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

This study has the following general and specific objective.

1.3.1 General Objective of the Study

The general objective of this research is to explore farmland related inter-household conflict and the implications for human security in Jama *Woreda*.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives of the Study

- To explore the nature of inter-household conflicts over farmland in Jama *Woreda*
- To identify the factors for increasing farmland-related inter-household conflict in Jama *woreda*
- To explain the effects of farmland related inter-household conflict on the livelihood of the people in Jama *Woreda*.
- To analyze the implications of farmland-related inter-household conflict for the human security in Jama *Woreda*

1.4 Research Questions

- What is the nature of farmland-related inter-household conflict in Jama *Woreda*?
- What are the factors that contribute for farmland-related inter-household conflict in Jama *Woreda*?
- How does inter-household conflict over farmland negatively affect the lives of the people in that *Woreda*?
- What are the implications of farmland related inter-household conflict for human security in the *Woreda*?

1.5 Significance of the Study

Sustainable development in rural agriculture requires the prevalence of peaceful co-existence among farmers and farmland administration. Conflict over farmland means disruption of the life of the farmer that will hamper the holistic development and security of rural community. Therefore, a study on farmland related inter-household conflict and its security implication is very important. The primary beneficiaries of this research are members of Jama *Woreda* residents. The successful accomplishment of this research provides a ground for policy makers to adjust gaps in the land administration sector. It also has a paramount significance to think security sector intervention to prevent the impacts of inter-household conflict over farmland. Additionally this the research would have the following contributions;

- It introduces new perspective of studying farmland conflict and its implications for human security.
- It provides information about impacts and security implications of inter household conflict over farmland for stakeholders and local government officials.
- It assists stakeholders to manage these types of conflicts more effectively.
- It draws the attentions of NGOs in solving problem of land conflict in the study area.
- Finally, the study benefits other interested researchers to use it as starting point for conducting further research on this issue.

1.6 Scope of the Study

Though farmland related conflicts have different forms, this research is conceptually delimited in studying inter-household conflict over farmland and in exploring the impacts and human security implications. The study identified the underlined cause of farmland conflict between households, the impacts of this type of conflict and human security implications for human security in Jama *Woreda* of South Wollo Zone. Therefore, the study is geographically delimited in Jama *Woreda*. Accordingly, any analysis and findings of the study are specific to the study area only.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

The researcher encountered some challenges during data collections and research process. Among the challenges, lack of comprehensive reports in the *Woreda's* and *Kebele's* offices was the major

one. It was time consuming to collect and organize data from different offices' report. Unwillingness of individuals to engage in FGDs and interview was another challenge during the research process. To get willing individual it takes time and effort within a given time. The other limitation of the research is that budget constraint. Due to budget constraint the research participants' responses translated in to English from Amharic language by the researcher. To contract this limitation an English language teacher at Wollo University informally sees the transcribed responses.

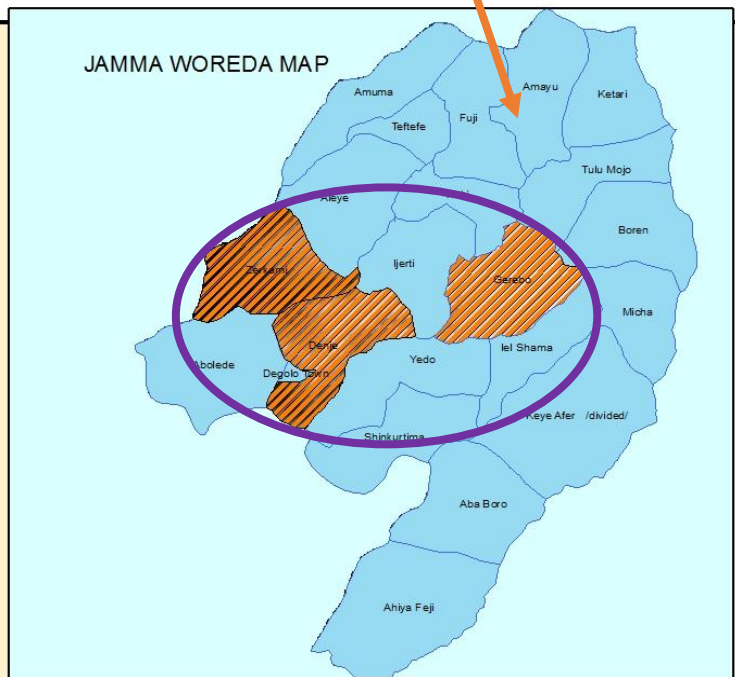
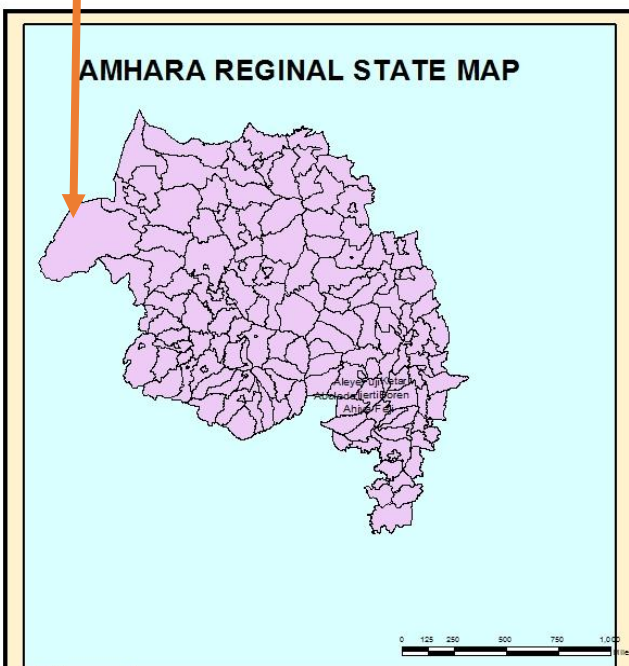
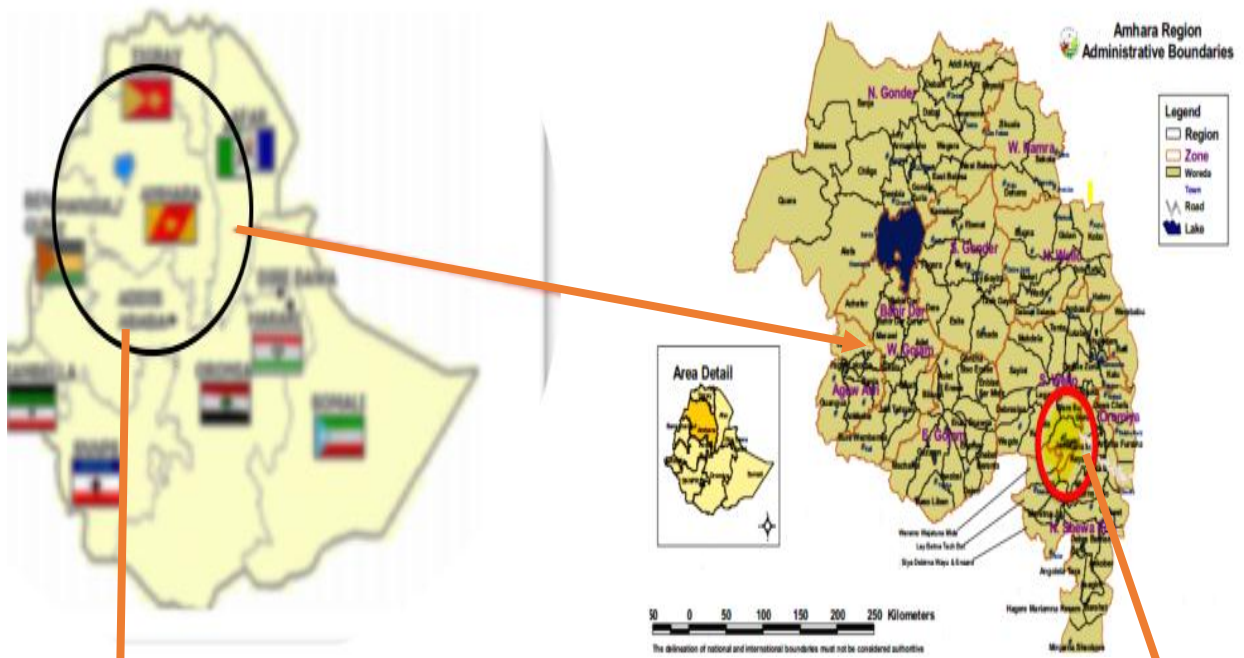
1.8 Description of the Study Area

Jama *Woreda* is located in the South Wollo Administrative Zone, which is 362 km north east from Addis Ababa. The *Woreda* geographically located between 10° 06' 24" to 10° 35' 45" N and between 39° 04' 04" to 39° 23' 03" E. The altitude range of the *Woreda* is between 1428m-2752 m above sea level. Jama is bordered with Qechene River on the southeast which separate from North shoa, kelala to the west, Legehida to the north and Woreillu to the north east. The *Woreda* has 22 Kebeles. The area is one of less accessible places in the region. There are few motor roads across this rugged topography.

With traditional climatic zone classification Jama *Woreda* is consisted of 77.1% *Dega*, 22.3% *Wona Dega*, and 0.6% moist *Kola*. The topography of the area is undulating with medium slop and widely distributed gullies in sub-water sheds. Due to rolling types of the area, the erosion hazards have series impact on farmland. Average rainfall of *Woreda* is 1130 mm and the average land size per individual farmer is 1.5 ha. The altitude rage 2529-2610 m.a.s.l having uni-modal rainfall receiving the already explained average rainfall. Soil composition of the *Woreda* by color is as follow. 63% black, 10% red, 17% gray and 19% brown with 84.2% clay 6.8% sandy and 9% alluvial accumulation soil texture. The watersheds are dominated with verity clay soil (Abidu, 2010).

Map 3.1: Map of the Study Area

• Amhara Regional Map



High : 2760
Low : 1446

THE STUDY AREA

Albers Projection
Central Meridian: 38
Latitude Parallel: 12
False Easting: 500000
False Northing: 0
Units: Meter
Datum: WGS 84
Projection: UTM
Zone: 39N



Jama *Woreda*'s population is estimated around 148, 168 people based on 2016 CSA projection. The *Woreda* has a population density of 147.58 persons per square kilometer. 32,165 households are counted with having 4.39 persons to each household. The sole economy is crop production supplemented by livestock rearing. 80 % of the *Woreda*'s population livelihood depends on mixed agriculture, 16.6% of the population depends on crop production alone, 3% and 9.4% on handcrafts and trade respectively. Wheat, Teff, red sorghum and pulses are the main crops grown in the area. Sheep, cattle and equines are the main livestock types reared. Cash is generated from the sale of livestock and livestock products more than crop sales in the area (Jama *Woreda* Environmental Protection, Land Administration and Land Use office report, 2016).

1.9 Organization of the Study

This thesis constitutes five chapters. The first chapter deals with the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, general objectives of the study, specific objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study, limitations of the study and description of study area. The second chapter describes review of literature. This chapter consists of concepts and definitions of conflict, conflict handling method, farmland conflict, causes of land related conflict, impacts of farmland conflicts, implications of farmland conflict for human security, the understanding human security, farmland conflict, human security nexus, and environmental change and human security. The third chapter deals with research method, methods of data collection, tool for data collection, data analysis, and ethical consideration. The fourth chapter is concerned with the presentation of data findings and discussion. The final chapter will present the conclusion of the findings and recommendations of the study.

Chapter Two

2. Review of Related Literature

2.2 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to assess and clarify definitions, concepts, terms and models, which are related to this thesis. It is consisted of concepts and definition of conflict, definitions farmland conflict, causes of farmland conflict like; land scarcity, insecurity of tenure, normative dissonance, corruption, environmental condition, and global land rush. It also discussed impacts of farmland Conflict and implications of farmland conflict for human security. Under this chapter, environmental security and climate changes are assed as the major human security threat.

2.2 Conflict: Concepts and Definitions

Conflict is an inherent phenomenon in the social world as inherent for individual human beings. Conflict may be defined as a struggle or contest between people on the issues of opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values, scarcity resources and incompatible goals (Froyd, 2010, Galtung, 2007, Jeong, 2010). Conflict may be manifested through adversarial social action, involving two or more actors with the expression of differences often accompanied by intense hostilities. According to Galtung and Webel (2007), the well-known personalities in this field of peace and conflict studies, incompatible preferences are a more acute source of tension and struggle especially when each party seeks distributive outcomes which satisfy one group's interests at the expense of others. Most significantly, protracted conflict arises from the failure to manage antagonistic relationships (*Ibid*). If conflict is incompatible/contradictory goals, where do the goals come from? Galtung and Webel gave deep analysis for this fundamental pervasive question as follow.

...from Nature, Culture and Structure. Nature is in us, and around us; Culture is in us as internalized values and norms; and Structure is around us as institutionalized, positive and negative, sanctions. Individual actors have goals, among them are basic needs derived from Nature, values from Culture and interests from Structure; goals are positively coupled (harmonious, compatible) which define peace; negatively coupled (disharmonious, incompatible) which define conflict (Webel and Galtung, 2007:4).

Galtung and Webel (2010) further demonstrate how incompatibility of goals transformed and developed in to aggression, violence and destructive relation. They assert if conflict is not managed

in the appropriate ways cyclic model of conflict begin to embed in the nature of individuals, culture and structure of the society.

Where there is conflict there may be frustration; where there is frustration there may be polarization, as a dualist gestalt of 'Self vs other'; Where there is polarization there may be dehumanization of other; where there is dehumanization frustration may translate into aggression, where there is trauma because of aggression, victims may dream of revenge, and perpetrators of more glory in Culture and Structure as values and interests and in History as vicious feedback cycles" (Galtung and Webel, 2007:4).

2.3 Modes of Conflict Handling

In a certain protracted conflict, opponents develop social copying mechanisms to continue the struggle and justify one's own action.(Jeong, 2010). Conflicts will escalate or deescalate depending on the actors' modes of responding the conflict. People in conflict do not respond to conflict in the same way. Their reactions determine the nature of conflict. Conflict scholars found five ways in responding for conflict situations. There is right and wrong times or situation to follow each mode to follow each mode of responding. Thomas and Kilmann (2007) classification of response analyzed from two dimensions; parties' assertiveness and cooperativeness. Froyd (2010) also discussed it in reference to actors' skill, position and type of interest the parties' has. These ways of responding conflict are; compromising, accommodating, avoiding, computing and collaborating.

The first one is *compromising* in which moderate assertiveness and cooperation observed among conflicting parties (Thomas and Kilmann, 2007). Compromising is appropriate response when you are dealing with issues of moderate importance. It is appropriate way of reacting to deal conflicting for parties having equal status. It also good for parties who have a strong commitment for resolution and who need temporary solution.

The second mode is *accommodating*. In this mode low assertiveness and high cooperation is expected (Froyd, 2010). Accommodating mode is appropriate to show reasonableness, to create good will, or to keep peace. Forgetting your desires, selflessness decision and obedience for law and orders are important skills to respond in this mode.

The third one is *competing* mode is characterized by high assertiveness and low cooperation. This mode is appropriate when quick action needs to be taken. An unpopular decision is common in

this mode. Vital issues are handled in this mode to protecting self-interests. In this mode of responding conflict parties needs to have skills like, debating, using rank to influence, asserting your opinions and feelings, and stating your position clearly (Carol et al, 2006).

The forth one is *avoiding* which is characterized by low assertiveness and low cooperation. Most of the times, people avoid conflicts out of fear of engaging in a conflict (Froyd, 2010). Carlos et al. (2006) said that people prefer this mode because lack of confidence in the conflict management skills. The avoiding mode is appropriate when you have issues of low importance. It is preferable modes of responding to conflict to reduce tensions, to buy some time, or when you are in a position of lower power.

The last mode of responding conflict is *collaborating*. In this mode a high assertiveness and high cooperation is demonstrated. The best solution is defined as a creative solution to the conflict. Therefore, the collaborating mode should be used when the conflict warrants the time and energy (Carlos et al, 2006, Thomas and Kilmann, 2007). The collaborative mode is appropriate when the conflict is important to the people who are constructing an integrative solution, and when the issues are too important to compromise. Collaboration mode is advanced mode because it merge perspectives, increase commitment, improve and relationships (Froyd, 2010).

