



Addis Ababa University
School of graduate Studies
Department of Public Administration and Development Management

***Politics of Development and Resettlement in Ethiopia: Is it
Villagization or Land grabbing?***

The case of Gambella Regional State

By:

Moti Mosisa Gutema

A Thesis Submitted for Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Award of
Master Degree in Public Management and Policy Specialized in Public Policy
Studies

Advisor:

Filmon Hadaro (PhD)

May, 2014

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

*A Master Thesis for Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirement for the Award of Master's Degree In
Public Management And Policy, Specialized In
Public Policy Studies*

School of graduate Studies

Department Of Public Administration and Development
Management

May, 2014

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Dedication

This work is dedicated to the Oromo University, College, and High School students who have been jailed, killed, and brutally treated by the government for they claimed to have their constitutional, human and political rights, especially for they protested against the implementation of the so called *Integrated Development Master Plan* of 2014.

Declaration

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled as “***Politics of Development and Resettlement : Is Villagization or Land Grabbing ? : The case of Gambella Regional State*** ” has been carried out by me under the guidance of Dr. FilmonHadaro as a part of Master Degree in Public Management and Policy specialized in Public Policy studies .

I further declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been submitted to any other University or Institution for the award of any degree or diploma and all sources of material used for this thesis have been dully acknowledged.

Submitted by:

Moti Mosisa Gutema_____

Student Name

Signature

Date

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University advisor.

FilmonHadaro (PhD)_____

Supervisor

Signature

Date



Addis Ababa University

School of Graduate Studies

Department of Public Administration and Development Management

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Moti Mosisa Gutema, entitled: **"Politics of Development and Resettlement: is it villagization or land grabbing? The case of Gambella regional state "**is submitted in Partial Fulfillment for the Degree of Arts in Public Management and Policy, specialization in Public Policy studies complies with the regulations of the University and meets the expected standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signature by the Examining Committee:

Internal Examiner _____ Signature_____ Date _____

External Examiner _____ Signature_____ Date _____

FilmonHadaro (PhD) _____

Supervisor

Signature

Date

Chair of Department Graduate Program Coordinator

Acknowledgement

First of all, let me take at least this opportunity to say “Thousands and thousands of thanks to Almighty God” for his provision of strength, persistence in accomplishing this project.

Secondly, my marvelous thanks goes to my thesis advisor Dr. Filimon Hadaro who bigheartedly devoted his time and professional knowledge in accomplishing this project. Moreover, his brother hood and fatherhood response whenever I needed his help is Unforgettable, so, GALATOMA!!!! Is my response.

I continue to owe a debt of gratitude to my family, specially my loving and caring mother **Aadde** Dadhitu Hordofa and **Obbo** Mosisa Gutema who were there for me whenever I needed their support. And, I owe a great deal of gratitude for my brother Endalkachew Mosisa , my sister Mestawet Mosisa , and my uncle Derrese Debelo for their continuous support and follow up of my progress in the course of my project. Endalkee you deserve special credit!!!!!!

And, my heartfelt gratitude goes to Mr. Ding Chan , Mr. Tap koar Yoam, and Petter , living in Gambella , who have associated me with the environment and the people of Gambella during my field work. And also, I am so gratefully to all participants of the study and organizations for their cooperation and support in the research. **Special thanks goes to the people of Anuak and Nuer** , whom I found them as a lavish, welcoming and so generous people after my field work , even if I was filled by bad news about them before. Even, my message for scholars’ is ; let you go there you will find ample issues to be studied with so welcoming people.

Last, by no means least, I do not have words to thank my all friends , Specially Asebe Raggassa (PhD candidate at Germany) , being far from me really your contribution was more than my expectations! , Amenu Dhaba , Monenus Hundera , Milkiyaa Bulcha, Badhasa Gabbisa , Daniel Amente , Tefera Assefa, Fanta Garoma , Muluken Babsa , Abiot Lelisa , Amsalu Tefera and others whose names are not listed here for their moral supports , constructive suggestions, comments and professional criticism on my work.

Table of Content

Contents	Page
Acknowledgement	i
Table of Content	ii
List of Figure.....	v
List of Table.....	vi
List of boxes.....	vi
Acronyms	vii
Abstract	viii
Chapter One	1
1. Introduction	1
1.1. Background of the study	1
1.2. Statement of the Problem.....	3
1.3. Objective of the study	6
1.3.1. General Objectives of the study	6
1.3.2. Specific Objectives	6
1.4. Research Design and Methodology	7
1.4.1. Approach of the Study	7
1.4.2. Sources and Types of Data	8
1.4.3. Data Gathering Tools and Instruments	8
1.4.4. Sample Selection Procedure	10
1.4.5. Method of Analysis.....	11
1.5. Scope of the Study	14
1.6. Significance of the study.....	15
1.7. Ethical Consideration.....	15
1.8. Method Data Storage, Retrieval, and Analysis.....	15
1.9. Organization of the Paper	16
Chapter Two.....	17
2. Review of Related Literature.....	17
2.1. Conceptualizing Development.....	17

2.1.1.	Linkages between Human Rights and Development	21
2.1.2.	Measurement of Development	21
2.2.	Conceptualizing Resettlement	22
2.2.1.	Resettlement and development	23
2.2.2.	Development, resettlement and impacts on vulnerable groups	24
2.2.3.	Process and stages of Resettlement.....	26
2.3.	Conceptualizing Villagization	26
2.3.1.	Development and Villagization	27
2.4.	Conceptualizing Land Grabbing	29
2.4.1.	What amount (hectare) of land acquisition is land grab?	29
2.4.2.	What makes a land acquisition a land grabs?	30
2.4.3.	Shift of ownership and Production in land grabbing	30
2.4.4.	Myths of Land Grabbing.....	31
2.4.5.	Who grabs land in Africa?	32
2.4.6.	The impact of land grabs.....	33
2.4.7.	Alternative model for land Grabbing.....	34
2.4.8.	Guidelines to protect Land grabbing.....	35
Chapter Three:	Description of the Study Area	37
3.1.	Description of Gambella Peoples’ Regional State Region	37
3.2.	Resettlement, Villagization and land grabbing in Gambella	38
3.3.	Study area.....	40
Chapter Four:	Data Result and Analysis.....	41
4.1.	Dynamics of Villagization and resettlement in Gambella	41
4.2.	The Objectives /Purpose/ of the Program	41
4.3.	Villagization and resettlement program formulation and implementation process in Gambella	43
4.4.	The level of Peoples’ participation in the Villagization and resettlement program	44
4.5.	Voluntary and Involuntary nature of the Program Implementation.....	46
4.6.	The impact of Villagization and resettlement on the Villagers	49
4.6.1.	The Eight interlinked potential risks of resettlement in Gambella region	49
4.6.2.	The availability of Promised Socio-Economic service in the "Villages"	60

4.7.	Dynamics of investment and land grabbing in Gambella region.....	65
4.8.	Is there land grabbing in Gambella region?.....	66
4.9.	Who grabs land in Gambella Region?	79
4.10.	Myths of Land grabbing in Gambella region	80
4.11.	Change in Land use in Land Grabbing.....	82
4.12.	Change in ownership in Land Grabbing	84
4.13.	The Benefits and the impact of land grabbing	86
4.13.1.	Benefits of "land grabbing" in Gambella.....	86
4.13.2.	Technological transfer benefits.....	87
4.13.3.	Infrastructural Facilities	87
4.13.4.	Macro-economic benefits.....	89
4.14.	The Impacts of Land Grabbing	90
4.14.1.	Environmental Impact.....	90
4.14.2.	Social impact.....	93
4.15.	The alternatives model tried by the government in place of land grabbing.....	94
4.16.	Politic of Development, Villagization, resettlement and land grabbing	95
4.17.	Is there Development in Gambella Region?	95
4.18.	Development and Villagization program in Gambella	98
4.19.	Development and Land Grabbing in Gambella Region	101
4.20.	Sustainability of the Development in Gambella Region.....	103
4.21.	Villagization, Resettlement and development.....	106
4.22.	Land Grabbing, villagization and Resettlement.....	107
	Chapter Five.....	110
5.	Conclusions and Recommendations.....	110
5.1.	Conclusions	110
5.2.	Policy Implication Recommendations.....	112
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	114
	Appendices.....	122

List of Figure

Figure 1.1: Qualitative Data Analysis Model.....	12
Figure 3.1: The map of Gambella	40
Figure 4.1: The shift of means of income	51
Figure: 4 .2:The level of joblessness	52
Figure 4.3: The level of productivity.....	56
Figure 4.4: The nature of Housing.....	58
Figure 4 .5The nature of schooling	62
Figure 4.6: The nature of schooling	62
Figure 4.7: The Nature of health center	64
Figure 4.8.: The level of deforestation	77
Figure 4.9: Land Grabbing Model	79
Figure 4.10: The level of deforestation 2.....	92
Figure 4.11. Multiple Nature of Development	96
Figure 4.12: Villagization and Development relationship.....	98
Figure 4.13 Analysis of Developmen.....	100
Figure 4.14. Development, land grabbing and Villagization relationship.....	105
Figure 4.15. Villagization and resettlement Relationship.....	107
Figure 4.16. Villagization and Land Grabbing Relationship	109

List of Table

Table:1 Shift of ownership and Production in land grabbing.....	30
Table .2 Flow of land-based wealth and power	31
Table:3 Change in land use in land grabbing.....	82
Table:4 Change in land usage system.....	83
Table: 5 Change in the ownership of land in land grabbing.....	84
Table:6 Scope of Sustainable Development	104

List of boxes

Box: 1 the Responsible Agro-Investing Principle.....	36
--	----

Acronyms

AISD	Agricultural Investment Supportive Directorate
CRC	Convention on the Rights of Children
CEDAW	Convention on Elimination of Discrimination against Women
FPIC	Flouting The Principle Of Free, Prior And Informed Consent
CSA	Central Statics Agency
EAILAA	Ethiopia Agricultural Investment and Land Administration Agency
EEPCO	Ethiopia Electric Power corporation
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of
FDG	Focus Group Discussion
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIA	Gambella Investment Agency
GPRSVPR	Gambella People regional state Villagization Program Report
GTP	Grass and Transformational PLAN
GPRS	Gambella People Regional State
GNP	Gross National Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HRW	Human Right Watch
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
IDP	International Displacement Program
IDMC	International Displacement Monitoring Center
IFC	International Financial Cooperation
ILO	International Labour Organization
LDC	Least Developed Countries
MoARD	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development
MOFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
MWUD	Ministry of Work and Urban Development
NAPE	National Association of Professional Environmentalists
NGO	Non-Government Organization
OI	Oakland Institute
SNNPR	Southern Nation Nationality and Peoples Representative
TNI	Transitional Institute
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nation
UNDP	United Nation Development Program
VPAP	Villagization Program Action Plan
WCED	World Conference on Environment and Development

Abstract

The years 2010 and 2011 were ever unique for Gambella, because it was the first historical and memorable time when Gambella has received tremendous reactions from national and international medias, activists and scholars, from government and non-government actors. This was, due to the parallel episode of two globally and nationally sensitive issues of giving out virgin and fertile land for local and foreign investors and planning of resettling geographically scattered 45,000 people together through villagization program.

Therefore, this study was conducted with the general objective of addressing the conflicting perspectives over the programs pertaining to villagization and land grabbing. To this end, interview, personal observation, focus group discussion have been used intensively with all concerned government officials, investors and local people. And the study revealed that the government provoked only the independence and non-correlational nature of villagization and land leasing programs, while the fact is that there is implicitly planned long term means-ends correlation in between the programs in the future. But, for now both are going on in the region concomitantly.

Moreover, the Michael Carnea's resettlement based model and, Borras and Franco's land ownership and land usage change model were used by the study. Accordingly, the programs resulted in multi-faceted problems and the shift of usage of land from forest and governmentally called idle and marginal land to food and non-food productions and, shift of ownership of land from the ownership of indigenous people to the ownership of land by the "elites" of politics and economy is visible in the region. Therefore, it is the call of this paper for policy formulators' to redesign and re consider the programs in a way it can make indigenous people the beneficiary of the land leasing and other land related projects going on in the region.

Keywords: villagization, resettlement, land grabbing, development

Chapter One

1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the study

Development is a concept which is contested both theoretically and politically, and is inherently both complex and ambiguous (Thomas, 2004). Even though, [a] common theme within most definitions is that 'development' encompasses the notion 'good change' in a variety of aspects of the human condition and "development" is all about good change, questions arise about what is good, what sort of change matters and whether 'bad change' is also viewed as a form of development (Kanbur, 2006: 5, Chamber, 2004 :). Consequently, many things going on in the world in general and the condition of being of millions of people in the so-called developing countries in particular make us to wonder 'is this development?' (Chambers, 2004:, Shanmugaratnam, 2001).

This is due the fact that development has mixed consequences. On the one hand, there is accumulation of wealth and enhancement of freedoms and well-being, while on the other hand there is impoverishment, marginalization, reinforcement of oppressive power structures, violations of human rights, the spread of destructive internal wars – which claim thousands of civilian lives, force millions out of their homes and produce an abominable gun culture which brutalizes society – and environmental degradation which in many instances has contributed to dispossession and estimated forced migration of 250 million people worldwide in the name of it over the past 25 years (N. Shanmugaratnam, 2001; Kate and Jennifer, 2007).

In addition to the controversial debate over what constitute development, there are emerging and ongoing perspectives on how, when and by what apparatus to achieve development in a society. This is due to the fact that, the day of following the principle of justifying means after end achieved has gone and the notion of means justify an end is becoming the question of all. These all difficulties arise due to various factors such as: the complexity of the development concept per se, its multidimensional nature; the diversity of countries and country experiences; the different overlapping thoughts and related actions carried out at national, regional and international level; and the controversy of the [sustainability of development]; and also the

analytical difficulties in identifying cause-effect relationships between development policies and results achieved (Lorenzo, 2011).

Consequently, in Africa in general and in Ethiopia specifically, in the long move to achieve development, governmentally designed and implemented projects, policies and programs are becoming the stadium of discourse for different development actors, and concerned bodies like government, international institutions, politicians, scholars, interest groups, local communities, and civil society organizations. In Ethiopia government initiated projects like flower farming (especially in Oromia region), hydroelectric power generation like FAN, Tekeze, Sugar factory expansion like Omo site, urban planning in Addis Ababa city (urban housing expansion related problems), have resulted in the resettlement of indigenous (native land holder) communities and thus have become arenas of debate among different social groups and actors.

Accordingly, villagization policy of Ethiopian government is one of the national policies formulated for collectivization of scattered population in pastoral areas in the country, including Gambella Region (HRW, 2012). The villagization policy of the government is resulted in resettlement of the indigenous people (ibid, 2012; 98), in which resettlement is ‘the process of relocating groups of population or to provide a group of population with a new place to live and transfer it there due to natural hazards or development based investment and projects’ (EEPCO, 2010).

Under this program, the resettlement of the people has been started in 2010, and under the Gambella Peoples’ National Regional State Government Plan, 45,000 households were planned to be moved during the three-year program. The government says the “villagization” program was designed to provide “access to basic socioeconomic infrastructures” to the people it relocates and to bring “socioeconomic and cultural transformation of the people (VPAP, 2010).

In contrary to the argument provided by the government, civil society organizations, international research institutes, smallholder farmers association, political activist and many scientists disagreed with programs of the government and claimed that the program is not for “villagization program”; and they argued that the process and the program is "Land Grabbing" (OI, 2011) in which land grabbing is to mean “the capturing of power to control land and other

associated resources like water, minerals or forests, in order to control the benefits of its use” (TNI, 2012).

Therefore, this research is aimed at analyzing the implementation of villagization program in Gambella region on the bases of resettlement and land grabbing perspectives underlying these specific development interventions. The justifications for the analysis were made based on existing empirical and policy level evidences as well as fieldwork data from the beneficiary and the stakeholders in the process.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Ethiopia has put in place development policies and strategies in various sectors. The current five year Growth and Transformational Plan (2010-2015) of Ethiopia identified targets to be achieved in the five years in line with the national goal of becoming a middle income country in between 2020-2030. In GTP "villagization" is identified as target program, especially in pastoralist areas in the lowlands and in food insecure settlement areas of the country in the high lands. This program is planned to be undertaken in four regions of the country; namely Afar, Somali, Gambella and Benishangul Gumuz. About 1.5 million people were planned to move into the resettlement locations. In terms of regional share about 500,000 in Somali, 500,000 in Afar, 225,000 in Benishangul-Gumuz and 225,000 in Gambella will move into resettlement locations in the respective regions. The movements in Afar and Somali are all one-year programs, while Gambella and Benishangul-Gumuz are three-year programs and under implementation since 2010 (Davison, 2011).

Accordingly, the program is launched in all districts of the region, and its implementation cuts across issues like "resettlement ". According to (Till and Irit, 2011,)in practice the resettlement of the people is politically, socially, economically and culturally sensitive issue. This is due to the fact that it considers issues of ethnic distribution, inter-ethnic relation, identity dynamics, indigenous resource ownership and freedom of choice as to how to mobilize and utilize resources. And, also, it may become complex in terms of management of the process of implementation and financing due to the limited capacity of the state to conduct a well-organized resettlement.

In the process of implementing the program, the present Ethiopian government marked the third phase of resettlement in Ethiopian history. The government supposition and justification of resettlement is for the implementation of “villagization program” and, according to various government progress reports, the undertaking is smooth and successful. However, diverse interest groups, professional and political activists argue to the contrary of the government in terms of its motive, its success and smoothness of the implementation of the program.

Accordingly, international research institutions , Human Right Watch, Civil society organizations and political activist argue that the program is named as a "villagization Program ", while it is , a program that grabs the land of indigenous people and lease to investors which they called it by their analysis as "Land grabbing "(OI, 2011, HRW, 2012). These groups have criticized the program as well as the process of implementation. Specifically, the interest groups have identified that the program implementation has involuntarily moved the people and there were human right abuses in the process. To the minimum those who question the motive of the program or refuse to move were coerced by various systemic measures. They also agree that the justification of the government is factious and this claim is re-justified by local people that the program is for land grabbing. On the other hand, the absence of the promised infrastructural service in the villages inhabitants moved justify that the government lacks implementation capacity or lack commitment to adhere to the promises (HRW, 2012).

Against this argument, Ethiopian Government wrote a letter for Human Right Watch stating that the findings of various interest groups are extremely different from that of the government. The government argued, especially, against the findings and conclusions of HRW by insisting that the program is solely to improve the livelihoods of the pastoralist communities within the framework of national growth and developmental plan. It is aimed at providing efficient and effective economic and social services, improved access to infrastructure and to ensure the full and organized engagement of citizens in the pastoralist locations in the development, good governance and democratic exercises that are implemented in the country. In terms of coercion, the government argue that no military force was deployed in these areas nor is there a need to and concluded by stating that the government of Ethiopia will not displace a single person involuntarily whether in Gambella or elsewhere in the country (ibid, 2012: 105).

In support of the findings of HRW (2012) a political and professional activist of Gambella, based in UK, Mr. Nyikaw Ochalla (on international conference held in India), argued that by saying :

“As I stand in front of you, hundreds of thousands of small-scale farmers and pastoralists are being denied access to arable farmland, grazing and water points, and hunting grounds--and at best, they are being turned into day laborers doing back breaking work while living in extreme poverty. The government is moving ahead with its plans for so-called “progress,” which relies on tactics of widespread human rights abuses including harassment, rapes, arbitrary detention and imprisonment without trial, displacement, increased food insecurity, destitution, and destruction of the environment (Ochalla, 5 February, 2013).

In addition to this, according to Tinyade (2012), “Though the land in the respective sub Saharan countries is formally owned by the state, governments are aiding and abetting the grabbing of the land that is in practice used by members of rural communities. Even, alternatively, they[government officials] are active land grabbers of such land themselves and government elites may have stakes in the "investment project”. Supporting this argument also in Ethiopia, it is widely perceived that the political elites and those favorite to them, benefit in to the provision of investment land and licensing. Such beneficiaries are given land freely and receive preferential access to credit from the public Banks of Ethiopia. According to an identified government official from Gambella regional state, about 75 % of the domestic investors in Gambella are assumed to be associated with the political elites of the country and also the foreign investors are affiliates to these groups (OI, 2011).

The discourses over the formulation and the implementation of the program have resulted in opposing conclusion by different actors of development. The prominent discourses opposite to government justify that "The implementation of the program as targeted displacement of indigenous communities by involuntarily grabbing their lands and depriving them from their rights of choice. Because of this, the rights of the community is abused, their livelihood resource base deteriorated and thus become food insecure, whereas, the government argues on the opposite of these discourses.

In this respect, there is no an adequate empirical study towards filling the gaps in evidence that can settle the discursive perspectives on the matter. This study is therefore aimed at substantiating evidence towards bridging the conflicting claims by different actors on the

implementation of this specific program. In line with the purpose above, the study has identified the following inquiries to find answers using scientific measurement and analysis of evidence.

The specific questions are:

1. Why displacement of indigenous communities is ongoing in Gambella region?
2. Are the households coerced during displacement from their original settlement area to the new settlement locations? Was the program implemented with the participation of the people and was it in voluntarily basis?
3. Are households compensated for the land and the property at their original place? What is the impact of the program up on the life of the resettled people?
4. Are the facilities provided by the government in the new locations as promised by the government?
5. What development indicators have been emerged due to villagization? What is its implication for sustainable development?
6. Is there land grabbing in Gambella region? Who is grabbing land? What are the impacts of land grabbing going on in Gambella region?

1.3. Objective of the study

1.3.1. General Objectives of the study

The study was aimed at analyzing the discourses in the implementation of villagization program and leasing of lands for commercial farming in Gambella region of Ethiopia by establishing substantive evidence.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study are;

1. To analyze the goal and modalities of government in the displacement of the indigenous communities to new resettlement locations in Gambella Region
2. To assess whether households were coerced by fore or voluntarily resettled to the new village and to assess the nature of participation of local people in the process of program implementation.

3. To investigate whether households are compensated for the land and property they lost and to assess the impact of villagization program up on the life of the resettled people
4. To assess the adequacy of the facilities in the new locations as promised by the government in Gambella Region
5. To assess the indicators of development seen due to the implementation of villagization program and its impact on sustainability of development
6. To assess the existence of land grabbing, groups grabbing land and the impact of this land grabbing in Gambella region.

1.4. Research Design and Methodology

1.4.1. Approach of the Study

According to Creswell (2009), there are three approaches in conducting scientific research, i.e., qualitative, quantitative and mixed approach. And, Poul (1999) cited in Bruce (2001) stated that quantitative research is based on the measurement of quantity in which number is the main instrument to analysis the issues, and applicable to phenomena that can be expressed in terms of quantity. While qualitative research, on the other hand, is concerned with qualitative phenomenon where issues can be observed (phenomena) , discussed and described by words not in number. Thus, as phenomena of the study is qualitative by nature which can be more of described by narration, discussion, and oral speech, the researcher used only qualitative research approach.

And also due to the complexity and difficulty of the themes, flexibility of the situations and for coping up with the situations appropriately, Pragmatist Approach was used -where the researcher got the opportunity to flexibly change the systems of data collection. For instance, in some kebeles ' using systematic sampling when the researcher enters in to the house of one villager for interview he found many people sitting together , then he flexibly changed his instrument in to Focus Group Discussion. Secondly, the researcher tried to use Tape Recording for an interview with government officials. After three persons contact, the researcher identified some kind of fear and hesitation from the face and speech of the officials. Then, the researcher rejected the tape recording and started to follow up by interviewing with note taking.

1.4.2. Sources and Types of Data

For achieving the objectives and to answer the research questions, both primary and secondary data sources were used.

Primary source of data: Since the issues under study are very sensitive, complex and illusive, the study utilized multiple sources. In this respect, primary data was collected from local community leaders, resettled people, Zonal, woreda, regional and federal level administrators and other officers, to assess the level of participation, and Federal Affairs Ministry officials, Ministry of Agriculture, Foreign and local investors were also the participant of the study.

Secondary Data Sources: Documents such as books from library, international legislations and guidelines, FDRE constitution, journal articles, magazines, organizational and institutional research results, like Human Right Watch Reports, Oakland Institutes Reports, UN Reports, AU Guidelines and Reports, Government Progress Reports and Plans have been used as secondary data sources. These sources were used to analyze historical and periodic information on the plan and implementation of villagization program, land leasing process Gambella region in particular.

1.4.3. Data Gathering Tools and Instruments

According to Kumar (1990), within the qualitative research, the aim of the researcher is to gain a deep, intense, and holistic overview of the context under study, often involving interacting within the daily lives of individuals, groups, communities and organizations. Therefore, to achieve the objective and to get deep and holistic overview of the issue under study, the following tools and instruments were employed in this study. These are:

Observation: Observation is a purposeful, systematic and selective way of watching and listening to an interaction or phenomenon as it takes place (Kumar, 1990). Therefore, the researcher used observation to observe the resettlement area, the commercial farming area, critically for the sake of gathering information like the provision of water, health, education and different infrastructural facilities and education for those resettled people. On the top of this, the leased land to investors was observed to reflect on the discursive conclusions that depict that the land had been unused and excess not taken away from farmers. And, during observation the researcher gathered data which enable him to make comparative assessment between secondary

source about the issue and the real and facts going there. In addition, photo data has been taken to be used as an evidence for analysis and generate graphic information.

In-depth interview: According to Taylor and Bogdan (1984:77) in Kumar 2005, in-depth interview is, repeated face to face encounters between the researcher and informants directed towards understanding informants' perspectives on their lives, experiences, or situations as expressed in their own words. Therefore, in order to elicit information about their life experience, situation and cost they incurred due to resettlement program, the researcher extensively used in-depth interview with villagers, community leaders, investors and government officials. Since Unstructured interview approach to data collection is useful in situations where either in-depth information is needed or little is known about the area (Kumar: 1990), this method was used to collect data about the process, practices of resettlement program.

Focus Group Discussion: Focus group discussion is defined as an interview style designed for small groups. Using this approach, researchers strive to learn through discussion about consciousness, semi-consciousness, and unconscious psychological and socio-cultural characteristics and process among various groups (Basch, 1987; Lengua et al, 1992 cited in Bruce, 2001) and Focus group interview are either guided discussions addressing a particular topic of interest or relevance to the group and the researcher (Edmunds, 1999 cited in Bruce). Atypical focus group session consists of a small number of participants under the guidance of a facilitator, usually called the moderator (Bruce, 2001). Therefore, while field work the researcher has conducted Seven Focus Group Discussion with villagers in seven village centers. Out of which two of them were not purposely organized by the researcher rather the groups were found sitting together without work, sitting together for lunch, having local cigarette called "*Akoyo*" and local alcohol called *Atturbub*. Hence, except for some sensitive issues, which are politically sensitive in nature and needs to be elicited by personal interview, Focus Group Discussion has been used to collect data about facilities in the village, the impact of villagization and land grabbing going on in the region.

1.4.4. Sample Selection Procedure

The researcher employed purposive sampling method to get information from relevant government institutions' officers, random sampling for villagers, and multi-stage sampling to select the specific target from village level to specific interviewee.

Therefore, out of the twelve woredas, seven of them were selected purposively based on two criteria's. First, out of the total population more than 70 percent are living in these seven woredas. Second, as the budget given was not enough to reach remotest woredas which are far from the capital city like Dima ,Akobo , so that , woredas' nearer to the capital city were given priority.

Then, two village centers from each woredas were selected, for case studies. And, at the end, by using systematic sampling seven villagers were selected from each village center for in-depth interview, and one community leader from each center was taken as sample respondent. And, out of 14 village centers selected 7 focus group discussions have been organized - where 5 of FDG were organized by the researcher, 2 of the FDG were organized by villagers themselves for their own purpose, and the researcher used them for the case.