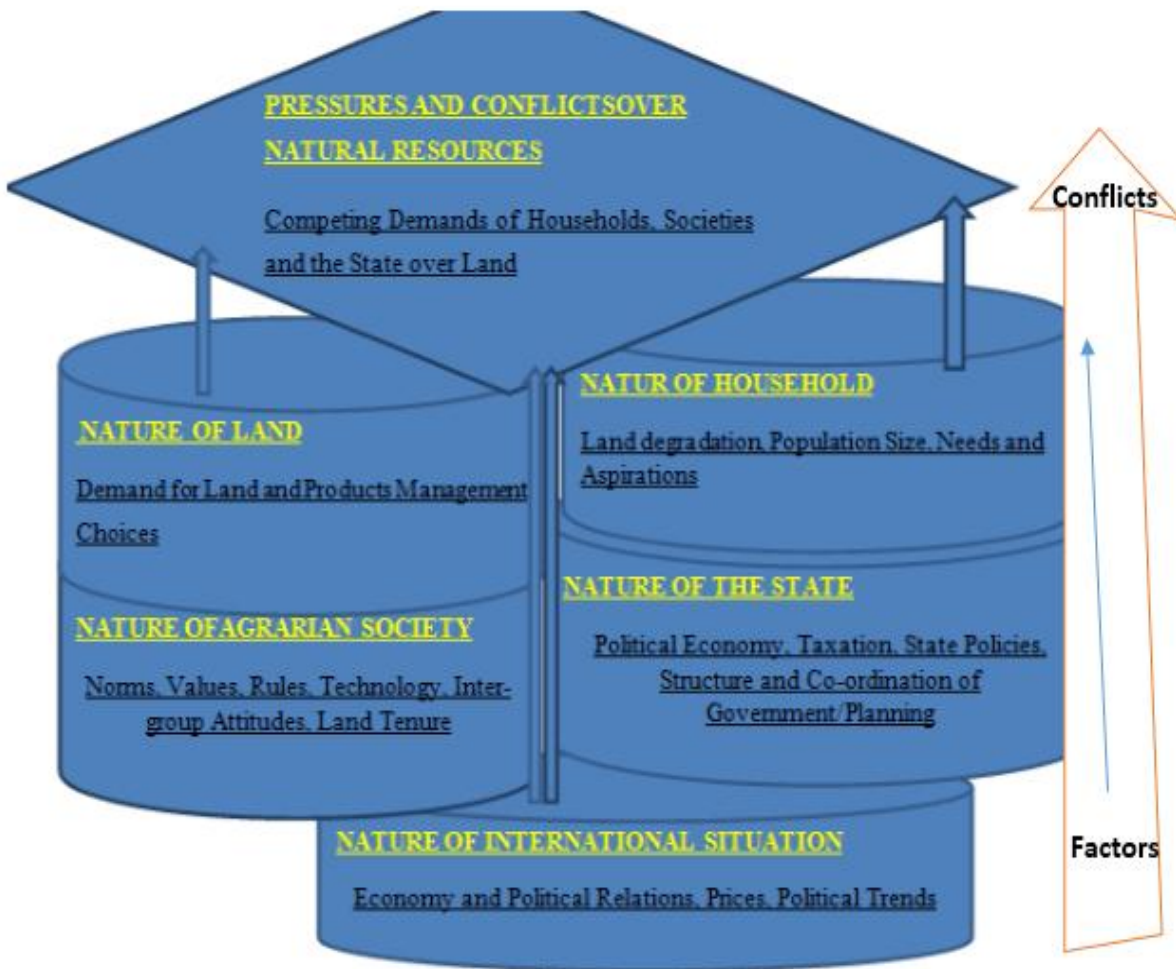
2.4 Farmland Conflicts

Land becomes the object of conflict in a number of overlapping reasons. In the continent, land is considered as an economic asset, as a connection with identity, social legitimacy and as political territory (Anseeuw and Alden, 2010). Especially land in sub-Saharan Africa, which is available to the households and communities have critical value; as source of food production and territoriality (Bob and Bronkhorst, 2010). In addition, land values have risen dramatically because of price boom since 2008. Demand for fertile land in Africa will almost certainly intensify along with rapidly increasing global demand for food (Jordan, Jayne and Derek, 2014

Farmlands Expanded to the marginal lands; dry land, mountain and arid lowlands. In some of these, neglect of existing rights prompted conflict over land and further undermined stability and productivity. The associated negative impacts were made worse by poor technology and management (Deininger and Byerlee, 2011). Today the issues of land and conflicts occur all over Africa, all the time. Stories regarding land conflict mushroom on a continuous basis (Anseeuw and

Alden, 2010) over land and its resources that brought to the nexus between land and conflict. This can occur between any number and type of identity groups. Among the common fault lines in land conflict ethnicity, religion, class, gender, or generation are the major one. Unlike non-renewable resources, land conflicts can be persistent, and conflict resolution is always complicated and difficult. A particular land dispute may be the expressions of a number of causes, actors, and dynamics that sustain as long as the land exists.

Figure 2.1: Diagram of Land Conflict



Source: Adopted from Wood, 1993

2.5 History of Farmland Conflict

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, three land tenure regimes practiced under three successive political regimes in Ethiopia. Even though land tenure institutions continuously evolved

in response to the political environment, rural demographic dynamics, expansion of markets, natural resource conditions (particularly soil erosion), these three periods marked important turning points in the development of the prevailing land administration system in the country (Ahmed et al., 2002). Conflict over farmland happened in each regimes by different reasons. Though land tenure system varied from region to region due to the diverse geographical, cultural settings and different socio-political events that occurred in different parts of the country (Dessalegn, 2009),

During the imperial regime the land tenure types refer mainly to the imperial administrative classification which is commonly distinguished between communal (*rist*), grant land (*gult*), freehold, or sometimes referred to as private (*gebbar* tenures), Church (*Samon*), and state (*maderia*, *yemengist*) tenure regimes. This type of land tenure system accommodated by the Ethiopian empire is described as one of the most complex compilations of different land use systems in Africa (Brietzke, 1976 as cited in Shimels et al., 2009). The security of individual holdings was also protected in this system through honoring of hereditary rights and denying access to 'outsiders' (Dessalegn, 2009). Nevertheless, the possibility of claim at any time to a part of the land that was protected by *rist* subjected *rist* holders to varying degrees of insecurity.

With the growing recognition of the land tenure system as a fundamental restraining factor to the country's agricultural development effort, and as an underlying cause of land degradation and unequal income distribution, the need for land reform became the key issue of the time (Dessalegn, 2007). Scholars, development planners, social activists (students) and policy makers expressed the need to institutionalize formal and legal procedures land reform.

The aftermath of the “revolution”, **Derg** launched a radical land reform program that covered all parts of the country. The March 1975 decree ended all forms of customary land tenure and landlordism (Holden and Otsuka, 2014). All rural and urban lands declared states' property and redistributed to the tillers, primarily based on family size and quality of the land in an attempt to create equity and fairness in land acquisition. The same decree also banned all kinds of land transactions and wage labor in rural areas to ensure that the tillers remained the beneficiaries of the land. The power and responsibility to allocate and administer land was given to the local Peasant Associations (PAs), the lowest administrative unit of the regime (*Ibid*). The demand for

land by the rapidly growing farmer population in rural areas could not be met through land redistribution. Although law banned tenancy and use of hired labor, farmers gradually started to informally lease out their lands to close relatives and friends and temporarily give out part of their holding as gift to their newly married relatives. Since transaction and gift of land restricted by law such practices were done under shadow (Holden and Otsuka, 2014).

2.6 Factors of Land Related Conflicts

Increasing competition over diminishing renewable resources, environmental degradation, population growth and climate change are cited as a key factor in triggering, escalating or sustaining violent land conflicts around the globe. Land conflict involves multiple stakeholders including communities, private sector actors, civil society organizations, local authorities and national governments. A mixture of underlying factors and immediate events are often triggers of violence (Schwartz, 1999). To address land-related conflict, it is essential to identify factors that create vulnerability to land conflict, heighten unproductive competition, exacerbate tension, causes of conflict, and other contributing factors. In the following pages, major factors for farmland conflict are discussed.

2.6.1 Land Scarcity

The concept of “resource scarcity” describes a situation where the supply of resources like farmlands is not sufficient to meet the local demand. Increasing scarcity of natural resources needed to sustain livelihoods can increase competition between user groups or between economic sectors. Social responses to rising competition can include immigration, technological innovation, cooperation and violent conflict (Schwartz, 1999). At state level, countries with either low per capita level of farmland were 1.5 times as likely to experience an outbreak of civil conflict during the 1990s (Ibid).

Evidence from case studies suggests that shortages of cropland may be more closely associated with civil disturbances in low-income countries (Bruce, 2013). Due to legal constraints on access for land among users, the absolute shortage of land in relation to demand can leave many with little or no land. The associated phenomenon of land scarcity is intense competition for land. Land scarcity can be resulted from very high person to land ratios (Homer-Dixon, 1994). In Africa, there is a contradictory fact of abundance and scarcity. Most of this contradiction because of

distributional injustice, where one group has controlled most land leaving it a scarce good for most others (Peter, 2004).

Landlessness is a major problem in Ethiopia. One of the reasons is the high and increasingly growing population. Sahlu Hailu (2004) states that as the population grow and the people over cultivate the scarce land; erosion devastates the most of farmlands. The other issue cited as a cause for scarcity is land grabbing and resettlement. Human rights activists and experts warn about the negative impacts of agricultural investments and the government's so-called "villagization" program. The program has forcibly displaced thousands of people from their lands (Oakland Institute, 2013). The summation of these causes makes land, in particular rural land, scarce in Ethiopia. This scarcity affects especially younger peasants who were not matured at age during land redistribution, women and re-settlers. Adding to the problem of rural overcrowding, Ethiopian land policies are argued to be preventing rural-urban mobility, which would keep poor peasants in their village that narrowed option for their livelihood (Lindner, 2014).

2.6.2 Insecurity of Tenure System

When land lacks adequate legal, institutional, and customary protection it becomes a commodity, which easily subjected to manipulation and abuse. Weak tenure systems lead to weak Governance. It often deprives individuals and communities' essential rights access to land. It also contributes to poor land and resource management practices. It further degrades the limited resources (Bruce, 2013).

In this kind of environment, land users fear that they may be forced off their land which can generate conflict. It is often purported that insecure property rights over land are an important factor behind social conflict and violence in less advanced economies. Scholars found that farm-households with secure land tenure are less prone to conflicts by reducing the vulnerability of rural major property (Dessalegn, 2011, Deininger et al., 2008).

The Ethiopian land administration system is troubled with a high degree of informality. One of the main causes of this is the absence of clear legislation as well as confusion about the applicability of legislations according to political commentators on this issue (Lindner, 2014, USIAD, 2015). No single document sets out Ethiopia's land policy. Instead, laws and policies must be inferred from federal laws, together with laws and directives set by regional and municipal governments

for long time. Moreover, unpublished administrative directives that often change quickly and without public notice increased some land conflict issues (*Ibid*).

2.6.3 Normative Dissonance

Resource rights and related laws determine who can use what resources, for how long, and under what conditions. Unclear, overlapping or poor enforced laws are important causes of land conflict. In many countries, land and renewable natural resources are regulated under a combination of statutory, customary, informal and religious forms of tenure (Schwartz, 1999). Disagreements between these rules and uncertainty over resource rights are often at the heart of conflict. In Africa, the existence of normative dissonance is common. The bodies of law with different origins are poorly harmonized and they are used as source of contention over land. Similarly, conflict can occur when institutional jurisdictions and mandate are unclear, overlapping or contradictory (Holden and Otsuka, 2014).

2.6.4 Poor Land Governance and Corruption

Land governance is ultimately centered on how people use and interact with land. Establishing the infrastructure necessary to proactively deal with these challenges can require large amounts of resources (Transparency International, 2011). Effective and enforceable land governance provides a necessary framework for development. It is an important defense against many forms of corruption. Nevertheless, land governance sector in Africa faces lack of long-term plan, agreed up on framework, legitimacy of institutions and poor performance (Deininger, Selod and Burns, 2012). Since controlling land is a key determinant of economic and often political power, the land sector is intensely political in many African countries. This all problems create a fertile condition for corruption on the land sector.

Osoba (1996) defines corruption as an antisocial behavior conferring improper benefits contrary to legal and moral norms. It undermines the authority's ability to improve the living condition of the people. It is perceived to be a serious problem in Ethiopia. Ethiopia is ranked 111th out of 177 countries in Transparency International's 2013 Corruption Perceptions Index. On the 2013 Ibrahim Index of African Governance, Ethiopia scores 47.9% - lower than the continental average 51.6% (Lindner, 2014). Moreover, surveys also indicate that the situation may be deteriorating.

A number of extensive studies on corruption in land administration in Ethiopia indicate that it is a significant problem. The land sector has also been a key focus area of investigations by the country's Federal Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (FEACC). Corruption in the land sector can take a variety of forms, ranging from petty/bureaucratic corruption to state capture (*Ibid*). The common and usual forms of land corruption are grand and bureaucratic corruption. The payment of bribery also occurs in the land sector. Fraud and production of false land claim documentation are common in Ethiopia (Transparency International, 2011). For example, according to the 2010/2011 Global Corruption Barometer, 50% of respondents reported having paid a bribe to land services (Lindner, 2014).

USAID (2012) found capture of land assets by elites and senior officials; corruption in implementation of land policies and laws, institutionalization of informal fees as a problem in Ethiopia. In the land sector, this means that those in power may illegally transfer lands to themselves or their allies. They may implement land distribution policies and laws in their favor (Transparency International, 2013).

There are a number of elements in Ethiopia's current land administration system that can create potential entry points for corrupt activities to occur. These include lack of clear policies, weak institutions, lack of transparency, and capacity challenges. The above assertion is supported by the work of Linder. There is a lack of clarity regarding the roles, responsibilities and mandates of institutions in land administration (Linder, 2014). There is also an absence of a strong national institution that gives clear policy as well as technical and financial guidance for both rural and urban lands in Ethiopia. Some institutions are responsible for both policymaking and implementation. It may expose to conflicts of interest.

Another key issue and driver of corruption in Ethiopia is the lack of transparency and access to information (Transparency International, 2011). For example, some of the policies that govern land administration are determined based on unpublished directives. This creates a system of uncertainty and lack of clarity for those who are involved in land administration. It may increase corruption (Linder, 2014). The higher level of corruption and institutional incapability in land administration left the people without proper dispute resolution systems on inter-household conflict over farmland. Because of this people may be forced to consider any means of dispute

resolution, including violence. This indicates us corruption is potent cause of farmland conflict between households.

2.6.5 Environmental Conditions

Environmental conditions could be a cause for land related conflicts. When we are dealing about environmental conditions as a source of conflict, it is important to make distinction between direct and indirect resource conflict. The distinction is necessary in order to be able to group and analyze the various aspects of environment and conflict. Many have suggested that instead of outright civil war, climate variability is likely to heighten the risk of communal conflict. In particular, erratic rainfall, which reduces the availability of water and arable land, could create incentives for violent attacks against other to secure access to scarce resources (Fjelde and Uexkull, 2012).

Direct environmental conflict refers to conflict over resources [land] that arise because of direct competition between two or more parties for the control and/or access to these [land]. But, indirect environmental conflict refers to conflict that arises when renewable resource become scarce (Froyd, 2010). This kind of scarcity interacts with one or more social-economic factors to elevate friction within or between groups. When indirect resource conflict occurs, environmental factors factor exacerbating and interacting with other social phenomena such as poverty and ethnic tensions (Fjelde and Uexkull, 2012).

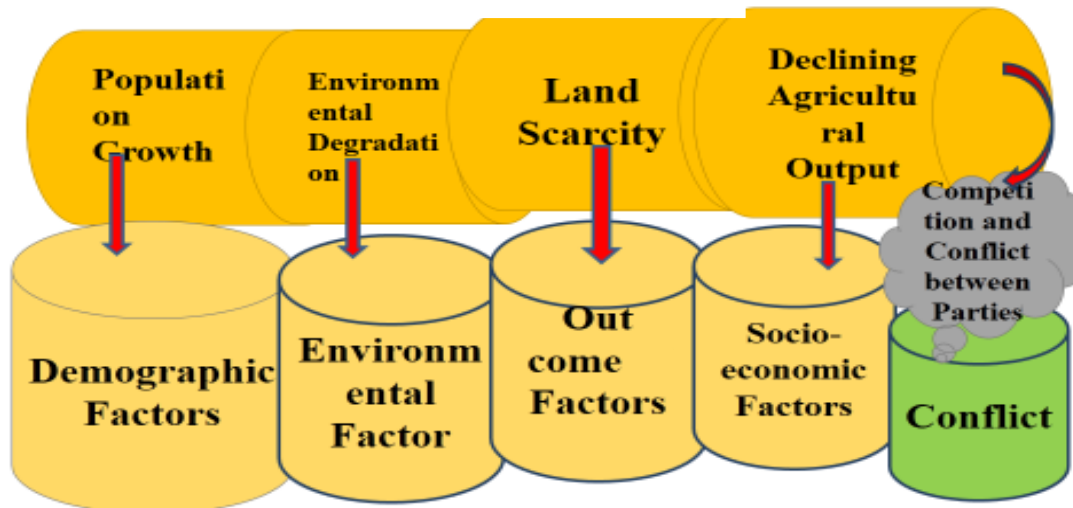
Poor environmental conditions are the cause for land conflict as demonstrated in different parts of the world. United Nation Environmental Program (UNEP) reports highlights that a growing trend in international and intra-national conflict appears to be linked to deteriorating environmental conditions. A review of the scientific literature indicates trends that indirect international or indirect intra-national conflict is commonly caused by resource depletion issues. Deforestation, soil erosion, desertification, flooding and pollution are playing their role for the conflicts occurred in Africa. From the empirical evidence, it appears that the vast majority of environmentally related conflicts occur in developing regions to the place where environment is poorly handled (Froyd, 2010).

One of the suggested societal consequences of greater climate variability and more erratic rainfall patterns is an increased risk of armed conflict. Africa is often held to be particularly vulnerable to political instability following climate change, as

dependence on rain-fed agriculture and low institutional coping capacity make adaptation more difficult (Fjelde and Uexkull, 2012: 8).

The following figure briefly demonstrate the process of interrelations between environmental factors and social conflicts. The figure summarizes how environmental factors creates factors for conflict.

Figure 2.2: Environmental Conditions and Conflict



Source: Adopted From Schwartz, 1999

2.6.6 Global Land Rush

Food prices rocketed in 2007-2008, promotes countries to secure additional food supplies overseas. The boom led to a “rediscovery” of the agricultural sector by different types of investors. The wave of interest in land acquisitions hits the developing countries. Compared to an average annual expansion of global agricultural land of less than four million hectares before 2008, approximately 56 million hectares worth of large-scale farmland deals were announced even before the end of 2009. More than 70 % of such demand has been in Africa (Bruce, 2013).

Indeed demand for farmland is already increasing because of population growth in the World. What makes this recent global land rush different is the rate of interest towards arable land. To assess whether the drive toward land acquisition seen after the 2008 is a temporary deviation or longer-term pattern, scholars review patterns of past land expansion. They also predict the future demand for commodities as well as land. Expansion of cultivated area is not a new phenomenon and is likely to continue, although the regional emphasis may shift slightly over time. Regionally,

expansion was pronounced in Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, and East Asia (Deininger and Byrlee, 2011). In fact, 70 percent of the increase in crop production between 1961 and 2005 was due to yield increases. 23% of it is to the expansion of arable area and 8% is to the intensification of cropping.

Area growth dominated in Sub-Saharan Africa and though less relevant than yield growth, more than half of total growth. Rising energy prices and public subsidies and mandates, with second-generation bio fuels still at least a decade away, led to rapid increases in the demand for bio-fuel feedstock since 2003 (Deininger and Byrlee, 2011). Experts have long been concerned that, by affecting prices, bio-fuel mandates will have sizable impacts on land use far beyond the countries where they operate (*Ibid*). This rapid rise of interest for farmland has become a debatable for eastern Africans in general and for Ethiopian in particular. The government of Ethiopia transfer many hectares of land for large-scale investors each year after 2008. The rising demand for arable land creates land scarcity for local farmers and it left farmers with scarcity related conflict.

2.7 Impacts of Farmland Conflicts

The impacts of conflict are multiple and intertwined with different events. But, all types of conflicts have not the same impacts as the level of conflict and the amount of destructions that has happened. The consequences of farmland conflicts are also complicated and multi-dimensional too. Apart from direct economic, social and political impacts of land conflict, it has indirect impacts on environment especially on the marginal lands. Wehrmann (2008) asserted that land conflicts often have extensive negative effects on economic, social, spatial and ecological health. Especially in developing countries and countries in transition, where land market institutions are weak, opportunities for economic gain by illegal action are widespread. Due to these many poor people lack access to land.

However, land conflict literatures emphasized in argued whether environmental factors or other socio economic factor are causes for conflict overland and it becomes a cause for environmental devastations. The first side suggested that scarce supplies of physically controllable environmental resources, good agricultural land, would provoke conflict. They call it "scarcity" conflicts or resource wars (Homer-Dixon, 1994). It is hypothesized that large population movements caused by environmental stress would induce "group-identity" conflicts, especially ethnic clashes. They

added that severe environmental scarcity would simultaneously increase economic deprivation and disrupt key social institutions. In turn it would cause "deprivation" conflicts such as civil strife and insurgency (*Ibid*).

Environmental scarcities are already contributing to violent conflicts in many parts of the developing world. These conflicts are probably the early signs of an upsurge of violence in the coming decades that will be induced or aggravated by scarcity. The violence will usually be sub-national, persistent, and diffuse. Poor societies will be particularly affected since they are less able to buffer themselves from environmental scarcities and the social crises they cause. In fact, societies are already suffering acute hardship from shortages of water, forests, and especially fertile land (Homer-Dixon, 1994:13).

The second camp put their argument in the line that environmental scarcity alone did not create conflict. Other socio economic factors has strong link with the beginning of conflict (Goldstone, 2002) and affect environment. For example, the 2012 South Sudan's environmental risk, impact and opportunity assessment group admitted that the Sudd and Bahr el Ghazal wetlands water stagnate and evaporate in a high rate because of forest clearance and disturbance in Eastern Africa lake system. The river's catchments faced hydrological toned down in their water volume. Because of conflict-associated pressures, forest clearance for farmland and new settlement put significant amount of pressure on environment (*Ibid*). Since comfortable lands are already occupied the impact is sever on the marginal lands. Among such marginal lands, rangelands are the primary targets of such phenomenon because of different reasons. Therefore conflict induced environmental decay will in its turn resulted in conflict.

Rangelands are consisting of too dry or too steeply sloping lands. These kinds of lands accounts for 25 percent of the earth's land surface, approximately 3.4 billion hectares that is more than double the area that is cropped nowadays (Bruce, 2013). The area is a home to more than two billion people – about 35% of the human population on earth. Some of residents on the rangelands have the highest levels of poverty (47%). However, 50 % of agricultural GDP in many developing countries is depending on these areas (*Ibid*). Many researchers assertively argued that in these vulnerable areas environmental conditions become worsen; conflicts over natural resources and pressure on the land coupled with unsustainable use has increase. Production is seriously affected by conflict.

Recently social, psychological and economic impacts of farmland conflict create instability of community in all lifestyles for rural community. As farming become, unstable source of survival, deviant survival strategies such as crime, migration for remittance and prostitutions increased (Okunola and Ikuomola, 2010). As the state owns all land in Ethiopia, rural residents have been guaranteed access to land through a law that grants them a right to obtain agricultural land for free. However, it has become increasingly more difficult to fulfill this right for the young generation. Nevertheless, in the highlands where population densities have become very high, farm sizes have become very small (Sosina and Holden, 2014).

Scholars found that youth in rural Ethiopia have limited access to agricultural land because of land scarcity and land market restrictions. The youth abandon agriculture in search of other livelihoods. Sosina and Holden said that only 9% of the rural youth plan to pursue agriculture as their livelihood. They also found a sharp increase in youth outmigration in the past six years. Their econometric analyses confirmed that lack of land access is forcing the youth away from an agricultural livelihood (Sosina and Holden, 2014).

This triggered a sharp rise in youth unemployment. The current global youth unemployment rate is estimated to be 12.6% and is expected to remain high for the next five years (ILO, 2013 as cited in Sosina and Holden). Youth unemployment has become a major global concern following the global economic crisis of 2009. On top of this, farmland conflict continuously push the youth from agricultural sector. Apart from the long-term impact on agricultural sectors, it creates many unemployed youth. The political and social consequences of youth unemployment can be extensive as evidenced in the recent political unrest in North African and Middle Eastern countries. The youth have been at the forefront of large demonstrations that have demanded reform and employment in the North African, Middle Eastern, and some European countries (*Ibid*).

2.8 Implications of Farmland Conflicts on Human Security

Violent conflict poses the most immediate and acute threat to human security. In many parts of the world, farmland conflicts are posing human security threat in many ways (Large and Sisk, 2006). Human security is inter-disciplinary concept that displays the characteristics of people-centeredness, multi-sectarian, comprehensive, context specific and prevention oriented (Commission on Human Security (CHS), 2009). The threat range includes economic threats, food

related threats, health related threats, environmental threats, personal threats, community threats, and political security (*Ibid*). To give clear picture about the contemporary debate on human security and the threats of human security it is important to summarize different definitions given by different institutions and experts. In the following pages, the concept of security is discussed.

2.8.1 Understanding Human Security

Human security defined as,

Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity. (CHS, 2003: 4)

Despite disagreements in defining security, scholars adopt a working definition for the term security. It is defined as the alleviation of threats to acquired values, interest and goals. If threats left unchecked, they threaten the survival of a particular referent object in the near future. Security is also best described and understood as 'survival-plus,' 'the "plus" being some freedom from life-determining threats (CHS, 2003). Security means the absence of threats, emancipation from those human physical constraints that stop them from carrying out what they would freely choose to do (Abegunde, 2013). These definitions give different meanings in implantation and policy making. In recent works security is defined in narrower and broader senses.

Security in an "extended" sense takes main forms. In the most commonly known concept of security is horizontally extended, from military to political, economic, social, and environmental. It is commonly termed "human" security. Human security in its broadest sense embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care (JICA, 2010). Human security activists advocate ensuring each individual's choice to fulfill his or her own potential. Human security places the individual at the 'center of analysis' (HSU, 2009). But the debate continued in defining security by supporting and opposing the extended concept of security.

The narrower approach of defining traditional security concentrates on protecting state against directed threats, mainly in the form of military attacks. Opponents of redefining security argue that

by including non-military threats, the definition of security becomes so broad that it loses all practical utility. They therefore support the continuation of a strict demarcation between what they consider “low” (economic and environmental) and “high” (military) politics (Schwatz, 1999).

Proponents of the redefinition of security claim that by focusing solely on the military dimensions of security exposed the world for non-military threats. For example population growth, demographic and environmental pressures, pollution, and resource scarcity produce economic decline and deteriorating human health conditions. Proponents stress that in an increasing social and economic interdependent in world misguided the world to consider military threats as the supreme security concern (JICA, 2010). In most part of the world economic as well as environmental policies including associated ethnic and cultural conflicts, need to be addressed via the redefinition of security. Although the concept of human security is gaining international legitimacy, in practice, countries continue to view security through the prism of the State and rely on military instruments to achieve it (Large and Sisk, 2006).

2.8.2 Farmland Conflict, Human Security Nexus

Severe conflicts characterize eastern Africa for the last four decades. The destruction left by several years of protracted conflicts and the present days states of development is reasonable enough to warrant attention both from within and beyond the region. The region is an experiment to how poorly handled human security issues lead to underdevelopment. The people of the region witness communal clashes over farming land and a struggle for control over depleting natural resources. Poor governance and weak disaster management, partly because of inadequate information on the extent of climate change impacts, can in themselves heighten conflict (Ayodeji et al, 2014).

Economic dependence on single especially natural resources creates vulnerability. Internal conflicts, for example in Aceh (Indonesia), Mindanao (the Philippines), Nigeria and Bolivia, may be driven in part by the exclusion of local peoples from access to the extraction of and profit from local natural resources, revenues being controlled by either central government or transnational corporations (Large and Sisk, 2006). Therefore, conflicts for these resources affect all dimension of human life.

Conflict over farmland could have negative impacts that can threaten human survival. It creates more scarcity, intensifies, and leads to more conflict. Mismanagement of natural resource exposed for environmental change. Environmental change acts as a “threat multiplier”, exacerbating existing stresses and creating volatile situations. The conflict is most likely fueled by widespread poverty, high unemployment, forced migration, instability, hunger and general social discontent (Ayodeji and et al., 2014). Ultimately, the ability of the government and communities to address and adapt to these changes depends on their knowledge and understanding of the complexities (*Ibid*).

2.8.3 Environmental Change and Human Security

Few threats to peace and survival of the human community are as equal as irreversible degradation of the biosphere on which human life depends. The environment-conflict nexus is a subset of “environmental security”. Environmental security is field of inquiry that seeks to determine whether traditional notions of security should be adapted to include threats posed by population growth and diminishing quantity and quality of environmental goods and services (Schwartz, 1999). Many civilians became victim to the resulting conflicts and state turmoil (JICA, 2010). Among this threats environment and climate change are the major one.

The recent human misery, migration and violent conflict are suggesting that the environment would be the ‘national-security issue of the early twenty-first century. Scholars have identified number of human insecurity ‘syndromes’. Sets of complex pathological relationships between environmental and other social, demographical and political factors might provide early warning systems for potential conflicts. The scale of the attention on the ‘security – climate change debate’ in recent years is visible in various policy reports. In most parts of the world, the nexus is controversial. Many publications from the project have produced largely abstract conceptions of the environment-conflict nexus (Goldstone, 2002)

Homer-Dixon (1994) argued that the commonly used "environmental change" refers to a human-induced decline in the quantity or quality of a renewable resource much faster than occurs than natural processes renew it. He believes that environmental decay induced scarcity [conflict] on the one hand and social conflict negatively affect sustainability of resource utilization. Unequal resource distribution also concentrates resource in the hands of a few people and subjects the rest

to greater scarcity and consequent conflict. Homer-Dixon concluded that armed conflicts would arise with because of environmental change and natural resource scarcity.

Environmental change induced conflict seems locally and peacefully resolved by government regulation or negotiations. However, environmental degradation could be a background or triggering factor in ethnic or political conflicts. Goldstone argued that whether or not Environmental conflicts passed the threshold of violence definitely it depends on sociopolitical factors and not on the degree of environmental degradation as such (Goldstone, 2002). However, Goldstone admitted that environmental change were truly a major and pervasive cause of violent conflicts when they are mixed with other sociopolitical factors. It is important to avoid linear causal explanations when assessing whether natural resource and population movements may lead to an increase in violent conflict. Human security threats are interacting to each other in domino effect and spillover effect.

Parker (2013) argued climate change would more likely serve as a threat multiplier that exacerbates pre-existing issues, such as weak rule of law or social and economic injustice. CHS consider threats of human security as mutually reinforced issues. The explanation of “domino effect” cool down the debate on whether “environmental degradation resulted in violent conflict or not”.

.....threats to human security are mutually reinforcing and interconnected in two ways. First, they are interlinked in a domino effect in the sense that each threat feeds on the other. For example, violent conflicts can lead to deprivation and poverty, which in turn could lead to resource depletion, infectious diseases, education deficits, etc. Second, threats within a given country or area can spread into a wider region and have negative externalities for regional and international security (HSU, 2009: 18).

Therefore, both environmental degradation and conflicts are mutually reinforcing threats for human security in developing countries. This is the result of a number of interconnected factors. Most notable one is the way agricultural potential can realize in these regions. It is through forest clearance environmental exploitation not by technological advancement. This in turn could affect the use of other resources and could threaten agriculture itself. Especially in the highlands the highest erosion risk due to dissected topography and heavy rainfall. Connected to soil erosion, there are risks from siltation and altered hydrological regimes as deforestation occur. These would affect both the hydroelectric power generation and the use of the rivers for irrigation (wood, 1993).

There is straightforward connection between environmental degradation and conflict. Human security (comprehensive) approach is a better one to treat insecurities posed by environment-conflict nexus.

...human security involves comprehensive approaches that stress a context-specific concept. It acknowledges that insecurities vary considerably across different settings and as such, advances contextualized solutions that are responsive to the particular situations they seek to address. Finally, in addressing risks and root causes of insecurities, human security is prevention-oriented and introduces a dual focus on protection and empowerment (HSU, 2009: 21).

The trap of instability, violence and consecutive destructions that has happened in Ethiopia put the country on the hot pan. The cumulative effect of the previous three regimes including the EPRDF regime cultivate pervasive human security threat in Ethiopia by making the country vulnerable to sporadic conflict cycle (Dessaiegn, 2009, Deininger and et al., 2008). The study area community is suffering from land related conflict in the last three regimes. The impact is displayed in human sufferings. The loss of natural resource through soil erosion, deforestation, and other forms of environmental degradation has gone on massive scale. In brief the last half century has been the time of misery and unmitigated suffering for rural Ethiopia (Dessaiegn, 2009). *Jama Woreda* as part of this context there is a sign of human insecurity in all dimension of life.

Chapter Three

3 Research Methodology

This section is about how the research was done. It includes methods of the study, data type, and tools of data collection, sampling technique, sampling design, sample size, and techniques of data analysis.

3.1 Methods of the Study

A social science researcher has to explore and understand the social world through the participants' perspectives (Snape and Spencer, 2003). To serve the purpose of studying the problem at hand, social constructivism epistemological claim is preferred. This knowledge claim helped the researchers to look subjective meanings of individual experiences directed toward certain objects or things (Cresswell, 2009). The research, then, was relying on the study area population's views about the conflict being studied as much as possible. Baxter and Jack (2008) stated that this paradigm gives the advantage of close collaboration between the researcher and the participant, while enabling participants to tell their stories. Through these stories, the participants are able to describe their views of reality. This knowledge claim also enables the researcher to understand the participants' actions in a better ways.

Consistent to this knowledge claim, qualitative research approach was chosen in studying the problem at hand. Qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Snape and Spencer, 2003). Inter-household conflict as being one aspect of social reality; qualitative analysis was believed to provide an appropriate understanding of the subject. This research method helps the researcher to deeply explore and analyze the experience of the participants and provides rigorous data in studying the IHCOFL.

While researchers have so far classified study design by their research methodological approaches, they also classified according to their purpose. This study is a descriptive in its purpose and case study in its methodological approach. The case study is one type of qualitative research approach that facilitates exploration of a phenomenon within its context using a variety of data sources.

Descriptive case study design was employed to explore the issue under study through variety of lenses. This design permits the researcher to incorporate participants' actual expression of matters from their own perspective by their own words (Zainal, 2007). Jama *Woreda* is selected as a case to study context of IHCOFL. Descriptive case study research design provides the opportunity for intensive analysis of many specific details often overlooked by other methods. This research design produces useful insights about the impacts of inter-household conflict and its human security implications for the Jama *Woreda* community.

3.2 Data Sources

For this thesis qualitative data were collected and analyzed. However, some numeric information were collected from official documents, census records and report records. The data collection in case study research is typically extensive (Cresswell, 2006). Therefore both primary and secondary types of data were gathered and used for this study. The researcher mainly used primary data because it gives firsthand information and the topic can only deeply investigate by primary source. The primary data sources were farmer informants, FGD with farmers, Victims of the conflict and Key informants. Secondary data were collected from different sources like journals, brushes, proclamations, reports from the concerned bodies, court reports/documents, policy documents, and security offices' documents.

3.3 Tools of Data Collection

To address the research questions data were collected through in-depth interviews, key informant interviews to generate detailed information from farmer households, victims and key informants by using semi-structured interviews. In addition FGDs were conducted with farmer households by using FGD guide. Document analysis also employed as a tool of data collection.

3.3.1 In-depth Interview

The researcher used in-depth interview as the major source of data collection to collect data from informants; male headed farmer household and female headed farmer household, personal narration of the victims, *kebele* Environmental protection and land administration and Use department (EPLAUD) experts, and *kebele* Police officers. This technique allows a person-to-person discussion. Such discussion provides the opportunity to have a deeper understanding of one's beliefs, feelings, and behaviors on important issues. It also gives much opportunity for the

researcher to probe deep into the interviewees' personal experiences. Without this tool the researcher couldn't examine, understand and dig out the experience of farmers in conflict, impacts of the conflict, and security threats posed by the conflict. Catrine (2007) states that the interviewer had a list of themes and areas that covered and there were some guiding questions while conducting in-depth interview. Based on these in-depth interviews were conducted in an informal and conversational way by adjusting the semi- structured questions (Appendix 1) to each interviewee's situation.

3.3.2 Focus Group Discussions

In this study, FGDs were another tool for data collection. The FGDs were included to explore perception, experience and fears of the participants about the conflict. FGD allowed the present researchers to look into more deeply into the research issues and develop new lines of inquiry that arise during interviews by using semi structured questions. FGDs were carried out by involving six members in each session, which were drawn from farmer households in each *Kebele* by making the participants homogenous in character (all are farmers). During the FGDs a checklist of semi-structured questions were used (Appendix 2). The researcher largely acted as a moderator during the discussions. The discussion was recorded from a group discussion and summarized on the same days. Any key and important issues arising in one group discussion were used for further discussion in the in in-depth.