In addition to this, the researcher utilized purposive sampling for collecting information from investors. Therefore, out of the investors investing in the region , KARATUTI, and SAUDO STAR were given with priority, because , they have leased a very larger land in the region, and, also due to their media coverage in terms of land leasing case. And, then Seven investors were selected, two of them were foreign based (KARATURI, and SAUDI STAR), while five of them were local investors in different woredas'. And, also, government related data has been collected from office representatives selected purposively. Therefore, Ministry of Federal Affairs - Gambella region representative , Villagization program officer- Gambella branch, Gambella Investment Agency Directorate , Under - MoARD - the Directorate of Ethiopian Agricultural Investment and Land Administration Agency (EAILAA) , and out of seven woreda Selected, four woreda administrators , and two non-positioned (appointed) officials were selected from the four woredas.

*The main and the indigenous nationalities of the State are Nuer, Agnuak, Mezhenger, Apana and Opo. Therefore, except for experts and government officials, all interviews and any kind of

sample and respondent selection has been done only from these ethnic group. This is due to the fact that they are indigenous people for whom the state Gambella stands while the others belong to another states with different ethnic background.

1.4.5. Method of Analysis

Data gathered through different tools and instruments are analyzed, interpreted and reported in the following ways. In order to get well structured and well analyzed data, the researcher used **John V. Seidel Qualitative Data Analysis model**. According to John (1998), when you do with Qualitative Data Analysis you do not simply Notice, Collect, and then think about things, and then write a report. Rather, the process has the following characteristics:

A. **Iterative and Progressive:** The process is iterative and progressive because it is a cycle that keeps repeating. For example, when you are thinking about things you also start noticing new things in the data. You then collect and think about these new things. In principle the process is an infinite spiral.

Hence, since the themes under study were broader and complex with different elements, the researcher stayed for three weeks in Gambella and , hadn't stooped collecting data once only , rather collecting the first data, the collected was used as stepping stone and gives clue for the next data needs to be collected, this new things collected also, used as a clue for other element(new things) to be seen within the context.

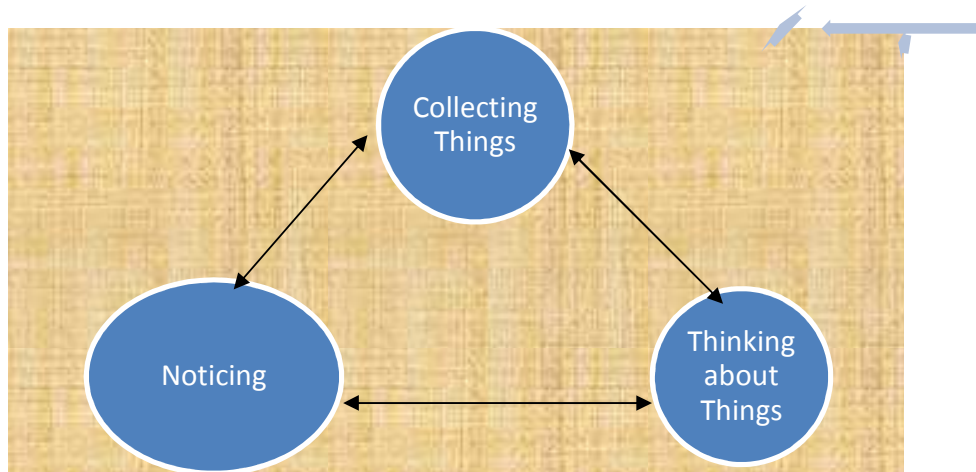
B. **Recursive:** The process is recursive because one part can call you back to a previous part. For example, while you are busy collecting things you might simultaneously start noticing new things to collect.

Therefore, the variables under study (villagization, resettlement, Land grabbing and development) are interdependent and intertwined. So, while collecting data about villagization, the researcher has been simultaneously noticing about land grabbing, resettlement and development the other variables.

C. **Holographic:** The process is holographic in that each step in the process contains the entire process. For example, when you first notice things you are already mentally collecting and thinking about those things.

This process has clearly shown by the Author as follows;

Figure 1.1: Qualitative Data Analysis Model



Source: John (1998)

And, also, John described the elements of his model (Notice, Collect and Thinking of things) in the following manner.

- A. **Noticing:** making observations, writing field notes, tape recording interviews, gathering documents, etc. When you do this you are producing a record of the things that you have noticed. As you notice things in the record you name, or "code," them. You could simply call them A, B, C, Hence, while observation in the field work, interview with different respondents, photo taking, the researcher noticed the issues (the nature of villagization, resettlement, land grabbing) under study.
- B. **Collecting things:** When you identify piece, you are noticing and "coding" them. When you sort the pieces you are "collecting" them. As you notice and name things the next step is to collect and sort them. After, noticing the issues, the researcher collected data from multiple sources and, classified and sorted them based on their similarity. Data collected through different instrument was classified under villagization class, land grabbing class and other developmental issues class.
- C. **Thinking about Things:** In the thinking process you examine the things that you have collected. Your goals are: 1) to make some type of sense out of each collection, 2) look for patterns and relationships both within a collection, and also across collections, and 3) to make general discoveries about the phenomena you are researching. You compare and

contrast each of the things you have noticed in order to discover similarities and differences, build typologies, or find sequences and patterns. Therefore, in the third phase the researcher tried to examine data collected by multiple sources. In this process, data has been analyzed in the way it depicts the reality of the situation, different relationship among the variable was created to make the issue under study very clear and come up with new conclusion with new perspectives and views. Hence, this study has been conducted by using Iterative, Recursive, Holographic, as the basic value of the research and Noticing, collecting and Thinking of the things as guiding model for the analysis of data.

In addition, different techniques of qualitative data analysis were used for analysis. In the process, data documentation (jotting down in the field works, interviews, observation), and Organization (categorization of the data into concepts), coding of transcribed data, Connection (connection of the data to show how one concept may influence the other), Corroboration, and representing the account (reporting the findings) has been used carefully.

And, the following methods of data analysis were used;

Narrative method: Narrative analysis seeks to put together the “big picture” about experiences or events as the participants understand them. Narrative analysis focuses on “the story itself” and seeks to preserve the integrity of personal biographies or a series of events that cannot adequately be understood in terms of their discrete elements (Riesman 2002). Hence for analyzing the process involved in implementing Villagization Program, local people’s story, their bad and good experience during the implementation of the program has been utilized through Narrative method of data analysis.

Descriptive method: to describe how different variables involved in the study are related to each other , to draw a picture of situation going there (in resettlement area by using observation)and for comparing and evaluating the practice and processes involved by the government against and pro constitution, the international, national standards , descriptive method of data analysis was used carefully.

Diagramming and Causal Modeling: in the study several variables (villagization, resettlement, land grabbing, and development) are involved. Since, they are interdependent, and interact in one way or in another way the game played by these variables (dependent and independent) and their relationship has been analyzed and discussed by sketching, and drawing diagrams and causal modeling.

At the end, Cernea's Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model which lists the eight forms of socio-economic risks caused by resettlement: unemployment, homelessness, landlessness, marginalization (reduced economic mobility), food insecurity, loss of access to common property/service, erosion of health status, and social disarticulation ((break-up of community organizations and other groups) was used as a parameter to see the impact of the resettlement in Gambella region. And, Borras and Franco's(2012) model of Change in land used production in land grabbing and Change in ownership in land grabbing have been used to analyze the land related issues.

1.5. Scope of the Study

In Ethiopia for achieving Growth and Transformational Plan, the government is implementing supposed developmental policies and strategies. The implementation of the villagization program brought multi-faceted effect on great mass of indigenous communities in SNNPR's South Omo zone, Addis Ababa City Administration, Tigray, Oromia, Amahara, Beneshangul Gumuz, Afar, Somali and Gambella national regional states.

But, due to time and financial constraints the geographical focus of this study is only limited to Gambella region. Gambella region is selected as a case study because of; its political sensitivity (to resolve the conflict of interest by revealing the truth), its national level issue which needs educational and intellectual focus, and due to its educational and policy aspect importance. In Gambella regional state, out of twelve woredas (Godere, Mengeshi, Gog , Abobo , Gambella , Dima , Jor , Itang , Jikawo, Wantwa , Lare , Akobo) with in which Villagization program is implemented, as a sample seven woredas were selected for the study. These woredas are Gambella, Abobo, Gok, Lare, Etang, Makwe, Kikwo, Matwar.

And, conceptually this research is neither impact assessments nor evaluation of the program; rather, the study is the analysis of the dynamics of discursive perspective of against and pro program so that reach in conclusion with substantive evidence. In addition, in terms of the issues to be addressed villagization, resettlement, land grabbing and their connection with development are the scope of the study.

1.6. Significance of the study

Under the subject of the study very limited studies have been done. Moreover, even, the available studies are more of "One sided and extremist" in nature. Therefore, the findings of this study will have social and academic significances. In regard to social significance, the findings will inform policy makers and stakeholders in design, implementation and evaluation of such programs. Academically, since the finding of this study is based on empirical evidence, it may enrich empirical and policy practice related body of knowledge. In addition to this, it will serve future researchers in the same thematic area, as a reference and stepping stone for further studying.

1.7. Ethical Consideration

According to Bruce (2001) social scientists, perhaps to a greater extent than the average citizen, have an ethical obligation to their colleagues, their study population, and the larger society. The reason for this is that social scientists delve into the social lives of other human beings and they deal with private social lives, various policies, laws and practices. Thus, as the issue of study is politically sensitive, the researcher committed himself to keep privacy of informants. Hence, some villagers, investors and government officials have asked not to be exposed by name. Then the researcher gave the right to be kept as a synonymous for all of them.

1.8. Method Data Storage, Retrieval, and Analysis

It is suggested that a clear and working storage and retrieval system is critical if one expects to keep track of the reams of data that have been collected; to flexibly access and use the data; and to assure systematic analysis and documentation of the collected data. Therefore, for storing, in retrieving the collected data the researcher used the following procedures.

For government officials and investors "interviewing and noticing system" has been used. Tape recording has been tried, but, some of the officials have hesitated the nature of interview and feared to talk freely. Hence, after three official's interview trail, the researcher changed the system and, focused on taking note as a tool to record data.

For all villagers, the researcher hired one language translator from their respective ethnic group with BA degree, and fluent in English, Amharic and local language. Therefore, in noticing the interview, translator translated the language for the researcher from and to the language he could understand. And, also, the translator takes a short note and all the night during three weeks field work, data coding and clarifying has been made.

1.9. Organization of the Paper

The research paper is organized in to seven Chapters. The first chapter comprises the introduction part of the study which is contained with background of the study, statement of the problem, objective of the study, methodology of the study, scope and significance of the study. The second chapter presents review of related literature and discerns the analytic framework of the study. This chapter also presents the review of empirical documents from international and national resettlement and development related plans and reports, guidelines, modalities and laws. The third chapter presents the historical, economic and political set up of the region, and the contextual analysis of the problem (research gap). The fourth, fifth and sixth chapter includes the analysis part of the paper which presents about villagization, land grabbing, and development dynamics respectively. While the seventh chapter deals with the conclusions and recommendations part.

Chapter Two

2. Review of Related Literature

2.1. Conceptualizing Development

Development is a concept which is contested both theoretically and politically, and is inherently both complex and ambiguous (Thomas, 2004). Even though, [a]common theme within most definitions is that 'development' encompasses the notion 'good change' in a variety of aspects of the human condition and "development" is all about good change, questions arise about what is good, what sort of change matters and whether 'bad change' is also viewed as a form of development (Kanbur, 2006, Chambers, 2004:). Consequently, many things going on in the world in general and the condition of being of millions of people in the so-called developing countries in particular make us to wonder 'is this development?' (Chambers', 2004, Shanmugaratnam, 2001).

This is due the fact that development is with mixed consequences. On the one hand, there is accumulation of wealth and enhancement of freedom and well-being, while on the other hand there is impoverishment, marginalization, reinforcement of oppressive power structures, violations of human rights, the spread of destructive internal wars – which claim thousands of civilian lives, force millions out of their homes and produce an abominable gun culture which brutalizes society – and environmental degradation which in many instances has contributed to dispossession and estimated forced migration of 250 million people worldwide in the name of it over the past 25 years (Shanmugaratnam, 2001; Kate and Jennifer, 2007, Robinson, 2003).

This mixed nature of development resulted in the absence of clear demarcation between what is development and what is not and, the absence of precise and universal definition of Development. As a result different scholars defined the concept of development differently based on the context in which they used it and there is no agreement on what constitute the concept of "DEVELOPEMENT" among scholars (Todaro, 2006:5, Shanmugaratnam, 2001).

However, for this case different definitional discourses by different scholars are presented and discussed very well. As Todaro (2006) rightly stated that, the term development may mean different things to different people, it is important to have some working definition or core perspective on its meaning. He, thus, defines or conceptualizes development as, *the sustained elevation of an entire society and social system toward a better or more humane life*. By giving more focus and assertion the existing of change which is 'positive' and directed for the better of the people. In supporting Todaro's assertion, Shanmugaratnam, (2001;1), defined "Development" as it implies improvement or positive qualitative change.

On the other way, Dudley seers (1979 pp. 3-4 in wayne ,2006), questioned the meaning of Development in his essay titled with " The new Meaning of Development", and stated the meaning and achievement of development by inculcating three important elements, through his important questions of what has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality?. He stated that, if all three of these have become less severe, then beyond doubt this has been a period of "development" for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result "development," even if per capita income has increased .Therefore, for Seers the purpose of development is to reduce poverty, inequality, and unemployment.

For seers' development is not limited to these three elements, and he pointed out that development is inclusive and multidimensional and in his assertion, he blames LDC governments' inadequate information on a lack of will rather than competence. LDCs have "Virtually no statistics anywhere on most of the aspects of life that really matter—the average distance people have to carry water and food; the numbers without shoes; the extent of overcrowding, the prevalence of violence; how many are unable to multiply one number by another, or summarize their own country's history (Seers 1983, in Wayne 2006;5). Naturally, there is no official data anywhere on the number tortured or killed by the police, or how many are in prison for political reasons. Many of the more important social factors are inherently unquantifiable: how safe it is to criticize the government publicly, or the chance of an objective trial, or how corruption affects policy decisions. But to say that these factors cannot be

quantified--and are embarrassing subjects for those in power...does not mean that they are unimportant or can be overlooked [when assessing] a country's development" (ibid).

In addition to this, Sen has advocated in his various writings that development is best seen as an expansion of people's capabilities, as a process of emancipation from necessities that constrain fuller realization of human freedoms.(Sen, 1984in Shanmugaratnam, (2001). Put simply, a person's capability refers to the freedom to achieve various lifestyles. Where capability is in terms of an individual's functioning ; where this functioning vary from such elementary matters as being well nourished , disease-free, safely sheltered and free from illiteracy to more complex doings or beings such as having self-respect , preserving human dignity , being free from stress, taking part in community life and political and social movements(ibid).

And, for Sen development involves reducing deprivation or broadening choice, where deprivation represents a multidimensional view of poverty that includes hunger, illiteracy, illness and poor health, powerlessness, voicelessness, insecurity, humiliation, and a lack of access to basic infrastructure (Narayan et al. 2000, pp. 4-5 in Wayne 2006). While according to Wayne (2006; 16) despite these changes, many controversies about the meaning of development remain. Yet there is an underlying consensus within the development community for the need to accelerate growth and reduce hunger, poverty, illiteracy, preventable disease, LDC debt burdens, gender inequality, and unsustainable environmental damage.

In 1970s, despite the economic growth in the so called third world countries the life and condition of the mass was not changed signaled that something was wrong with this narrow definition of development (Cypher and James, 1997; in Todaro, 2006). Social problems like inequality, poverty, unemployment, unsecured basic needs, etc existed in these countries. Due to this, new alternative approaches to define and perceive development were emerged by scholars and different international organizations.

On the report of UNs Department of International Economic and Social Affairs on International Conference on Population, which was held in Geneva, 25-29 April 1983, the expert group on population, resources, environment, and development agreed that development should not be defined simply in terms of increases in gross domestic product and/or per capita. But, development should be considered as a process of interrelated economic, social, and political

changes of which the ultimate aim is to promote an improvement in the wellbeing of the entire population. This would imply both full participation in the development process and a fair distribution of its benefit (UNs, 1984). According to Human Development Reports, development which does not meet the basic needs of the people at the onset cannot be said to have achieved its full objectives: peace, human rights, social and economic wellbeing, and equal access to opportunities in all arenas. According to this report, the real wealth of a nation is its people both women and men. The purpose of development is to create enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives.

But, as time passes, new things and events with new notion of understanding unfolded in the sphere of human life within environment. In this realm, for the past long period of time, the big issue was how to bring development for human life in general (social, economic, political, etc.), while the today's big issue especially in developed countries is not how to bring development, rather the question is how to keep the healthiness of it, though, the issue is still there in developing countries (Monenus, 2012).

But, nowadays, "Sustainable Development " which has been raised at the end of twenty century and known by the rock of the future is becoming the central issue in the area of developmental studies. In 1987, the World Conference on Environment and Development published their report entitled, 'Our Common Future' (WCED, 1987 cited in Elliott,2006), The report used the term sustainable development' widely and defined it as 'Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (ibid, p. 43)In the same speech, adding to the World Banks' argument of the essentiality of environmental protection in the process of development, Sadik said that, much of the environmental degradation witnessed today is due to primarily two groups of people-the top billion richest and the bottom billion poorest (Sadik, 1991, in Todaro, 2006).

From these we can conclude that, although the essence of development remains the same, the conception and understanding of development in relation to anything which can be related to human life will be the target of it and it may take another view in the coming decades as it was purely economic term before 1970s; and transformed itself to social aspect incorporating political realm in recent decades while taking nowadays environmental. Generally, development must be conceived of as a multidimensional process involving major changes in social structures,

popular attitudes, and national institutions as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality, and the eradication of poverty.

2.1.1. Linkages between Human Rights and Development

For the question what does the right to development mean? IDMC (2010) states;

"Development processes must lead to the empowerment of a the right to development stipulates that development process must lead to the empowerment of a people , that they must improve its choice , capabilities , opportunities and well being. Where communities contribute to development process by giving up their land, they have not only a right to just compensation but also to receive an equitable share of the benefits." It is grounded on the human right based approach to Development questioning of who is , and who should be responsible for what with respect to whom? aspect of development.

Accordingly , the document states that state undertaking or enabling a development project are obliged to inform communities fully of its nature and consequences, to consult them adequately and effectively and to allow them to participate meaning fully in all parts of the process, including the planning phase , that are relevant to their lives. Most notably, states must obtain communities free and informed consent in accordance with their customs and traditions if a development or investment project will have a major impact up on them.

Therefore IDMC (2010), states that the design, planning and implementation of development projects must be guided by five human rights principles which includes Responsibility Access to information and participation: Human rights consistency, Do no harm, Accountability. Hence, it is possible to conclude that, having the right to participate in the development process,

2.1.2. Measurement of Development

In view of a number of shortcomings, scholarly critics against GNP and GDP measure of development conclude that GNP and GDP measure economic modernization in the prejudiced and shortsighted sense of how closely a country replicates the characteristics of the West rather than development from the context and nature of their own level, environment and type of economic activity by which (Peet and Elaine, 2009:5). Increases in GNP per capita, energy use, or education may reflect only an increase in the proportion of activity occurring in the organized, taxed market sector of an economy rather than in the informal sector—total real production can

actually decline as GDP increases. Therefore, the available data give only a poor and often misleading indication of the level and movement of economic development, if by this term we basically mean the level of material standards of living for the majority of the population (ibid).

There are many other data sets frequently used, even by such conventional agencies as the World Bank, to measure not only growth but the levels and changes in average age of death, infant mortality, and population per physician, secondary education, and use of electricity. This alternative summary measure that takes these into account is the Human Development Index (HDI) calculated by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (Peet and Elaine, 2009:8).

Hence, in Gambella regional state there are competing ideas about the success and failure of Villagization program and the end result of it. As it has been argued by the government the program has been used as a means to end up poverty and achieve development. As a result, the government argued that there are developmental activities and a number of developmental achievements due to the implementation of villagization program and, in reverse to this argument, different International and national reports indicate that the program resulted in impoverishment and increased the level of poverty in the region.

Therefore, to see the dynamics of development in the region the combination of scholars definition of the concept “Development “and the impact of villagization programs and land leasing process were used as standard for overseeing the development going in the region due to resettlement, villagization and land leasing.

2.2. Conceptualizing Resettlement

According to Alex, Marcia, Francois, (2010), resettlement *is* a population movement planned directly by the government or private developers, where an area is chosen in order to resettle the population, and where the choice can be made after discussion with the affected populations, but can also be imposed upon them. While, Nelson stated that the movement can be either movement caused by human (political, economic and insecurity) action or that movement resulting from environmental causes, where the latter is sometimes denoted as environmental refugees. And, from the point of view of state policy, the notion of movement may serve to differentiate

resettlement from two other policies: '*villagization*', where the basic notion is re-groupment, which may or may not involve moving significant distances; and '*sedentarisation*', which aims to settle mobile populations, usually herders, a process which need not involve moving them away from the area in which they are living (Apthorpe 1966 cited in Pankhurst 1992). In the 1980s and 1990s, the mounting evidence of involuntary resettlement schemes that failed to pass through all four stages suggested that a new model was necessary to explain the consequences of involuntary relocation. In particular, it was recognized that a new theory was necessary to model what was increasingly seen as predictable impoverishment in forced resettlement schemes (Ohta and Gebre, 2005).

Cernea's Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model arose in the 1990s in response to this recognition. In contrast to the Scudder–Colson model, the IRR model does not attempt to identify different stages of relocation, but rather aims to identify the impoverishment risks intrinsic to forced resettlement and the processes necessary for reconstructing the livelihoods of displaced (ibid).

According to the IRR model, development-induced displacement may lead to eight forms of socio-economic risks: unemployment, homelessness, landlessness, marginalization (reduced economic mobility), food insecurity, loss of access to common property/service, erosion of health status, and social disarticulation (break-up of community organizations and other groups). This model captures not only economic but also social and cultural impoverishment, reflecting the fact that displaced people lose natural capital, human capital and social capital (Cernea 1996 cited in Asrat, 2009:).

2.2.1. Resettlement and development

Development and [resettlement] are, however, not unrelated (IDMC, 2010). This means, whenever developmental projects focusing on pastoralist and other naturally endowed areas designed, it results in resettlement of many people living in the area. And, also the resettlement of these people is not for nothing, rather even if it is short term or for some sections of the society practical development happens in the situation.

Supporting this argument, Kate and Jennifer (2007; 1), states that; Each year, millions of people around the globe are forcibly relocated and resettled away from their homes, lands and

livelihoods in order to make way for large-scale development projects such as dams, reservoirs, power plants, roads, plantations, urban renewal, and oil, gas, and mining projects. This forced relocation is known as development-induced displacement and resettlement, or DIDR.

And they argued that [D] development is one of the primary causes of forced migration in the world today. Experts estimate that over 250 million people worldwide have been displaced in the name of development over the past twenty years. In India alone, development projects have displaced more than 60 million people over the past 60 years. In China, development is estimated to have displaced more than 40 million people over the past half-century.

2.2.2. Development, resettlement and impacts on vulnerable groups

According to Scudder, (1996), several rural resettlement studies have documented high failure rates; demonstrating resettlement is a distinctive and complex type of development intervention. There are three victims of inadequately designed and purely planned rural resettlement schemes: the resettlers, the host population, and the physical environment. The success and failure of resettlement schemes highly depend on how settlers can best adopt their new environment and to what degree they become self-sufficient. *But , scientifically studied facts about resettlement reveal that , in many countries of the world, the state sponsored resettlement schemes lacks sound policy, and legal frameworks to fully protect the rights of the resettlers and host population (Mathur, 1996)*

Adding to this, Zelalem (2004) stated that, relocation of resettlers often destroys the resettlers previous ways of life and involves adaptation to a new environment once effective local knowledge often no longer functions appropriately. In summarizing the impact of developmental induced displacement, Michael Cernea (1999) , a sociologist, who has researched development-induced displacement and resettlement for the World Bank, points out that being forcibly ousted from one's land and habitat carries with it the risk of becoming poorer than before displacement .Cernea has identified eight interlinked potential risks intrinsic to displacement and , these risks are discussed by IDMC (2010) as follows

- a) Landlessness: Expropriation of land removes the main foundation upon which people's productive systems, commercial activities, and livelihoods are constructed.

- b) **Joblessness:** The risk of losing wage employment is very high both in urban and rural displacements for those employed in enterprises, services or agriculture. Yet creating new jobs is difficult and requires substantial investment.
- c) **Homelessness.** Loss of shelter tends to be only temporary for many people being resettled; but, for some, homelessness or a worsening in their housing standards remains a lingering condition. In a broader cultural sense, loss of a family's individual home and the loss of a group's cultural space tend to result in alienation and status deprivation.
- d) **Marginalization.** Marginalization occurs when families lose economic power and spiral on a “downward mobility” path. Many individuals cannot use their earlier-acquired skills at the new location; human capital is lost or rendered inactive or obsolete. Economic marginalization is often accompanied by social and psychological marginalization.
- e) **Food Insecurity.** Forced uprooting increases the risk that people will fall into temporary or chronic undernourishment, defined as calorie-protein intake levels below the minimum necessary for normal growth and work.
- f) **Increased Morbidity and Mortality.** Displacement-induced social stress and psychological trauma, the use of unsafe water supply and improvised sewage systems, increase vulnerability to epidemics and chronic diarrhea, dysentery, or particularly parasitic and vector-borne diseases such as malaria and schistosomiasis.
- g) **Loss of Access to Common Property.** For poor people, loss of access to the common property assets that belonged to relocated communities (pastures, forest lands, water bodies, burial grounds, quarries and so on) result in significant deterioration in income and livelihood levels.
- h) **Social Disintegration.** Displacement causes a profound unraveling of existing patterns of social organization. This unraveling occurs at many levels. When people are forcibly moved, production systems, life-sustaining informal networks, trade linkages, etc. are dismantled.

Therefore, in order to have the community free from the risks of resettlement (eight elements of Carnes' model) the Carne, Kale and Jennifer (2007), stated that policy makers must ensure that Development induced Resettlement is minimized. When unavoidable, projects that impose displacement must be designed to improve affected people’s standard of living and restore their livelihoods.

2.2.3. Process and stages of Resettlement

According to IFC (2002), any general and effective action plan for resettlement must inculcate components like , identification of project impacts and affected populations, legal framework for land acquisition and compensation, compensation framework, description of resettlement assistance and restoration of livelihood activities, detailed budget, implementation schedule, description of organizational responsibilities, framework for public consultation, participation, and development planning, description of provisions for redress of grievances and framework for monitoring, evaluation, and reporting

2.3. Conceptualizing Villagization

Although literatures on villagization are highly scarce, the existing ones defined it as the process of gathering scattered form of settlements into a predetermined center or site either voluntarily or forcibly (Mhando, 2011; Messay& Bekure,2011) . It involves establishing nucleated villages to deliver social, economic and administrative services intended to be implemented on a voluntary basis (Guyu, 2012:1). However, there are diversified claims and reasons to carry out the program, from the government side the claim available is that villagization program will facilitate the delivery of services, such as health care, education, or marketing, to previously scattered populations (Christy , 1999). With the justification that it is 'for their own good' it is often imposed on rural populations. Moreover, in many countries of the world, most importantly, in Africa villagization has been taken as means to fight poverty and promote development.

As a motto, the use of exhortation to promote villagization was clearly evident in Nyerere's inaugural address after 1950's, by his sayingsof :

"[W]hat we must do is to try and make it possible for groups of farmers to get together and share the cost and the use of a tractor between them. But we cannot even do this if our people are going to continue living scattered over a wide area, far apart from each other...The first and absolute essential thing to do, therefore, if we want to be able to start using tractors for cultivation, is to begin living in proper villages...unless we do so we shall not be able to provide ourselves with the things we need to develop our land and to raise our standard of living. We shall not be able to use tractors; we shall not be able to build hospitals, or have clean drinking water, it will be quite impossible to start village industries (Nyerere 1962: 183-4 quoted in Coulson, 1982 cited in Philip, 2011:5)".