3.3.3 Key Informants Interview

Attempts to explore facts on the ground obligated the researcher to include key informant interviews. It involved selected group of individuals who are likely to provide important information, ideas, and insights on the proposed research. Accordingly, it was conducted with *Woreda* administration officials, *Woreda* Police office, *Woreda* court judges, Zone security officers and Zone EPLAUD officials who were willing and well informed about FLRIHC. According to Kumar (1989) key informant interviews involve interviewing of knowledgeable individuals who are likely to provide the required information, ideas and insights on a particular subject. Key informants were drawn from the *Jama Woreda* officials, Judges and South Wollo Zone EPLAUD officials and experts, and security officers as key informants to obtained data about IHCOFL. Key informant interviews were conducted using a checklist of unstructured questions

prepared for the focus group discussion (Appendix 3). The time and place for key informant interviews were decided by the key informants themselves and the majority of interviews were held in their own offices.

3.3.4 Document Review

Document review was also the most important data collection instrument. Different published and unpublished documents, journals, farmland conflict related workshop manuals, Brusher, magazines and other key documents which were necessary and related to the study objectives are reviewed to incorporate and enrich the findings of the study.

3.4 Sampling Technique

Data were collected through non-probability sampling. Often in Descriptive-Case, study required a purposeful selection of multiple cases to show different perspectives on the issue (Creswell, 2005). Purposive judgmental sampling helps to find those interviewees who have available knowledge and experience that the researchers or investigators needs. It was the selected sampling technique to get participants which were capable of reflection, articulate, has time to be interviewed, and are willing to take part in the research. Based on this Purposive Judgmental sampling used for selecting representative of the population of interest without sampling at random. In addition to this sampling technique, snowball-sampling technique was employed to found victims of farmland conflict.

3.5 Population, Sampling Design and Sample Size

3.5.1 Population

The target population of the study is all farmer s households in Jamma *Woreda* those who have farmland and those who have not. The *Woreda* has 22 *Kebeles* including the capital Degollo characterized with two dominant traditional climate Zones. 23% Households of the *Woreda* are resides in *Kolla* and the remaining 77% are living in *Woyna dega*. The sample frame was selected purposively from these *kebeles* based on the criteria of representativeness to the two climate zones of the *Woreda*, abundance of the case and accessibility for transportation. One *kebelle* (014) is selected from *kolla* with households and two of them are selected from *Woyna Dega* with households in the selected two *Kebeles* (017 and 015).

3.5.2 Sampling Design and Sample Size

From the two climatic zones as explained above, households were stratified as Woman headed households (*emawora*) that constitute 20% of the *Woreda's* household and the remaining 80 % households are Man headed Household (*abawora*) for balancing representation of the population. Female headed and Man headed Households further stratified as those who have land and those who have not for the purpose of including landless farmers in the study. Finally, the researcher built four strata in total. From each stratum, informants and FGDs participants were selected through purposive judgmental sampling technique. Key informants were taken purposively according to their nearness to the case.

Twelve farmer household heads were drawn and four victims of the conflict as informant of the study from each stratum. Three *Kebele* EPLAUD worker and three Police Officer, six *Woreda* Officials, two Zone Officials were selected as key informant for in-depth interview. Three FGDs were conducted in the selected *Kebeles*. In each session, six participants were involved in the discussion. In addition, FGD with five village elders were performed.

3.6 Method of Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis is an ongoing process involving continual reflection about the data, asking questions and writing memos throughout the study. The researcher makes detailed description of the setting, followed by the coding, transcribing and organizing the response thematically. One of the benefits of thematic analysis is its flexibility (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Finally, the researchers narrated, quoted and described analytically. The process of qualitative research is most of the time inductive (Cresswell, 2009, *Snape and Spencer, 2003*). Therefore, thematically categorized issues attached meaning based on social and historical contexts of the problem under study. Generally, researcher employed thematic analysis steps listed as follow.

Step 1. Different types of interview and FGDs conducted in Amharic language and after data collection, the records heard and translated into English in written form.

Step2. The researcher organized and prepared the data for analysis. This involved sorting and arranging the data in to different types depending on the sources of information.

Step 3. The researcher read all the data. This included, obtaining a general sense of the information and reflecting on its overall meaning. The discussion is elaborated by answering the

following questions. What general ideas were participants said what the tones of the ideas were? What was the general impression of the overall depth, credibility and use of the information from the literature or theories?

Step4. After that, the researcher began detailed analysis with a coding process. This involved the process of organizing the material in to chunks before bringing meaning to those chunks. And it involved taking text data or pictures, segmenting sentences (paragraphs) into categories and labeling those categories with a term.

Step 5. Then the researcher used the coding process to generate a description of the participant to themes for analysis. The researcher generated codes for this description.

Step 6: finally, the researcher used the coding to generate a small number of themes or categories. These themes are the ones that appear as major findings in the study and state, discussed and compared under separate headings in the findings and discussion sections of studies.

During data analysis triangulation of data implemented to increase trustworthiness. This refers to the fact that three types of data – for example, can address an issue interview data, organizational documents, and organizational statistics, plus crosschecking interviews with FGDs data. It helps, then the finding of the research much more strong.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

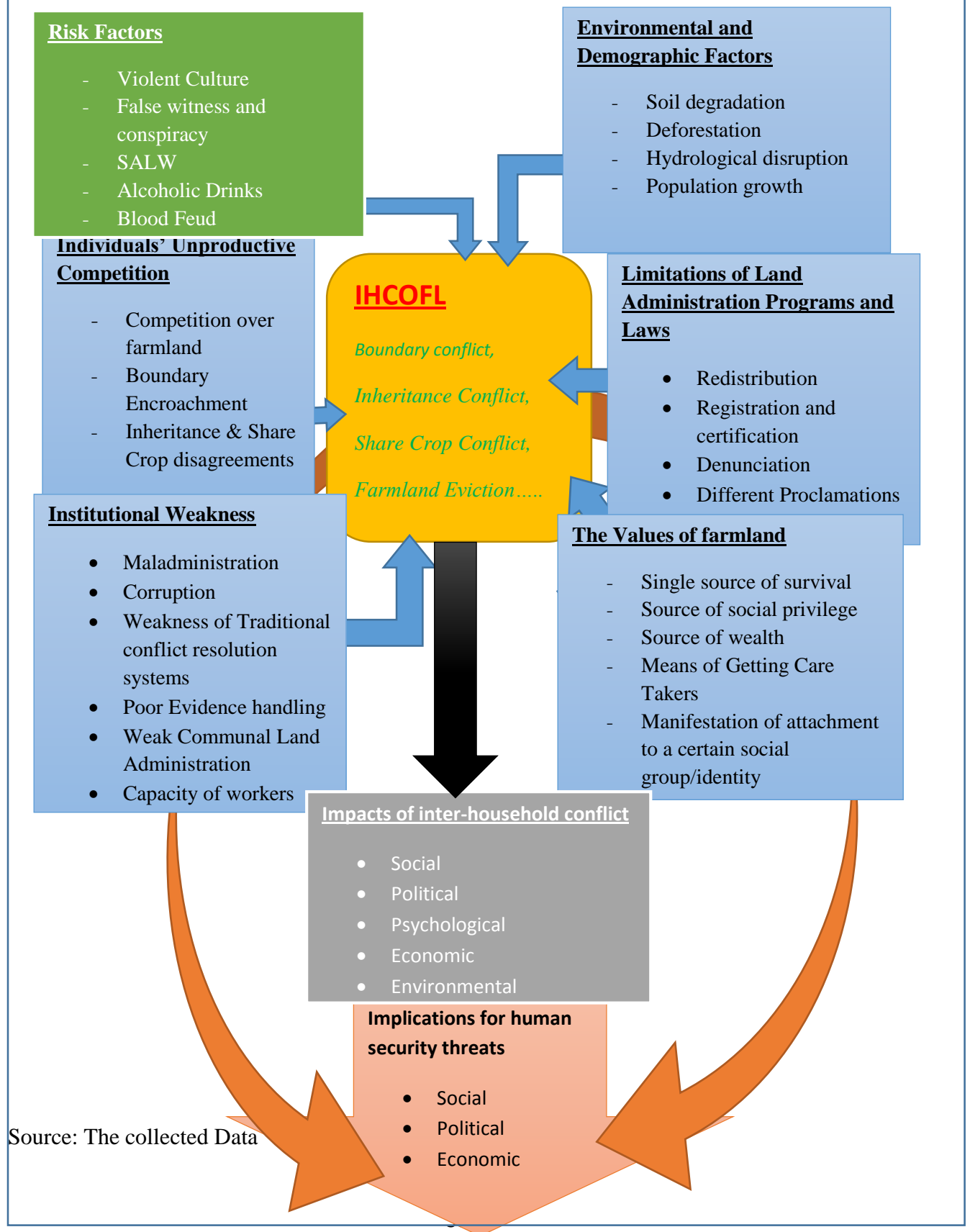
It is apparent that researchers are guided by serious research ethical rules. To reduce bias, the researcher attempted to maintain objectivity and neutrality in conducting interview and observation. The researcher strived to avoid bias in the tasks of data analysis, interpretation and drawing conclusions depends only up on the collected data rather than personal decisions and prejudice. Regarding confidentiality, confidential communications protected and the researcher is responsible to protect the privacy of the individuals that give their willingness and participate in the study either through interview or by FGDs. Moreover, individuals' intellectual property seriously respected through proper acknowledgment of works as well as restraining from using un-published sources without permission. In addition to this consultation was made to rectify the failures while interview and observation with experienced researchers.

Chapter Four

4 Research Findings and Discussions

In this chapter, the research findings presented and discussed in relations to theories of farmland conflicts, theories of human security and the existing literatures related to the issue. The chapter constitute major themes and sub-themes that emerge from the analysis and synthesis of the already collected data by using the tools stated in the previous chapter. Under this chapter the nature of Inter-household conflicts over farmland, factors of inter-household conflicts over farmland, the impacts of farmland related inter-household conflicts on the lives of several individuals, and the implications of inter-household conflicts over farmland for the human security are presented. The following picture briefly displays and summarizes the extracted meanings of data collected for this thesis. The picture is further elaborated in the following pages.

Figure 4.1: Displaying Natures, Factors, Impacts and Human Security Implications of IHCOFL



The box in the middle of all represents all types of inter-household conflicts over farmland in the study area. Among the common types of such conflicts, boundary encroachment, farmland eviction and deprivation from holding land, drainage conflict, disagreement on inheritance land, disagreement during family divorce and communal holding land grabbing.

4.1 Natures of IHCOFL in the Study Area

Respondents of the study stated that land is decisive resource to sustain their life and it is hope of the future generation. The following quote is symmetric to this reality.

Land means everything to us. All our life revolves round it. We cannot fold our arms while other people take our land. To be passive while others are encroaching on our land is like mortgaging the future of our children. Even the ancestors would turn angrily in their graves and rebuke us in no small measures. The implications are just too far-reaching (Alao, 2007: 65 quoted in Anseeuw and Alden, 2010).

Ethiopian successive tenure reforms have weakened or displaced customary land administration institutions (Dessallegn, 2009) and left it without providing alternative means of conflict resolution. Lack of careful consideration of reforms' principles and practical implementations cause to increased land related inter-household conflict in the study area.

Before the 1974 Ethiopian revolution farmers used to spend significant time in land-related court cases, even between close relatives (Ahmed et al., 2002). Consequently, the claims over *rist* rights and subsequent conflicts over land resulted in killing, beating and banditry looting in the study area as many of northern Ethiopia districts. There are still a practice of blood feud traced back to the then land conflicts' killing according to the participants of the research. One of the *Woreda* elder asserted that most of the time unless the bloodline of the disputants is broken; killing for blood feud will not be end up. Children inherited their parents' hatred and they are accountable for their fathers' and grand fathers' fault as well. Though *rist* is abolished during long time ago, the associated blood feud is still rarely happening. Individuals who has blood feud problem are not free from fear of revenge. There is a common saying which indicated that blood never gets old.

The then three major forms of sharecropping arrangements; *siso*, *irbo* and *equl* (Ahmed et al., 2009) were additional factors of conflicts between farmers apart from the conflict over *rist*. These systems were source of conflict between landlord and the tenant.

During the military regime conflict over land were more complicated. At this time all forms of land transaction were banned by law. The restrictions left farmers without institution which can arbitrate land related conflict. The only way of conflict resolution for such conflicts was negotiation, if not physical force. The relatively minimized *rist* [hereditary land right] conflict revived again because of non-existing land transaction laws and institutions during this period. Respondents stated that land was belonging to the then government that rarely fight for it. But, there were fight for resources which were existing on it like forest, grazing land, and for some of privately cultivated land.

After the fall of the Derg in May 1991, Article 40(3) of the Ethiopian constitution states that the right of ownership of rural land and urban land, as well as all natural resources, is exclusively vested in the state and the peoples of Ethiopia. Land is a common property of the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia and shall not be subject to sale or to other means of transfer. The constitution guarantees the rights of peasants and pastoralists for free access to land and the right to bestow transfer and lease their holding. Although the Constitution has resolved some issues, it seems to create other ambiguities and does not address some important issues (Fitsum et al. 1999). For example, given the scarcity of land, it is not clear how peasants' rights of free access to land can be assured in practice, and how much land peasants are entitled to. Those issues have been left to the regional governments to resolve and there have been significant differences across the regions with respect to development of a regional land policy.

In an effort to reduce landlessness, rehabilitate degraded areas, and minimize conflict between farmers (Holden, Deininger, Hosaena, 2009), Amhara regional government issued proclamations and directives in 1999, 2005, 2006 and 2012 to administer all forms of holding and all types of land. In the Region consolidation of land holding is tried through issuing land certificates. The region implemented land registration and land certificate in 2005 and 2006 to increase tenure security, to minimize conflict, and to enhance land fertility and productivity. The process of land registration and certification was done after passing the following particular procedures.

The implementation of the program is conducted through Land Administration Committees (LACs) at the Woreda levels in five distinct steps. First, an awareness raising meeting regarding the purpose and organization of land registration and certification is conducted between the Woreda Office, Kebele administration and farmers. In the second step, Land Administration and Use Committees (LACs) are

elected, and the elected LAC members are trained. During the third step, individual households' plots are identified and demarcated jointly by LAC members, the designated household and households with neighboring fields. In the fourth step, the registered information is entered on the forms and any outstanding conflict is passed to the courts; the result of the land adjudication is then presented to the public for a month-long verification in order to allow for corrections. In the final step, the book of holdings is issued. The Woreda EPLAUD head together with the LAC chairperson issued the legal status of the holding (Bezabih and Et.al, 2014: 28).

Despite this lengthy procedure, the practice of program implementation did not minimize, if not increases conflicts between farmers.

4.2 Factors of Inter-household Conflict over Farmland

There are different factors for the conflicts to happen in the study area. The factors could have direct and indirect negative effect. The factors is classified as underlined factors and risk factors during the discussion based on their link to such conflicts of the finding of the research.

4.2.1 Underlined Factors of IHCOFL

Five factors identified as factors of IHCOFL from the collected data. These are institutional weakness, limitations in EPLAUD laws and programs implemented since 1992, unproductive competition between farmers, values attached to farmland, environmental and demographic factors. According to the data collected for this study the above points are the underlined factors of inter-household conflict over farmland in Jama *Woreda* which are briefly discussed below.

A. Institutional Weaknesses

Institutions are important in governing human relations in all walks of life. They save human relations from being haphazard and chaotic. In both developing and developed countries land administration institutions and tenure systems are determining utilization of the most important resource in the world. The absence of responsive and suitable tenure system and institutions are important to minimize conflict and to increase productivity. There are different manifestations of institutional weakness in the study area.

Lack of Capacity of the Environmental Protection and Land Administration and Use Department (EPLAUD) Workers is the frequently cited problem. EPLAUD is the major administrative wing, which is responsible for reducing inter-household conflict over farmland. The collected data

implied that EPLAUD office is not well organized from *Kebele* level to the Zone in manpower and budget. The *Kebele* EPLAUD experts indicated that land administration committee have no salary and they waste their time without payment. The *Woreda* EPLAUD workers responded that there is a chronic shortage of administrative budget. The *Woreda* have six employees from the expected minimum 22 workers. This negatively affects the work of the office and it makes the office dysfunctional. For example, they were attempting to finish land use plan for at least three *Kebeles*. Nevertheless, it becomes impossible. One of the informant asserted this as follow.

The desk [Land use plan] needs eight experts from different discipline. However, we have only one expert in the desk. In 2005 the land use plan work, financed by donors, was halted by political intervention for fearing public protest against government. Still we did not have land use plan. While EPLA was with Agriculture office, it was supported by SIDA. After EPLA separated from agriculture office, the government could not maintain that standard. ISLA is impossible without sufficient budget¹

The *Woreda* security sectors and judges exclaimed about lack of sufficient budget and shortage of manpower for EPLAUD sector weaken the justice system. Capacity limitation makes the office dysfunctional according to the respondents' views.

Both customary and modern land administration institutions encountered with a number of weakness. One of the farmers during interview indicated that the *Kebeles'* land administration committee members are not available in office to solve the problem since they are unpaid. On top of this, they are partial. It is easy to bribe them. The rich farmers pay for them to get what he/she want². Contrary to the idea of FGDs participants and interviewees from farmers one of *Kebele* EPLAUD workers complained that the workload on the sector is beyond human capacity. One of the experts in *Kebele* land administration states the workload as follow.

The court writes a letter for EPLAUD to give evidence about all disputable plots of land. The office has the responsibility to give evidence by investigating on the ground. The investigation is done together with the villagers and Kebele land administration committee. I cannot tell you in words about how much it is difficult. For example I received 34 cases from the court to be criticized by the public. It takes at least three months to finish in appropriate way. But the courts will sentence me unless I gave evidence in the schedule of the court. At least transportation means is not available.

¹ Interview with KI4, Jama Woreda EPLAUD worker, 11/2/2016

² Interview with I1, 015 *Kebele* Male Farmer, 2/2/2016

*Because of work load EPLAUD workers leave their job. This is one major reason that most of the Kebeles are without EPLAUD workers.*³

Data extracted from secondary source confirm this. Problems like denunciation of land by small number of the community, criticizing land in the absence of all responsible organs, asking for additional days by *Kebele* EPLAUD and lack of capacity in giving evidence for the courts are mentioned. Therefore, it is cogent to say institutional weakness is a pervasive factor that contribute for inter-household conflict over farmland.