The rationale behind villagization program may be social, political, agricultural, militaristic, administrative, or a mix of several of these. It may be used as a tactic by a government or military power to facilitate control over a previously scattered rural population believed to disloyal or rebel elements or economically to upgrade level of living or facilitation of infrastructural activities or any other (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Villagization>). Moreover, the motivations for and methods of Villagization have differed between countries; likewise, the implementation and the experience of those villagised have differed considerably within countries.

In addition, the term 'village' has been criticized for its lack of theoretical content and precision, "for the world's villages are as diverse in their form and functions as they are ubiquitous" (Abrahams 1985: 4 cited in Christ 1999). However, their common denominator is that Villagization is much more complicated than a simply physical process of shifting People (Christy, 1999).

The concept of villagization may seem overlap with resettlement as many researchers used in literatures and it is frequently confused with 'resettlement' as the two policies often occur at the same time and may overlap even (Chamber 1969:11 cited in Christy,1999, Guyu, 2012:7). Of course, there are points where they overlap and where they differ (Guyu, 2012). For instance, authors like Hilhorst&Leeuwen (2000) cited in (ibid) assert that villagization is different from resettlement and use the concept of villagization without mixing with resettlement. Moreover, Guyu (2012) asserted that, although villagization is an aspect of resettlement, it involves the relocation of scattered dwellings and settling in mostly similar geographic and administrative units, the capacity of resettlers to readjust new environment is less complex than that in resettlement.

2.3.1. Development and Villagization

Development planning at national, regional or local levels and/or urban or rural areas needs selection of appropriate theoretical approaches and models. It is because these theories and approaches that serves as a foundation for selection of appropriate strategies that would be adopted and implemented (Guyu, 2012). Therefore, to facilitate the way for the analysis of different variables in the study, it is important to review some theoretical approaches and models that explain development.

The belief that rural development cannot be brought without villagization scheme (Mhando, 2011) has dominated the development models and approaches of those nations that used to adopt villagization. Those models prioritized villagization are mostly associated with the minds of policy makers of many developing countries mainly African governments (Guyu, 2012). Mhando (2011) cited in (ibid) , for instance, tries to explain how rural development without villagization would be jeopardy in Ujamma villages in Tanzania. Such a belief is of course ignoring the experience of some developments of rural areas around the world without adoption of villagization programme. Moreover, centers selected for villagization are believed to act as a spring board for development. The Ujamma villages in Tanzania, for example, were seen as the spring board upon which much change would emanate, thus enabling the attainment of higher production levels and the elimination of poverty could be achieved (Mhando, 2011). For this developmental approach's commitment and belief, Nyerere of Tanzania has put his provoking statement cited in the above section.

But, the programme ultimately failed even in Tanzania due to inappropriate planning and implementation processes (Sakamoto, 2003, cited in Guyu). The same was true in Ethiopia where R&V schemes started, extensively implemented and ultimately failed during the Derg regime due to ill-planning and inappropriate implementation, mainly based on involuntary basis (Sandra, 1987, *ibid*).

Moreover, now days among different policies and programs designed to achieve development, through Five Years Transformational plan, Villagization program is one of the national policies formulated for collectivization of scattered population in pastoral areas in the country including Gambella Region (HRW, 2012:103). Hence, Villagization is a rural-based strategy primarily aimed at gathering pastoral and semi-pastoral communities in Afar, Somali, Gambella and Benishangul-Gumuz regions on a voluntary basis (BGRG, 2010; HRW, 2011 cited in *ibid*, :4). It aims at, besides supplying basic rural infrastructures and socio-economic services, helping them lead a sedentary way of life (NCFSE, 2003 cited *ibid*).

Even though this villagization program has been used by the government as a means to an end up poverty and bring development (social, political, economic, and cultural development) by gathering together pastoral and semi-pastoral communities and providing them with basic infrastructural services. It is being criticized by OI(2011), HRW (2011, 2012,) and other scholars

and reports as it is becoming the Cause for human right abasement, food insecurity and extreme poverty displacing people from their own living and farming area.

Therefore, this study tried to fill the existing gap of data regarding this program by assessing the programs' process of introduction, implementation and success by using international and national level standard for Villagization Program implementations.

2.4. Conceptualizing Land Grabbing

Even though, land is central to livelihoods, food security, even identity – the result of a direct dependence on agriculture and natural resources for many millions in the developing world, (IIED, 2009:1), today, stories of communities driven from their lands, often at the barrel of a gun, left destitute and unable to feed their families, have become all too familiar (OXFAM, 2012:1). In the past decade an area of land eight times the size of the UK has been sold off globally and foreign investors bought up an area of land the size of London every six days between 2000 and 2010. As the scale and pace of large-scale land acquisitions increases globally, evidence is mounting that the land rush is out of control and that the price being paid by affected communities is unacceptably high (ILC ,2011 cited in OXFAM, 2012).Scholars and institutions concerned with this issue call it the process” land grabbing”.

The term **land grab** refers to the “purchase or lease of vast tracts of land by wealthier food-insecure nations and private investors from mostly poor, developing countries in order to produce crops for export” (S. Danie and , A. Mittal, 2009 cited in D. Milerevo , 2012 :2) . The term “Land grabs” is a coined by the media to describe large-scale purchases or leases of agricultural or forest land on terms that do not serve those already living on the land. It is manifested in a huge increase in foreign (and domestic) investment in land, concentrated in some of the world’s poorest—and hungriest—countries. “The size of land affected by land acquisition agreements signed between 2008 and 2009 was more than ten times what it had been in previous annual averages”(Oxfam, Sleeping Lions, p.8, cited in Sophia, 2013 :)

2.4.1. What amount (hectare) of land acquisition is land grab?

Lange –scale land acquisition cab be defined as the acquisition of any tract of land larger than 200 hectares (ha), or twice the median land-holding according to the national context. The 200

ha figure comes from the international land coalition’s definition of “large –scale “. Not only is 200 ha ten times the size of a typical small farm (Hazell et al , 2007 cited in OXFAM ,2012), but according to the latest FAO-LED World Agricultural census , it is also larger than the average land holding in all but three developing countries (FAO, 2000, *ibid*).

In Ethiopia the study shows that the total large-scale land transfer is 1,205,000 hectares. Out of the 1,205,000 hectares of land, 49,000 hectares are domestic investments while the remaining 1,156,000 hectares which constitutes about 96 percent of the large-scale farms (i.e. farms with 2000 hectares or more) are allocated to foreign investors. It is also to be noted that Indian investors have acquired 700,000 hectares out of the 1,156,000 hectares thereby constituting about 61 percent of the total land allocated to the foreign investors (Elias, 2011:1).

2.4.2. What makes a land acquisition a land grabs?

According to ILC (2011) cited in OXFAM, 2012 Land acquisitions become land grabs when they do one or more acts among the elements of a)Violate human right , b)Flouting the principle of free, prior and informed consent (FPIC)- under which affected communities are informed about and are able to give or refuse consent to be a project c) Failing to make are not based on a thorough assessment of social , economic and environmental impact d) Avoiding transparent contrast with clear and binding commitments and benefit sharing and E) Avoiding democratic planning, independent oversight and meaningful participation.

2.4.3. Shift of ownership and Production in land grabbing

Borras and Franco (2010a) identified four directions of land use change associated with recent large transnational land deals. Accordingly, the Main directions of land use change today

Table: 1 Shift of ownership and Production in land grabbing

Type A :Food to Food	Type B :Food to Biofuels
Type C :Nonfood to Food	Type D :Nonfood to Biofuels

Source: Borras and Franco (2010a, 13)

Accordingly , they stated that within the ambit of what is now being called ‘land grabbing’, the most objectionable changes in land use are those related to, within Type A, the conversion of food production for consumption or domestic sale to production of food for export (especially in

countries with chronically food insecure populations); within Type B, conversion of food production to production of biofuels for export; within Type C, indigenous forest clearance for food production for export; and within Type D, indigenous forest clearance for production of biofuels for export (Borras and Franco 2010a, 13–19).

But, changes in land use may or may not involve changes in social relations of production, and it is largely these than underpin protest and contestation over land deals, rather than uses per se (Hall, 2011:6).

Recognizing this, Borras and Franco (2010a, 25-8) further distinguished between four directions of change in land based social relations:

Table .2 Flow of land-based wealth and power

Type A :Redistribution	Type B :Distribution
Type C :Non-(re)distribution	Type D :(Re)concentration

Source: Borras and Franco (2010a, 25)

According to Borras and Franco (2010a, 25-8), Type A is redistribution of land property relations, through a ‘ zero sum’ reform process that alters the relative shares of landed and landless (or Bear- landless) class in society ; Type B is distribution of land to the landless for free or for marginal cost , through a ‘ positive –sum ‘ reform in which landed classes are fully compensated , as in market based reforms: Type C is non –(re) distribution where , even if land policy is in place , it formalizes inequality , restores ownership but not control , or privatizes public lands; and type D is (re) concentration which may involve elite or corporate capture of resources in process of reversing previous redistribution or perverse redistribution as in titling schemes, lopsided joint ventures and land leases

2.4.4. Myths of Land Grabbing

According to (TNI, 2012) there are four generalized justifications for the existing extreme level of land grabbing in developing countries. However, the Institute called these justifications as Myth (an idea or story than many people believe, but which is not true. These myths are discussed as follows;

- i. **Myth of idle/marginal land:** The first myth that underpins land grabbing is that there is an availability of excess land which with investment can be turned into income and jobs for developing countries. Worldwide the areas being targeted for this kind of large-scale investment are being portrayed on paper as ‘empty’, ‘marginal’, ‘idle’ or ‘degraded’ land, largely unpopulated, unused, unproductive, and unlikely to compete with local food production(TNI, 2012:4). Yet the reality is that the land is not empty, idle, or unused; and many investors are going for prime — not marginal or degraded — land (ibid).
- ii. **Myth of investment, particularly foreign investment:** The second myth is that agriculture needs investment, particularly foreign investment. Supporting this argument (NAPE, 2012; 10) states that many cash rich and land poor Governments are trying to secure food supplies by buying land overseas for domestic supplies. While, Land and resource rich but cash poor governments are seeking foreign direct investment in land and agriculture. The assumption is that the ongoing rural crisis of persistent chronic poverty and widespread hunger is at base a crisis of lack of investment. Therefore, the current upswing of big-investor interest in land is portrayed as a must-seize opportunity.
- iii. **Myth of scarce food and oil:** The third powerful myth is that large-scale land deals are necessary to deal with scarcity – first food-scarcity and then oil-scarcity - which exploits environmental protection concerns in the context of climate change.
- iv. **Myth of Land Tenure security ;** The fourth myth is that property rights are the best solution to greater land tenure security, which has sustained the argument that land deals could be beneficial as long as they are based on secure property rights. This makes a simple assumption: people are dispossessed because they do not have formal property rights over their land; and so, the policy response should be to provide land tenure security to these people.

2.4.5. Who grabs land in Africa?

As per the definition given by Sindyigaya (2012) , large-scale land acquisitions involve rich countries and foreign investors acquiring land in poor and/or developing countries in order to secure crop production. Moreover, , now a days in developing countries domestic investors and elite governing are also claimed to be the member of land grabbers. Backing this argument, Tinyade(2012) states that “Though the land in the respective sub Saharan countries is formally owned by the state, governments are aiding and abetting the grabbing of the land that is in

practice used by members of rural communities. Even, alternatively, they are active land grabbers of such land themselves and government elites may have stakes in the "investment project".

2.4.6. The impact of land grabs

In describing the impacts of land grabbing, Oviedo (2011) stated that land grabbing has the following impacts;

- ✓ **Marginalization of Community Rights** Some developing country governments, eager for foreign investment, are quick to offer attractive land leases and incentives to foreigners, without full consideration of local communities and customary law. This may undermine community rights over communal resources and deprive local communities of full access to vital resources such as water.
- ✓ **Displacement and Resettlement** In some cases, local communities have been displaced from areas allocated for land deals. Moreover, evidence points to unsatisfactory implementation of resettlement plans. The consequences of displacement go beyond economic impacts. In addition to land being the primary source of livelihood, communities often have a strong cultural and even spiritual affinity to land, and severing this link can have a devastating impact on people's lives.
- ✓ **Food Security** Various case studies of individual land deals in developing countries indicate that a significant portion of farmlands are being used to grow crops for fuel and export. Giving priority to such crops has the potential to undermine food security in host countries.
- ✓ **Environment** Industrialized farming can negatively affect local ecosystems if not managed properly. Two key sources of impact are the use of pesticides and the diversion of water for irrigation. Pesticides contaminate water sources, threatening wildlife and human health. Meanwhile, irrigation for large farms requires the diversion of water from vital ecosystems that support biodiversity. There are also concerns over deforestation as a result of forest conversion into farmland.
- ✓ **Governance** Investors operate in countries where governance is typically weaker than in their home countries, and political systems are linked to local elites rather than strong institutions. Prevailing practices in farmland investing, especially those involving non-transparent

processes and inadequate consultation of affected communities, generate a number of risks for companies and investors.

- ✓ Security Risks Companies perceived to have deprived local communities of their rights may face hostility from communities and interest groups (possibly even rebel groups), exposing the companies to security risks and potential human rights violations. Security risks are particularly high in areas that face political and/ or land-related disputes.
- ✓ Corruption-Related Risks: The lack of transparency in land deal negotiations, coupled with weak government institutions may create increased exposure to corruption.
- ✓ Cancellation and Expropriation Risks: Negative social impacts of farmland acquisitions may lead governments to cancel contracts or expropriate leased lands with serious implications for investors.

2.4.7. Alternative model for land Grabbing

According to Hallam (2009) there are a number of alternative to land purchasing or leasing that might achieve or even better achieve the food-security objectives of investing countries. Hallam, stated that the following models can alternatively be used in place of land grab .

Firstly , it is interesting to note that in other continents, vertical integration (whereby one firm takes control over upstream or downstream activities) tends to be based much more on such arrangements than on more traditional approaches (whereby firms simply buy upstream or downstream firms and all these' activities. Such looser arrangements are likely to be more conducive to the interest of host countries.

Secondly, mixed models are also possible. For example, there are instances of large scale commercial units, often a privatized former state farm, owned and operated by an international investor, and participating in a symbiotic relationship with smallholders. In essence; such mixed models feature both the traditional acquisition of a large facility and arrangements with local small holders to supply additional production.

OXFAM (2012) states that , the responsibility for land-grabbing lies with many actors – from developing and developed country governments to private investors – the World Bank has more influence than any other to change the terms of the debate. The World Bank plays a pivotal role

in land acquisitions in many ways: (I) as a source of direct financial support for investments in land; (II) as a policy adviser to developing country governments; and (III) as a standard-setter for other investors. It could take a vital first step to reining in the global land rush by freezing its own investments in large-scale land acquisitions for six months and putting its own house in order. The need to act now is urgent.

2.4.8. Guidelines to protect Land grabbing

The UN Special Reporter (2009) proposed the principles which shall be followed by actors. These are : (1) Transparency; (2) Consultation and free, prior and informed consent; (3) Safeguarding the rights of host communities; (4) Ensuring that revenues benefit the local population; (5) Maximizing employment; (6) protecting the environment; (7) Establishing clear investor obligations, sanctions and independent assessment of compliance; (8) Requiring a minimum of sale of food crops locally; (9) Carrying out impact assessment [appraisal] prior to entering agreements; (10) Complying with indigenous people's rights; and (11) protecting the human and labour rights of workers.

In addition World Bank in cooperation with other institution (FAO, 2011a) adopted Guideline for responsible investment in agriculture. These RAI principles are: (1) Respecting land and resource rights; (2) Ensuring food security; (3) Ensuring transparency, good governance and an enabling environment; (4) Consultation and participation; (5) Responsible agro-enterprise investment; (6) Social sustainability; and (7) Environmental sustainability.

Box: 1The Responsible Agro-Investing Principles:

The Responsible Agro-Investing Principles:

1. Land and Resource Rights: Existing rights to land and natural resources are recognized and respected.
2. Food Security: Investments do not jeopardize food security, but rather strengthen it.
3. Transparency, Good Governance and Enabling Environment: Processes for accessing land and making associated investments are transparent, monitored, and ensure accountability.
4. Consultation and Participation: Those materially affected are consulted and agreements from consultations are recorded and enforced.
5. Economic Viability and Responsible Agro-Enterprise Investing: Projects are viable in every sense, respect the rule of law, reflect industry best practice, and result in durable shared value.
6. Social Sustainability: Investments generate desirable social and distributional impacts and do not increase vulnerability.
7. Environmental Sustainability: Environmental impacts are quantified and measures taken to encourage sustainable resource use, while minimizing and mitigating them negative impact.

Source: <http://www.responsibleagroinvestment.org/rai/>

Chapter Three: Description of the Study Area

3.1. Description of Gambella Peoples' Regional State Region

Gambella, also official known as Gambella Peoples' Regional state, is one of the nine ethnic division of Ethiopia formed under Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. The Gambella People's Regional State is located south west Ethiopia lowlands surrounded by Oromia Regional State in the North, North East and East, by Southern Nations and Nationalities People's Regional State in the South and Southeast and by the Republic of Sudan in the Southwest, West and Northwest (Hailemariam et.al, 2011) . Even though the so called highlanders constitute valuable share interns of population, business and others, initially, the Gambella regional state is a home land for five indigenous ethnic groups: Which includes Anywa, Kumo, Majang, Nuer and Opo (GPRS, 1995).

The climate of the Region is formed under the influence of the tropical monsoon from the Indian Ocean, which are characterized with high rainfall in the wet period from May to October and has little rainfall during the dry period from November to April. Temperature and rainfall are important factors in soil formation and range of crops that can grow in a particular environment. For instance, the GodereWoreda has enormous variation in terms of soils, vegetation and crops, because of variations in temperature and rainfall from the rest of the Woredas of the Region. The mean annual temperature of the Region varies from 17.30C to 28.30C and annual monthly temperature varies throughout the year from 270C to 330C. The absolute maximum temperature occurs in mid-March is about 450C and the absolute minimum temperature occurs in December is 10.30C. The Gambella People's Regional State (GPNRS) is located south west Ethiopia between the geographical coordinates 6028'38" to 8034' North Latitude and 330 to 35011'11" East Longitude, which covers an area of about 34,063 km² about 3% of the nation (Hailamariam et al , 2011).

Administratively Gambella regional state is divided into three zones along the three major ethnic groups: (1) Anywa zone, (2) Majang zone and (3) Nuer zone. These three zones are further divided into 12 *woredas*; five under Anywa zone, two under Majang zone, four under Nuer zone

and one special *woreda*. According to the latest national census results, Gambella region has a population of 306,916 people, consisting of 159,787 men and 147,309 women; urban inhabitants number 77,925 or 25.37% of the population. With an estimated area of 29,782.82 square kilometers, this region has an estimated density of 10 people per square kilometer. This makes it the smallest region in Ethiopia – population-wise – after Harar (CSA, 2007).

The main ethnicities of the region are the Nuer(46.66%), the Anuak (21.16%), Amhara (8.42%), Kafficho (5.04%), Oromo (4.83%), Mezhenger (4%), Shakacho (2.27%), Kambata (1.44%), Tigreans (1.32%) and other ethnic groups predominantly from southern Ethiopia 4.86%. Nuer is spoken as a first language by 48.35%, 22.02% speak Anuak 11.11% Amharic, 4.85% Afaan Oromo, 4.65% Kafa, 2.48% Shakacho, 1.47% speak Kambata, and 1.32% speak Tigrinya; the remaining 3.75% spoke all other primary languages reported. 70.1% of the region's population are Protestant, 16.8% Orthodox Christian, 4.9% Muslim, 3.8% practice Traditional Religions, 3.4% Catholic (ibid)

Socio-economically, until recently the Gambella region and its people, as with other peripheral regions and peoples, have been among the most marginalized communities – in terms of government services – in Ethiopia. However, since 1991 with the transformation of the former Gambella province into a regional state, social services were expanded to rural areas among the indigenous communities (Dereje, 2006). Nonetheless, comparatively the region is still one of the four less developed regions in Ethiopia.

3.2. Resettlement, Villagization and land grabbing in Gambella

[Historically] the first large-scale, centrally organized resettlement program dates back to the Emperors time in the 1960s, when American sociologists and social anthropologists recommended the relocation of peasants from Northern Ethiopia to the Southern and South-western regions (ibid) . As quoted by Till and Irill (2011:5) [i]n 1974, the Ethiopian Emperor was overthrown by a military government, popularly known as the *Derg*. The Derg proclaimed the land reform as one appropriate and inevitable „tool“ to promote development in the Ethiopia. Another „tool“ - not less radical, meaningful and ambitious – was the enforced relocation of Ethiopian farmers from one area to another. In practice, resettlement was often violently enforced, poorly planned and badly organized, and not sufficiently maintained. There are figures

saying that about 33,000 settlers died due to disease, hunger, and exhaustion. Thousands of families were systematically and intentionally broken up and scattered over different regions of the country in order to suppress their potential for political unrest and „counter-revolutionary“ activities (ibid).

Under the present government, villagization and Displacement program was planned to be undertaken in four regions of the country namely -Afar, Somali, Gambella, and Benishangul-Gumuz which is projected to resettle and displace up to 1.5 million people with share capacity of -500,000 in Somali, 500,000 in afar region, 225,000 in Benishangul-Gumuz and 225,000 in Gambella. The movements in Afar and Somali are all one-year programs, while Gambella and Benishangul-Gumuz are three-year programs that started in the latter half of 2010 (Davison , 2011).

Specifically, one of the most drastic experiences in Ethiopia is the case of Gambella Region. In this region the government is leasing out and grabbing huge areas to agricultural investors including both domestic and foreign companies. Starting from 2008, the Ethiopian Government has leased out land which is estimated to be 3.6 million hectares of land nationally as of January 2011- an area which is assumed to be the same with the size of Netherlands. In addition to this 42 percent of the total land area is either being given for lease to investors or has already been awarded to investors or [owned by the government](OI, 2011).

Figure 3.1: The map of Gambella



Source: Human Right Watch, 2012

3.3. Study area

In Gambella regional state, as it can be seen from the above map there are twelve woredas. Out of twelve woredas (Godere, Mengeshi, Gog , Abobo , Gambella , Dima , Jor , Itang , Jikawo, Wantwa , Lare , Akobo) with in which Villagization program is implemented, as a sample seven woredas were selected for the study. These woredas are Gambella, Abobo, Gok, Lare, Etang, Makwe, Kikwo, Matwar. Within these woredas, two village centers from each woreda were selected for case study.

Chapter Four: Data Result and Analysis

4.1. Dynamics of Villagization and resettlement in Gambella

Villagization and resettlement program was one of the programs designed by the government to be implemented in Gambella regional state in the years of 2011-2013 with the objective of resettling 45000 households. From the government point of view the program has been intended solely for making the people the beneficiary of basic infrastructural facilities, shifting their life style, and also, its implementations resulted in the improvement of the life of the people. On the other hand, the real purpose and motive of the program, the process and its resultant outcome has been interpreted and re-interpreted by different actors with both negative and positive connotations. However, there are differing perspectives in its objectives and results, the program has been implemented and the intended people were resettled in to formed villages.

Therefore, this chapter commits itself to address the gap created due to the absence of academic data, by discussing issues like the main purpose of the program, the process followed in the formulation and implementation of the program and its resultant outcomes.

4.2. The Objectives /Purpose/ of the Program

For the warning and commentator letter written by HRW (2012) to Ethiopian government with the subject of ; “Villagization and Rights Abuses in Ethiopia’s Gambella Region”, Ethiopian Government (ministry of federal affairs) response described the main purpose of villagization program going in Gambella region as follows’

“...the villagization (commune program) program in Gambella regional state has single objective: Improved livelihood within the framework of national growth and development plan. The targets are to provide efficient and effective economic and social services (safe drinking water, optimum, health care, education, improved agronomy practices, market access etc). Create an access to infrastructure (road, power, telecommunication etc.) and ensure the citizen’s full engagement in good governance and democratic exercises(Human Right Watch, 2012).

Also, Gambella Villagization Program Officer and Woreda administrators confirmed that the main purpose of Villagization program was to bring geographically scattered people together to

make them the beneficiary of development and good governance by providing them infrastructural facilities, the social and economic services.

Whereas, villagers argued that the government has been implementing the program for beyond the stated purposes which is still not clear for them, due to the following reasons: Firstly, they stated that, during mobilization period the some government workers have been rejecting the program and they had been officially protesting, by claiming that the program was for another purpose (making the land free). Secondly, they added that unrealized promises also, shows and makes the infrastructural based justifications of the government groundless and counterfeit. Moreover, the interviewed non positioned officers revealed the existence of other purposes beyond service provision. And, they stated that the government has implemented for having political control over the people and making land free to leasing, and stopped it by seeing the reaction of people, political activist and international voices.

And, with respect to the reactions of government officials toward the programs, woreda administrators stated that there were reactions from officials protesting the program not to be implemented in the region. And, they added the officials which they called them *anti-Development* (word mostly used by government officials for those who question any program of government) were rejecting the program by stating that the program would be for land leasing not to provide service.

Moreover, the administrators were crosschecked by asking the future fate of the land from where the farmers fled to the villages formed. And, they revealed that either it will be used by the owner or will be given for investors. Therefore, based on the above data and observations made by the researcher study puts the program as it was with explicitly stated infrastructural service provision and implicitly intended making land free purposes. Because, the data triangulated from the respondents confirms the means- end relationship of the programs, but failed due to the reactions of the people and other actors. And, now the land is free, and it has never given for investors nor being in use by local people.

4.3. Villagization and resettlement program formulation and implementation process in Gambella

According to Villagization program Officer of Gambella region the process followed in program formulation and implementation took the following ways;

Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development designed villagization program for collecting scattered pastoralist and semi-pastoralist people in Gambella, Benishangul Gumuz, South Omo, Afar and other regional states. Thus, villagization program implemented in Gambella region is one of the extensions of this grand program. In Gambella regional state, *in the first phase*, the ministry's assessments result and the way forward policy has been presented for regional and federal level higher officials. The presented alternatives were welcomed by regional and federal officials, then, *in the second phase* they decided on how to move forward by giving special responsibilities:

- ✚ For regional government offices to be -led by vice regional governor
- ✚ To be handled by Villagization program officer under Gambella regional state agricultural office and
- ✚ To be supported by Ministry of federal affairs –Gambella regional branch.

After finishing the first workshop of held in between federal and regional officials, the regional government started to initiate the policy by preparing stages of discussion with woreda and zonal administrators. In parallel to the regional government, the Ministry of Federal Affairs started to provide its supportive function of facilitation, coordination, initiation, and expertise consultation and supervision roles.

Then, the facilitation, initiation and mobilization of the community for the program has been carried out by the collaboration of woreda administrators, zonal administrators, regional government, villagization program office in collaboration with agriculture office, ministry of federal affairs and different private and Non-governmental organizations- participated specially in supporting the provisions of services.

4.4. The level of Peoples' participation in the Villagization and resettlement program

According to IDMC (2010) document , state undertaking or enabling a development project are obliged to inform communities fully of its nature and consequences, to consult them adequately and effectively and to allow them to participate meaningfully in all a parts of the process, including the planning phase , that are relevant to their lives. Also, as per Human Right Approach to resettlement by NederveenPieterse (2001) cited in Fasika (2013:25) , states that any kind of development oriented resettlement should be conducted within an inclusive and participatory framework-that views the affected communities not simply as beneficiaries of development but its rightful and legitimate claimants. Moreover, article 43 (2) of Ethiopian constitution entitled with “the right to development” states that “...*Nationals have the right to participate in national development and, in particular, to be consulted with respect to policies and projects affecting their community...*”

Therefore, from the views of Ethiopian constitution and other scientific approaches peoples' participation in development project or program which affects their life is very important.

Accordingly, Woreda administrators stated that the process of program formulation and implementation was with full participation of local people. They said that, after receiving the mission from MoARD they have conducted a number of meetings with local people to inform them that the program was going to be implemented and that it would benefit them. And, the Villagization Program Officer also, confirmed that a number of meetings were arranged for local people to dictate them about the program.

Moreover, to cross check the participation of local people in the process of program formulation and implementation, villagers were interviewed and the followings are the testimonies of villagers about level of participation.

One of my respondents from Mathar said:

*“... They arranged meeting and said to us, it is already approved by the **government** to resettle you in a new place where you can find everything. And, on that meeting they said; “if you deny going there, first no service would be*

provided for you in this village (previous)... second you will be affected by Morlee, so...it is up you and no one will look after you”.

The other respondent from Etang said that:

“..... We were informed by government officials that we had to prepare our self and our materials for resettlement.... three month after they came to us, and they told us that there would be land distribution in the new village they have selected by themselves (this village).

One of my respondents from Goak said:

*“...I heard from my neighbors as good news that the **government** has planned to relocate us to another place where we could find all services.” Month after I got the information, when I wake up morning my neighbors were calling each other to come to here (new village), to get land for housing and other purpose, then I came with them and I took this land.”*

And, all respondents reflected the same idea, by stating that they were called in a meeting which has the intension of “externalization” -by saying “the government has decided, the government has planned ” and “transferring order “ from the above rather than giving them the chance to reflect on with the sense of “ Participation”.

Hence, it is possible to say that the process has been based on the principle of “informing villagers to go“, not giving the chance of participation in which people would participate in the process. Also, the HRW (2012:26) stated that villagers were engaged in some kind of “consultation “, which took the form of government officials “informing” people that they would be to move to a new location not to reflect and comment on the process. Hence, it is possible to say that the program formulation and implementation contradicts with the view of IDMC (2010) document which stated development project must allow the people participate meaningfully in all a parts of the process, including the planning phase. And also, it contradicts with the views of Human Right Approach to resettlement concept which states that the affected communities must be seen as not simply as beneficiaries of development but as rightful and legitimate claimants. Moreover, it contradicts article 43 (2) of Ethiopian constitution which entitles the people the right to participate in policies and projects affecting their life. This is due to the fact that , *participation* is not having the right to be informed , rather it is the act of taking part in an activity or being involved in making decision about one's own concern.

Therefore, even though it is very difficult to call this type of acts as a Participation, Pretty (1994) developed seven levels of participation and gave level for such kind of acts. So, out of the seven¹ steps of participation described by Pretty (1994) cited in George (2006) , the level (step) of participation exercised in the process of villagization program implementation in Gambella is known as *passive participation* where villagers have participated by being told what is going to happen or has already happened, which is described as *'tokenism' or as 'manipulated participation or as 'pseudo' participation* by Hart, (1992) ,Bordenave (1994) or White et al., (1994) cited in ibid) respectively. This type of participation is the minimal type of participation where the control of the project and the power to make decisions rests with planners, administrators and the community's elites, the extent of people's participation being that of passive listeners to what is being planned for them by external agent.

4.5. Voluntary and Involuntary nature of the Program Implementation

Human Right Watch (2012:98) letter written for Ethiopian Government revealed that:

".....the villagization process is not voluntary, and is accompanied by various human rights abuses. Government soldiers frequently beat or arrested individuals who questioned the motives of the program or refuse to move to the new villages. Community leaders and young men were targeted. There have also been credible allegations of rape and sexual assault by government soldiers. Fear and intimidation was widespread."

The Ethiopian Government response to this letter indicated that the report is allegation and described the reality in the following way:

"The villagization programs as well as other development interventions were implemented in accordance with FDRE constitution and relevant democratic principles. It was fully conducted on voluntary basis and with the full consent and participation of the beneficiaries. The sites for commune program were selected with full study in to the availability of surface and ground water and adequate arable and grassing land. At most care taken to make sure the critical social and economic services i.e water, health

¹ Pretty's (1994) seven-step participation ladder cited in George (2006), includes : a) Passive participation; where People participate by being told what is going to happen OR has already happened. b) Participation in information giving where People participate by answering questions posed by extractive researchers using questionnaire surveys (c) Participation by consultation where People participate by being consulted or answering questions, and external people listen to views d) Participation for material incentives : People participate by providing resources, such as labour, in return for food, cash and other material incentives. e) Functional Participation People participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project. (f) Interactive Participation : People participate in joint analysis, which leads to action plans and the formation of new local institutions or the strengthening of existing ones. (g) Self Mobilization : People participate by taking initiatives independent of external institutions to change systems

service, education and improved agronomy practice are put in place before the beneficiaries were relocated to the new areas." (ibid)

To see the gap between these extreme ideas, interview has been conducted with villagers by presenting the question that elicit *whether they came in to the new village by force, or by their interest, was any military force intervention in the process of villagization or not ?.*

The sample interviewee depicted that except peace keeping *Militias (deposed only to maintain peace from which majority of them are local people with gun)* nobody has forcibly enforced them to come to the new village, no military forces were deposed there, no beating, no any kind of rape, or any other kind of torture that they have seen due to the reluctance to accept the policy. Even, they added that some of their friends and families have returned back to their original place and also, if they need to return back nobody will ask them.

But, they all agreed that they were *fully deceived* by government officials. This is due to the fact that to get attention and to be believed by local people, government officials used to create *abstract or ideal village* where everything could be full, where there would be no food shortage, no disease, where everything would be with free cost, where tractors would be used to plough, where flour mill would be used freely, where they could be from morlee². And the followings are the testimonies of the respondents:

One of the respondents from Etang said:

"...look my son....you know that in our previous place we used to plough by hand ,very poor health serves, educations services, and poor water services there, then , when the officials came up with the proposal that :

*"You will be given with full water service
"You will be given with full education and health service
You will be given with 3-4 hectares
You will be given with tractors
You will be given with full flour mill freely
You will become modern person"*

²Morlee is a group from south Sudan know by flowing to Gambella region which terrorize the people of Gambella having guns, exercising rape, and other practices

How you reject these all offers? We said, ok, but now except water and education none of the services are provided for us., no sufficient land, no flour mill ...pleases leave it they laid us and we were cheated by their speech."

Similarly the other respondent from Nyignyag stated by saying:

"...uuffff...no police force enforced me to come to here (New village). Rather I believed government officials promises. Because they told us that there would be full health service, education service, full and pure water, and enough land would be given for us, which we are not enjoying with it still now. Even, it is our right to return back,, but the problem is that all our gardens are already destructed , and also, the government officials warned us that no government institutions and services will look after us if we return back "

Moreover community leaders have actively participated in the mobilization process, and they depicted that not only villagers, even they themselves (community leaders) were misled by government officials and in return they used to mislead the local people. Believing the government promises community leaders have influenced the people and the people believed them as community leaders are the most respected agent in the society.

One of the selected community leaders from Mahathir said:

".... I became community leader many years before. In the mind of my neighbors and by friends and families I'm their leader, their representative, and they always used to respect me, and they give value for me. And, one day I was called by woreda administrators with my fellows and they told us about the policy and strategy. They told me all issues about free health, education, flour mill, enough land, tractors, and lots of things. Then, I returned back to my home taking this Good news. Then, when I tell to my families, friends, they accepted me they believed me without any reservation. But, now not the community, I myself is in a very hard condition ..."

Thus, it is impossible to say that the process has been involuntary because villagers came to the new village by *their interest* not by force and even they revealed that they have the right to return back to their original place. Also it is incredible to say that the process was voluntary because the process of program implementation has been carried out with *fabricated information and unrealistic promises* by government officials. Hence, it is likely to conclude that the government has done neither direct human right attack as it has been described by activist (private and local and international NGO'S), nor voluntary based practice as it has been described by the

government. Rather, it is *deceitful practice exercised by the government officials*. Hence, in principle the government must be questioned by house of people's representative for what this deceitful practice has been carried out. Thus, how the government will be asked for this *wrongful* practice legally will be the other research areas which the study wants to show the gap for concerned bodies.

4.6. The impact of Villagization and resettlement on the Villagers

In any means the policy formulated and implemented within one society will result in a given change-either positive or negative, either it helps the people to flourish more and more or it result in the destitution of the people to the greater risk. Accordingly, the villagization program implemented in Gambella region is resulted in a given result –however the result is described by different actors differently. From the side of government, the program has resulted in the flourishing of the people where they are enjoying new life style with full service (GRSVPR, 2006) while from other actors side like OI, HRW, and other activist the program has resulted in the impoverishment of the people where people are suffering from a number of problems and resulted in impoverishment of the people (HRW, 2012, 38-54).

4.6.1. The Eight interlinked potential risks of resettlement in Gambella region

However the study is initially not intended to be impacts assessment, in order to achieve the objectives set and, to fill the gap between the two competing perspectives it is imperative to see the impacts of the program. To this end, the study utilized two models recognized and accepted by World Bank as standard to deal with resettlement issues. These models are Micahelcarneas' eight identified interlinked potential risks intrinsic to displacement model and The Socio-Economic Rights of villagers in the New Resettlement Villages Model.

Thus, the researcher conducted interview with woreda administrators and villagers, and undertook deep FDG with villagers. And, the following discussions are made by the results.

- a) **Landlessness:** According to Carneas' views of landlessness, the resettled people must be given with enough land which they can use it for grassing, housing, to plough. In addition to this pastoralists and semi-pastoralists have constitutional right stipulated under, Art. 40 (5)

of Ethiopian constitution, which states pastoralists have the right to free land for grazing and cultivation.

Accordingly, in mobilizing local people toward the program implementation, the government has promised to provide sufficient grassing and cultivation land for local people. So that, the villagization program officer and woreda administrators stated that the Promised Land (3-4 hectare) is allotted to all villagers. More over the response of government officials, Gambella Regional State Villagization and Resettlement Program Report (2013) confirmed the distribution of 3-4 hectare of land for villagers.

For cross checking the response, villagers were interviewed about *the process of land provision, how much land that they were given with as compensation and, whether it is equal with the previous one or not?* In answering the question, all villagers except Abobo Woreda villagers revealed that they are given only with the land which they used it to construct their house in a new village and for garden. While, the land promised by the government to be provided as compensation for the lost grassing and cultivation land is still not given for them.

The followings are some of the testimonies by villagers:

Accordingly, one of the villagers' respondents from Etang said that:

"...I do not know the hectare that you are saying, but as per my calculation the land that I had previously even as a garden could be three times than the land given for me for all purpose now (Garden, farming and grassing)."

Even due to the absence of land, and the unproductive nature of land distributed (hardness to plough by hand) to plough, some of them have changed their means of income in the newly created village from farming to wood selling, charcoal selling and other activities like selling atturbub while some of them have joined Investors Company as a laborer.

Accordingly, one of the respondents said that:

".... Firstly we were given with land for constructing our tukuls. Then, we were informed by the government official that we have to relocate our self-there and, we would be given with land for other purpose. But, after relocation to the new

place no one has approached us and asked us how we are living ... now we are surviving by preparing local alcohols like atturbub³."

Also, the other respondent added by saying:

"....We came here by the supposition that the government would provide us with sufficient land for farming and other purpose as promised. But, still we are not given with any land. Now, we are surviving by selling wood, burning charcoal, selling tukuls at Etang town"

Figure 4.1: The shift of means of income



Source: Own Field Observation, March 2014

Researchers' observation during fields work: A women preparing wood for sale (left), grass prepared to be sold for tukuls construction (right).

And, some of them are even in fear of about what they will give for their children's as inheritance.

One of the respondents said:

"...Previously, we never thought and feared of our children's fate, because, we used very and very large land for everything, and it was our asset that we inherited from our fathers and grandfathers. But, nowI do not know how my six children will share this two hectare land if I die".

Therefore, is possible to boldly conclude that landlessness is the most visible problem in Gambella region due to unfulfilled promise of government.

³Traditional alcohol, used by local villagers as "Areke" for others.

b) **Joblessness:** According to Carnea unless and otherwise it is managed very well, Joblessness is one of the negative outcome of resettlement. Villagers interviewed depicted that in their previous place no body sits without work, because, even where there is no work to be done they used to go to forest to search for wild animals, prepare home equipment's, fishing's, keeping their cattle's and etc. Whereas, now after they came in to new village, since land provided as compensation is not sufficient for farming, grassing and using it for other purpose, they revealed that they are suffering from joblessness.

One of my respondents said that:

"...previously either we search for eating something or we search for house equipment's, prepare farming instruments from the forest or we search for fish by going to river. But now, no excess land, no optional works to do, no forest as pervious to join and search for material and no river for fishing..."

The other respondents said that:

"...assume I do have only two hectare land ...but I do have six children's. Moreover, the land is very hard here to extend it ... and, also, we do not have any other means to survive..."

Fig: 4 .2: The level of joblessness



Source: Own Field observation, March 2014

While field work the researcher took the above photo- A group of people (villagers in one village) sitting without work at sharp 5:45 local time. I asked them why they sit without work and whether *they had this experience in their previous place?* After making thorough discussion by using FGD they said:

"...we are here playing together, and having traditional AKOYO AND ATTURBUB⁴ together. We are sitting here because we do not have something to do. We are waiting for time to reach for releasing time of cattle. Previously, we used forest for bees keeping, searching our food, to prepare farming and house equipment both for selling and for household usage. But, now always morning we meet each other here we play, we eat something together. We become busy only after may...even after May since the land we have is less than the man power that we haveit does not make us this much busy enough. Therefore, we are here without work."

Exceptionally, the response of villagers from Aboboworeda is different from all villagers and the researcher has also, observed visible difference in between other villages and villages in AboboWoreda, while villagers in the others villages were observed by the researcher sitting without work, playing, taking local cigarette, local alcohol, the villagers in Aboboworeda like in Tegni were so busy with different activities.

One of the respondents from Tengi said:

"... here, even if the land provided is not sufficient, the provided one is softy to dig, and it is productive. In addition, we are expanding the land by our own , the government has provided us with the necessary materials... here the condition is good to work more and more".

The other respondents confirmed by saying:

"..... Here we are encouraged by the government more and more, because the government has provided us with the species of Hen, goat, and Banana seeds ...for further production. In addition we are given with 3 hectare of productive land for better life..."

Therefore, from the above testimonies and from the observation made by the researcher, it is possible to conclude that the villagers are suffering from joblessness due to; the absence of sufficient land, farness of the village from the forest and river, and also, the hardness and unproductiveness of the land provided.

c) Food Insecurity: the research also, tried to address the impact and correlation of villagization program with food insecurity. To this end, the researcher used simple food insecurity measurements like their yearly production, daily consumption and year to year consumption.

⁴Atturbub and AkoyoTraditional cigarette AND alcohol made up of local leaf ,

For this, villagers were asked, *whether they do have sufficient production, whether there is any kind of change in their consumption pattern? And whether their yearly production is sufficient for their yearly consumption or not.*

In response to this questions, except from Aboboworeda , all respondents from sample woredas, depicted that there is extreme production difference , which directly resulted in consumption change. This is due to different reasons like, the failure of the government not to provide promised 3-4 hectare of land, the hardness of the land in newly created village, some of them are utilizing only the part of their land -which resulted in lower production, mostly the villages created are closer to road but far from forest and river which resulted in the absence of optional foods. Therefore, there is declining the level of production and minimizing optional foods in the village areas- which resulted in hunger of many families. The following are some of the testimonies.

One of the respondents from Etang said that:

“...I do have six children and previously except my last child, everybody could cover its own food from the forest, because the forest is there with full of leafs to be eaten, mangos, Bananas freely, fishing freely and etc. In addition my previous garden is very broader and softy. But now the land I have is harder to plough, the production is lesser and lesser, no fishing, no forest from which we can have our own optional foods. And, mostly we finish our yearly production within five month after production and I used wood selling and charcoal burning for my survival with my children’s.”

The other respondent backed the above statement by saying:

“...assume burning charcoal, gathering and selling wood at this age it is really very difficult (women with the age of 40’s). However it is difficult, just I'am doing it to survive. Previously the land I had was soft and also, productive. Here since it is very hard, even I have never tried to plough it...”

Adding to this, the other respondent said:

“...We were told by officials as we would be very productive if we relocate our self, but now just my family members are suffering from lack of food. Mostly, we finish our yearly production within five to seven months and the left moths would be so difficult months for us . Previously, we eat three times per day.... But now

food consumption change is feasible for example I haven't ate my breakfast today (at 6:30 local time)".

Therefore, it is possible to say that the villagization program implemented in the region resulted in the absence of sufficient and productive land, and absence of alternative foods. The absence of land directly resulted in the reduction of production and productivity -which resulted in the absence of food. This is also, confirms the prediction made by OI about *food insecurity* due to villagization program (OI, 2011:41) and the conclusion of Human Right Watch that food insecurity has happened in the region (HRW, 2012:23).

But, food insecurity condition in the region also, excludes AboboWoreda . Because, out of the seven sample woredas selected for the study, this one is the only woreda which has shown positive and remarkable change as a result of the implementation of Villagization program. Even, this woreda is the only and the most widely used woreda by government medias(newspaper, television , Radio) as a means to justify that villagization program implemented in Gambella region is successful and resulted in the improvement of the life people.

Accordingly, one of the respondents said:

".....land given for us is softy and easy to plough, due to this I have utilized all hectares given for me. Now, the productivity is encouraging. Moreover, we do have optional income from Hen, goat bearing, Honey production. So, our yearly production is sufficient for our yearly consumption, our daily consumption is also good, and I can say we are not in hunger"

The other respondent confirmed that:

"...Baro is here for us to utilize it for different vegetables, forest is here for the production of honey, and also the land given for us is good in its productivity. Our yearly production is sufficient for yearly consumption, and our daily consumption is good also... our consumption is mostly backed by fruits ..."

Also, the researcher has observed some indications of woreda's productivity. And, the following Photos are taken from the garden of farmers in Tenyi Village (one of the successful village in Aboboworeda).

Figure 4.3: The level of productivity



Source: Own Field observation, March 2014

d) Homelessness: According to Caneas analysis homelessness is another resultant outcome of resettlement. Accordingly, toworeda administrators revealed that they have supported villagers in constructing their house in the new village, by providing wood, huts and other materials for the construction of their house.

Moreover, villagers also, confirmed the support of the government in the provision of the row materials in the construction of their houses. But, for the question, *is the house you have can be equated with the previous one?* The villagers depicts that their previous home was well built, with hard material and they used to have more than one houses to live in , while the present house is mostly not more than one in number, with poor in quality -due to a very limited time given for the construction and insufficiency of the materials provided.

In addition to Corneas model of impoverishments elements of homelessness the UN Committee on the ICESCR has openly defined the components of the right to housing under General Comment No. 4. Accordingly the Committee stated that a house should not be constructed as just a roof over one's head, but it has to meet a number of conditions and facilities like (UN-HABITAT and OHCHR, cited in Fasika (2013: 57-58).

Accordingly, the committee listed: Security of tenure, Availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure, Affordability, Habitability , location Wise and the cultural adequacy requirements as standard to be considered as housing facilities .

Out of the criteria's listed above by the committee, the right to education, the right to health, and the right to work is discussed separately in the next section. Therefore, in this section housing issues will be seen from the areas of its security of tenure, Availability of service, habitability ,

affordability , availability to weaker section, location , and cultural adequacy's' are taken as point of discussion.

In relation to the security of tenure, from the beginning one of the government's justifications for villagization and resettlement was for giving certification of land for local people and registering their own part. But, according to the villagers response still land certification is done in a very limited areas. And, no way to protect them from such unexpected forced eviction also in the future. Therefore, there is no security of tenure for villagers, while also; the availability of service is still in question. But, the housing system was affordable by villagers since no payment has been made for both materials to be used, for the land to be used for construction also, in some areas the military forces were used to construct these houses for them as a support.

However, the houses constructed meet the cultural adequacy as far as their style and nature is the same with the previous housing, the habitability of the house in the new village is still questionable. As per the response of villagers and observation made by the researcher, the present housing system would not fit habitability (it has to provide adequate space, as well as protection against the cold, damp, heat, rain and wind criteria due to the following reasons.

- The space given for house construction is less than the previous one
- Mostly , the garden is 2-3 times less than the previous one
- Since the time given for house constructing was very short the quality is very poor
- The materials used were also, not selective and strong, as the time given has been was very short
- The capacity of the houses to protect the rainy, cold and wind is in question.

In addition to the villagers response , the researcher has observed that the majority of the houses owned by the villagers are with very poor quality , some of them are without door , some of them are without protection and standing outside it is possible to look at inside. While undeniably there are exceptional families having well built houses. Especially families with many children used the opportunity of being many in constructing and having well built houses.

Figure 4.4: The Nature of Housing



Source: Own Field Observation, March, 2014

A houses without any protection from sides open to wind, rain, cold and etc (Left-first) , A well-constructed houses with strong family (Middle –second) , A house with no door from both sides (middle-third) with the owner (right side-last)

e) Marginalization: According to Carneas' analysis marginalization occur when families lose economic power , if Many individuals cannot use their earlier-acquired skills at the new location; human capital is lost or rendered inactive or obsolete, and, he added that it is not properly managed resettlement may result in the marginalization of the people. According to the FGD result of villagers in almost all villages taken as a sample, the following are the characteristics of the process and outcome of the implemented villagization program:

- *Very limited land for plough*
- *Very hard and un productive land provided for them*
- *Absence of alternative means of income*
- *Change from farming to charcoal selling and wood selling, being employed under different investment as a laborers*
- *Higher Joblessness*
- *Psychologically stress by remembering the previous life condition*
- *Less production*

Accordingly, one of the respondents stated that:

“.....I came here with more than 25 castles. My friend here with came with 35 cattle’s and. But, our castles failed to cope up with the environmental challenges, and also, there is no more broader land for grassing. Due to this, my friend and I left with 7 and 5 cattle respectively. Not only this, look at my hand and my legs

(showing to the researcher) I was so strong person there because I work more, and I eat more , ... now we fear for our self and no more being rich , being strong ... ”

Therefore, if there is limited production and limited means of income, it is possible to say that there is also, less economic power. If there is no economic power, if their previous resource is destructed, if their dominating economic activity is affected by the program, if there is no job to do, the probability of being under *marginalization* would be very broad.

But, this result also, excludes Aboboworeda. Because the FGD and the interview conducted with them reveal that, their economic power is increasing, no joblessness, good production and they do have a lot of alternative means of income compared with others. Therefore, the marginalization also, would not work for them.

f) Social Disintegration: For the question raised by the researcher for FGD and depth interview to identify whether any social organizations was destructed by the villagization and resettlement process. Villagers revealed that they have had social organizations. However, they lost those social originations due to the program, now they have already formed another social organizations and social integration systems with the new villagers. Therefore, the impact on social disintegration is lesser.

g) Loss of Access to Common Property (Pastures, forest lands, water bodies, burial grounds, quarries and so on) , as per the then response of villagers, the program implemented has resulted in significant deterioration of income and livelihood levels. As it is already discussed specially in the food insecurity part, this program has resulted in loss of common property.

In testifying this , one of my respondents said that:

“... We lost all the resource what we had been proud of it. For example, forests, water, are our main resources.... everything has been communal, but this is lost”.

Supporting the above statement, the other respondents said that:

“...In our culture, forest, water bodies are very meaningful asset. In addition assume leaving your father, your grandfathers, may be your children’s burial for risk and living in another place, even we have been worshipping under our own cultural and spiritual materials and trees under which we present our worshipping

sacrifices and celebrate our ceremonies. So, even for me this is the most important issues to be considered by the government.”

Therefore, except in Aboboworeda (Tengi, cubo. Oman keleles) in all other selected sample woredas ; landlessness, homelessness , Joblessness , marginalization , and food insecurity are the main problems identified by the assessments , whereas loss of common property, Social Disintegration problems are the common problems seen in all study areas including Aboboworeda. Hence, it is possible to conclude that the policy argued to be the way for the improvement of the life of the people was resulted in the impoverishment of the people with multiple consequences.

4.6.2. The availability of Promised Socio-Economic service in the "Villages"

The right to water, the right to housing, the right to school, the right to health have been described as a Socio-Economic Rights in the New Resettlement Villages by different national and international institutions and legislations like the FDRE constitutions , UNDHR, ICCPR, CEDAW, ICERCR UN respective departments, and CRC General Assembly, and etc (Fasika : 2013). Since the right to housing was discussed in the above section, the right to water, education, the right to health, of the new settlers will be discussed in the following sections.

I. Water service availability

Although the right to water is not directly mentioned under the bills of human right (UDHR, ICCPR and ICESCR), it has been recognized as a human right by different human rights instruments and interpretations of authoritative human rights bodies. Different organizations like ICESCR, The UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights CEDAW, CRC General Assembly Resolution Directly or indirectly stated the importance and the necessity of drinkable water for the survival of human being (ibid).

Also, as it has been discussed in the first section, the explicit purpose of the Villagization and resettlement program was, to make the pastoralist and semi-pastoralist people to be the beneficiary of the infrastructural, social and economic beneficiaries. Therefore, for the question *is there sufficient water service provided by the government?* The FGD and interview result revealed that the water service provided by the government is sufficient. Especially during the day time no one would use it(it is free), however, they stated that during holydays, during morning (2:00-4:00 o'clock LT) and evening (11:00-12:30 LT) since everybody wants to use it

before and after work respectively , it becomes busy, even they stated that sometimes there is conflict over the pump to be used. Also, the researcher observed some of the pumps provided.

Therefore, even though it is difficult to say that the service provided is “Fully sufficient “, the researcher found this progress as a remarkable and change due to the following reasons : Firstly, the present progress is very fantastic and since development is a process not an event , prospective of the progress is promising. Secondly, it is remarkable change especially for pastoralist those who have been living without such services. Moreover, the woreda administrators revealed that, as the absence of water has multiple effects the woreda administration offices are still working over the project of addressing pure water for all so that the insufficiency of the water in selected woreda’s will be avoided.

II. Education service availability

Art.41. (3) of FDRE constitution states that every citizen of the country has the right to equal access to publicly sponsored social services. And, art 90(1) specifically states that, to the extent that the country’s economic status permits the government Policies should aim in providing service like education, clean water, housing and food and social security. Supporting this, after 1991, Ethiopian government also, designed educational sectors program I, II, II, IV, and VI for achieving “Education for all” campaign. In addition to this, access to education, especially free and compulsory primary education, is one of the fundamental rights recognized by ICESCR, CRC and other binding human rights instruments (Fasika, 2013:60).

Moreover, the explicitly provoked purpose of the program was to provide public services for villagers. Therefore, it is villagers' right to claim to get the service promised by the government constitutionally in general and , while program implementation in specific. For the question, *is education service available, and is the service provided is with good quality, and sufficient for villagers?* villagers confirming the existence of schools, they revealed that, schools were constructed by mud, and by a very poor materials and , now it is on the way to fall, the mud is dropping up on students while learning, no sufficient chairs, no sufficient teachers are there. Also, Woreda Administrators were asked about the reason for poor qualities of facilities. And, they raised the quick nature of resettlement process as a reason for construction of the schools with poor facilities, and materials and they stated that they are re-constructing the previous and constructing new schools by allocating budget for it.

The researcher also, observed the education facilities available for villagers in all sample villages. The researcher has observed substantial difference among the woredas school service provision. In a very limited woredas , there are well built schools with good facilities and sufficient teachers. While, in some others there are poorly constructed schools by wood and mud, with poor facilities and with no sufficient teachers.