Institutional weakness is also demonstrated with *weak horizontal relations of administrative wings*. There is no cooperative relationship between EPLAUD workers and police at *Kebele* level. In addition the security sector itself has its own problem. One of the *Woreda* cabinet members in the anti-homicide movement conference said that for the last 25 years security sector is a neglected sector⁴. The security sector has no sufficient budget and skilled man power. These contributing for security sector failure in identifying susceptible area and working prevention activities. On top of this, some police officers put their hands in criminal activities. Not only did police officers, EPLAUD workers not work accountably as the collected data indicated⁵. One of the interviewee from *Kebele* police officers told the researcher and quoted as follow to demonstrate the weak link between security sectors and land administration sector.

*The Kebele EPLAUD expert is not working properly. They [EPLAUD workers] take bribe and give inappropriate administrative decisions. The conflicting parties came to my office. My duty is preventing escalation and referring it to the responsible body. On the other hand, the responsible body [Kebele EPLA expert] is not working properly. The Kebele EPLAUD worker is available for two days per week. He did not give solution for problems that concern him in two days. In these situations, people go for violent fight.*⁶

Despite the argument of EPLAUD workers high work load, the participant farmers of this research doubt that weather the EPLAUD office has capability and genuine interest to solve the problem of the farmers.

³ Interview with KI5, Jama Woreda EPLAUD worker, 11/2/2016

⁴ *Anti-Homocide Movement Stage, Jama Woreda Officials Participant, 27-28/1/2016*

⁵ Interview with KI3, Jama Woreda Administrator, 11/02/2015

⁶ Interview with KI2, South Wollo Zone EPLAUD worker, 2/12/2015

Another manifestation of institutional failure is *Extended Procedures of Farmland Related Conflict Accusation cases*. According to the in-depth interview with the *Woreda* EPLAUD workers, the procedure of handling land related conflict is a little bit longer. Most of the procedures inclined to give customary administration of rural lands. If this attempt of arbitration fail to bring solution, the claimants can bring their cases to the *Woreda* and other higher courts⁷. The EPLAUD workers claimed that such long procedure is because of the complicated nature of land dispute and the need to build participatory land administration system.

While it is analyzed, the practical and theoretical inconvenience is observed in this body of land administration law. Practically the committee members are corrupted and partial as the data collected through FGDs and In-depth interviews indicated. Adding to this, *Kebele* land administration officers are unpaid workers that they come to office after they finished their home activity⁸. Thus, the land issues that come to the *Kebele* office delayed. Theoretically there is disharmony between the two types of body of law (statutory and customary laws). Traditional laws and state laws are inherently in competition of jurisdiction. Indeed the Ethiopian constitution and ANRS RLAUR 51/2007 limits the applicability of the customary laws when they are contradicting with state laws. Most of the time customary law's fundamental principles are the subject of such limitation. Therefore without such pillars cultural laws become impractical that they lose the binding power.

It is too long to get justice in court because of long procedure of evidence collection. The disputant who lost their hope in the justice system tried to finish by force. The ideas, which are written in South Wollo Zone EPLAUD a Call for Cooperation letter indicates that land eviction and communal land scrambling charges delayed in all *Woreda*. Jama is the first *Woreda* that delayed such cases among other.

The other pervasive failure of EPLAUD is demonstrated on *poor evidence handling*. According to *Woreda* Judges, because of poor evidence handling there are cases which are not get decision for

⁷ FP 6, FGD session two a discussion with 015 farmers, 28/1/2016 and Interview with I12, 015 Kebele female farmer, 2/2/2016

⁸ Interview with KI5, Jama Woreda EPLAUD Worker, 10/2/016

the last three years⁹. It is also reported during FGD that there are some documents in the hands of *Kebele* leaders which improperly used. Those who have power and money protect their land from evading. But, the poor and the powerless one lost many pieces of land¹⁰. Women are the one segment of the society that is negatively affected by such kind of institutional weaknesses. For example, South Wollo Zone EPLAUD circular letter which was disseminated to all *Woredas*, identified problems related to land registration and certification by adopting the Tehuledere *Woreda's* experience during data verification and public denunciation of land certificate in 2016. The letter is quoted as follow;

...incomplete signatory of committee members on the Format number one; the absence of some plots of land on the permanent Rural Land registration Book and land holding certificate; absence of sealing on the land registration Formats; the absence and deterioration of Format; outdated information in Rural Land registration Book, repetition of code number of land certificate; and information mismatch between Format Number One and Rural Land Registration Book; and registering family land with the male alone were major problems seen in documents (SWZ EPLAUD Report, Pp; 2)

The cited problems are a setback to use such documents for protecting the rightful landholders. Sense of ownership to land will be further eroded because of the frequent invalidation of land certificate (Dessalegn, 2011, Deininger, 2008, Holden and et al. 2011). At least it is clear that such poor evidence handling delayed land related cases in court procedure if not a cause to losing land use right.

During 2005/2006 land registration Contract workers registered with number of faults. The above argument supports this idea. The *Woreda* children and women's affair office leader complained that the land holding certificate did not give the expected guarantee for vulnerable groups. According to her observation, there is lack of organized document that protects the rights of legitimate users. When people lost their farmland in such situation, they entered in to violent conflict to get what they lost in weak justice system. She believes that females are suffering from

⁹ Interview with KI7, Jama *Woreda* Court Judge, 5/2/016

¹⁰ FP4, FGD session four a discussion with 014 *Kebele* farmers, 4/2/2016

boundary encroachment and land eviction¹¹. Woreda and Zone EPLAUD officers confirm these problems too¹². There is evidence that violence and intimidation are used against women who attempt to use the law to establish and defend their right to landholdings (Stein, 2008 as cited USAID, 2009)

Weak communal land administration frequently cited as symptom of institutional failure. The responsibility of administrating communal lands is given for EPLAUD Bureau. While individuals evade communal lands, the *Kebele* administration did not follow the issue in full sense of ownership. Practically this left communal land without owners. In between this, the communal land users entered into conflict in either scrambling or using it. Though EPLAUD has the mandate to prepare land certificate, identifying users, and administer the communal lands, FGD and in-depth interview disclosed most of the *Woreda's* communal lands are getting land certificate since 2005/6. For some parts of the *Kebele's* communal land certificate is not prepared. Because of this, the lands are exposed for scrambling.

Table 4.1: Communal Land distribution in three *Kebeles* with Status of Registration

Kebele	No. of CL	In ha.	CL with certificate	In ha.	CL with temporary certificate	In he.	CL without certificate	in ha.
014	65	208.18	44	200	-	-	21	8.18
015	79	575.118	9	38.6	23	68	47	469.2
017	104	257.01	48	252	-	-	66	7

Source: Jama *Woreda* EPLAUD Office Report 2008

As depicted in the above table communal holdings are not registered at full scale. This registration is aggressively done in 2014. Until that year communal lands were not registered well. According

¹¹ Interview with KI1, South Wollo Zone EPLAUD, 25/3/016 and KI8 Jama Woreda children and Women Affair Officer, 11/2/016

¹² Interview with KI5, Jama Woreda EPLAUD Worker, 10/2/016

to the *Woreda* EPLAUD experts and judges discussions, communal lands registration faces the same problems of private land holdings registration. The other data found from the same source displayed that farmers in 017 *Kebele* illegally seize 28.34 hectares of communal land and 6.6 hectares of land is sized in 015 *Kebele*. The status of 014 *Kebele* in communal land scrambling is not included in the document. The registry told the researcher that it is not reported because of expert exchange from *Kebele* to *Kebele*. This indicates that how much poor communal administration is practiced.

Even those communal lands that has land certificate are not free from the danger of boundary encroachment since the land certificate did not show the exact size of the land. So, by using this gap the neighboring farmers bypass the boundary. During scrambling process farmers entered into disagreement. The disagreements end up in violent conflict. It is because such cases are not brought to court. One of the informants from *Woreda* officials asserted that the *Woreda* experiences large number of conflict in *Kebeles* which has large amount of communal lands. For example in *Kebeles* like *kibeles* 08, *Kebele* 011, *Kebele* 017, *KebeleKebele* 07, *Kebele* 016. These *Kebeles* host large amount of farmland related conflict in the past ten years. In these *Kebele* individual farmers tried to hold the communal lands privately. They tilled and cultivated crop on the communal land. The communal land users complain to the environmental protection and land administration office when this happened. By this time individuals who grab communal land fight violently against those who complain for EPLAUD. In the FGDs it is surfaced that communal lands are recently controlled by powerful individuals¹³. One of the FGD participants explained and quoted as follow.

In 2009 landless farmers' tilled large Common holding lands on market day when no Kebele administration and police officer exist. No one speaks about who and why that land was ploughed. When the summer comes, they saw teff in similar days. The Kebele decided to graze the sprouting grain. However, the scramblers complained for Kebele social court. The Kebele social court punishes 300- 700 birr and allows them to cultivate their crop in

¹³ Interview with KI9, Jama *Woreda* Police Bureau Officer, 3/2/016

*the form of contract agreement. In the next years large portion of communal land was tilled. Afterwards such practices become a trained.*¹⁴

The trend could discriminately hurt the interest of women and the weak farmers. It is because the richer and the stronger control large amount of communal land. From the identified 114 illegitimate holding and illegal communal land sizing case by Jama *Woreda* EPLAUD office 101 of them are male farmers. Similar to the finding of this research Matsumoto and Mwesigye (2013) state women, being one of the vulnerable groups, who are looked down and it is common for neighboring farmers to trespass and claim part of their land, which increases disputes. Therefore it is cogent to conclude that communal land scrabbling is negatively affecting the vulnerable groups and increased conflict between users.

Both FGDs and in-depth participants disclosed that *corruption and maladministration* is widely spread in the land administration system. Informants assert that *Kebele* land administration officers and committee members are irresponsible and corrupted. They give justice as the farmer's ability to buy a jar of traditional beer and whisky¹⁵. Institutions, which were designed for the regulation of the relationships between citizens and the State, are being used for personal enrichment of public officials. Since *Kebele* is the important source of evidence, they give wrong witness which benefits their favorite conflicting party. Corruption and nepotism is rule of the game in this *Woreda*. One of the respondents expressed his deep resentment. He doubts that he would not get justice if he went to court with his bare hands. He feared that if they begin in court the result will be determined by money power. These will provoke to use physical force to solve conflicts. For this informant such kinds of malpractice eroded the confidence of the farmers to bring the issue of farmland conflict to social court¹⁶.

The other institutional failure is evidenced in *indigenous conflict resolution institutions*. The commonly known social institutions Equib, Mahiber, Zikir, Kire, Sodeka, Debo and other social institutions continually weaken that minimizes a social capital which was important for the consolidation of the societies' peace. In both FGDs and in-depth interviews indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms are losing their acceptability. For example *Amare/elders council*, the

¹⁴ FP 21, FGD session four a discussion with Community Elders, 28/1/2016

¹⁵ Interview with I18, 017 *Kebele* female Farmer, 16/2/2016

¹⁶ Interview with I1, 014 *Kebele* Male Farmer, 2/2/2016

commonly known negotiators institution, is continually lost its acceptability in resolving complicated cases as the anti-homicide movement conference participants explained. According to the conference participants, there are opinions that they are becoming partial, money monger, and irresponsible. Negotiators could not demonstrate their selflessness as our forefathers do. They give focus to their private life rather than worrying about the community health¹⁷. Holde and et al. (2009) found in Tigray found the intervention of elders in border conflict exaggerate conflict.

On the contrary to continuously eroding social capital in the society, the laws give big place for this alternative dispute resolution mechanism in the name of increasing public participation the land administration (The Revised ANRS Rural Land Administration and Use Proclamation 133/2006, Art. 4 and ANRS Rural Land Administration and Use Proclamation 51/2007, Art. 29). This coincidence make land administration sector with additional pervasive problem. Consistent to the finding of this research Matsumoto and Mwesigye (2013) argued that there were more eviction conflicts on parcels under *Mailo* [traditional land administration system in Uganda] tenure system when compared to modern land administration system. The level of insecurity on Mailo tenure has raised incidences of land eviction. They found that there are significantly more boundary conflicts under such administration.

B. Limitations of Land Administration Programs and Laws

Consecutive land administration programs, proclamations and directives which are implemented since 1991 have a number of limitations. Despite loud voices of international NGOs and liberal political camp against EPRDF land policy, the regime insisted to the argument of protecting poor farmers from eviction and the chance of losing their land that only assured by the present day land holding system alone. Consistent to this purpose region based proclamations, programs, regulations and directives were implemented since 1991. But, this programs and laws are characterized by non-permanency, disharmony and impracticality as the data indicated. Above all they are not practically implemented on the ground because of overlapping reasons in land administration sector. Such limitations contribute for likely occurrence of conflict between farmers. Researchers found that land certification decreased land certification only superficially because of its limitations during implementations (Dessallegh, 2011; Holden et al., 2009). Though

¹⁷ *Anti-Homocide Movement Stage, Kebele Militia Participant, 27-28/1/2016*

land certification decrease conflict between households in Tigray, it has also increased conflict where the implementation process was poor and in rural areas where land pressure and demands for land for public and other nonagricultural purposes are high (Holden et al., 2009).

In FGDs and in-depth interviews it is revealed that plots of land were not appropriately demarcated during land redistribution of 1991/2. It was not appropriately measured and registered. The then transitional government was using land redistribution as getting legitimacy. On the other hands, the people considered the phenomenon as illegal and illegitimate. Many farmers were expecting that Derge would come again. Because of this land redistribution was implemented with many inconveniences. According to the informants who witnessed the event, land redistribution committee members were selected without their willingness during the transitional period. They improperly redistribute and registered on Rural Land Registration Book as a payback¹⁸. One of the respondents during in-depth interview state the then situation as follow

...How we are going to believe that land redistribution would be permanent at that time? War cars were loading fear arms and casualties were on the road and war jets were roaring on the sky. We kept silent and indifferent when land redistributed inappropriately. After peace restored, farmers began to accuse each other.¹⁹

In addition, during FGD with 014 *Kebele* landless farmers disclosed that the then *Kebele* administration denied many young adults right to hold land. To revenge some young adults who have disagreement with him, he denied all young adults who were above 18 years old. Only married adults get land. Still many of them remain landless. So, land redistribution was implemented with a number of problems as stated above that latter causes to IHCOFL.

Contract workers repeated these problem in 2005/6 Land Registration. Indeed, the 1992 land redistributions' Rural Land Registration book was a setback for 2005/6 land registration and land certification. The wrongly registered parcels transferred to Form One book. Based on Format One Book the land holding certificate was prepared. These make Rural Land Certificate the garbage in the garbage out. Bezabih et al. (2014) stated that the certification program is characterized by a rapid and campaign-style. In this campaign style registration and certifications there are a number of unregistered parcels. The *Woreda* land administration workers confirmed that land certification

¹⁸ FP22, FGD session four a discussion with Community Elders, 28/1/2016

¹⁹ FP19, FGD session four a discussion with Community Elders, 28/1/2016

is not fully implemented yet. Based on these evidences it is possible to argue that farmer's right to property is not protected. This inevitably exposed farmers for violent conflict and consequent risks.

Respondents of the research disclosed that land holding certificate book is not validated yet. *Woreda* EPLAUD collects it for crosschecking. One of the Kebele EPLAUD workers believe that land certificate validation by public denunciation is a wrong direction that the government follows. Public denunciation and criticism of land is carried out to cure the faults of the previous programs and to prepare for future information system land administration and digitalized land administration. The government is claiming that public participation in land administration as usual. But according to data collected for the study, the public is not neutral. The public have interest in it. The public has a culture of partiality and false witness²⁰.

In addition to participants' idea, problems like absence of most members of the community in the date of land criticism, complaint of the communal land invaders as if they lost their private land holding, lack of budget and false witness are identified in model *Woreda's* land denunciation program²¹. Some of the respondents said that it is known that many of thier *Kebele* residents registered illegal holdings. They [illegal landholders] fear public criticism. They will be absent when the public make gathering. In the final days, they prepare a group of individuals to speak for them. In addition, since every individual including the *Kebele* leaders has such problem they keep silent²². But, some of the farmers betrayed such wrong land holdings. They need them as enemy. So, the recently carried out program is found problematic that has an implication for future stability and peace of the society.

In in-depth interview with EPLAUD, workers and judges implied that proclamation 133/2006 causes and or aggravates inter-household conflict. The land holding and land use right dispute is now decided by "majority vote" in the name of public denunciation according to the speech of one of the judges in *Jama Woreda* court²³. The in-depth interview with EPLAUD workers and judges informs that there are many contradictions and limitations in the land administration laws. For example, Proc. 133/2006 states that the person who is granted the land holding certificate in

²⁰ Interview with I17, 017 kebele male farmer, 2/2/2016

²¹ Interview with KI1, South Wollo Zone EPLAUD, 25/3/016

²² Interview with I17, 017 kebele male farmer, 2/2/2016

²³ Interview with KI6, *Jama Woreda* Court Judge, 5/2/016

his/ [her name] shall, unless the contradictory written document is submitted, considered legal holder of the land (art.29/4). However, on the other hands courts forced to hear personal/oral witnesses in land dispute accusation file since the evidences written on the land certificate are allegedly wrong. The problematic land certificate undermined the sense of security towards land holding and use right. Deciding land related issues without use of land holding certificates could jeopardize credibility of certificates²⁴.

The other contradiction is revealed between Proclamation 133/2006 and ANS Rural *Kebele* Center Development Land source, Administration and Use Directive 8/2012 in adjudicating farmlands that has no land use plan. The Proclamation did not limit the farmer from using farmland as he/she wishes if there is no land use plan (Proclamation 133/2006, Art.13/5). By manipulating these gaps farmers built house and sold it to the third party. Since it is illegal, many disagreements related to this are happening that are not brought to court. After several years, Directive 8/012 legislated in 20012 to prevent building house on farmland. But it did not explain what kinds of measure should be taken on the doer. Above all directives could not void proclamations.