Figure 4.5: The nature of schooling 1



Source: Own Field observation, March 2014

In the above villages, the constructions are good compared with others. And, also, facilities in side are better than the visited other villages. While in the majority of the selected woredas , the schools are poorly constructed with poor facilities inside and outside room.

Figure 4.6: The nature of schooling 2



Source: Own Field observation, March, 2014

As it can be seen from the picture above, the first left and the second left hand side are school in Etangworeda, while the third right hand side school found in Tenyi.

However the schools are with very poor quality of services and facilities, Villagers described the existence of the school as the good side of the program -which is true. And, the FDG with villagers and the observation made by the researcher revealed that, out of the school services provided, some of the schools are without chairs and even students are learning by sitting on the stone. Some of them are made up of mud and, mud is dropping up on the students' while learning, some of them are without chair, poorly prepared black board, while some of them are without door and open to any kind of disturbances.

Hence, even though the qualities of the facilities available in the schools are still in question, it is possible to conclude that the access of school in the study area is good compared with the past experience. But, the absence of the facility like good chair, black board, and other facilities needed in schools selected is enough ground to possibly say the quality of education is poor.

III. Heath service availability

With the same Article, the EDRE also, states the right of its people to have health facilities. However, the government is claiming that health service provision is reached 100% in terms of reaching unreached by health service; even GRSVR (2013) is stating that health sector service reached more than 95 percent, the testimonies revealed by villagers to the researcher is quite different.

According to the observation, in depth interview and FGD conducted with villagers, there are four natures of health center and services going in selected villages':

- Some of them are started to be constructed and contractor have stopped constructing without finishing the project
- Some of the are well built with no medical service, and equipment and professionals
- Some of the are used for different purpose
- Some of them on the way to roof demolish

Figure 4.7: The Nature of health center



Source: Own Field observation, March 2014

Constructed health center with no service, constructed and given for other purpose, health center demolishing , Heath center with no service with congested materials inside, health but not finished (From left to right) in Etang , Nyignanya, Etang with another village, Tengi , and Mathar respectively.

As it can be seen from the above pictures in Etangworeda Picture A (Pa) the health center is already constructed very well, with no service, no medical equipment and medicine, and professionals. While the Picture B (Pb) is in Nyignangworeda, which shows that the building is constructed for health center, but given for Federal polices working in the region under Ethiopian Wild Animal Protection Authority.

Picture C (Pc) represents health center in Etang in other woreda, building with no service but on the way to demolish. While, picture D (Pd) is building with no service, buy on the way to demolish with inside congested and poorly arranged materials. The Picture E (pe) shows that health center building was there during their resettlement, but now the previously built one is already demolished without giving any service, and the government is constructing another new health center but contractors stopped constructing without finishing the project.

The researcher visited all health centers in the selected villages, while visitation he has never seen any health center providing service, even no health service was open. And, also, the villagers confirmed the existence of health center building without any service, without any

equipment's and professionals, and they stated that except during polio campaign and ambulance provision for villages nearer to woreda's and Zones' especially during women's labour, the health service in the region is non-functional.

Therefore, it is possible to boldly conclude that the health centers nature in the region especially in the selected samples can be classified under one of the four natures structured by the researcher.

4.7. Dynamics of investment and land grabbing in Gambella region

Even though, land is central to livelihoods, food security and identity – the result of a direct dependence on agriculture and natural resources for many millions in the developing world, (IIED, 2009:1), today, stories of communities driven from their lands, often at the barrel of a gun, left destitute and unable to feed their families, have become all too familiar (OXFAM, 2012:1). Literally, the term *land grab* refers to the “purchase or lease of vast tracts of land by wealthier food-insecure nations and private investors from mostly poor, developing countries in order to produce crops for export” (S. Danie and , A. Mittal, 2009 cited in D. Milerevo , 2012). However, the present day understanding of the term “*Land grabs*” is coined by the media to describe large-scale purchases or leases of agricultural or forest land on terms that do not serve those already living on the land (ibid).

In the past decade an area of land eight times the size of the UK has been sold off globally and specifically, in developing countries foreign investors are leasing up an area of land equal with the size of London every six days between 2000 and 2010. As the scale and pace of large-scale land acquisitions increases globally, evidence is mounting that the land rush is out of control and that the price being paid by affected communities is unacceptably high (ILC ,2011 cited in OXFAM, 2012).

In Ethiopia studies show that the total large-scale land transferred for investors is 1,205,000 hectares. Out of the 1,205,000 hectares of land, 49,000 hectares are under the investment by local investors, while the remaining 1,156,000 hectares which constitutes about 96 percent of the large-scale farms (i.e. farms with 2000 hectares or more) are allocated to foreign investors. It is

also to be noted that Indian investors have acquired 700,000 hectares out of the 1,156,000 hectares thereby constituting about 61 percent of the total land allocated to the foreign investors and 58 percent of the total land given for investors.(Elias , 2011:1).

According to GIA, out of 960 investors with investment certificate in Gambella region, 424 of them have received land for agricultural investment, out of which 12 of them are foreign investor and the remaining are local investors. And, the GIA report of 2013, indicates that , land leasing process has been carried out in the seven woredas (Etang, Lare, Abobo, Gok, Godare, Gambella , and Dimawereda), where the total land area of 524202.58 hectare has been distributed for both local and foreign investors. In addition to this, according to EAILAA report, the total land available under federal bank is 3.67 million hectare while the total land of 308015 is given for the general of 19 foreign investors, and 26 local investors.

4.8.Is there land grabbing in Gambella region?

In most cases there is a debate between ruling government and other social and political actors like scholars, political and social activists, and national and international concerned bodies. Specially, this is common for African countries. Whenever the government leases/sales land for investors, it is common to see two campaigns i.e. those who support the government actions and those who criticize the government actions of giving land for investors.

In the first case, giving huge hectare of land for investor's the government denies to believe that there exists land grabbing in the country. This is due to the fact that , from the government point of view "land grabbing" is negatively perceived and, for them *land grapping* happens only if leasing of land resulted in the destructions of the natural resources or the displacement of the indigenous people. In second case, also the scholars, political and social activist always describe *land grabbing* by the sale of land for investors irrespective of *How much land* and *for whom and for what , and how the land is sold*.

Also, this debate is the same for Ethiopian case. Whenever there is land provision for investment in the country , scholars would take their pen to start their wording with " Land grabbing" , social and political actors would use medias to say negademengist/ ager shachi(country selling government "Business making Government") , and in contrary to this conclusion, the

government would cover the governmentally owned medias by arguing " there is no land grabbed in Ethiopia"., they used to say " Our government is developmental state, our government is not business government..etc" . This is due to the fact that there is no standardized and objective based judgment made by both parties' rather than partisan and personal judgment.

As to this study, personal and partisan judgment must be avoided and the international standard, guidelines must be used for common understanding of the concerned bodies. This is due to the fact that in the normal course of line, it is not the ruling government or any other body which can describe the existence land grabbing or the absence of it in one country. Since *land grabbing* is global subject especially common problem for the poorest countries, it is global experience or internationally available guidelines and standards that approve or disprove the presence and absence of land grabbing in one nation. Because, all land given for investors cannot describe as land grabbing and also, to be **land grabbing** it is not must to have displaced people, mis treated people and destructed resource. This is due to the fact that not all displacement/dispossession today is a result of land grabbing, and not all land grabbing results in displacement and dispossession.

Therefore, *what makes a land acquisition a land grabs* is a question needs to be answered by this study. To this end, two internationally recognized used standards have been used to rate whether the land leasing process in Gambella region is land grabbing or not. Any land lease is to be called as land grabbing it must be seen from two viewpoints.

- A. From the amount of land Point of view
- B. The process followed in leasing the land pint of view.

Thus, to achieve the objective of the study, the process of land leasing in Gambella region was seen from the two viewpoints by using interview and Focus Group Discussion.

A. From the amount of land leased Point of view

The term "Land Grabbing" was coined by an international non-profit organization named Grain, which operates from the early 1980s and that works to support small farmers and social movements in their struggles for community controlled and biodiversity-based food systems (Grain 2011, cited in Carlo, Silvio and Antonio 2012). Just Grain, in November 2011, has published a document entitled "Land Grabbing and global food crisis" that illustrates the phenomenon and how it is characterized. And, this organization defined, the term "Land

Grabbing” as it refers to the acquisition (lease, concession or outright purchase) by corporate states of large areas of farmland (>10,000 ha) in another country and on a long-term basis (generally 30-99 years), for the production of basic foods that will then be exported in domestic countries (ibid).

In another way , the recent perceptives of Lange –scale land acquisition is the acquisition of any tract of land larger than 200 hectares (ha), or twice the median land-holding according to the national context is land grabbing. This is due to the fact that 200ha is ten times the size of a typical small farm (Hazell et al , 2007 cited in OXFAM ,2012). In Ethiopia the total large-scale land transferred for investors is 1,205,000 hectares. Out of the 1,205,000 hectares of land, 49,000 hectares are under the investment by local investors, while the remaining 1,156,000 hectares which constitutes about 96 percent of the large-scale farms (i.e. farms with 2000 hectares or more) are allocated to foreign investors(Elias , 2011:1).

Specifically, according to GIA , out of 960 investors with investment certificate in Gambella region, 424 of them have received land for agricultural investment, out of which 12 of them are foreign investor and the remaining are local investors. According to, the GIA report of 2013, land leasing process has been carried out in the seven woredas (Etang, Lare, Abobo, Gok, Godare, Gambella, and Dimawereda). And the total land area of 524202.58 hectare has been leased for both local and foreign investors. Individually, from the minimum of 36 hectare to the maximum of 100,000 hectare of land has been given for individual investors.

Therefore, the data available about land leases boldly reflects the existence of land grabbing in Gambella region. Because, from the first models' point of view the requirement land is land greater than 10, 000 hectare, while in the second one the requirement is, land greater than 200 hectare. The above official data of GIA shows that the total leased land is 524202.8 hectare, while, it includes even land up to 100, 000 per individual. Therefore, by using the two models as lenses of analysis it is possible to boldly declare the land leasing action going on in Gambella region as "Land Grabbing".

B. The process followed point of view: the process of land transfer in Gambella Region

In Gambella regional state always there is the prevalence of politics, conflict and compelling interest of different tiers of government over the ownership of land. For instance, under military

Junta, the land and land related issues were handled by the government by its slogan of *encouraging state farms*. The government of that time used large areas of the region as potential and strategic site for state farm project of the day (Eshetu, 1978). After the collapse of Derg regime, EPRDF, came in to power, and started to make change in the usage and ownership of land throughout the country.

According to MOFED (1993) the first decade intention of EPRDF, was deep rooted with the policy of Agricultural Development Led Industrialization where, small holder farmers were given with major emphasis, supported by the government and also, seen by the government as the critical and for front runner in bringing development.

But, the second decade of EPRDF governance, the Focus as of the Government has been Shifted to the promotion and development of Large Scale Commercial Farming. Specially, from the early years 2000s, lowland areas including Gambella region have been given with due emphasis for large scale commercial farming (Desaleny , 2011). Accordingly, after 2007, the flow of investors' to Gambella region has shown dramatic increase.

According, to Gambella Investment Agency delegated Directorate land leasing process is going on in Gambella region in two ways.

In the first case, specially, after 2007 the flow of investors to Gambella region has shown dramatic increase and in between 2007-2009, the special interest and flow of foreign inventors has been seen. Due to the increasing number of investors, the regional office couldn't provide qualified service and there were some official problems. As a result, the regional government has requested the MoARD to create special department called Agricultural Investment Support Directorate (AISD) for handling land leasing process. From 2009-2013 AISD has been giving land for both local and foreign investors for the land beyond 5000 hectare within the area of federal land Bank. And, now Agricultural Investment supportive Directorate (AISD) is changed in to Ethiopian Agricultural Investment and Land Administration Agency (EAILAA) with the same functions and responsibilities. This supportive function of EAILAA for the region continues for unknown span of time.

Therefore, once the authority to allocate the land within Federal Bank is delegated to the EAILAA, in the process of land allocation Gambella investment Agency and other

woreda administration offices are powerless to decide about the land and to question EAILAA about for whom, how much, why? and how? Land would be given, and thus, as far as EAILAA is delegated for it, the order would be implemented as it is - this is due to the fact it is already stated in their memorandum of understanding.

Supporting Gambella Investment Agency, Ethiopian Agricultural Investment and Land Administration Agency (EAILAA) **director** stated that:

"... in principle it is the mandate of regional government to process land lease process, but by the request of regional government to help them in land lease process we (Regional Government And Ethiopian Agricultural Investment And Land Administration Agency) do have memorandum of understanding about land leasing which has no constitutional and legal ground, and not binding agreement...rather we have an agreement now but they can ask the agency to be independent from our interference at any time".

And, he described the process of land leasing at federal level in the following ways: First, if new investor is new to the system (office), land requisition form must be submitted by investor to EAILAA, then information will be provided by the EAILAA directorate about the land types available. But, if that investor is not new comer is or he/she investing in the region and coming for adding another land, the investor must come up with identified appropriate land area.

Then in either of the cases, investors will be asked to submit project document to the MoARD along with business plan. If the investor is new comer, only land in the federal Bank will be indicated, but if the investor has come with identified land, the office will check whether the land is within the scope of federal Bank or not. This is due to the fact that, as per their memorandum of understanding in between the office and EAILAA, EAILAA can provide only land within the federal land Bank. So, after the checkup of land business plan of the investors will be evaluated as per the offices' criteria which include financial capability, citizenship, the past financial statement.

And, if investor's business plan is believed to be effective, EAILAA will write a letter to the regional investment office to demarcate and hand-over the land to the investor. Then, the Investor will make an agreement with Woreda administration and will pay land lease fee for

Woredaadministration. At the end, the receipt of lease payment and the map of land demarcation will be submitted to EAILAA.

The following sample is taken from one of the order comes from federal government to provide land for investors.

Ethiopian Agricultural Investment and Land Administration Agency

No.xxxx

.Date.xxxxx.

To: Gambella Region investment Agency

Subject: Giving Investment license

As per his request to be engaged in agricultural investment, Mr. xxxx is already accepted by the office (Ethiopia Agricultural Investment and Land Administration Agency) by fulfilling all the necessary criteria's needed to be fulfilled for becoming an investor and also, he has presented his business plan. Therefore, 10,000hect of land is given for him by the office (Ethiopia Agricultural Investment and Land Administration Agency) in xxxxWoreda. Hence, hereby the office would like to request you to provide him with investment certificate and to demarcate the land for him.

Source: Gambella region investment agency

Receiving this letter of order, the Gambella region investment agency immediately gives Order for woredas, and then investors directly go to the woreda administration and take the land permitted for them and make an agreement.

In the second way, the regional government has the power to handle the land lease process in which the land amount must be less than 5000 hectare and outside of federal land Bank. In this case, the regional investment agency plays the land administration and its investment related

process in parallel to federal government. According to Gambella Regional Investment Agency Directorate, in providing land for investors regional office follows the following procedures.

"In the first step, the investor by him/herself search favorable and fertile land for the type of investment needed and the (must be less or equal to 5000ha) hectare of land needed. Then, the requesting investor is expected to submit investment proposal. This investment proposal would be evaluated by Regional investment agency's' Investment Board in terms of employment opportunity, capital formation, technological development , future development plan , food security and bank statement hold by the applying investor. After assessments, investment board of the region will permit or reject the invertors' investment proposal. If the board permits to proceed to the investment, the investor will take permission letter from them and will communicate with woreda administrators. Then, the contract will be signed in between woreda administrators and investors."

Therefore, according to ILC (2011) cited in OXFAM, (2012), in either of the cases (land distributed through EILAA or GIA) Land acquisitions become land grabs when they do one or more acts among the following elements like a) Violating human right b) Flouting the principle of free, prior and informed consent (FPIC)- under which affected communities are informed about and are able to give or refuse consent to be a project C) Failing to make thorough assessments d)Avoiding transparent contrast with clear and binding commitments on employment and benefit sharing, and avoiding democratic planning, independent oversight and meaningful participation.

To allege process of land acquisition and leasing process, as "land Grabbing", the data collected through FGD and Interview has been discussed by using the second model of land grabbing which focus on the Process followed not on the amount of land.

A. Violate human right: For evaluating the process of land provision from the view point of human right, local people living around the investment projects were interviewed and FDG was used to elicit further data through discussion. Thus, for the question" *Is the land owned by the investors was yours, was any kind of human right violation while land leasing process?*", the respondents described that the land given for inventors was not their own personal property, but, as Nuer Ethnic group are Pastoralist , and the Anuak ethnic group have based their life on agriculture and forest based fruit and vegetable production, their consumption, their medicine, their house to live in and other necessities are from land and

forest. They revealed that they do have a communal claim from the land provided for investors.

The following are the testimonies:

One of the respondents from around Karaturi said:

"..... they have never invested on my personal land that I have personally. Rather they used our communal land. Especially, our forest that we have been using as a food, as a medicine, as the material for construction is already occupied".

Also, other respondent in Abobo responded that:

"....Forest is all in all for us", it is our food from where we find roots and leafs for eating. It is our medicine that we use it for all sickness that we used to be cured before the coming of these modern medicine, it is our building material which we use it for building our houses.....so our land and its forest is all in all for us But, today they (investors) focused on cleaning this forest without any question and control...so we are losing our food, our medicine, our asset".

Supporting this other respondents living around Etang said:

"... For us everything that we have is in common.....and, the resource in Gambella region belongs to Gambella people. For example, whenever there is drought in one area we shift with our cattle to the area and we stay for un specified time there , and we come back when the condition become favorable for our cattle. But, now everywhere you go our land is occupied by highlanders...we are suffering because of them".

For cross checking the response of the local people selected sample investors were interviewed and all of them depicted that the land they are using for investment was never been occupied as a personal property before, rather it was idle, free and unused land. They stated that they have never taken any personal property of local people. The following are some of their responses.

One of the investors investing in Aboboworeda stated that:

"...the land on which we are investing had been filled with forest, even in our first trip we feared to get in to the forest due to its shocking nature. Therefore, we have never used any body's land for investing; rather it was idle, empty land with congested forest, virgin and untouched land that we have received from the government".

In addition, the other investor confirmed the above argument, by saying:

"we haven't paid any compensation for the land that we have received from the government , because , the land was empty land with full forest and wild animals living in it and it was land without owner, without production, without any use...
"

Moreover, the investment areas of the sample investors were observed by the researcher and, in the sample woredas where the investors are totally engaged in investing, no one's private land has been taken over and given for investors. And, lastly, Woreda Administrators , Gambella Region Investment Agency, and EAIAA depicted that ; the land they have provided for both local , and foreign investors have been idle, unused and, land without owner. Hence, there has never been any kind of human right violation, mistreatment, and displacement of the local people due to the land lease process going on in the Gambella region.

However, there is differing understanding in between all concerned government offices (Federal government , Regional Investment Agency, woreda administrators) and Local people on what constitute *Idle, Unused, Virgin Land* differing, because, the local people claim that the land was their own common property which they have been using it for different purposes like , for grassing , for wood, construction of tukuls (traditional house), for medicine, even they have been proud of the land and forest as a property and asset and it has the concept of identity. While, the government officials are classifying non-personally owned land as idle, unused land.

Supporting the local peoples argument, (TNI; 2012;4), stipulated that:

Worldwide the areas being targeted for this kind of large-scale investment are being portrayed on paper as 'empty', 'marginal', 'idle' or 'degraded' land, largely unpopulated, unused, unproductive, and unlikely to compete with local food production. Yet the reality is that the land is not empty, idle, or unused; and many investors are going for prime — not marginal or degraded — land.

In addition to this, Fasika (2013 :50) sated that the absence of people in the areas should not be equated to free land. This is because of the nature of living style of the people. This means an area that is uninhabited in one season may be occupied in another due to the mobile lifestyle of the communities.

Moreover, different analysis made in the areas of pastoral livelihood has confirmed this fact. For instance, the study conducted by Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia, the International Institute of

Rural Reconstruction and the Development Fund has stated that “there is no unutilized land in pastoral areas available for outsiders (ibid).

Hence, it is possible to conclude that, the local peoples’ means of income, optional foods, medical means, and their material source is being affected by this large scale commercial farming. Because, the land and forest they have been using for multifaceted purpose is being taken over by investors. Also, their constitutional right stipulated under Art.40 (5) is not respected by the government. Therefore, human right violation starts, whenever somebody's means of survival starts to be taken over from herself/himself. So, it is scientifically viable to say, there is human right violation due to large scale commercial farming going on in the region.

B. Flout the principle of free, prior and informed consent (FPIC)

Regarding the second criteria, the given land allotment process can be free from the name of "land grabbing" if the process followed in the provision of land respects the principle of free, prior and informed consent under which affected communities are informed about and are able to give or refuse consent to a project. Unless and others wise, the process would be alleged as “land grabbing process”.

In Gambella regional state, the communities living around the investments were interviewed whether they were given with the chance to participate in the process of land allocation for investors or not. In response to this question, they all said that they haven't participated in the process and all process are going on by the government officials, without any participation of local people in the process.

One of the respondents, living around Abobo depicted the process of land allocation by his saying of;

“We have never been given with the chance to participate in the process of land provision for investors, even no one asked us whether we are volunteer or not, whether it is our interest or not, nobody told us why the investors are coming to our region.”

The same question has been raised, for *Woreda* administrators, and Regional Investment Agency. The *woreda* administrators also, confirmed the absence of the participation of the local people in the process of land provision for the following reasons;

- ✚ The land given for investors is idle, and free lands which is not personal property.
- ✚ Most and very large provisions order comes from EAIAA, so, how local people can participate in it.

At last, Ethiopian Agricultural Investment and Land Administration Agency directorate said that:

" ...this agency is formed by the request of the regions (specially Benishangul Gumuz and Gambella) to help them in processing land lease process. So, we give land (land under federal land bank) for any investor (foreign or local) and based on the memorandum of understanding and, it is very difficult to make local people to participate in the process."

Therefore, the result of an interview from Regional, woreda office and from local people revealed that, the power of land dealing process is already partially re-centralized to the federal government by the request of regional government, and the left land is in the hand of local administrators, while the land provided is justified as it is free and no need of consulting the people. Moreover, Oakland institute (2011:31) stated the existence of confidentiality and secrecy not only for woredas and regional governor even with the respective ministry (EAIAA). Thus, as per the given standard if the process does not gives the possibility of participation for people at large, and also gives minimal involvement for woreda administrators and regional offices, it is boldly possible to be called as a "land grabbing".

C. If process is not based on a thorough assessment of, or disregard, social, economic and environmental impact

With respect to thorough assessments of social, economic and environmental impact of the investment, Gambella Regional state investment agency stated that with the capacity to invest (especially those with the capacity to invest in more than 5000hectare of land) come to regional office with approved and finished process. So, it is not the regional offices mandate to re-quest the assessments aspect of their investment.

Also, the Ethiopian Agricultural Investment and Land Administration Agency- land administration department directorate stated that, the economic, social and environmental impact assessments are presented after the land is taken over by the investors. This is because of the truth that investors would not present assessments for the land they never know (takeover).

From the investors point of view, there is mis understanding of social, economic and environmental assessment and having a business plan. They were asked whether they carried out social, economic and environmental assessment and, the investors responded that they do have a business plan and they undertook business feasibility assessment.

Therefore, even if the EAILAA claims that there is an assessment for it, as per the response of investors and government officials involved in the process, there is no common understanding of what social, economic and environmental assessment constitutes, and its difference with business plan. So, undue consideration has been given for this aspect.

Even in some areas there is an indication of failure to have social, economic and environmental assessment results. Because, the data collected reveal that, some of the investors are being affected by environmental conditions' of the region, while the others are extremely harming the environment. For example, according to the manager of "Karaturi " last year due to flood which comes from Baro river the company lost maize farmed over very large hectare of land. In addition, some of the companies observed are on the way to be collapsed due to the environmental difficulties and other unexpected factors, and more than half of them have never started their investment. While, some of them are extremely engaged in destruction of natural resource like forest, water bodies which has direct relationship with the health, social, Economic, and environment aspect of the society living there. During the observation, the following photo has been taken by the researcher in searching how the investors are protecting the environment.

Figure 4.8. The level of deforestation



Source: Own Field work observation, March 2014 , Destructed forest in Anuak Zone, around one of the investment area.

The above photo shows the deforestation going on in Gambella region in the name of investment. In addition to the environmental impact, as per the response of Regional Investment Agency, the regions' culture of sex and related acts have their own place, time and there are some social norms and values guiding these acts. But, he and the projects managers in the selected projects responded that there is "un safe open sex" in the investment area and younger's are developing bad behavior like drug addiction, smoking, drinking alcohol, chewing chat around the project.

Therefore, the economic, social, and environmental impact assessments are not seen as the critical factor and, rough and undue consideration is given for the issue. Hence, the magnitude of the offices and investors carelessness is more than enough to qualify them as "land grabbers".

D. Eschew democratic planning, independent oversight and meaningful participation.

As it has been indicated in the second point, the level of meaning full participation of the community, regional office and woreda administration is very limited. Hence, the process has broken the principle of democratic planning; even it breaks the constitutionally given demarcation of Federal and Regional government power under Art, 51 and 52 of EPRDF constitution respectively. Hence, it is boldly possible to say that the land leasing process in Gambella region is "land grabbing". Therefore, as per both models it is fully possible to classify the land allotment process and investment process going on in Gambella as "**Land grabbing**".

Moreover, even if the amount of land allotted has its own implication, it is the central argument of this study that the participation of the people in the process and the interest (consent) the people about the allotted land must be the dominant and the central criteria to allege a given land provision process as land grab. Therefore, as per this study:

Land grabbing: is a situation where by, the government makes an agreement of providing land of any size (any hectare) with politically and/or economically elite groups without full participation of the owners (local people). This definition adds, whatever the project contributes positively, if it is not accepted by the people it is not an investments. Whereas, investment is defined as, a situation where by, the any amount land is given for anybody, with full participation of the people.

This means, any amount of land either 1hectare or 1000, 000 or more hectare given for investors with full participation and full interest of the of the people can be considered as investment, while, even 1 hectare of land given for investors without the consent of concerned body (the people) can be considered as deployment not development so it can be alleged as **land grabbing**.

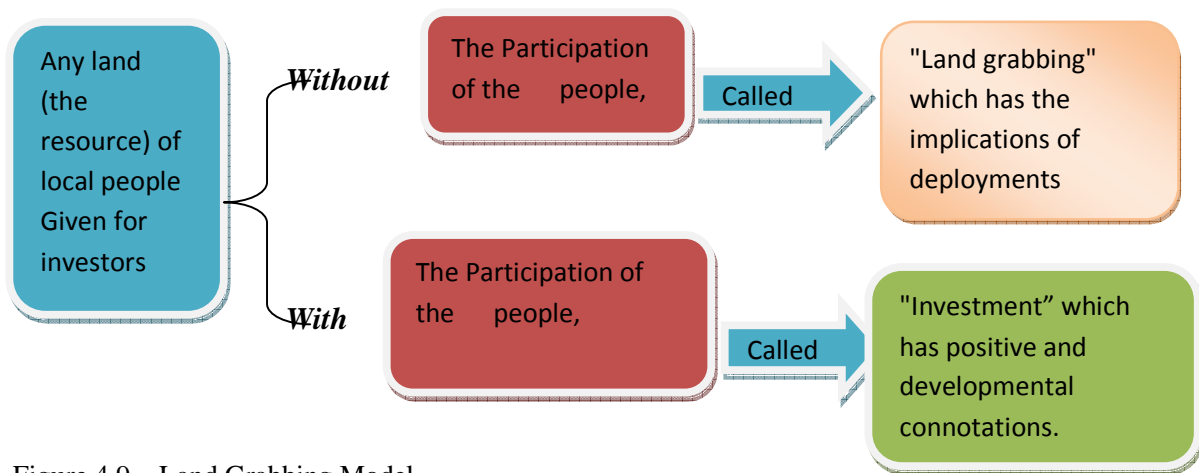


Figure 4.9. Land Grabbing Model

Adopted by: the researcher

4.9. Who grabs land in Gambella Region?

According to GIA's official report of 2013, out of 960 investors investing in Gambella region 424 of them have received land for agricultural investment in six woredas , out of which 12 of them are foreign inventors and the remaining 380 are local investors. In addition to the land provided by regional office, EAIAA has also provided 308015 hectare of land for the total of 45 investors, out of which 19 of them are foreign investors, and the remaining 26 are local investors. From this, it is possible to conclude that, the number of local investors investing in the region is greater than the number of foreign investors. But in terms of capital invested and land taken in hectare, foreign investors are greater than the local investors.

In addition, the GAI Directorate , depicted that out of total foreign investors Indian investors probably takes the major portion , while , out of the local investors except very few investors in

Anuwaa Zone, almost all of the local investors investing in Gambella region are , the "highlanders"⁵.

Moreover, Sindayigaya (2012) stated that in developing countries domestic investors and elite governing are also claimed to be the member of land grabbers. And also, backing this argument, Tinyade(2012) stated that alternatively, governments and their elites are active land grabbers of such land themselves and government elites may have stakes in the "investment project".

Accordingly , Out of the highlanders, as per the official record assessment made from the record Gambella regional Investment agency, and the interview result with the directorate , more than 99 percent of the total local investors are from elites' (ruling party) ethnic group (Tigriyians) and their affiliated agents. Not, only this during the researcher's visit to the office for data collection from GIA directorate for two days , out of ten investors processing land leasing in Agency's' office , eight of them were Tigrians. However, the directorate kept its reservation to answer the question of how and why this condition is going there.

4.10. Myths of Land grabbing in Gambella region

GIA Directorate responded that, for achieving growth and transformational plan, investment⁶ is the mandatory one to be undertaken. So, the office is giving land for investors for it has followings supposed advantages:

The directorate started his saying by:

"The first and for most reason is that ,the region is endowed with full natural resources , however, it is known by its food insecurity nature, therefore , it is must to utilize this land and liberate the region from food insecurity problem"

Secondly,

"...even if the region is capable of securing food, security in Gambella land is excess, un used, empty and unproductive. Therefore, since local farmers are not materially and financially capable of farming and utilizing this land, it is must to

⁵ All people with different colour from the indigenous people are known by highlanders

⁶ even if land grabbing and investments are different from each other

provide this land for those capable of farming and producing an output. If we keep silent the land will stay as "idle" resource.

Thirdly, the directorate posed that by saying

"...Not only these foreign investors would come with foreign direct investment, and it has national wide economic effect. They bring dollars to us while investing and exporting their product for the global market.

Lastly, the directorate depicted that

Employment opportunity is the other driving factor which leads us to give land for investors. Now, even not only local people living in the region, but also the highlanders are coming and getting the job here at Gambella. Therefore, since we are getting these all advantage as a region and as a country level we will continue the provision of land as far as we are the benefited agent of it.

According to (TNI, 2012) there are four generalized justifications for the existing extreme level of land grabbing in developing countries. There is Myth of idle and marginal land, Myths of foreign direct investment, Myth of scarce food, Myth of Land tenure security. However, the Institute called these justifications as Myth (an idea or story than many people believe, but which is not true), directorate stated that all myths except land tenure security. Therefore, as it has been discussed in the above sections, the justification of directorate about food insecurity and the virginity and necessity of land is Myth because local respondents argued that the land is not idle and they are suffering from food insecurity, due to the absence of optional food as the forest is occupied and destructed by investors. Even, the foreign direct investment case is myth, because of the truths that except few (Kataturi and Saudi Star) , most investors have yet reached the stage of producing in mass and exporting the product which can bring foreign direct investment.

At the end, based on the above analysis, this study adds the fifth Myths of land grabbing in addition to TNI's (2012) four myths of land Grabbing. This fifth myth is the Myth of Employment opportunity. As per the response of government officials, investment going on in the region is contributing to the reduction of unemployment, by increasing the level of employment opportunity. But, as per the project managers estimation more that 98 percent of the workers working in the investment projects are daily laborers. It is not credible to consider wage

laborers as they are getting "employment opportunity", because wage laborers futurity is not promising to the improvement of the life of people.

4.11. Change in Land use in Land Grabbing

For further discussion, the study also further investigated the direction of land use transfer. To this end Borrás and Franco's model was used as a means to analyze the nature of land transfer in Gambella Region. According to Borrás and Franco's (2012, 38-46) there are many faces of changing land use and ownership in the name of "land grabbing". And, also, the model in land use change is typed by the authors in the following way.

Table: 3 Change in land use in land grabbing

Type A :Food to food	Type B :Food to bio-fuels
Type C: Nonfood to food	Type D: Non-food to fuels

Source: Borrás and Franco's (2012)

Accordingly, they stated that within the ambit of what is now being called 'land grabbing', the most objectionable changes in land use are those related to, within Type A, the conversion of food production for consumption or domestic sale to production of food for export (especially in countries with chronically food insecure populations); within Type B, conversion of food production to production of biofuels for export; within Type C, indigenous forest clearance for food production for export; and within Type D, indigenous forest clearance for production of biofuels for export (Borrás and Franco 2010a, 13–19).

In the same view, there is land use change going on in Gambella region. According to the interview made with EAIAA, GIA and Woreda administrators, there has never been Type A and Type B land use change in all areas where land is given for investors. This means, since they all agreed that the land that they are providing is idle⁷, an unused and unproductive land, none of the land previously used for food production is given for investors either to produce food production or bio-fuel products. However, the local people's argued that there is no idle and unused in

⁷ Even if the word "idle, empty, is still claimed and contested by local people

Gambella region and tried to nullify the argument of officials, and depict the existence of both Type A and Type B.

But , they all (local people , Woreda administrators , and regional investment bureau) confirmed the existence of type C and Type D type of land use change in the region. Borrás and Franco (2012), further classified type C and Type D in to the following way.

Table:4 Change in land usage system

Ideal type	Change From	TO
A	Food production	Food Production
A1	Food for consumption	Food For domestic exchange
A2	Food for consumption, domestic exchange	Food for export
A3	Food for export, mono cropping, and industrial farming	Food for consumption and domestic exchange , small scale and poly culture
B	Food Production	Biofuel production
B1	Food for consumption , and domestic exchange	Biofuels for Export
B2a	Food for consumption and domestic exchange	Biofuel for local use and domestic exchange but corporate-controlled
B2b	Food for consumption, domestic exchange	Biofuels for local use and domestic exchange, non-corporate-controlled
C	Non-food	Food production
C1	Forest lands	Food for consumption, domestic exchange
C2	Forest lands	Food for export
C3	Marginal', 'idle' lands	Food for consumption, domestic exchange
C4	Marginal', 'idle' lands	Food for export
D	Forest and marginal/idle lands	Biofuels production
D1	Forest lands	Biofuels for use and domestic exchange
D2	Forest lands	Biofuels for export
D3	'Marginal' and 'idle' lands	Biofuels for use and domestic exchange
D4	Marginal' and 'idle' lands	Biofuels for export

Source : Borrás and Francos' (2012;39)

Using the Barros and Franco's' model as lenses for analysis and, taking the interview result of investors (both foreign and local) and Gambella regional state investment agency, the following analysis is made by the researcher.

In Gambella regional state, Type C and Type D form of land use change is most widely used. In Type C, the change is from Non- food production to Food production. Under this classification also, the non-food production land is classified as C1(Changing forest land to food production for domestic use , C2 (change from forest land to food production for export), C3 (change from marginal "idle" resource to food production for domestic use) and C4 (Change from marginal" idle' land to Food for export.

Accordingly, the interview result and observation made by the research across the region's woreda there are both forest land and marginal, "idle" land. And, investors are using these lands in two ways.

Firstly, they identify the land available for investment (both forest land and marginal land) . Then, if it is forest land they clear it very well and they change it in to food production mostly for both domestic consumption (C1) and for export (C2).

Secondly, if the land is marginal "idle" (from the government's point of view) they directly invest on it and they used to change this marginal land in to food production for domestic consumption and exchange (C3) and for export (C4). Now, most of them are on the startup process, and some of them have already started to produce food even for export (SAUDI STAR AND KARATURI). For example, Saudi star is producing mostly rice for both domestic and international market. They produce mostly, head rice with so expensive price (for international market) and broken rice with moderate price (for domestic market).

In other way, there are also changes of land use from Non-food production (forest land and marginal land) to biofuels production. Investors investing in Gambella region are also, producing cotton, palm oil, palm plant, sugar cane and etc. While producing these oil production they are changing Forest land in to biofuels production for both domestic consumption and exchange (D1) and for export (D2) , and also, changing marginal and idle land available in to biofuel production for both domestic consumption and exchange (D3) , and for export (D4).

4.12. Change in ownership in Land Grabbing

In addition, Borras and Franco (2010a, 25-8), further distinguish between four directions of change in land based social relations (ownership):

Table: 5 Change in the ownership of land in land grabbing

Flow of land-based wealth and power	
Type A : Redistribution	Type B: Distribution
Type C :Non-(re)distribution	Type D :(Re)concentration

Source: Borras and Franco (2010a, 25) cited in Hall (2011).

According to Borras and Franco (2011) the defining principle of Type A is redistribution of land-based wealth and power from the monopoly control of either private landed classes or the

state to landless and near-landless working poor (poor peasants and rural laborers). While, Type B is distribution: like Type A (redistribution), the landless and near-landless working poor are beneficiaries of land-based wealth and power transferred to them. But in Type B, the original source of wealth and power is either the state or the community, or a private entity fully compensated by the state. And, Type C is non-(re)distribution, whose defining character is the maintenance of a status quo, marked by land-based inequity and exclusion. The most typical land policy here is 'no land policy', which indirectly supports the existing distribution of land-based wealth and power, finally, Type D, is (re)concentration where land-based wealth and power transfers do occur, access to and control over land is further concentrated in the hands of dominant social classes and groups: landed classes, capitalists, corporate entities, state or other dominant community groups such as village chiefs.

In the view of the Borras and Franco's (2011) Model, the land ownership change going in Gambella region is analyzed as follows.

Accordingly, in Type A, classification the most benefited group is those poor and landless sections of the society. But, according Ato Delegated Dirriba GIA Directorate, the land ownership change going on is quite different from the system of redistribution. Because, he stated that, the purpose of land distribution is not to maintain the equitability of land distribution or not for the poor and landless people. Rather, even the process makes higher level business making group(investors) fortune . Therefore, it is impossible to classify the land grabbing going in Gambella as Redistribution (Type A).

Secondly, the second land ownership change classification given by Borras and Franco (2012) is Type B or Distribution classification. In this classification the owner of the land is either the community or the state, but the central idea of this classification is that the landless and the poorer section must be beneficiary of the distribution. But even if it is true that the land being provided belongs to the people indirectly (government) , since the government is giving the land for investors not for landless and poorer section , the land leasing process going on in the region cannot be classified as " type B or Distribution.

Thirdly, the third land ownership classification is Type C or Non-(re) distribution classification. This type supports the existing land distribution, and no land distribution is allowed and

supported. In this type, no policy for changing land ownership is encouraged rather; the policy which keeps the existing land ownership is needed. But, the existing land policy with special reference to Gambella region is not the policy which supports the existing land ownership; rather the process supports the distribution of land for investors. Therefore, the process cannot be classified under Type C (Non-(re) distribution).

Lastly, the fourth land ownership classification is Type D or (re) concentration classification. This type of classification is different from the above three classifications. Because in Type A,B, land ownership transfer process the most landless and poorest people are the most beneficial of the change, while the third one (Type C) makes all the land holders to continue without any change in ownership. But, according Borrás and Franco (2012) in the fourth classification (Type D) -(re) concentration the most beneficial groups are the dominant social classes and groups: landed classes, capitalists, corporate entities, state or other dominant community groups such as village chiefs. Therefore, the "land grabbing" going on in Gambella region as a program can be classified as Type D or(re) concentration classification (model) because of the following reasons.

- The land is being provided not for the poorest and landless classes, rather, for capitalists, corporate entities, and for those who have, not for who haven't
- According to the official record of Gambella regional Investment agency, more than 99 percent of the total local investors are from elite (ruling party) party's' ethnic group.

4.13. The Benefits and the impact of land grabbing

4.13.1. Benefits of "land grabbing" in Gambella

Even if the nature of this study is not impact assessment research, in order to facilitate the way for the next analysis and for backing the past generalizations, it is very important to see the benefits and costs of land leasing process going on in Gambella region. Accordingly, Gambella Investment Agency , the land investment process is going on in Gambella region with the objectives of : attracting foreign direct investment, leading the economy by following ADLI, increasing employment Opportunity, Connecting the investment process with local farmers in order to develop their capacity, to improve food security, developing the regions macro economy

, improving regional development and making the region investment zone . In addition to the directorate's response, the followings are some of the benefits addressed by the study.

4.13.2. Technological transfer benefits

One of the stated objectives of investment project being undertaken in Gambella region is to bring technology transfer by associating investors with local farmers. As per investors' response, now most of them are yet not engaged fully in their project and they are not in a position to have technology transfers experience with local farmers. But, fully and better structured ,and relatively well engaged investors are providing modern seeds for farmers , some experience sharing's are going on , and mostly, laborers working in the investment projects are learning new skills like being operator of tractors, operators of machineries, being mechanic. This is one step forward for local people because; even if the company collapses they can be hired as a skilled employee in another organization.

Therefore, however, the technological development of agricultural sectors goes beyond what has been revealed by investors and government officials, these modern seed provisions, machineries and other technological attachments, and other experience sharing going on in the region needs to be recognized and appreciated, Because it may leads to the independence of local people to operate their own farming in the long run.

4.13.3. Infrastructural Facilities

However, the government is the supposed agent to take the major responsibility of providing public services for the society; investors also would take the social responsibility to help the society within which they make their own business. As per the local peoples' and woreda administrators' response to the interview, investors are providing road paving service by their own machineries with free cost, supporting the school and health center constructions, some of the them have even supported the government in villagization process-in farming newly given land for villagers, some them have provided generators for social service institutions.

One of the woreda administrators said"

"..... Investors are objectively contributing a lot for our zone and woreda. They pay us, taxes, they are creating job opportunity, they are helping our people in expansion rural road, and also, in technology transfer.

Therefore in the normal and positive conceptions, these all contributions can be considered as the most valuable activities done by the investors. But the bad thing is that, since the local people have never believed on the process of land provision, whatever positive contributions the investors make for local peoples, the assumption of local people is that the investors would make these all as a means to take their land not to help them. So, the study calls another researching on how to create positive relationship in between investors and local peoples.

One of the perceived benefits of large-scale commercial agriculture is the massive amount of employment opportunities that these operations will provide (OI, 2011). In the near future, "Karuturi" suggests, it will require 20,000 to 30,000 employees, Saudi Star has stated it will need 4,000 to 5,000 workers. Smaller farms, like sesame farm will employ up to 900 people. The majority of these jobs are laborer positions, which provide low wages, are often seasonal and short term in nature (ibid).

According to Project manager of Saudi Star, 400 employees are being employed by the project by the wage rate of 40birr minimum (for daily laborers) and 70birr maximum (for machine operators and experts), and the "Karaturi" " manager added that there are 1500 employees in that farming project out of which 150 of them are permanent and the left are seasonal and short term. Other investors also, stated that they are creating job opportunity for the region, adding, that even some times during harvesting time more and more employees are needed, the company used to bring laborers from SNNPR for short term.

Therefore, without any reservation it is true that, the land leasing going on in the region is creating employment opportunities. But, unless and otherwise the system is managed very well, the creation of these employment opportunities also will have their own implications. Because , in the above sections due to the unfulfilled promises of the government in the provision of land while implementing Villagization program , some of the villagers have joined the investors projects as a laborers . Hence, if the local people continue joining the companies as a laborer by

leaving their own farming, their own original work, and if the companies continue making their business by hiring local people as laborers without limitations, it will lead to the marginalization of the people.

This is because of the fact that the political and scholarly debate over whether wage laborer is considered as an employment opportunity or not is continuing. So, even if the government officials and investors are stating that there are job opportunities being created by land leasing going on in the region, unless and otherwise the created employment opportunity is with consistency in terms of the skill gained, income earned and in terms of the span of time spent in the project, it is the assumption of the study that this type of employment opportunity will lead to the marginalization of the people.

4.13.4. Macro-economic benefits

However it is also difficult to conclude by saying that there is macroeconomic change by taking a short sight view, it is valid to see some of the elements and to use them for this study to reach up on the next hypothesis. For instance according to Ato Dirriba the investment going on in Gambella regional state is leading to macroeconomic development of the region, through employment tax paid for the woredas, through land tax paid, through creating employment and most importantly, through attracting foreign direct investment, and through controlling food insecurity which have a direct relationship with macroeconomic changes.

Not only this, the woreda administrators stated that due to the flowing of investors in the region, villages around the investment are growing, because, with the coming of investors the number of laborers will increase. With increasing people in the investment area a number of shops, Hotels, and other Business activities would be expanded. In addition, this investment creates markets for locally produced goods and service. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that land leasing has a lot of macro-economic contributions.

4.14. The Impacts of Land Grabbing

The impact of the land deal going on Gambella region has been seen and analyzed from the views of the Different participants.

4.14.1. Environmental Impact

According to the policy document of Ministry of Work and Urban development (2008) the goal of the Environmental Policy of Ethiopia is to improve and enhance the health and quality of life of all Ethiopians and to promote sustainable social and economic development. In addition to this there is constitutional provision for environmental protection in achieving any kind of developmental projects, because, Environment is the factor that can affects the present and the future generations fate at the same time.

In Gambella regional state, due to the land grabbing going on a number anti-environmental practices are being exercised by investors. AtoDirriba (Delegated Directorate Investment Agency of Gambella) said:

“.....We have tried to see what investors are doing and how they are doing in different woredas . By this trip the very observation that we had is, the way investors are cleaning, and extremely affecting the environment...”

Also, the Abobo Zonal Administrator, said

"..... The bad thing that we are observing from investors is that they are not giving more focus, and structured treatment for the environment. Especially, their chemicals that they are using for different purpose is polluting water, and they are cleaning the forest without any care for it “for different purpose”

All woreda administrators taken as a sample depicted the same responses. The common Understanding of government officials is that investors are focusing on only their present profit, and giving undue focus for forest resources, waters recourses, wild animals and other natural resources. Moreover, woreda administrators and Gambella regional state investment officer stated that they have never developed any guidelines, and code of conducts for investors and also they have never formed any department working on controlling of the progress of investors. And also, EAIAA - Land administration directorate confirmed that there is no code of conducts even at federal level except giving training for investors to protect environment. But, they all depicted

that now due to the existing depletion of natural resource around the investment area, they do have a plan to form one department for it and, also to design guideline and code of conduct for them in the future. Moreover, the local people living around the investors' Investment depicted the same. And, one of the respondents said;

“In our culture Forest is all in all for us”, it is our food from where we find roots and leafs for eating. It is our medicine that we use it for all sickness that we used to be cured before the coming of these modern medicine, it is our building material which we use it for building our houses.....so our land and its forest is all in all for us But, today they focused over cleaning this forest without any question and control”.

In the same saying, the other respondents said that:

“.....our forest has a social, cultural, and economical and spiritual meaning for us. But, now we missed it , and now me and my brothers are working for KARATURI, by leaving farming that we had before..... so , they are good , and bad at the same time. I do not know how I can tell you. Because, am just benefited from the road provided by KARATURI, also, working for them. And, also, I know how much they are harming our environment, and I fear for the fate of my children's.”

From the response of all local people, (farmers, some of them laborer in the investment investors), it is possible to conclude that; land lease process carried out in the region has multifaceted impacts up on local people. The first issue that they raised with due consideration is, about the environment. As per their response, more than any of the resource their eco system is their asset that they inherited from their fathers and grandfathers. But, now due to the investment going on in the region, forest is diminishing from time to time , water is being polluted and diminishing , and also, the wild animals number is diminishing due to the change of eco system.

In order to cross check the data's from respective respondents the researcher also observed the environment (the investment area of five investors) and the researcher took the following photos.

Figure 4.10. The level of deforestation 2



Source: Own Filed observation, March 201

As it is depicted by all concerned respondents and observed by the researcher, it is true that investors are more focusing on the cleaning of forested land and making the land ready for investments. However, it is for investment, they are objectively affecting the eco system of the region which has direct implication with sustainable development.

Secondly, the local people pointed out that, they are working for them by leaving their own farming⁸. They have lost their own forest, land which they consider it as their asset, means of income, which has a medical and spiritual meaning. As per the view of Ovieds' (2011) this practice can be stated as "action which may undermine community's right over communal resources and deprive local communities of full access to vital resources such as water, forest, and other natural resource. In other term, it is described as "Marginalization of Communities Right".

Adding to the above concept the researcher asked the investors to answer the question, *what protection that they are taking to reduce the negative impact of their investment up on the environment;*

One of the Managers of the project said:

" We believe that , in the process of extending land for investment we may affect the environment, we never lie by saying there is no chemical releasing, no forest cleaning , and related impacts'. ...we do not have a guideline and code of conduct to be followed by our project which we have developed by our own or given for us by the government. But, in the future, as much as possible, we will try to work over it".

⁸ by leaving their own land not, by displacement/resettlement

Also, in the same speech, the manager of the other project, said:

"... Previously it is true that we have been extremely affecting the environment, especially during the inception period of our investment. But, right now we are just using the previously prepared land for investment. Hence, presently except the chemical usage for pesticide, water usage for different purpose; to some extent we are just limiting our self from deforestation. In the future, we do have a plan to start the second phase of our investment, so, in that we will give focus on environmental protection, and, also he has pointed out that; we do not have code of conduct and guideline for environmental and other related issues "

The environmental problem and marginalization of local people the boldly raised impact of investments going on in Gambella regional state.

4.14.2. Social impact

As it has been discussed very well in the above section, the investment going on in the region resulted in many positive social changes behaviorally, and technologically. However also, it brought some negative defects. The sample local people respondents stated that even if they are sharing the positive outcomes of the investment, they are also suffering from behavioral and action related experiences from people who came in to the region in the name of projects. Drinking very expensive and powerful alcohols (beer, areke, jeen) , chewing chat, drug addition, unsafe sex are some of the issues raised by the people.

The followings are the testimonies:

"... in some regards investors are good because they are modernizing our city, and also our people are using modern productsbut the bad thing is they are also training our children bad things like chewing chat, even if we do have traditional cigarette they are training us to take the modern which is costly for us.....traditionally we do have alcohol to be used but, after the coming of the projects modern alcohols are becoming fashion , one bit is so expensive, second you see people engaged in conflict always because it is powerful to make people to miss themselves "

Adding to this, Ato,Dirriba GIA delegated directorate , pointed out that ;

“The land deal and investment related impact is going beyond the environment , and touching other social related issues. For example, in most investment areas we are providing training about HIV/ AIDS, because unsaved sex is becoming prevalent in the investors working areas. In addition, youngster’s drug addiction and learning of bad behaviors are the other side of this investment”.

Finally, the investors confirmed that, their workers are with very had indication in terms of their behavior of drinking, and above stated problems. And, they added that , their employees have the tendency of being absent for three up to four days after taking salary, because they want to enjoy with different games, alcohol and with other things until they finish the money they took from the company.

Hence, this all must be considered by woreda administers, regional government and any other concerned bodies, and the way to overcome the problem must be designed. Because, these social impact has a number of multifaceted problems, unless it is curved now on time

4.15.The alternatives model tried by the government in place of land grabbing

The land leasing program is the only alternative system which the government is using for utilizing the land available in Gambella region. As a responsible body for it , government officials were asked whether they have tried any other alternative strategies, or policies in place of leasing land to make the local people more beneficiary than that of the present one. But, all concerned government officials of EAIAA, GIA, Woreda Administrators revealed that there has never been any option presented and tried other than leasing land for investors. They stated that, the absence of investment experience and the economically weak nature of the indigenous people enforced them to focus on giving land for foreigners and local but highland investors.

But, according to Hallam (2009) there are a number of alternatives to land purchasing or leasing that might achieve or even better achieve the food-security objectives of investing countries. Hallam, stated that following models like vertical integration model (whereby one firm takes control over upstream or downstream activities) tends to be based much more on such arrangements than on more traditional approaches (whereby firms simply buy upstream or

downstream firms and all these' activities. And, mixed models are also possible where, large scale commercial units participating in a symbiotic relationship with smallholders.

Therefore, the usage of land leasing policy as the only means of utilizing land available by the government does mean that there is no another way of utilizing land , rather it shows the weakness of policy makers to find out strategy which maximize the benefit of the majority of local people.

4.16.Politic of Development, Villagization, resettlement and land grabbing

In the previous chapters, discussions have been made independently for critical components of the research like resettlement, villagization and land grapping. whereas, this chapter commits itself to discuss on " what development" looks like in Gambella region with special reference to the three points (villagization , resettlement and land grabbing) and , at last the chapter stands to address the relationship between the four elements (development , villagization , resettlement , and land grabbing) in Gambella region. Moreover, the controversies and debates going on with respect to the programs implemented in the region and their related impacts are well addressed by this chapter.

4.17.Is there Development in Gambella Region?

Development is a concept which is contested both theoretically and politically, and is inherently both complex and ambiguous (Thomas, 2004). This is due the fact that development is with mixed consequence. On the one hand, there is accumulation of wealth and enhancement of freedoms and well-being, while on the other there is impoverishment, marginalization, reinforcement of oppressive power structures, violations of human rights, the spread of destructive internal war and environmental degradation which in many instances has contributed to dispossession and estimated forced migration of 250 million people worldwide in the name of it over the past 25 years ((Shanmugaratnam, 2001, Kate and Jennifer , 2007, Robinson , 2003). This mixed nature of development resulted in the absence of clear demarcation between "what is development and what is not", and absence of precise and universal definition of Development (Todaro, 200. Shanmugaratnam, 2001).

Accordingly, in Gambella regional state there are competing ideas about the success and failure of Villagization program, land leasing. It has been argued by the government that the program has been used as a means to end up poverty and to achieve development, and argued that there are developmental activities and a number of developmental achievements due to the implementation of villagization program and land leasing. In reverse to this argument, different International and national reports indicate that the program resulted in impoverishment people and increased the level of poverty in the region. Hence, these competing extreme corner point conclusions made by the actors of development enlarged the imperativeness of this chapter to fill the gap of facts and data's available.

However, development is stated as complex By Thomas (2004) and , as it is with mixed consequences to the extent that it is difficult to say there is development or not by Todaro, 2006:5. Shanmugaratnam, 2001), it is possible to draw some common denominators/ elements of development from different insight of concerned actors and scholars.

Therefore, for this study and for this context the contextually identified components of development from developments scholars were used as a means to evaluate the nature of development in the region. So, if it is very difficult to conclude that development is achieved or not in Gambella region by taking the narrowest views, it is possible to draw the common grounds of the concepts of development and see through those components . To this end, even though the research is not evaluative research which assesses the success and failure of government plans and programs, it is imperative to see the impact of the programs up on the common components of "Development". Hence, study analyses the program's success and failure qualitatively by taking common components development described by different scholars.

Accordingly, according to Todaro, Amartyasen(Narayan et al. 2000, pp. 4-5 in Wayne 2006) Dudley seers (1979 pp. 3-4 in wayne ,2006) , Ray (Ray, 1998: 27-29 cited in Monenus , 2011), Wayne (Wayne 2006; 16) and other development scholars, "development" can be defined and described by What happened illiteracy, unhealthy, poverty, hunger, humiliation , inequality , productivity, empowerment , participation , unemployment , and what happened to infrastructural and basic public services



Figure 4.11. Multiple Nature of Development

Adopted: By the researcher

Therefore, from the above diagram it is possible to conclude that development is inclusive and multi-dimensional concept, and, any claim to the achievement of development must inculcate those elements. So, the next section will assess Development and respective land leasing and Villagization program going on in Gambella.