From “Proclamation 51/2007/11/7/a-d” is the frequently criticized article. Many of my respondents in *Woreda* and *Zone* stated about inheritance lack reasonableness in identifying the legitimate hire of the land. According to the respondents during interview, it breaks the social bond between families²⁵. It gives all right to hold parents land for minor child. The article is stated as follow. If rural landholders die without will or invalid will in front of law the land holding right is transferred to: Primarily, for minor child and family member; secondly, for adult child and family members who has no land; thirdly, for adult child and family members who has land and finally for parents of the deceased.

The article has a number of gaps to cause conflict between claimants. The definition given for “family members” in the preamble of proclamation number 133/2006 open to interpretation states as individuals live with the household without permanent income. This means anyone could claim inheritance over the deceased persons’ land. It doesn’t put either time limitation or kinship relation criteria. Housemaids, labor workers, and grandchildren would be favorite inherit than children. In

²⁴ Interview with KI6, Jama Woreda Court Judge, 5/2/016

²⁵ Interview with KI5, Jama Woreda EPLAUD, 10/2/016

addition, the articles exclude the major children's right to get land for free. One of the respondents complaining about the law that he excluded his parents land after his father died because of his disagreement with his little brother.

I was tilling on my father's farm for seven years. When my father died, the legitimate heir was my little brother because he was 16 years old by then. His mother takes the land from me. I could not say anything when my source of livelihood taken away. Now he is 19 years old boy. If my father was alive until now we all would have a chance to get land equally.²⁶

The proclamation denied the right to get land with little age difference. Above all, it provokes unhealthy with families. Many conflicts arise in Jama Woreda because of this law. One of the respondents narrates a story about bothers. Despite the right to get farmland for free for adult farmers it even denied the right to get land from their parents by favoring minor child. Experts of land administration argued that at least all children needed to be allocated inherited land equally. The expert told the researcher a number of cases that related to this point. The following case demonstrates how inheritance law spoiled the bond of the society.

One of the three brothers drops his minor child with his parents. The parents are getting old. The remaining two brothers were not happy. It is known that if parents died the legitimate of the land is their grandchild. In between this, the brothers fight each other. The two brothers killed their own brother.²⁷

C. Individual's Unproductive Competition over Farmland

Deininger and Castagnini (2004) believed that the main reasons underlying the increased incidence of land conflict in SSA countries is the failure of the prevailing land tenure systems. Others like Dufwenberg et.al. (2013) consider a land-grabbing game is played where selfish players, who desire to get as much as possible, would be destined for costly conflict. Even though larger masses of data is supporting the first argument, data collected through in-depth interview disclosed that greed of individual farmers is visible factor for farmland conflict. In FGDs and in-depth interview, envy and unproductive competitions over farmland are the causes for conflict.

According to the participants, the causes of conflict are different *as the seasons* differ. The research indicated that drainage is a common seasonal cause of farmland conflict. For example in autumn,

²⁶ Interview with I6, Jama Woreda EPLAUD worker, 16/2/2016

²⁷ Interview with KI5, Jama Woreda EPLAUD worker, 11/2/2016

it is cattle grazing of crop fields in the study area. The directions of water canals diverted to protect the health of crops. But the diverted canal will damage the others crop. At this time, the conflict arises²⁸. The following personal story of the participant for this study displays the frequently mentioned issues; envy and greed of individual greed.

My farmland is to the bottom of my neighbors' land. I sowed wheat before he ploughed. Then he decided to seed teff. While he was ploughing he diverted water outlet canals towards my plot. I was not checking in that day. Unfortunately, by that all night there was heavy rain. The flood washed way my plots of land and the germinated seed. I accused him to the sub-Kebele land administration office. The office decided to divert the canal for the other days. He gets good amount of yield in that year. But I get small amount of yield in that year. By autumn season my son and his son fight by taking the matter as a cause. In deed I left it for God. God will pay him back.²⁹

Personal greed is extended to the level of *encroaching boundary* of his neighbors. Dufwenberg et.al. (2013)in their study in east Gojam and Southern Wollo found that from a sample of 400 mediators who had mediated 18,620 conflicts, they found that more than half were land-related conflicts and almost 20% were boundary conflicts. Almost half of these conflicts that were referred to *Woreda* courts were border conflicts. Border conflicts were also seen as the most difficult conflicts to deal with (*Ibid*). In in-depth interview, it is surfaced that farmers tilled virgin lands which serve as boundary markers between plots to expand their parcel. After some times, the previous boundary disappeared. When the boundary markers become controversial one of the neighboring farmers bypasses the others boundary. On the other hand individuals encroaches boundary when the plot has no boundary marker as follow case indicated.

My neighboring farmers plant live plants at the land border to mark our boundaries. Then the plant "akirma" was uprooted replanted in different direction of the border without my noticing of the change, because my habit of boundary monitoring is minimal. In two years my neighbors Trans pass significant amount of land from my own land by digging from his direction.³⁰

Trespassing and boundary manipulations have increased recently in relatively poor, the most vulnerable groups due to the inferior position they hold in the community.

²⁸ FGD session all with kebele farmers, 4-16/1/2016

²⁹ Interview with I10, Jama Woreda male farmer,16/2/2016

³⁰ Interview with I6, Jama Woreda male farmer,2/2/2016

Women are the victims of *farmland eviction* according to research participants. The office of women and children affairs admitted that many children, women, elder and disabled individuals bring their cases to their office. Among the types of cases which come to the office, eviction of women from their land use and holding rights by their x-husband, brothers and closest kinships are the major one³¹. This point is confirmed the one of the *Kebele* police officers and Land administration. In addition to boundary eviction, closest person plunders women their land. Consistent to this finding (Yamano and Deininger, 2005) found in Kenya widows are often threaten to leave their land, which belongs to their husbands' ancestral land, especially when they have no children or refuse to marry one of their husbands' brothers (*Warsa in Wollo*). Though *warsa* is abolished evicting women from her own land after the death of her spouse is evidenced in the study area. The following story is a live example of many women.

*I was with him for 19 years in marriage. He married with other woman because of my inability to bear child. I take my own parcels during the divorce. I left the Kebele by giving my land for share crop for him. I tough we are close still. But he betrayed me by denying some plots of land as if they are his own. He weast my pure two years in court to get my plots back. Speak in the name of God, is it fair? But, thanks to Saint Mary know I get my land back. Since we are neighbors, he reputedly bypasses our boundary. To stop him I choose very strong farmer and give the lands to him. In this year he did touch in feet. He fears my share crop holder. I beg God to protect me from evil. My x-husband is not happy with my deeds. He reputedly warned me.*³²

Disagreement in land partition during divorce, disputes on share crop and land rental are other factors of conflict. Landless respondents said that unhealthy competition of farmers over contract and crop-sharing lands are causes of conflict. During crop sharing and contract, those who have power plunder farmland by claiming they are the user of that parcel. Females and children are expropriated from communal land use right because of communal land scrambling by powerful farmers. It is greed, which leads individuals to evict others from their holding as many of the respondents reported during interview and FGDs³³.

One of my neighbors ploughed and registered the communal lands as if the land is his own. The villagers wanted to accuse that farmer. He intimidated us if we accused it. The Kebele officials know this. But they keep silent. But in the coming public land

³¹Interview with KI8 Jama Woreda children and Women Affair Officer, 11/2/016

³² Interview with I8, Jama Woreda femal farmer,4/2/2016

³³ FP4, FGD session one a discussion with 014 kebele male farmers, 4/1/2016

*denunciation I would not be quite because he blocked my outlet to church and market. By then I will see what will happen.*³⁴.

Females disfavored during *inheritance*. Family member denied their right to get farmland. One of the respondents exclaimed the following.

*My father is getting old. He is under care of my elder brother he wills all parcel of farmland to my brother. Two of my sisters are in Arab countries as a housemaid. One of my brothers is also a teacher. I asked my father to give me some plots of land. My brother said the land should not be given for son-in law, to mean for my husband. My father told me your husband has a father. However, I will not leave them. The 'government' [she wanted to say law by implication] gives me the right. Indeed, I wish my father long life. However, it is not fair.*³⁵.

D. Values attached to Farmland

“*Land is a source of life on earth and it is our shelter after death*³⁶” (FP23; 2016). One of the farmer respondents argued that since farmland is *the base for life* he brought to court when he faced farmland conflict with whoever he/she is. If it is not possible, he left for God. According to most of the informants’ opinion, *Kebele* and *Woreda* administrative workers are unable to handle the situation. The following quote elaborated this

*My wife is blind and I am too old to perform my daily tasks. I gave one parcel of land for my married daughter. Peace be up on her, my daughter died from incurable disease. She was beautiful. I cry day and night for her. As a result, my eyes become losing their sight. Her husband did not cover the commemoration day’s ceremony cost. I did it by myself for the glory of my daughter. Many individuals asked me to ask her part. However, I refused. After all this happened, I wanted to take back my farmland that was given for my deceased daughter. I told my x-son in-law in order not to plough that parcel of land. But, his response was unexpected and rude. He told us the land is belongs to him. He intimidates and warns us. He promised to plough it. Look this banditry practice. I have no reason to leave that land with him. My daughter is under the earth that who was the reason to give land for him. For me he is the reason for her death from anger and disease. He drinks too much and humiliates the families honor. My daughter was complaining and regretting for this. These were her pains. I already lost my daughter who was a candidate to take care me in the future.*³⁷

³⁴ FP15, FGD session three a discussion with 017 kebele farmers, 16/1/2016

³⁵ Interview with I8, Jama Woreda femal farmer,4/2/2016

³⁶FP23, FGD session three a discussion with Community Elders, 16/1/2016

³⁷ Interview with VII, 014 kebele femal farmer who is victims of the conflict, 4/2/2016

The other respondent said that private land is as equal as his life. His land helped him to send his children to school. It is his land which helps him to build a can house. It helped him to sustain his family. Land is priceless, as he believed. The question *of* land is the question of life and death for him³⁸. Therefore the value of land and the nature attachment to the individuals is a strong factor for conflict over land.

E. Environmental and Demographic Causes

Demographic and environmental pressures on farmland are exclusively cited as a strong factors for conflict. Population growth, expansion of farmland, and growing number of livestock causes to environmental devastation and associated conflict for the scarce land. The collected primary data from farmers indicated that demographic and environmental pressures are pervasive factors of conflict between households by creating scarcity. Informants from farmers talk about increased population number and environmental destruction particularly communal land scrambling compromises their level hood. The data collected from *Woreda* officials inform that there is a strong relation between conflict and demographic and/or environmental factors. In the course of communal land scrambling natural resources like water, forest and grazing land become under pressure. Farmers compete for this scarce resource and fight for it.

In FGDs, they also mentioned about inappropriate investment land scrambling as adding factors which exposed them to scarcity of land. Scarcity is cited in a number of literatures as a cause of conflict among any of human group as rivalry over scares resource. Environmental variables are cited next to political, social and economic variable for their implication to conflict. It is because literatures and policy makers already lauded social, political and economic factors.

4.2.2 Risk Factors for Inter-household Conflict

According to the collected and analyzed data for this research, drunkenness, adultery, blood feud, disobediences to the law, the existence of unregistered illegal weapons, disagreement over grazing land, and attempt to robbery are factors for heavy conflicts and homicide in Jama *Woreda*. Though these causes of conflict are not direct factor for IHCOFL, the analyzed data inferred that the already mentioned factors aggravate and make IHCOFL complicated to solve. So, such conflicts are risk

³⁸ Interview with VI4, 015 kebele male farmer who is victims of the conflict, 15/2/2016

factor for the occurrence of inter-household conflict over farmland. According to FGDs individual who were under this conflicts are not choosing discussion and negotiation when farmland related conflict arise with their neighbors. Different types of conflicts poison the social relations. It means that the already fragile relationship of farmers end up in violent fight when farmland disputes arise.

Culture of violence is main risk factor for farmland conflict. One of the *Kebele* police officer believes that the community did not see killing as cruelty. The *Jama Woreda* community conflict handling culture contributes for the cycle of revenges and more killings. The community handled conflict violently. As the data inferred farmer residents handle land related conflict more sensitively. Land is symbolic in conflict situation. For the study area community, farmland eviction, boundary encroachment and draining water to the plots of one's land is considered as contempt of a particular individual³⁹. The following quote support the above arguments.

*They [community] considered killing as braveness. Killer is blessed and praised by traditional songs. Killing considered as the matter between the victim and the perpetrator. Even when the fight arises for blood revenge, no one tried to stop it. Ironically, the society discriminates; humiliate the victims if they do not kill from the murderers' family in return.*⁴⁰

Emerging *culture of conspiracy and false witness* is also another risk factor for IHCOFL. One of *Jama Woreda* Homicide Movement Conference participants expressed his deep sorrow about false Witness and conspiracy. He expressed the impact of false witness to the increased trend of heavy crime and violent conflict. This culture weakened justice and give shelter for perpetrators. One of the informant indicated the effect of false witness and conspiracy to the community.

*The innocent individuals get sentenced for prison with false witness. It is what a paradox. I don't know what has happened to our community. In the previous days this action was considered as betraying God. Even marriage proposals were denied if you are liar. Recently false witness becomes a culture. Social isolation measure should be taken to punish such kinds of individuals. In addition the people and the Woreda security sector should go hand in hand to restore the lost peace.*⁴¹

Disobedience to the law is a growing problem in the study area. According to FGD participants, the young generation is not obedient to the law. Participants expressed that they [members of the

³⁹ *Anti-Homocide Movement Stage, Woreda official speech, 27-28/1/2016*

⁴⁰ *Anti-Homocide Movement Stage, Kebele Leader Participant, 27-28/1/2016*

⁴¹ FP21, FGD session four a discussion with Community Elders, 16/1/2016

young generation] misuse the meaning of democracy. One of the FGDs participants ironically expressed the behavior of the young generation as follow.

For them [the youngsters], it is democratic right to drink too much; to insult others even to kill. After all this happen the perpetrators escape from the justice system. Participants further stressed robbery and killing happened in front of Woreda police station. The community frequently complains about maladministration to discipline these disobedient citizens during data collection. They said that good governance is only on the moths of Woreda leaders. They practically violet it when the problem is on their families. Justice system is too weak to find the fact.⁴²

Most of the time community members lack obedience to the law that they tried to handle conflict in their own ways. Participants also assert that farmers' preferred solutions for farmland conflict is becoming problematic even if there is difference as per the maturity of the individual farmer. One of the interviewee said that the wise one directly went to court. The rash one tried to solve farmland related conflict by violent means⁴³.

The data revealed that limited amount of individuals *hold legally registered small fire arms*. Larger mass of the community hold gun illegally that they use it irresponsibly when they entered into conflict. In addition, the farmers carry big wooden road which is prepared by insulating its tip with coiled iron to make the wooden road strong. The participants stated that the existences of these small arms are creating fragile peace that makes fertile ground for conflict to happen. (The last statement is my interpretation from their argument). Significant amount of crimes are performed by the help of fire arms in the study area⁴⁴.

On top the above factors *Alcoholic drinks* are the gasoline on fire as stated one of religious father. One of religious father in the *Woreda* asserts that drunkenness imperfects the ability of individuals to calculate cost and benefits of violent conflict. The other respondent of the research from police asserted that most of the conflicts are happened in the afternoon of market days. In the market days most of the *Woreda* residents drink too much. From FGDs and in-depth interviews data, it is

⁴² *Anti-Homocide Movement Stage, Police Officer Participant, 27-28/1/2016*

⁴³ Interview with VII, 14 kebele female farmer who is victims of the conflict, 4/2/2016

⁴⁴ Interview with KI6, Jama Woreda Court Judge, 5/2/016

inferred that there is a culture of drunkenness in the *Woreda* that increases the occurrence of conflict. One of the victims of the conflict narration is congruent to this idea.

...the killer is my brother's son. The dead one is our son in-law. The deceased little brother entered into conflict because of farmland boundary with his neighboring farmer. Because of this conflict, the deceased brother was severely wounded. On one of the market day, my cosine (the killer) was drinking with our son in-law's enemy. Our son in-law insulted my cosine when he gets intoxicated. The dead one was angry for that friendship. He labeled my cosine as his enemy and coward. My son in-law and my cosine began the fight. My cosine killed his sister's husband. In this conflict many families displaced from the birth village, many family bonds were broken, houses were burnt and farmlands remain uncultivated for years.⁴⁵

Drunkenness increased farmers' violent behavior according to the research participant argument. This is not because they go for fight when they are drunk alone, but individuals are provoked for fight with the individuals who were in conflict with when they get intoxicated. Ironically, government media promote culture of drunkenness. One of the interviewee asserted that fight for *beautiful girls* is still one aspect that could generate conflict. This conflict in turn breaks the social bond of the society that makes any conflict hard to be resolved including IHCOFL.

"Kollegna" fight for beautiful girl. In the older days there was a traditional fight called woyane with "Gasha" and sword. The remnant of that culture is still there. Today the youngsters fight for beautiful girls. After they fight over beautiful girls, the relation between these individuals becomes hostile that affect peaceful resolution of farmland conflict. When the elders tried to negotiate land conflict, they refused to agree. But, the underlined cause would be rivalry for female. Most of the time the negotiation failed to be successful if such cases are attached to farmland conflict. In the highland part of our wereda fighting for girls is not common. Recently farmland related dispute is added on this culture.⁴⁶

Data collected from different sources by different tools, inferred that the above causes of inter-household conflict are aggravating and are risk factors for the occurrence of inter-household conflict over farmland.

4.3 Impacts of IHCOFL

Farmland related inter-household conflict affect the social, economic, political and psychological wellbeing of a community in the study area. the frequently mentioned impacts of IHCOFL are

⁴⁵ Interview with VI4, 015 kebele male farmer who is victims of the conflict, 15/2/2016

⁴⁶ Interview with VII, 14 kebele female farmer who is victims of the conflict, 4/2/2016

categorized under Violent fight between farmers, Wasting time, money and human labor on land dispute, tilling of marginal lands to compensate disputed land, breakdown of social bond between the community and People lost trust in government. For the purpose of discussion the researcher discussed such impact as economic, social, political, environmental and psychological impacts.