4.18. Development and Villagization program in Gambella

However, the result of an interview, FGD, And Observation has been discussed Very Well in the previous chapters the following diagram summarizes the issues discussed among the three elements.

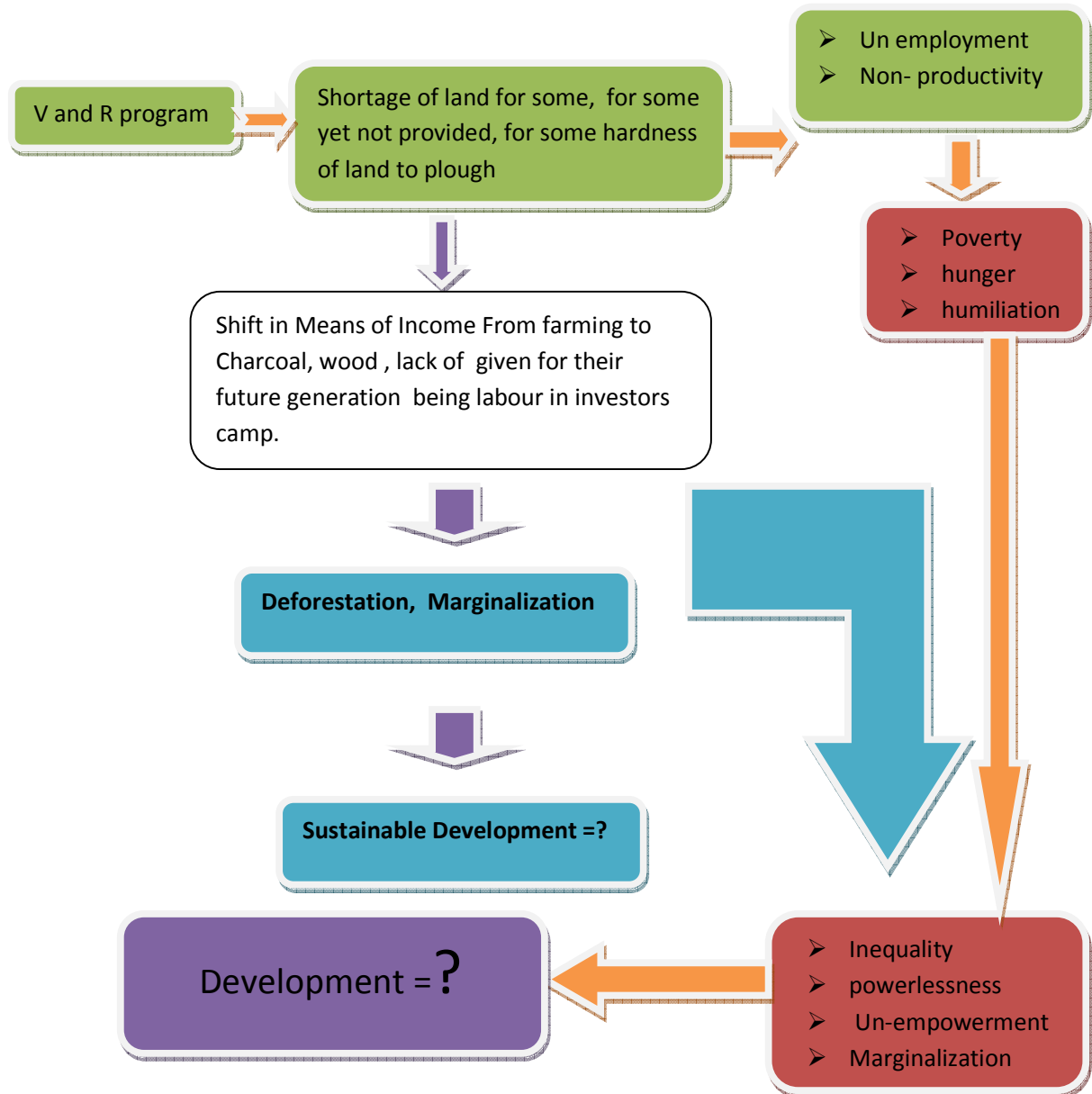


Figure 4.12: Villagization and Development relationship model

Adopted: By the researcher

The above diagram reveals that, villagization program which the government designed with dual purposes (infrastructural facility provision in the short run, and land freeing policy in the long run) has led to the resettlement of the people. Though, the government promised sufficient land for those resettled people, after resettlement the government provided land as a compensation only for some of them, the majority are still waiting for land distribution, even some of those who are given with land as a compensation are claiming that land is not soft to dig it by hand, while some of them are claiming that land is not sufficient (1-2hectar).

Thus, the shortage and the hardness of the land in the new villages resulted in two consequences. Some of the villagers are sitting without work (unemployment) -which resulted in extreme poverty, hunger. While some of them are struggling with life by shifting their means of income from farming(in their previous village) to burning charcoal and wood selling, and working as a labour in Investors Company and selling Akoyo, Atturbu . This, shifting means of income for some and the absence of work for the others resulted in two other negative consequences. The first consequence is the deforestation going on due to wood selling and charcoal burning, and, the second consequence is the expanding nature of unemployment (over labour and less work to be done within one family) due to the shortage of land available and due to unproductive nature of land distributed in the newly created village.

Consequently, both the unemployment and the shifting means of income created due to villagization and resettlement program resulted in the impoverishment of the people , which directly leads the people to be powerlessness, un empowerment (politically, socially, culturally), broaden inequality (absence of something to eat even once per day), which also, resulted in marginalization of the people. The resultant of the conditions resulted in the Questioning of **Is there Development in the Region?** And if yes, what are the indicators of development? Will be the next question which follows.

Based on these guiding questions villagers were deeply asked about the general indicators drawn from the definitions of development given by respective development scholars by using both interview and Focus group discussions. And, their response depicts that the development which the government is reporting as it is achieved is an abstract and invisible for them, from which the they are not testing the result. This is due to the following two important reasons:

Firstly, the failure of the government to provide the promised infrastructural and other services like electric service, health service, educational service, flour mill, exacerbated the level of problems like illiteracy, unhealthy nature of the society and stress by memorizing of the previous life. And, as far as the local people are not getting service, the development which the government is saying it as it is achieved objectively is fiction.

Secondly, based on the assessments made in all sample woredas , except in Aboboworeda , in the other woredas the Villagization and resettlement program resulted in the impoverishment of the local people (especially based on interlinked eight Carneas model like *Landlessness, food insecurity, Joblessness, Homelessness Marginalization*). Therefore, based on the previous chapter's analysis, the nature of development rhetoric by the government is not compatible with the needs and expectations of the people. And, if the type of development needed in the region and the type of development which the government claiming is the Development which is defined :

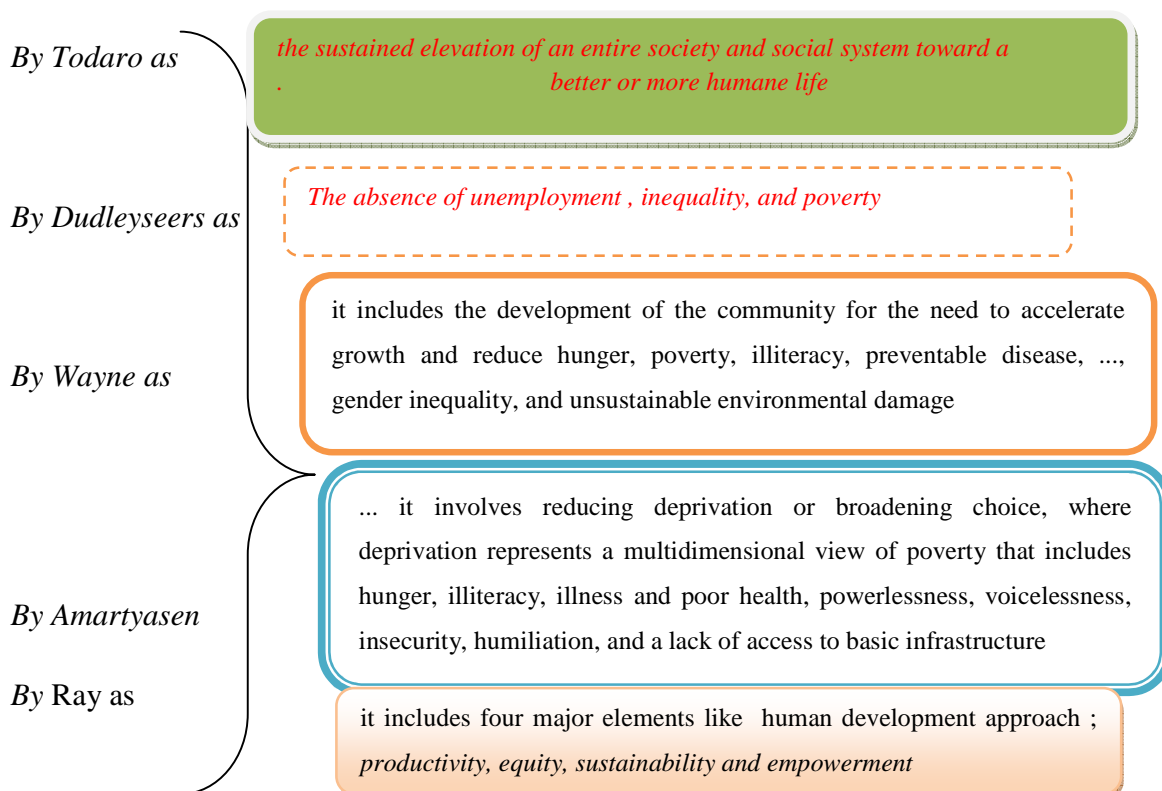


Figure 4.13 Analysis of Development

, it is unrealistic in Gambella region- specifically in the woredas taken as sample for the study. This is due to the presence of *Landlessness, food insecurity, Joblessness, Homelessness Marginalization, due to Very limited land for plough , Very hard and un productive land provided for them , Absence of alternative means of income , Psychologically stress by remembering the previous life holding , Less production , Social Disintegration and Loss of Access to Common Property in the region* .In addition to this the problem of infrastructural facilities is also visible. For instance, the Health center available in the region are known in one of the following classifications:

- ✓ Some of them are started to be constructed and contractor have stopped constructing without finishing
- ✓ Some of the are well built with no medical service, and equipment and professionals
- ✓ Some of the are used for different purpose
- ✓ Some of them on the way to roof demolish

While educational services are mostly with poor qualities, and facilities like the absence of teachers, materials like poor black boards, lack of chairs and the environmental sustainability, and the future fate of the people is highly in question due to the presence of deforestation and wage based employment opportunities.

But, if development needed and which the government publically claiming and speaking is another type of development which is unique from the *above concepts*, the researcher would like to show the clue for further searching.

4.19. Development and Land Grabbing in Gambella Region

As it has been discussed in the above sections, always, development results in with both negative and positive outcomes. But, it is the responsibility of development policy formulators and implementers to commit themselves to balance the benefit gained from and the cost paid by local people in the name of development. Also, land grabbing program going on in Gambella region is not exceptional. However, most of the justification given by the government's officials are

myths, it is imperative also for this section to make analysis by connecting land grabbing with development claimed by the government.

As per the discussion made in the fifth chapter, the land grabbing made in the region contributed to the development of the region in the following ways.

- ✚ Infrastructural facilities provided by investors like education, health, road
- ✚ Land lease fee paid by investors
- ✚ Foreign Direct Investment
- ✚ Technological transfer
- ✚ Villagization- improving economic activity of the region -expansion of hotels, shops
- ✚ Employees taxes paid by the investors

In reverse, also, the land leasing process resulted in a number of negative results which includes

- ✓ A sense of powerlessness and voicelessness - as it has been discussed before land leasing can be considered as an investment if and only if it is by the interest of the people, and if it is by inclusive of local people. But, the data collected from both government officials and the local people indicated that land leasing process is without the participation and without the consent of the people.
- ✓ Marginalization of the people - wage labour by leaving their previous farming -which will result in impoverishment of the people if the project collapses,
- ✓ Environmental degradation due to Deforestation and unwisely usage of other natural resources
- ✓ Food insecurity -the occupation of land by investors resulted in the absence of optional foods which results in food insecurity. Because, for pastoralist and semi pastoralist society, forest is the source of food, if this supportive food is not available , they mostly finish their farming productions with five to seven months and the left months are the difficult months for them. But, if their food is supported by optional foods, they can finish the year without any hunger.

Therefore, presently, the negative outcomes are weighting more than the contributions due to the following reasons.

- ✓ The absence of local people in the process of land leasing process -at least they have to be informed, and consulted and asked how they can be benefited that investments
- ✓ Second, the positive social services being provided by investors are still not recognized by local people - because local peoples conception of service provision is that, investors are providing service because they are using their own land, and also, they need more land by giving this service for them as means. This means there is no "honesty" in between investors and local people.

Therefore, it is impossible to call any kind of developmental progress as a "developmental progress" if local people (beneficiaries) are not interested with it. Even if a lot of positive changes are going in parallels to the negative ones', the local people have conceived only the negative practices, by considering the positive one as a fake. So, this analysis calls the policy makers and implementers to think over how to make the local people to be the central role players either by connecting them with investors or in making them to be independent beneficiaries of their own land. Not a type of development which is locally hated and governmentally acknowledged and recognized, it is must to bring the type of change and progress which can be recognized and accept by both parties. Unless and otherwise, it is the prediction of this study that, in the future, it will result in political, economic, cultural, and social crisis.

4.20.Sustainability of the Development in Gambella Region

In the last half of the twentieth century, four key themes emerged from the collective concerns and aspirations of the world's peoples: peace, freedom, development, and environment (U.S. National Research Council, cited in Robert, Thomas and Anthony: p: 3). However, it is only in the past 40 years that the environment (local to global) became a key focus of national and international law and institutions (ibid).

Nowadays, “Sustainable Development ” which has been raised at the end of twenty century and known by the rock of the future is becoming the central issue in the area of developmental studies. In 1987, the World Conference on Environment and Development published their report entitled, ‘Our Common Future’ (WCED, 1987 cited in Elliott, 2006). The report used the term sustainable development’ widely and defined it as ‘Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’ (p. 43).

Though the question of what type of "development connotes sustainability" is still in debate, future *perspectives* and environmental *connotes of development* are the common components of sustainable development. For example according to U.S. National Research Council, the sustainable development constitutes the following issues.

Table:6 Scope of Sustainable Development

What is to be sustained	FOR HOW LONG? 25 years “Now and in the future” Forever	WHAT IS TO BE DEVELOPED:
Nature Earth Biodiversity Ecosystems	LINKED BY Only Mostly But And Or	PEOPLE Child survival Life expectancy Education Equity Equal opportunity
Life support Ecosystem services Resources Environment		ECONOMY Wealth Productive sectors Consumption
Community Cultures Groups Places		SOCIETY Institutions Social capital States Regions

Table: 6 Source: U.S. National Research Council, Policy Division, Board on Sustainable Development, Our Common Journey: A Transition toward Sustainability (Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1999)

However, it is very difficult to assess the sustainability of development practices going on in Gambella region within this paper, it is very important to see the major themes of the research within the lenses of the indicators listed in the above table.

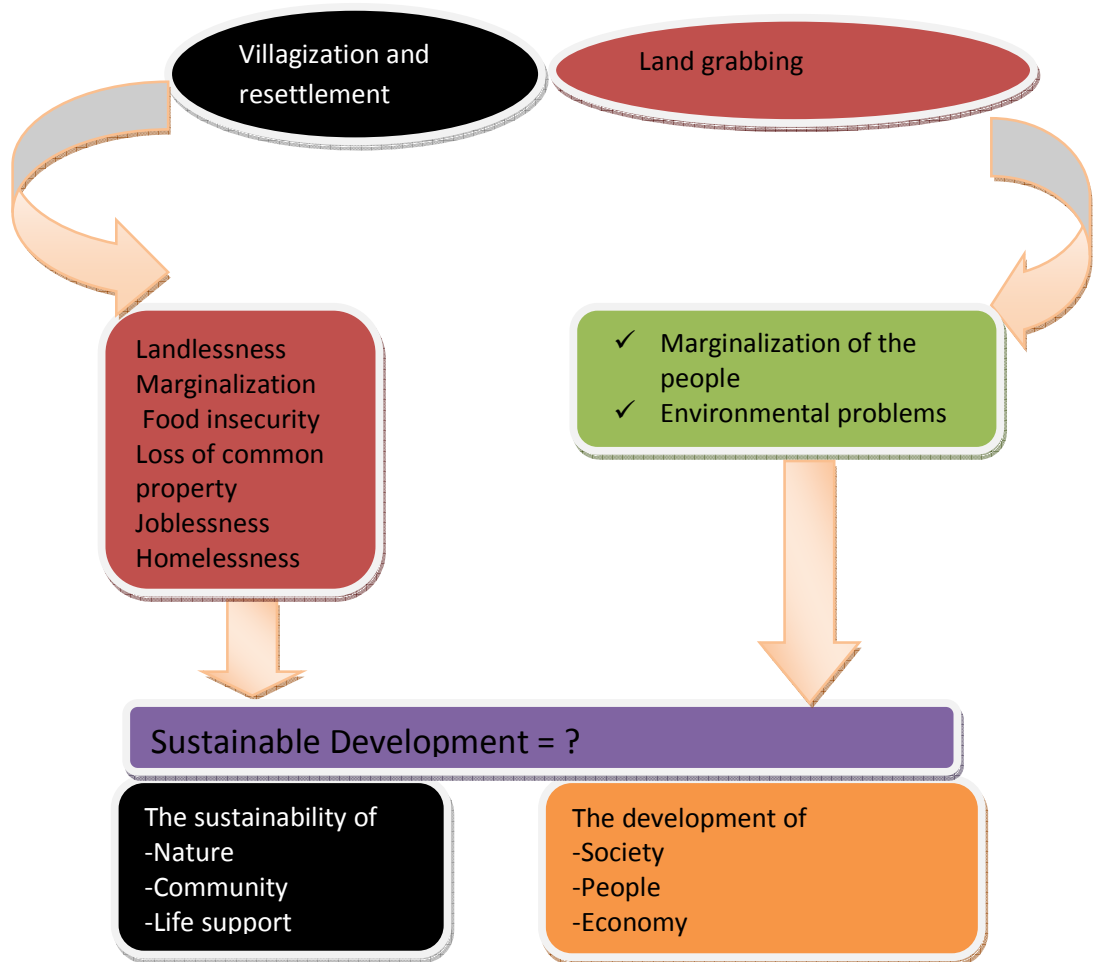


Figure 4.14. Development, land grabbing and Villagization relationship Model

Adopted by: The researcher

As it has been discussed very well in the previous chapters, villagization resettlement, and land grabbing have direct relationship with the development of the region. In the fourth chapter, the interview, observation and the Focus Group Discussion conducted by the researcher indicated that the Villagization and resettlement program implemented in the region resulted in landless, joblessness of the people, marginalization, food insecurity, homelessness and the loss of

common property. On the other hand, the large scale commercial farming going on in the region resulted in deforestation and other natural resource depletion and, the marginalization of the people.

Hence, however sustainable development is multidimensional concept which includes the development of economy, people, and society, and the sustainability of nature, life support and the community, as per the assessments made none of elements could be sustained and none of the element could be developed. Thus, the resultant crisis of these development programs and policies caused Sustainable development to be in question in Gambella Region. The sustainability of the development in Gambella region is in question due to two important reasons.

The first reason is the failure of villagization and resettlement program to achieve explicitly stated objectives. And, the program resulted in social, economic and cultural crisis. The second reason is that, the environment is being affected by different actors-especially the poorer and the richer. Supporting this, Sadik said that, "Much of the environmental degradation witnessed today is due primarily to two groups of people-the top billion richest and the bottom billion poorest (Sadik, 1991, in Todaro, 2006).

Accordingly, in Gambella region the environment is being affected by investors (millionaires) making large commercial farming to expand their farming land, and by the poorer section expanding their farming land in the newly created village, and by those who are living by wood selling, and burning charcoal due to the shift of their means of income which resulted from the failure of villagization and resettlement program.

4.21. Villagization, Resettlement and development

The belief that rural development cannot be brought without villagization scheme (Mhando, 2011) has dominated the development models and approaches of those nations that used to adopt villagization. Those models prioritized villagization are mostly associated with the minds of policy makers of many developing countries mainly African governments (Guyu, 2012).

The concept of villagization may seem overlap with resettlement as many researchers used in literatures. For instance, According to Mhando (2011) cited in (Guyu : 168) alternatively used them as if they were the same. But, as per the result of this study, neither villagization nor

resettlement is the same nor they overlap each other. In Gambella region, villagization and resettlement have causal relationship where, the implementation of villagization program resulted in the resettlement of mass people. Hence, resettlement can be caused due to different reasons like conflict, natural disasters -among which villagization is one.

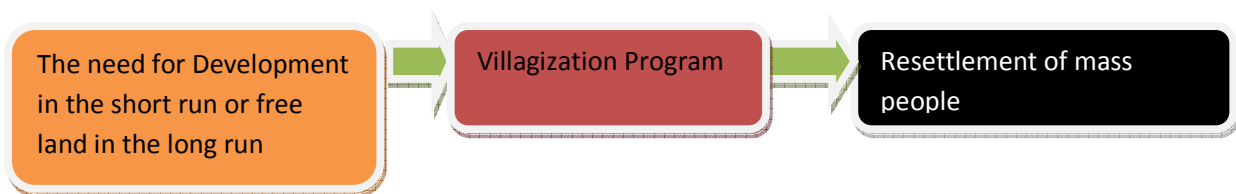


Figure 4.15. Villagization and resettlement Relationship

Developed: by the Researcher

4.22.Land Grabbing, villagization and Resettlement

The discourses over the implementation of the program have resulted in opposing conclusion by different actors of development. The prominent discourses opposite to government justify that “The implementation of the program as targeted displacement of indigenous communities by involuntarily *leasing of their lands* and depriving them from their rights of choice. Because of this, the rights of the community is abused, their livelihood resource base deteriorated and thus became food insecure". The government argues on the opposite.

According to Oakland Institute (2011: 40), Human Right watch (2012: 57) report, the government is providing the land from which the local people fled to the new village. This means the government program of villagization is not to provide basic services for the people rather; it is to make land free for investors.

While the government opposed this argument by its letter to HRW (2012) stating:

"..it is also fact that one need not displace anyone in Gambella to secure a commercial land as there is an adequate land that is not owned by nay one else ."

Regarding the relationship between land grabbing and the implementation of villagization program , the government officials argued the implementation of villagization program and land leasing program are two differing programs with differing offices- land leasing Investment And

Land Administration Agency at federal level , Gambella Gambella investment Agency office at regional level , woreda administration offices at woreda level while , Villagization is under MoARD and supported by Ministry of federal affairs, regional agricultural bureau, and implemented by Villagization offices lead by deputy President of the region.

But, as it has been indicated in chapter four of this paper, even if the provision of public service was the only publically talked purpose of villagization program , the study found that there was untold, and securely kept purpose of the program set as implicit and long term purpose of the program.

Therefore, the interview made with all sample villagers revealed that, nobody's land (the previous) has been given for investors, and, the land from which they fled to the new village is still free and, if they want they can return back to their original land. Adding to villagers' response, woreda administrators also, depicted the same response that nobody land was given for investors. . Even, according to the AboboWoreda administrator, there is a gap limitation in between investors' investment area and villagers living area. He said that:

"...In our principle Investors land and their investment must be far away from farmer farming to the minimum 1 kilometer. Even when the investors want to have a land around farmers living area which is in less that 1km we never permit them to take.....but there were officials opposing the program and talking to the farmers by integrating both programs "

In addition to this, investors (most importantly KARATURI, SAUDI STAR) were interviewed to reflect of whether they took the land of farmers or not?. And, Saudi star manager said:

"We have never taken the land of farmers. Why do we do this....here you see free land...unoccupied land...Unused land, why we take farmers' land. So this is not true information".

Adding to this, the manager of Kataruri said:

"....even we haven't fully utilized the land we took from the government ...you see free land there(showing the direction)....out of total even we haven't utilized 1/3 of it. So, do you think that we take the farmers' land while there is excess and free land."

Hence, presently, it is true that the land from which the villagers fled due to the implementation of villagization program is free, no farmer was resettled for making the land free for investors. Because, this was not the short run goal of the program. But, the second, long term and untold and implicitly kept purpose of the program was to make land free for investors.

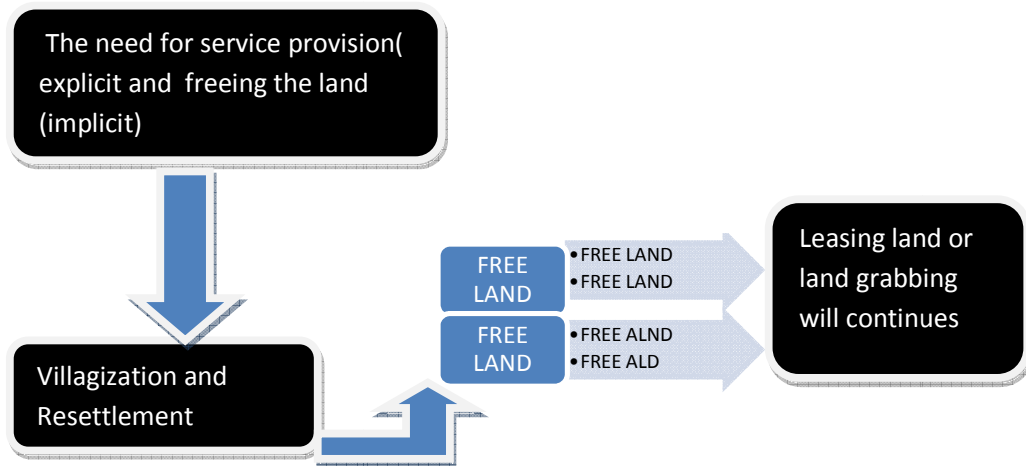


Figure 4.16.: Villagization and Land grabbing relationship

Source: Adopted by the researcher

Therefore, however, the government officials revealed that villagization program was with sole purpose, the study found that the program was with dual purpose. so, based on the insight given by both local administrators and villagers it is the hypothesis of the study that the government might have been implementing this villagization program to make the land free for leasing and stopped the process by the fear of people’s reaction. And, also, in the future (in the long run) the land which the villagers are fleeing from it will be free and it will be given for investors. So, even though there is no any kind of resettlement which has been made for leasing land in the name of investment presently , and in the future in one way or in the another way that land will be given for investors.

Chapter Five

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusions

Based on the collected data and the analysis made in the above sections, the following conclusions are drawn.

The study reached up on the fact that the Ethiopian government has implemented the three years' villagization and resettlement program in Gambella region with explicitly advocated service provision purpose in the short run, and implicitly and informally revealed purpose of making land free for investors in the long run. The implementation and formulation process of the program has never fulfilled the internationally available guidelines for resettlement and villagization because of passive type of participation or what is called as '*pseudo*' participation of the people in the process and, due to the *deceitful practice exercised by the government officials* during the mobilization of people to the program, by promising unfulfilled promises - where they lied and deceived the people to move in to the new village.

Regarding the infrastructural facilities promised by the government during the mobilization period and the impacts of the program the study revealed that, only water service has been identified as sufficiently provided service. While education service has been with good access but with poor facilities, whereas, health service is with constructed building but without equipment, professionals, and additional survive promised like flour mill, tractors, materials provisions are still unfulfilled. And also, the program has resulted in multi-faceted problems like homelessness, joblessness, marginalization, food insecurity, and loss of common property rights, social disintegration and other problems.

The study also revealed that the land from which the local people are fleeing due to the implementation of villagization and resettlement program is never been utilized either by local people (the owner) or by investors. Hence, the fate of this land will be leasing of the land for investors, which directly contradicts the major purpose of villagization program told by the government and exposed the untold purpose of the program.

With respect to the existence of land grabbing , based on evaluative models used in terms of the process followed in land provision and the amount of land allotted , the study found that there is land grabbing in Gambella region. And, also, the grabbers of land in the region include both local and international investors. Out of local investors indigenous investors constitutes very few share, „Highlanders” takes the largest share. Moreover the study exposed that, out of the total highlanders', 99 percent constitutes the elite ruling ethnic group.

In addition, the study also, found the change in land use and the change in the ownership of land due to land grabbing. Hence, shift from free and forest land to the production of food for both domestic usage and export, and the shift from household's optional food production to the production of food for domestic and international trade has been identified. Whereas, regarding the change in the ownership of land, out of the types of changes available, *re-concentration system* (where land ownership transfer process favors those elite, capitalist is the most prevalent in Gambella.

Moreover, the study identified both the benefits and the impacts of land grabbing in the region. Accordingly, the positive outcomes like infrastructural facilities, macro-economic benefits, technological transfer, villagization, and negative outcomes like food insecurity, environmental depletion, marginalization of the people and other social impacts like unsafe sex, alcoholism, druggism have been identified as the problems. Whereas, the government has never tried any alternative programs or policies which cab minimize the crisis going on.

Lastly, the study identified the relationship between villagization, resettlement and land grabbing, and development. Hence as per the analysis, villagization is the course for resettlement, and even if land grabbing is independently going process by now, as long as resettlement and villagization will continue making the land free, they pave the way for grabbing another land in the region and achieves the un-exposed purpose of the program. And, at the end , their implication for the development is not as it has been positively provoked and talked by the government by different medias , the fact is that their implications for development is very minimal , and it needs further concern of different actors.

5.2. Policy Implication Recommendations

To achieve the “Development ” which can be accepted and recognized by the beneficiaries , and from which local people can test its fruit, the government shall take in to consideration the following recommendations.

- ✚ In order to protect the indigenous people from planned and unplanned resettlement, the government should accelerate the implementation of land tenure registration policy in Gambella region.
- ✚ The government should make the beneficiaries of development called **“people”** the center of any public policy, and make the process of development participatory or bottom up approach in which the deep interest of people can be accessed. And, become honest and keep the principle of integrity in serving the people-stop promising unfulfilled promises and deceiving the people.
- ✚ Should make the governmentally owned media representative of the real world rather than propagating un achieved goals, and also, the scholars , researcher, educationalist must be frank in conducting social oriented researches rather than having extremist perspective.
- ✚ Since the program achieved the second and implicit purpose while the publically announced one is still not achieved, the government Should Design another reconstructing and rehabilitating programs like Project for Failed Program which can provide finance for people as a credit to start their own business , a project which can encourage them toward entrepreneurship , a project which can use locally produced inputs and outputs.
- ✚ Should accelerate the land tenure policy implementation by which the land ownership of the people can be realized.
- ✚ Should search for another alternatives like
 - Creating state - Farmers Partnership Farming
 - Investors -Farmers partnership Framing
 - Crating network in between Farmers -Financial institutions
 - Creating Cooperatives among small farmers and make inclusive type of development rather than making economically and politically "elite" based investment and development

- ✚ Should give policy responses for environmental, economic, social and cultural crisis happened due to land grabbing going on in the region.
- ✚ Should set national level guidelines investors, rules and regulations must be there for all actors on the investment areas.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alex,D. Marcia C, Francois .G (2010) *Preparing for Population Displacement and Resettlement Associated with Large Climate Change Adaptation and Mitigation Projects* : Background Paper for the Bellagio Workshop
- Asrat, T. (2009) :*The dynamics of resettlement with reference to the Ethiopian Experience* :Kimmage Manor, Whitehall Road, Dublin 12, Ireland.
- BGRG (2010).*Benishangul-gumuz Regional Government's Villagization Programme Implementation Guideline*; September, 2010, Assosa; Translated from the Amharic Version
- Borra S. and Franco J. (2012,)*Global Land Grabbing and Trajectories of Agrarian Change: A Preliminary Analysis*: Journal of Agrarian Change, Vol. 12 No. 1, January 2012, pp. 34–59. 2011 Blackwell Publishing Ltd
- Borras, Jr. And Franco J.(2011) *Global Land Grabbing and Trajectories of Agrarian Change: A Preliminary Analysis* Blackwell Publishing Ltd
- Borras, s.andFranco.J.. (2010a) :*Towards a Broader View of the Politics of Global Land Grab: Rethinking Land Issues, Reframing Resistance*. Working Paper Series No. 001. Initiatives in Critical Agrarian Studies, The Hague: International Institute of Social Studies (ISS); <http://www.iss.nl/icas>
- Bruce, B. (2001) *qualitative research methods for the social sciences California state university, long beach*
- Cernea, M. (1996) *Understanding and Preventing Impoverishment from Displacement: Reflection on the state of knowledge*. In McDowell, C. (ed.) *Understanding impoverishment, the consequence of development induced displacement*, Berghahn books, Oxford.
- Cernea,.M 1999, “*Why Economic Analysis is Essential to Resettlement: A Sociologist's View.*” In Michael Cernea (ed) *The Economics of Involuntary Resettlement: Questions and Challenges* (Washington, DC: World Bank
- Chambers, R. (2004) *Ideas for Development. IDS Working Paper 238*. Sussex: IDS.
- Chris, D (2012) *Improving outcomes in development-induced displacement and resettlement projects*
- Christy, C. (1999): *The Experience of Villagization: Lessons from Ethiopia, Mozambique, and Tanzania*.

- Cotula, L., Vermeulen, S., Leonard, R. and Keeley, J., 2009, *Land Grab or Development Opportunity? Agricultural Investment and International Land Deals In Africa*, IIED/IFAD, London/Rome. ISBN: 978-1-84369-741-1
- Creswell, J. (2009) *Designing and Conducting Mixed Method*, 3rd Edition, Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publication
- CSA (Central Statistic Agency of Ethiopia). 2008a. *Summary and Statistical Report of the 2007 Population and Housing Census: population size by age and sex, Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Population Census Commission*, with support from UNFPA. December, 2008.
- Davison, W (2011) "Ethiopia plans ambitious resettlement of people buffeted by East African drought," *Christian Science Monitor*, Accessed on March 2014, <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/2011/0801/Ethiopia-plans-ambitious-resettlement-of-people-buffed-by-East-Africa-drought>,
- Dereje, F (2006). *The Experience of the Gambella Regional State*. In Turton, D., (ed.). *Ethnic Federalism: The Ethiopian Experience in Comparative Perspective*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press.
- Dessaleny, R. (2011). *Land to Investors. Large-Scale Land Transfers in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa: FSS.
- Development-Induced Displacement*; The Brookings Institution-SAIS Project on Internal Displacement: An Occasional Paper
- Dudley, Seers (1968): *The Meaning of Development: IDS Communication 44*, 1969, Institute of Development Studies 1969
- Dwyer, D (1992); *Development Theory and the Three Worlds*: Longman Development Study, Biorn Hettne; University of Keele
- EEPCo; (2010); *Second Feasibility Study of Finchaa-Amarti-Nashe Project* Ethiopia.
- Elias, N. S (2011) *Between 'Land Grabs' And Agricultural Investment: Land Rent Contracts With Foreign Investors And Ethiopia's Normative Setting In Focus*
- Elliot, J.A. (2006) : *An Introduction to Sustainable Development* : Rutledge Perspective on Development, 3rd edition ; Routledge and Francis group, London and New York
- Eshetu, A., (1978), *The primitive Communism of the Nilo-Saharan Ethiopian Nationalities and the Proclamation Nationalising Rural Land: The Case of Nuer and Annuak of the Gambella*

Region', Paper presented at the Institute of Development Research, Seminar on Strategies for Socialist Rural Transformation in Ethiopia, Nazareth, October 27-29, 1978.

experience, Manchester university press, Manchester.

FAO (2011a). *Voluntary guidelines on the responsible governance of tenure of land and other natural resources* (Zero Draft, Released 18 April 2011). Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/user_upload/nr/land_tenure/econsultation/english/Zero_Draft_VG_Final.pdf.

Fasika, H (2013): *The Approach And The Reproaches Of The Resettlement And Villagization Program In South Omo Zone*. A Thesis Submitted In Partial Fulfillment Of The Requirements Of Ma In Human Rights At Addis Ababa University, Center For Human Rights.

FDRE (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia) *Constitution, Federal Negarit Gazzeta*. No. 1, 1995

FDRE *Ministry of Education Sector Development Program III*, 2006 – 2011

FDRE Ministry of Federal Affairs (2008), Draft policy statement for the sustainable development of pastoral and agro pastoral areas of Ethiopia.

Gambella Regional State Villagization and Resettlement Program Report (2013) Gambella regional state Villagization Program Report (GRSVPR)2003–2005

George, F. (2006) *Towards Genuine Participation For The Poor: Critical analysis of Village Travel and Transport Project (VTTP) Morogoro, Tanzania*

GIA Gambella Investment Report of 2013

Guyu, F. (2012) *Voluntary Villagization Scheme (Vs) For Transforming Semi-Pastoral Communities In Benishangul-Gumuz Region, Northwestern Ethiopia: Challenges And Local Development Indicators: Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa* (Volume 14, No.5, 2012)ISSN: 1520-5509) Clarion University of Pennsylvania, Clarion, Pennsylvania

Hailemariam, H. (2011) *Action Plan of Adaptation to Climatic Change*”, Gamabella National Regiona Woreda

- Hall, R (2011) *The Many Faces of the Investor Rush in Southern Africa: Towards a Typology of Commercial Land Deals* ICAS Review Paper Series No. 2
- Hallam, D (2009) *International Investments In Agricultural Production in edited article LAND GRABS? The Race for the World's Farmland* Edited By Michael Kugelman and Susan L. Levenstein
- Helenna, G (2007) *The impact of intra-regional resettlement on livelihood of host population and the resettled' the case of Chawakaworeda*,. MA thesis submitted Addis ababa University, Institute of Development studies
- Hilhorst, D. & Leeuwen, V. M (2000). *Emergency and Development: the Case of Imidugudu. Villagization in Rwanda; Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 3; PP 264-280, Disaster Studies, Wageningen University, At: <http://jrs.oxfordjournals.org/>
- Human Right Watch (2012) *“What Will Happen if Hunger Comes?”* Abuses against the Indigenous Peoples of Ethiopia's Lower Omo Valley
- Human Right watch (2012) ; *Waiting Here for Death Forced Displacement and “Villagization” in Ethiopia's Gambella Region*
- IDMC, (2010) *Internal displacement in Africa: A development challenge* Exploring development initiatives to alleviate internal displacement caused by conflict, violence and natural disasters.
- IFC (International Finance Corporation) (2002) *Environment and Social Development Department Handbook for Preparing a Resettlement Action Plan*
- Jason, S. (2009) *Development-induced displacement and resettlement*
- John, V. S (1998): *Qualitative Data Analysis Qualis Research*, Qualis@qualisresearch.com, www.qualisresearch.com
- John o. (1997) *The Ethnic Factor in Internal Displacement of Populations in Sub-Saharan Africa* *fr.J. Polir sci.* (1997), vol. 2 no. 2, 104-117
- Kanbur, R. (2006) *What's Social Policy got to do with Economic Growth?* Available at <http://www.arts.cornell.edu/poverty/kanbur/> (accessed 1 SEPTEMBER 2006).
- Kanbur, R., 2001, *'Economic Policy, Distribution and Poverty: The Nature of Disagreements'*, *World Development*, Vol. 29, No. 6, pp. 1083–1094.

Kate, H. and Jennifer. (2007) *A Growing Global Crisis Development-Induced Displacement & Resettlement, International Accountability Project ; Issue Paper*

Kumar, R. 1999, *Research Methodology-a step-by-step guide for beginners*,(2nd.ed.)

Kumar, R. 2005, *Research Methodology-a step-by-step guide for beginners*,(2nd.ed.)

Lord, R. s(1966) *The Theory Of Economic Development In The History Of Economic Thought*macmillan's Martin's Press

Lorenzo,G.,(2011)*Development and Development Paradigms : A (Reasoned) Review of Prevailing Visions*www.fao.org/easypol

Mathur, H. (1995); *Development, Displacement And Resettlement*: New Dehli, Vikas Publishing Home, India

Messay, M. &Bekure W. (2011).*The Impact of Resettlement Schemes on Land-use/Land-cover Changes in Ethiopia: A Case Study from Nonno Resettlement Sites, Central Ethiopia; Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, Vol. 13, No. 2, PP.269-293; Clarion University

Mhando, L. (2011). *Tanzania and the Geopolitics of Rural Development: The Return of Neo-liberalism; Journal of Emerging Knowledge on Emerging Markets*, Vol. 3 [2011], Art. 26; An ICA Institute publication, Pennsylvania State University, USA;Accessed at <http://digitalcommons.kennesaw.edu/jekem/vol3/iss1/26>

Milerová, .D(2012)*Land Grabs In Africa Prague Global Policy Institute – Glopolis* January 2012 Aurèle Prague Global Policy Institute – Glopolis.

Ministry of Federal Affairs Villagization Program for Disadvantaged Regions

2003 2005

MOFED. (1993). *An Economic Development Strategy for Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: Author.

Monenus, H. (2011) *Developments of Water Projects and Domestic Hydro Politics In Ethiopia : the impacts of water projects in Ethiopia: the case of Finchaa-Amarti-Nashe (FAN) Development Project In HoroGuduru, Western Ethiopia*: BA Degree Senior Essay Submitted To The Department Of Political Science, Addis Ababa University

NAPE (National Association of Professional Environmentalists) (2012):*A study on Land Grabbing cases in Uganda Presented*: National Association of Professional Environmentalists (FoE –Uganda)

- NCFSE (2003) Voluntary Resettlement Programme (Access to improved land), *New Coalition for Food Security in Ethiopia* Vol. II, Addis Ababa
- NCFSE (2003). *Voluntary Resettlement Programme (Access to improved land)*, *New Coalition for Food Security in Ethiopia*, Vol., I, Addis Ababa
- Nyikaw, O. (2013) : *Speech on Land Grabbing and Villagization In Gambella Regional State*. on international conference held in India <http://www.oaklandinstitute.org/statement-nyikaw-ochalla-director-anywaa-survival-organisation-aso>.
- OI (2011), “*Understanding Land Investment Deals in Africa: Country Report: Ethiopia*,” 2011, <http://media.oaklandinstitute.org/understanding-land-investment-deals-africa-ethiopia>, (accessed August 1, 2013). Clarion University of Pennsylvania, Clarion, Pennsylvania
- OI (2013) ,“*Unheard Voices: The Human Rights Impact of Land Investments on Indigenous Communities in Ethiopia*,” 2013, pp. 9–11
- OI (2013) :*Development aid to Ethiopia , Overlooking , Violence , Marginalization and political repression. Oakland institute*
- Ota ,Itaru , and Yintiso (2005) , *Displacement Risks In Africa* . International Specialized Book service Inc.
- Oviedo, S. (2011),*Avoiding the Land Grab Responsible Farmland Investing in Developing Nations*
- OXFAM Briefing Note (2012) :*ON Time out on the global land rush : 'Our Land , our lives*.
- Pankhurst, A. (1992) *Resettlement and famine in Ethiopia; The villagers' Experience*, Manchester university press, Manchester
- Peet, R. and Eliane, H. (2009) *Theories of Development : Contentions , Arguements And Alternatives* , 2nd edition The Guil ford Press, New work
- Philip, O. K (2011) : Long-run Effects of Villagization in Tanzania.
- Robinson, W. (2003) :*Risks and Rights: The Causes, Consequences, and Challenges of*
- Scudder, T (1973); *The Human Ecology of Big Projects: River Basin Development and Resettlement*, Boulder, westriew press.
- Sen, A. (1999) *Development as Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Shanmugaratnam,N .(2001) *On the Meaning of Development: An Exploration of the Capability Approach*; Forum for Development Studies |P. 265-284

- Sindayigaya, W. (2012) *Foreign Investments in Agriculture* - “Land Grabbing
- Survival International (1989), *For their own good: Ethiopia’s Villagization Programme*.
- Tesfaye, A. (2007) *Evaluation of Resettlement Program in Ethiopia: The case of Oromia Region*, Chewaka District, MA thesis Submitted to Addis Ababa University, school of Development Studies, Addis Ababa
- Thomas, A. (2004) *The Study of Development. Paper prepared for DSA Annual Conference*, November, Church House, London
- Till, S. And Irit, E. (2011) : *The rules of hosts and newcomers. Local forest management after resettlement in Ethiopia*. European Conference of African Studies 2011, Uppsala, Panel 103: Pathways to social-economic integration. Inclusion and exclusion of migrants in Africa
- Tinyade, K (2012) : *Land Grabbing In Africa: A review of the impacts and the possible policy responses*
- TNI (Transitional Land Institute) (2012) ; *The global Land Grabs* ; A premier TNI Agrarian Justice Programme
- Todaro, M and Stephen C. (2006); *Economic Development; Series in Economic*, Addison Welsey (Edinburgh Gate).
- Todaro, M. and Stephen, S. (2006); *Economic Development; Series in Economic*, Addison Welsey (Edinburgh Gate).
- U.S. National Research Council, Policy Division, Board on Sustainable Development, *Our Common Journey: A Transition toward Sustainability* (Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1999).
- UN (1984); *Department of International Economic & Social Affairs Population Studies*, No. 90: International Conference on Population, Resources, Environment and Development, Geneva, 1983; New York, USA.
- UN Special Reporter on the right to food. (2009). *Large-scale land acquisitions and leases: A set of core principles and measures to address the human rights challenge*. Report by the Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, Olivier De Schutter. New York: United Nations.
- VPAP (2010) *Villagization Program Action Plan*”, August 2002 EC (Ethiopian calendar), (2010 for the European calendar); Letter from the Minister of Federal Affairs Shiferaw Teklemariam to Human Rights Watch, 19 December 2011.

- Wayne, E. (2006) : *The Meaning of Economic Development* ;From Seers to SenResearch Paper No. 2006/20; world institute for development Economics research , United nations University UNU-WIDER 2006
- Yintiso, G. (2004a) *The Metekel Resettlement in Ethiopia , Why did it fail?* In Pankhurst A. and Piguet F. (eds) , *Migration , Resettlement and Displacement In Ethiopia* ESSWA, Addis Ababa Bole Printing Enterprise
- Yintiso, G. 2004B *Resettlement Risks and enter-ethnic conflict in Meketel , Ethiopia.* In ; *Ethiopia and Journal of the social Sciences and Humanities*
- Zelalem, A,(2004); *Resettlement and Environmental in Peripheral Areas of North-Western Ethiopia: The case of Metemma (1980s-2003/4)*, School of Graduate Studies, AAU

Appendices

Appendix-1



With some of my interviewees From Villagers



Walking from one village to the other with students I met in one of the villages Hardship (Very hot environment of March)



One of the Focus Group Discussions Conducted

Appendix 2

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDELINES FOR FOREIGN INVESTORS

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am a graduate student at Addis Ababa University. I am conducting a study titled “**Dynamics of Development and Resettlement in Ethiopia : Case of Gambella region**” as part of the requirement for the successful completion of the Masters Degree in Public Management and Policy specializing in Public Policy Studies. To attain this purpose your honest and genuine participation is very important. I, therefore, highly appreciate you for sparing your time for the interview that will take 45 minutes to 1 hr. And, be confident full that your response will be kept in confidential and will be used solely for academic purpose.

1. Would you speak over the process that you have passed through in order to start your investment? From where you have heard that there is land for investment in Gambella region? For how many years you have stayed in Gambella as an investor? How do you see the process of land transfer? What were the challenges you have facing?
2. How many hect of land that you have taken for investment? How much you pay for 1hect of land? Do you think that it is cheap? Was the land you are investing has been idle/free land or owned by farmers? If it has been owned by farmers, for what purpose they have been using the land?
3. What product that you are producing? Are you producing the same product with what the farmers had been producing or you have shifted to another product? Is the product that you are producing is consumed by local people to solve food insecurity or you export it foreign countries?
4. Do you think that your investment has positive effect up on the lives of the people? What is the advantage of your investment for social, economic change of the society? Is your investment contributed to reduce the unemployment rate in the region? How many people are working in your project? How much they are paid?
5. Is there any action that you are taking in order to help local farmers, in culture of farming, technology shift, experience sharing, to encourage them to involve them in commercial farming? Is there any service that you are providing for the society? If your answer is yes, what services that you are providing?

6. Were forests, waters and others natural resources affected due to your investment? If yes what action that you have taken to curve or to replace it? Were cultural artifacts, churches, and you have destructed to use the land for investment?
7. Do you think that your agreement with the government is transparent?
8. Have you paid any compensation for landholders as a compensation for their land, forest, and house distracted?
9. Is there any benefit that land holders are getting from investment?
10. Before starting of your investment, did you carried out impact assessment?
11. You produce your product for local market or you use to export?

Appendix - 3

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDELINES FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am a graduate student at Addis Ababa University. I am conducting a study titled “*Dynamics of Development and Resettlement in Ethiopia : Case of Gambella region*” as part of the requirement for the successful completion of the Masters Degree in Public Management and Policy specialized in Public Policy Studies. To attain this purpose your honest and genuine participation is very important. I, therefore, highly appreciate you for sparing your time for the interview that will take 45 minutes to 1 hr. And, be confident that your response will be kept confidentially and will be used solely for academic purpose.

1. Do you have any concept about villagization before the implementation of the program? Were you given with any workshop by the government?
2. What is the main objective of villagization program? Are you and your office believed in the objectives of the program? What were the steps or procedures that you have followed in formulating and implementing the program?
3. Was the preliminary impact assessment has been made to implement the program? What was the conclusion/result of the assessments? Is there any special group (minority group, ethnic group, females) being affected by this program?
4. Was the program implemented based on the consent of the people? What are the challenges in the process of – mobilization, implementation, outcomes and linkage to development policies and programs?
5. What is the outcome of the program? What are the indicating variables?
6. Have you opened the way for people to participate in during the formulation of the program?
7. Was any mechanism that your office distributed to collect any complaints from the people? What kind of complaints have collected from the people? Was any action taken to respond to the complaints? Were any military forces that you have utilized in order to relocate people in to newly created village?

8. Is the government compensated people for their land, forest and any resource they have lost?
Do you think that the compensation paid for the people is enough/ comparable?
9. Were the facilities provided for the people in the new village created before relocating or collecting the people together? Do you think that these facilities are adequate with respect to the number of people and standardized as per the quality? Have you distributed the land from which the people relocated to the new village? By whom the land is distributed to investors? For whom? What were the criteria that you have used to lease this land?

Appendix - 4

Key informant interview guidelines for local Community(villagers)

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am a graduate student at Addis Ababa University. I am conducting a study titled “**Dynamics of Development and Resettlement in Ethiopia : Case of Gambella region** ”as part of the requirement for the successful completion of the Masters Degree in Public Management and Policy specialized in Public Policy Studies. To attain this purpose your honest and genuine participation is very important. I, therefore, highly appreciate you for sparing your time for the interview that will takes 45 minutes to 1 hr. And, be confident full that your response will be kept confidentially and will be used solely for academic purpose .

1. Do you have a family? How many children are that you have?
2. How many years you have lived in the newly created village?
3. Did you have had a means of income at your previous living area? What were your work/ means of income? Have you continued working the same work or shifted to another work here? Have you suffered from lack of work to do after relocation? Do you think that this villagization program resulted in unemployment for you or for your friends?
4. Have you had information about villagization before its implementation? How many months before implementation? Have you had the opportunity to participate in the process of villagization program formulation?
5. If your answer for question number 3 is yes, Have you participated directly (personally) or indirectly (through representative) in the process of the program?
6. Did you come to this newly created village voluntarily /by your own interest?
7. If your answer is No. haven't you presented your claim not to move to the village identified? what was the response given to you by the government for claim /compliance have the military force participated in the process of project implementation ?Have you heard or experienced any kind beating, human right abuse , torture, or rape by military force due to the refusal of the program by the you or your neighbors?
8. If your answer is, yes, did you know the advantage and disadvantage of villagization and resettlement before?

9. Did you have had home to live in at your previous place? What about now, do you have home to live in? How do you compare it? Is your home destructed due to villagization program? Were you paid with the comparable compensation for it?
10. Did you have land at your previous living area? How many hectares of land that you had been using for farming previously? had it been free/ idle land ? You lost all the land that you have or still farming there ? If your land has been taken away from , for whom the land is given? Do you have any destructed resources ?have you got the same hectares of land here ?Is the compensation given for your destructed forest , home destructed and other resources due to villagization program?
11. If your land has been given for investors, are you getting any advantages from the investors using it? If your answer is yes, what advantages that you are getting?
12. Do you have cattle's? How many cattle's that you have had ? Are your cattle's affected due to villagization program?
13. Did you have had sufficient food to eat previously ?how many times that would eat per day previously? what kind of food that you had used to survive previously? Is this villagization/ resettlement brought any change in your food security condition , frequency of your consumption , type of food that you consume ?
14. Do you have any resource affected due to this program ? Have you been compensated for the resource that you have lost due to the villagization program, have been compensated for the lost resource ?have you got enough or comparable compensation ?
15. Is there full health service in the newly created village? is it sufficient in relation to the numbers of people living? what about the quality of service that you are getting? How do you rate with the previous health condition?
16. Is there sufficient water provision in the newly created village ?Is it save water? How do you rate with the previous one? is there safe sewerage systems in the newly created village? Is there any effect of absence of water or poor provision? Poor sewerage system? Is there frequent occurrence of malaria, influenza and other water related disease?
17. Is there any behavioral change that you are experiencing after coming ? Is there any anger and stress , regression that feeling ?
18. Is this villagization program resulted in the destruction of common property, like pasture , forest land , water bodies, burial grounds, spiritual and cultural artifacts and materials ?

19. Are social organizations like equb, Idir and any other social organization destructed due to the program? what is the effect of this destruction/disintegration up on the social , cultural and economic aspect of the country?
20. Do you think that this resettlement /villagization program has effect on informal networks , trade linkage ?
21. If your answer for the question above is yes ,how do you compare the living condition here and there ? Have you got everything as you have expected ? Have the government provided the service as promised before re-location?
22. Is there any benefits that youare getting from villagization the program ? If your answer is, what are the benefits ?
23. Is your expectations about the newly created village is the same with what you have found actually ? Do you need any kind of aid or support ?

Appendix - 5

Interview Guideline for Ministry of federal Affairs

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am a graduate student at Addis Ababa University. I am conducting a study titled **“Dynamics of Development and Resettlement in Ethiopia : Case of Gambella region** "as part of the requirement for the successful completion of the Masters Degree in Public Management and Policy specialized in Public Policy Studies. To attain this purpose your honest and genuine participation is very important. I, therefore, highly appreciate you for sparing your time for the interview that will takes 45 minutes to 1 hr. And, be confident full that your response will be kept confidentially and will be used solely for academic purpose

1. What is the Process that your office followed in formulating and implementing Villagization and Resettlement Program, who were (departments and offices) the major actors in the formulation and implementation of the program?
2. Have the community fully engaged in the process of both formulation and implementation of villagization program ? Do you think that the process followed in implementing the process has been participatory, voluntary by the interest of the people. was defense force supported the implementation of the program? were any kind of human rights abuses exercised in the process?
3. Have you (as a department) carried out any kind of assessment?, what was the result of the assessments before the implementation of the policy ? What about the impact assessment, is it successful policy with all achieved objectives?
4. Did the ministry tried alternative policy in place of villagization Program?
5. Did you evaluated the result of villagization program in the region? how do you see the result?
6. Is there any kind of connections in between land leasing and villagization program being implemented in Gambella region.