4.3.1 Economic Impacts of IHCOFL

In FGDs and in-depth Interviews, it is surfaced that many individuals lost their land because of weak justice and poor land administration system⁴⁷. Losing land is great economic devastation. The robust example for this is data extracted from 2016 South Wollo Zone Good Governance Plan Implementation Campaign. There were 1561 hectares of communal land were illegally seized by individuals in the Zone. It was planned to return for 626 legitimate owners' land in the campaign. The mentioned data demonstrates that land deprivation problem discriminately affect female farmers. For example from 1561 hectares of communal land scrambling only 608 women were participant. In contrast to this number 3,446 male farmers were participant by evicting other legitimate users of communal holding. It is observed that the trend is the same at *Woreda* level. The data demonstrate that legitimate landholders lost the yields that they would get from the disputed land.

It is not women alone who are evicted from communal land use when we deeply examined the collected data. The powerless farmers tilled too small or no communal lands. Wealthy farmers plough most of the communal lands illegally. As the communal land tilled, the powerless individuals lost their right to use their right to use such lands. In addition, the displaced individuals because of farmland conflict suffered from economic wretchedness as the data indicates. One of the informants complained as follow.

*I was in Garo kolla. Because of homicide problem [farmland related incident] I left my village and settled here [to 015 Kebele]. My aunt gives me a land to build house. My farmland is in Garo Kolla. I myself could not cultivate it in fear of revenge. It is in share crop. Enemies burned my cattle and grains as revenge.*⁴⁸

The scale of the economic impact of the conflict should not be under estimated. Apart from the direct impact on productivity and family level investment, it has indirect impacts by consuming

⁴⁷ FGD session all with kebele farmers, 4-16/1/2016

⁴⁸ Interview with VII, 014 kebele female farmer who is victims of the conflict, 4/2/2016

time and money during land accusation cases. One of the informant from *Woreda* officials stated that negotiation centers, police stations, courts, environmental protection, and land administration office become a place of public gathering to present their petition. In these kinds of conflict, young adults are active participant⁴⁹. When the researcher interviewed the *Jama Woreda* judges the judges who were participant in the research affirmed that more than two third of the client's lawsuit is on land conflict⁵⁰. These forced households to waste their time in unproductive activities which can produce a lot of productive activity if used the time effectively. The implication is clear on productivity if these important factors of production are wasting their time and money by land related accusation file. Generally, IHCOFL is affecting productivity in by making land not ploughed and making farmer poorly prepared the inputs by wasting time for waiting trails. Farmers who are in conflict could not sow, weeded and harvest in time.

4.3.2 Social Impacts IHCOFL

Farmland conflicts among neighbors could also have adverse effects on social values like trust and reciprocity which are important for other domains of life (Dufwenberg and et al., 2013). In FGDs and interviews it is reflected that today there are chains of revenge between farmers. Burial ceremony, weeding, market place and meeting are a dangerous place where everyone fears for death by revenge seekers as the collected and analyzed. Social institutions are alarmingly out of use⁵¹. Institutions like *Mahiber, Ekubi, Idir, Kire, Debo, Sodeka, Zikir*, Wedding and burial ceremony are continuously threatened by conflict. Farmland conflict obstruct the social relation of the community. Blood feuded is the most fear of the community which makes social gathering unwanted events. One of the community elder participant for this research remembered a story of his neighbor. The case reflects how farmland conflict affects the social life of the community.

The boundary disagreement between my neighbors escalated and they insulted each other. They began fighting. The disputant families joined the fight. Finally one of the boy died. After the death of my neighbor's boy most of the murders family displaced by leaving there house. I feel sadness while I saw this. The dead one spent his lifespan under earth. The murder on the other hand spoiled his golden age in prison. In addition to this, many members of family and relatives entered in to fear full life, displaced from

⁴⁹ Interview with KI9, *Jama Woreda* Police Bureau Officer, 3/2/016

⁵⁰ Interview with KI6, *Jama Woreda* Court Judge, 5/2/016

⁵¹ Ato Shimelis Shewaferahu, Head of *Jama Woreda* security office, speech on Anti- Homocide movement stage, 27-28/12/2015

*their village fear blood feud and abounded participation in social gatherings. It is too many harms happened. God only count these. The non-pivotal/impermanent boundary markers like stones are easily movable. This exposed farmland boundary for manipulation.*⁵²

Many farmers went to Arab countries to escape from conflict before it happened. Some of them went to Arab countries as founding safe heaven after they severely beat their villager. One of the interviewee narrates what she remembers about a certain boy's story. The following an example of social ills that happened in the study area. One of the informant narrated her neighbors' story.

*His father marries other woman by abounding six family members together with his mother. He gets four additional children from his new wife. After some years, his father wanted to return back to his previous home. But the abounded family disagrees with their father. Their father, together with his new family entered into conflict. The tension highly increased. The two family become enemy. The former family members wanted to kill their father and their half-brothers. Religious fathers and community elders could not handle the issue. Finally one of from the new family member went to Arab country to escape from this conflict. The father burnt his former family's house. By chance he handed while burning the house. The father was thrown to jail for eight years. The other boys went to Arab countries and one by one they migrated to Arab country. The female one also went to Addis Ababa.*⁵³

According to the informants for this thesis, the drunker and rude individuals are more exposed for farmland related conflict. The story told by the informant from one of the selected *kebeles* confirms this.

*One of our Kebele residents cut the shoulder of his neighbor by axe for his action of give witness about communal land tilling accusation. This individual was advised for not to intimidate the witnesses by officials and elders. However, he did not internalize that advice. Due to this, many family members displaced from their homeland.*⁵⁴

4.3.3 Psychological Impacts of IHCOFL

Ato shimelis shewaferaw, who was the panelist on anti-homicide movement conference said that the murderers develop the personality of fearfulness, suspicion, unconfident, hopelessness and cruelty. One of my respondents story fits most of the respondents' idea that experience farmland conflict.

⁵² FP19, FGD session four a discussion with Community Elders, 28/1/2016

⁵³ Interview with VII1, 015 kebele male farmer who is victims of the conflict, 2/2/2016

⁵⁴ Interview with VII5, 015 kebele female farmer who is victims of the conflict, 2/2/2016

....My wife continuously told me her nightmare. She did not have peaceful night after she heard the conflict. She did not want to see bloodshed on because of this land. He is a drunker as I told you before. When he drinks, he needs to fight with my sons. The consequence would be bad. I am begging the Kebele to do something.⁵⁵

Most of all, females are the primary victims of psychological impacts. In tradition, women are not favored to inherit land. Due this norm, Males attempt to evict their female kin from parents land. Due to this females exposed to sever psychological harm. The woman who is in farmland dispute with her brothers faced the same problem. She narrated here story as follow.

In 1993 my parents died. I have two brothers. In that, time the responsibility to give care for my two little brothers was left for me. I take the land of my parents in the form of redistributed land. But in 2005 land registration, my brothers accused me to give their father's land as if I take their parents land in the form of inheritance. The Kebele administration gives my land for them without seeing how I get it. I take the case to Woreda EPLAUD. But, they give me their deaf ears. I could not get my land yet. The debt exposed me to mental illness. I hate everybody. My brothers betrayed me. I was looking after like a mother. My own brothers denied me. Who is going to be trusted? I feel bad in my head. I went to holy water. After that, I get relief. I am suffering for the last ten years from this conflict.⁵⁶

4.3.4 Political Impacts of IHCOFL

Small-scale land conflicts can escalate into widespread civil strife that may threaten national security. Studies have suggested that land scarcity and land conflicts, mainly between groups, fueled the instability of a state (Mwesigye and Matsumoto, 2013). In all types of data collection participants of the research expressed that farmland related conflict create a cycle of endless conflict. It seems that the situation forced the participants to doubt the ability and or willingness of the government to stop it. The public denunciation of land with the context of impartiality false witness and inappropriate procedure is still cause for losing land holding and use right as one of the *Woreda* official explained. The inevitable consequence is losing of trust and developing grievance on the existing government as explained by participants of the study.

Amongst the views expressed about frequent murder and severe beatings will forced the people to believe as if no government. The community will prefer the culture of banditry to protect their life and property unless the *Woreda* officials and community leaders work together to stop it⁵⁷. The *Woreda* administrator also admits about the severely increased crime and homicide limit the

⁵⁵ Interview with VII, 14 kebele female farmer who is victims of the conflict, 4/2/2016

⁵⁶ Interview with VII18, 017 kebele female farmer who is victims of the conflict, 16/2/2016

⁵⁷ Yesuf Yimer, personal speech, on Anti- Homocide movement stage, 27-28/12/2015

freedom of the *Woreda*'s residents. Most respondents complain about the role of government for not protecting their rights⁵⁸. This is highly congruent to what the researcher said political impacts of farmland conflict.

Contrary to farmer respondents, officials explicitly explain the political impacts of farmland conflict. The officials stated as it would be a ground for the anti-peace forces to be blossomed. Based on the above respondents' idea it is possible to say that the frequently happening conflict over land and land deprivation of the vulnerable groups will compromise the legitimacy of government at least by refraining from using government justice institutions. In addition to these the Governing parties is standing for the interest of the farmers. This government strongly stands against land deprivation of poor farmers. But due to weakness in land administration a symptom of land deprivation is seen. This is political failure for the government to see its vision not fulfilled.

4.3.5 Environmental Impacts of IHCOFL

Significant number of respondents' state environmental degradation as cause of conflict. In farmland research works, environmental variables discussed and inter-house hold conflict over farmland is not clearly known. Recently researchers suggested that (environmental) variables are likely to heighten the risk of communal conflict (Fjelde and Uexkull, 2012) and the conflict cyclically affect the health of environment. In in-depth interview it is surfaced that farmers drain summer water in the wrong catchment in order not to enter into conflict with their neighbor. Everybody is unwisely exploiting the land. The fertile and loam soil is washed out. To compensate the exhausted land, communal holding lands (mostly, lands left as no arable land) become a target for crop cultivation. Due to this communal lands exposed for unwise use. Environmental degradation, drying of water source and extinction of medicinal plants are clearly seen in the *Woreda* due to expansion of farmlands to the areas.

Especially rural unemployment heightened the issue of environmental degradation according to the key informants from EPLAUD. Recently, to create job opportunity the *Woreda* administration tried to give land for the young farmers. In addition to institutional distribution of marginal lands by local government, the young farmers till such lands by their own when their parents dined land to plough. While the *Kebele* gives such lands for unemployed group for bee farming and hay

⁵⁸ Tesfaye Mengiste, personal speech, on Anti-Homocide movement stage, 27-28/12/2015

collection, the youngsters ploughed for crop cultivation to be the permanent user of the land. According to one of the Kebele EPLAUD expert, this process resulted high level of environmental devastations. Apart from bio-diversity lose geological shocks has been evidenced. Redistributing of communal lands resulted in destruction of natural forest, plant species that are used as medicinal plant, and animal's animal species. For example in Shilafaf, Ahiya Wodek, and Goret there were land slide because of deforestation⁵⁹.

Unlike the highlanders, in the *kollama* Kebeles' people accept environmental protection advice. If they do not accept the advice the *Kebele* environmental protection and land administration expert brought to social courts and acts accordingly. But in the highland part of the *Woreda*, the soil is alarmingly washed away and yield is continuously decreasing. The farmers blame artificial fertilizer. However, experts believed that soil erosion takes the bigger share⁶⁰. It is surfed during FGDs and particularly one of FGD participant in 014 *kebele* complained poor attention for environmental protection.

For example one of the water shad which take life during trace construction was given for unemployed league for animal farming. But the league ploughs it. The water shad exposed for sever environmental degradations within a year. Now the place is bare land. Before the land was ploughed the forest were restored. Water was flown out of the forest. The Kebele leaders were bribed to keep silent. After a year the land was taken from the league and reserved from animal and human contact. Some of the member who refused to plough was accused for not participating in the work or conspiring against the league. These end up in disintegration of the league.⁶¹

4.4 Human Security Implications of IHCOFL

Jama *Woreda* is the place where insecurity is its trademark as a result of increasing homicide and heavy crime. Despite the efforts made to create peaceful environment, the crime of homicide is becoming an endemic phenomenon for the *Woreda*. In recent years such crimes are creating a problem for the social, economic and political stability of the *Woreda*⁶². Inter-household conflict over farmland weaned the security of females, elders, disables and poor farmers in the face of weak

⁵⁹ Interview with I1, 014 kebele EPLAUD worker, 4/2/2016

⁶⁰ Interview with I2, 015 kebele EPLAUD worker, 2/2/2016

⁶¹ FP19, FGD session four a discussion with Community Elders, 28/1/2016

⁶² Tesfaye Mengiste, personal speech, on Anti- Homocide movement stage, 27-28/12/2015

land administration institute and other fragile community peace. Jama is now fearful place to live said most of the respondent in this research.

4.4.1 Social Security Implications of IHCOFL

Community security is about protection from explicit and enforced ethnic groups and community identity, protection from oppressive traditional practices, harsh treatment towards women, or discrimination against ethnic/indigenous/refugee groups, protection of social capital, enhancing coping mechanisms, adaptive strategies of a community through the involvement of local, non-governmental organizations or traditional organisms (HSU, 2009). In Jama social institutions (*idir, sodeka, mahiber, debo, kire*) are threatened by the conflict. Women and disabled discriminately affected by the conflict.

The land is too small to sustain the youngsters' life in rural area. In addition to the extreme scarcity of land, conflict over land is very high. They asked that how life will go on in all these situations. Their plan is to go to Jidah (Arab countries). One of the informants said that they have no reason and place to live here⁶³. Stories told by the informants indicated that people would force to think deviant source of survival like migration, servitude, and prostitution. In general stories of the victims indicated that brothers go for fight. Once life was stolen by once own brother and son. Today the care-taking mother did not trust her son. Brothers stand against their brother⁶⁴. It is becoming fearful to live in Jama said the participants during FGDs. They feared that one day they will become the victims of this horrible conflict. One of the respondent exclaimed that he feared the coming destruction of his family. The story is directly quoted as follow to represent the fear of the society.

*.....my fear is not for the land alone. I have a teenager under my roof. I have also four married sons. My fear is the future clash between them. My x-son in-law is my grand children's father. If they entered to violent conflict, I will not be benefited. I brought the land certificate to Kebele environmental protection and land administration office. They proofed that the land is belonged to my wife. He keeps quite in front of the law. However, he secretly intimidated us. My petition is to be free from such fears.*⁶⁵.

⁶³ Interview with I8, Jama Woreda femal farmer,4/2/2016

⁶⁴ Interview with I10, Jama Woreda femal farmer,16/2/2016

⁶⁵ Interview with VI3, 017 kebele female farmer who is victims of the conflict, 15/2/2016

4.4.2 Political Security Implications of IHCOFL

On recent days the temporary marriage between anti-peace forces worsens the already exhausted peace due to conflict⁶⁶. Stakeholders should take responsibility for what is happening in the *Woreda*. People now lost their trust on government. Even some individuals think and act as if there is no government. It creates fertile ground for anti-peace forces to be blossomed.

The courts are corrupted. If I begin the case, my son will be entered in to conflict. He intimidates me. He insulted me. I did not speak to my son. It will make him angry and the blood shad will happen. Either of the consequences is not favorable for me. I have a principle that it is better to step back in his life rather step back in fear of blood revenge. For me it is better to lost small plot of land rather losing the whole in displacement⁶⁷. In between these, God may send a generous leader who stands for the weak and poor. (Underlining is to show emphasize)

Because of the nature of public criticism, it may evict many vulnerable groups. Unless multi-disciplinary approach is not attempted in land denunciation, there will be injustice on land administration. The informants repeatedly complain about the failure of government to minimize conflict.

4.4.3 Environmental Security Implications of IHCOFL

In all measures of environmental security, the *Woreda* is facing pervasive threats. Conflict over land has an implication on environmental security. One of the respondents narrates that how she lost her land by summer flood. Her neighbor ploughed the grazing land and changed in to crop land. Her sons did not plough their own graze. The land was given as grazing for both of them. There is no road to raid cattle to their grazing field. Her young children raid cattle through her neighbors land. Due to this the conflict arise. She changed to farmland to stop the conflict. But, she feared that the summer flood will washed it away. She asserted that she saw many lands that were changed from grazing land to farmland severally eroded. For example her neighboring's parcels are continuously washed by summer flood⁶⁸.

⁶⁶ Ato Shimelis Shewaferahu, Head of Jama *Woreda* security office, speech on Anti- Homocide movement stage, 27-28/12/2005

⁶⁷ FP16, FGD session three a discussion with 017 Farmers, 16/1/2016

⁶⁸ FP2, FGD session three a discussion with 014 Farmers, 4/1/2016

The other respondent indicated that many of [ecologically unstable] places are ploughed. Due to these the soil is severely eroded, spring water, trees are exhausted. Sediments cover remaining communal and grating land. Most of landless farmers were supporting their livelihood by sheep herding in the *Woreda*. Because of continuous scrambling of communal and marginal lands, farmers lost their livelihood. In addition to these individuals takes most of the communal lands in the name of investment. They did nothing while the summer flood washed the soil⁶⁹. The so-called investors have other means of level hood. However, the fate of the land is so bad. Land is continuously degraded, forests are lost and hydrological cycle is disrupted. Scholars unanimously agreed this in his study.

Though forests play critical environmental and economic roles for the sustainability of life on Earth, the quantity and quality of forests is declining from time to time. Deforestation has many negative consequences such as loss of biodiversity, climate change, and degradation of soils, disruption of hydrological cycles, desertification, economic loss and social conflicts. Developing countries, such as Ethiopia are highly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change because of their limited potential to mitigate and adapt (Fekadu, 2015: 1).

4.4.4 Economic Implications of IHCOFL

Deprivation of land in the context that land is the sole means of survival means compromising economic security of female. Let us forget access to basic income the *Woreda* is not safe to enjoy your wealth peacefully. Money is spending for buying weapon after the incidence of homicide happened in both groups that who killed and who lost their relatives in murder. The *Woreda* officials admit the bad situation that happened in the *Woreda*. Because of these, family level investments decreased. If you become part of this phenomenon, you would not think stable and permanent place to live.

In economic insecurity, females and youngsters are the main victims. The males knows the fertile and productive land. Then they takes the fertile and the larger plots of land said one of the respondents from *Woreda* officials. Females are going to suffer from poverty. Unsustainable agricultural intensification, and limited or nonfarm job creation is becoming a challenge for economic policy makers.

⁶⁹ Interview with KI2, South Wollo Zone EPLAUD worker, 2/12/2015

Chapter Five

5 Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusions

The highlands of Ethiopia serve as a home for majority of our country residents and a source of GDP. Despite this, land conflict is not well investigated in this area. Research works mainly focused in the lowlands of Ethiopia geographically and macro level/ ethnic conflict in their approach. Researchers, activist and conflict practitioners need to ask some important question about land conflict of northern Ethiopia. Among others, why many studies of land conflict did not explore northern Ethiopian highland land related conflict. Is it possible to study land conflict in the highlands of Ethiopia in macro approach? What is the problem of studying at macro level? What make land conflict in northern highlands of Ethiopia different from lowland land conflict? These are the springboards question to understand farmland conflict and its implication in the study area.

Farmland related inter-household conflict is affecting the human security of many farmers in the northern highlands of Ethiopia in general and in the study area in particular. Due to the alarming rate of increasing farmland related inter-household conflict many farmers exposed to fierce conflict, homicide, migration, recurrent land related court case, land eviction and insecure livelihood. In addition, the study area population is suffering from environmental degradation, decreasing land productivity, damaged social relation and emerging deviant form of livelihoods like migration, prostitution and criminality.

The common forms of farmland related inter-household conflict in the study area are boundary encroachment, farmland eviction and deprivation, water catchment/drainage related conflict, inheritance related conflict and share crop related conflict. Each types of farmland conflict have different causes, impact, and security implication on various segment of the society in the study area. The primary victims of such conflicts are women, children, elders, disables and poorer farmers due to their vulnerability.

There are two types of factors, which contribute for these kinds of conflict: Underlined factors of farmland conflict and risk factors for IHCOFL. The study found that individuals' unproductive

competition, institutional weakness, the failure of continuously implemented land administration programs and laws, and perception of individuals towards farmland, environmental and demographic factors are the main factors. In addition to these factors that directly causes to farmland related inter-household conflict, there are other factors of conflict which are indirectly related to land conflict. For example, the cultural of violence, blood feud conflict, conflict for female, drunkenness, and daily incidence make the social relation fragile and the already weakened personal relation broken when they disagree over the issue of land. The weakness of *Shimigilina*, the traditional conflict resolution mechanism, is contributing for the increment of inter-household conflict over farmland. *Shimigilina* fails to resolve the social ills as it previously did.

Local government especially the *Woreda* and *Kebele* administration tried to reduce farmland related inter-household conflict. Despite the effort made by the responsible organ the conflict disturbed the social, economic, political and psychological wellbeing of Jama *Woreda* residents. The conflict has also a paramount impact on the health of the environment too. The efforts made by these local government organs are not well designed and integrated. These institutions lack awareness, commitment, sufficient budget and human resource to tackle the problem.

The conflicts have a direct implication for the human security of Jama *Woreda* community. The residents of the *Woreda* fall under the threats of farmland related conflict. Individuals lost their land because of weak institutional protection. This creates great economic, political and social insecurity since land has multiple values for the developing country community. Especially the consequent grievance of the land conflict victims' and micro level conflicts' political implication often underestimated in these kinds of area. However, those who lost confidence in government become a social base for anti-peace forces could degenerate into macro level conflict. The continuously scramble of communal holding is also posing imminent and pervasive danger by damaging the ecosystem. Since the communal land is unstable by their nature, they became degraded while they are tilled for compensating disputable land.

The researcher used qualitative approach for collecting personal views from the study area residents. Therefore, it could not assert the intensity and severity of the issues by numeric data. However, it gives the full picture of land conflict nature, causes, impacts and human security implications from participant's point of view.

This study gives two important and unique insights for land conflict researchers; first, *micro* level analysis is important to investigate problems deeply. It is also appropriate to study conflict where the community is not mobilized through ethnic line. The second insight is studying *multiple factors* is also necessary to understand the problem in the northern highlands of Ethiopia by take Jama *Woreda* as a case. The previous studies were done in relation to tenure security and land registration. But the conflict in the northern highlands of Ethiopia could not explain from this perspective alone. Risk factors for IHCOFL like; culture of violence, blood feud, drunkenness and other social conflicts treated as indirect causes for farmland conflict.

The other important issue that was addressed by researchers is about how land conflict occurred: About theories of land conflict. Literatures revolved around the two extremes: Scarcity and abundance. The dominant literatures in land/resource conflict enter in to the dichotomy of weather environmental degradation and associated scarcity causes to conflict or not. For the advocators of scarcity theorist environmental decline as a result of population growth or human action, there will be environmental decline. Though scarcity is one cause of conflict, the argument is not developed to a full cycle. According to the collected data for this thesis, land conflict causes to environmental degradation due to mismanagement and unwise use of resource. It further indicated the residents' competition to the continually depleting resource: Land. The advocators of resource curse theorists insisted that abundance gives the reason to fight for. Abundance theorist appeal deprivation theory for knocking down scarcity thesis that in the absence of resource people has no reason to fight.

However, both abundance and scarcity theories of resource conflict thesis take the two opposite extremes. Both situation could create conflict and induce associated threat in different context. It is given that conflict is inevitable because of human nature. In whatever situation man has conflictual. Recent conflicts in the world supported this argument. However, what is neglected in literatures is, in both cases conflict causes to environmental decline due to mismanagement and unwise use of land during conflict. My argument is resource conflict is not a liner phenomenon. It is cyclic that one causes to the other. Empirical evidences collected in the study area do not support dichotomizing one of the event as a sole cause and the other event as consequence. Since environment is a source of survival in the rural area, land is a black box of human security. Therefore, in different contexts either abundance or scarcity could cause to conflict if land is not

administered appropriately. In its turn the conflict will causes to environmental degradation again. Then the cycle will go on. The question of which comes first will remain puzzle.

Farmers in the study area could not get justice from EPLAUD. The recently implemented land redistribution, registration, certification and denunciation programs were implemented with a number of problems. This failure makes land conflict unresolved and weakened justice. The corrupted nature of EPLAUD workers and committee members make things complicated. Women, children, elders and disables are more vulnerable than anybody else. This is a human security threat for the residents.

The nature of farmland conflict is very complicated and has multiple causes. In between this it has multifold impacts and human security implications. The EPLAUD office considered land denouncing program as a last solution in the name of public participation in land administration. But, the public is not neutral that they are impartial and conspire against the person they hate. In one hand public participation is important in the other hand it is not based on truth. This is turmoil in land administration to the study area In addition; the perception for land, weak communal land administration and lack of attention by the government makes land conflict an immediate and pervasive human security threat in the study area.

5.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this thesis the present researcher utterly recommends the following major points. The responsible stakeholders need to give immediate and final solution for the problem.

- Researches should further be done to assess the impacts of inter-house hold conflicts in the study area. Since individuals are not mobilized at macro level and the impact is gradually seen, micro level approach needs to be attempted to decrease if not resolve farmland conflict in these area.
- The cyclic conflict situation and associated risks need an immediate intervention by government, NGOs and humanitarian by designing the appropriate intervention strategy.
- Some articles of the land administration laws need further improvements and considerations by the regional lawmakers.

- Land administration laws should liberate from customary procedures that could contribute to land deprivation and extended procedure of land accusation file. Customary laws and state laws are always in competition of jurisdiction. In between, the vulnerable groups such as women and children are direct victims. Most of the time customary laws do favors men than women, elders than youngsters, and it has many non-egalitarian contents unlike statutory laws. For this, the state should strengthen its presence.
- Divisive institutions that are grabber friendly and rent seekers needs to be replaced by strong institution which have full structure, budget and sufficient man power.
- The capacity of the workers needs to be strengthened by training and education. Since land administration needs multi-disciplinary experts, the institution needs to be strengthened by multi-disciplinary experts.
- Above all, digital land registration needs to be implemented urgently. If the government fails to do this, things will be more complicated than what is happening now a days. The technology will help to register land in its exact size and direction that will reduce boundary encroachment and land eviction. During digital registration the lands of vulnerable group needs to get priority.
- Digital evidence handling is also help full to administer such a cumbersome data generated during land registration, certification and denunciation. Digital data administration is quite easy to update and upgrade the changes in land use and land holdings.
- To reduce expansion of farmland to unstable ecosystem/marginal lands adaption of technology is need. Technology provides the opportunity to increase productivity on the existing land wit out increasing the size of farmland. In addition, environmental conservation should work aggressively to save the land that faces the danger of erosion.
- The NGOs and the GOs need to cautiously work on the culture of the community to create a culture of peace. Provocative songs, traditional poems and sayings obliged individuals to solve conflict with physical force. Therefore, it is important to launch a project which works on it.
- Small arm control in an effective manner and legalization of arms for individuals should be made based on personal recorded. Legalization of small arms is not based on personal record. Small firearms should not be legalized for badly behaving individuals.

- The local government needs to adjust access to justice for farmers. The disputant farmers suffered from distance of *Woreda* court. Especially, the vulnerable groups lost their land because of failing to reach to courts. Non-professional local social court members that increase informality of land administration imperfect Land accusation cases.

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Appendix

Appendix-1 Interview Guiding Questions for Informant Interviewee

No.	Main questions	Probing Questions	Elaboration Question
1	What are/is the cause/s of conflict in your village?	What about; Farmlands, Grazing lands; Adultery; Revenge; Attempt to robbery; Alcoholic drink; Existence of Small arms; daily incidences; Without reason	Can you add more on this issue? Can you elaborate it?
2	What are the causes of inter-household conflict over farmland?	What about; Scarcity of farmland; competition for fertile farmland; Boundary disagreement; Division of farmland during inheritance; Disagreement during farmland rental; Disagreement during share crop; Contradiction of laws in land administration; Corruption on farmland administration; Impartiality of officials in farmland administration; False witness during farmland dispute.....	Can you add more on this issue? Can you elaborate it?
3	What is/are the value/s of farmland for you? How do you express farmland?	What about; Means of survival; source of temporary income; Source of wealth; It is inherited from family; It is a commodity which is bought by money; Source of position in the society; Means to get married; Source of political power.....	Can you add more on this issue? Can you elaborate it?
4	What is/are your common type of response/s for IHCOFL when compared to other conflicts?	Avoiding (Postponing); Discussion; Negotiation; Litigation; Using Physical Power 	Can you add more on this issue? Can you elaborate it?

5	What is/are your reason/s for responding farmland conflict in the way you commonly respond?	To reduce tensions for now until and to buy some time; When I need temporary solution; When the disputable land is small in size; When I have strong commitment to maintain peace; When I have equal power status with my counterpart; when the issues are too important to compromise; when I want to improve relationships; When legal actions needs to be taken for protecting self-interests;	Can you add more on this issue? Can you elaborate it?
6	What is/are the impact/s inter-household conflicts over farmland on your lives?	Violent fight between kinships; Displacements; Loss of life; Reduce productivity; Wasting time and human labor on land dispute, Tilling the ecologically unstable lands; Extinction of species of forest tree, herbs, roots, fruits and flowers which are used for animal and human medicine are under negative pressure; negatively affected source of waters; Giving up social relationship with some of my friends; People lost trust in government because of delayed justice.....	Can you add more on this issue? Can you elaborate it?
7	What is/are the danger/s of inter-household conflicts over farmland to the lives of the community?	There will be migration of villagers; There will be more conflict in my villagers; Homicides will increased There will be tilling of marginal lands to compensate disputable land; Lose of plant and animal species Deforestation; Alteration of hydrological cycle; Loss of fertile soil; Reduction of production; Poverty will increased; There will be food scarcity; Political instability	Can you add more on this issue? Can you elaborate it?

Apendex-2 Interview Guiding Questions for Key Informant Interviewee

1. What are/is the cause/s of conflict among farmers?
2. What is/are the cause/s of inter-household conflict over farmland among farmers?
3. What is/are the value/s of farmland for farmers? How do you express farmland for you?

4. What is/ are the common type of response/s for conflict over farmland conflict when compared to other conflicts?
5. Can you explain the reason/s for responding farmland conflict in that way?
6. What is/are the impact/s of inter-household conflicts over farmland on in Jama *Woreda*?
7. What is/are the dangers of inter-household conflicts over farmland on the lives of the community?

Appendix- 3 Guiding Questions for FGDs Discussion

- 1 What is/are the cause/s of conflict in your village?
- 2 What is/are the cause/s of inter-household conflict over farmland?
- 3 Did you handle farmland related conflict in different way compared to conflicts over other issues? What are your major reasons?
- 4 What is/are your common type of response/s for conflict over farmland when compared to conflicts over other issues?
- 5 What are you are the reasons for responding farmland conflict in the way you commonly respond?
- 6 What are the impacts inter-household conflicts over farmland on your lives?
- 7 What are the dangers of inter-household conflicts over farmland to the lives of the community?

Appendix-4 Jama *Woreda* Anti-Homicide Movement Conference Participant's List

Place—Degolo,Jama

Participants of the Conference

Date—January 27 and 28 2008 E.C

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1- <i>Kebele</i> Administrators | 7- The <i>Woreda</i> 's Relious Forum Fepresentative |
| 2- <i>Kebele</i> Administration and Security Sector Cabinet | 8- The <i>Woreda</i> 's Security Sector officials |
| 3- <i>Kebele</i> Police Officers | 9- The <i>Woreda</i> 's public proscuters and judges |
| 4- <i>Kebele</i> Militia Comandors | 10- South Wollo Zone Religious Fathers |
| 5- <i>Kebele</i> Community Elders | 11- South Wollo zone Security Sector Representative |
| 6- <i>Kebele</i> Religious Fathers | |

Appendix- 5 Interviewee participants

No.	Code Of the participa nts	Sex	Age	Kebele /town	Occupation/ Position	Date of Interview	Place of Interview	Remark
1	KI1	M	48	Dessie	South Wollo Zone Environmental Protection, Land Administration and Use office expert (EPLAUD)	25/3/016	Dessie	key
2	KI2	M	42	Dessie	South Wollo Zone Security Office Expert	2/12/2015	Dessie	key
3	KI3	M	34	Jama	Jama Woreda Administrator	11/2/016	Degolo	key
4	KI4	M	35	Jama	Jama Woreda Environmental Protection, Land Administration and Use Office expert	11/2/016	Degolo	key
5	KI5	M	30	Jama	Jama Woreda Environmental Protection, Land Administration and Use office expert	10/2/016	Degole	key
6	KI6	M	26	Jama	Jama Woreda Court Judge	5/2/016	Degole	key
7	KI7	F	38	Jama	Jama Woreda Court President	5/2/016	Degole	key
8	KI8	F	36	Jama	Jama Woreda children and Women Affair Officer	11/2/016	Degole	key
9	KI9	M	38	Jama	Jama Woreda Police Bureau officer	3/2/016	Degole	key
10	KI10	M	28	015	Bitu Bilew sub-Woreda Judg	2/2/016	Shilafaf	
11	VI1	F	41	014	Farmer	4/2/016	Zerkami	victim
11	VI2	M	57	017	Farmer	15/2/016	Degolo	victim
12	VI3	F		017	Farmer	15/05/016	Degolo	victim
13	VI4	M		015	Farmer	15/05/016	Degolo	victim
14	I1	M	24	014	014 Kebele Police officer	4/2/016	Zerkami	key

15	I2	M	25	015	015 Kebele Polie officer	2/2/016	Shilafaf	key
16	I3	M	27	017	017 Kebele Polie officer	16/2/016	Gerbo	key
17	I4	M	26	014	014 Kebele EPLAUD officer	4/2/016	Zerkami	key
18	I5	M	27	015	015 EPLAU office expert	2/2/016	Shilafaf	key
19	I6			017	017 EPLAU office expert	16/2/016	Gerbo	key
20	I7	M	42	014	Farmer	4/2/016	Zerkami	haves
21	I8	F	48	014	Farmer	4/2/016	Zerkami	haves
23	I9	F	45	017	Farmer	16/2/016	Gerbo	haves
24	I10	M	27	017	Farmer	16/2/016	Gerbo	haves
26	I11	M	53	015	Farmer	2/2/016	Shilafaf	haves
27	I12	F	51	015	Farmer	2/2/016	Shilafaf	haves
27	I13	F	32	014	Farmer	4/2/016	Zerkami	landless
28	I14	M	28	014	Farmer	4/2/016	Zerkami	landless
29	I15	F	26	015	Farmer	2/2/016	Shilafaf	landless
30	I16	M	29	015	Farmer	2/2/016	Shilafaf	landless
31	I17	M	26	017	Farmer	16/2/016	Gerbo	landless
32	I18	F	28	017	Farmer	16/2/016	Gerbo	landless

Appendix-6 FGD Participants list

No.	Name	sex	Age	Kebele	status of farmland		Date of FGD	Place of FGD	remark
					I have	No land			
Session One in Kebele 014	FP1	M	47	014			4/2/016	Zerkami	
	FP2	F	38	014		-			
	FP3	F	34	014					

	FP4	M	52	014					
	FP5	M	59	014		-			
Session Two in <i>Kebele</i> 015	FP6	M	73	015			2/2/016	Shilafaf	
	FP7	F	56	015					
	FP8	F	60	015					
	FP9	F	31	015		-			
	FP10	M	33	015		-			
	FP12	M	47	015					
Session Three in <i>Kebele</i> 017	FP13	M	45	017			16/02/016	Gerbo	
	FP14	M	43	017					
	FP15	M	34	017		-			
	FP16	F	45	017					
	FP17	F	46	017					
	FP18	F	50	017					
Session Four Jama <i>Woreda</i> Community Elders	FP19	M	67	09			28/1/016	Degolo	
	FP20	M	70	016					
	FP21	m	69	017					
	FP22	M	58	011					
	FP23	M	63	013	Yes				

Declaration

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

Declared by

Confirmed by/advisor

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Signature

Signature

Date

Date

Date of Submission
