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The Right to Food in Ethiopia: The Case of Awash Fantale Woreda, Afar Regional State

**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement of Master's Degree in
Human Rights Law**

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University and that all sources of the material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged

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Abstract

Food insecurity and malnutrition makes part of the countries challenge in the history of Ethiopia. This paper examines the legal status of the right to food in and policy challenges in Ethiopia, factors affecting the right to food and some matters linked to the right which may contributed affirmatively or adversely to the right to food. Furthermore the study try to shed light on what are the main challenges as to access to food visa-viz state obligation empirically in awash fantalle worada. Deprivation of the right to food in Awash Fantale Worada attributed to the government policy, which is not inclusive, particularly the reluctance the government shows to have pastoralist policy and strategy. Furthermore there are also some legal constraints contributed to the limitation of access to food in the worada for instance the land proclamation neglects the constitutional right of pastoralists not to evicted from grazing land. Negligence to give attention to the people while carrying out large scale infrastructural projects and commercial irrigation projects. Eviction from the ancestral lands for the sake of commercial crops like sugar cane production which leads to scramble of grazing land and water makes part of the challenge to access food in the worada.

Keywords: The right to food, Food Security, Ethiopia

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACHPR	African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights
ADLIA	Agricultural Development Lead Industrialization
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CESCR	Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CRPD	Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
ICESCR	International on Economic Social and Cultural Rights
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FYGTP	Five year Growth and Transformation Plan
GC	General Comment
HRC	Human Right Council
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ILO	International Labor Organization
NGO	None governmental Organizations
NNP	National Nutrition Policy
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MoFED	Ministry of Finance and economic development
MoARD	Ministry of Agriculture and rural development
MOLSA	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs
PASDEP	Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End poverty
PSNP	Productive Safety Net Program
OHCHR	Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights
SERAC	Social and Economic Rights Action Center
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SDPRP	Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nation Development Program

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

The right to food goes beyond the concept of food security in that it introduces an additional and important element of accountability, as the state is obligated to ensure freedom from hunger for all of its people at all times. Hence as is the case all human rights impose three different levels of obligations imposed upon the state with regards to the right to food: the obligations to respect protect and fulfill. The right to adequate food is a human right recognized in the framework of both universal and regional international treaty laws. Sometimes, it is encompassed by the more generic right to an adequate standard of living. Expressed more specifically, it becomes the right ‘to be free from hunger’¹. Ensuring the right to food serves the achievement of food security. The right to food is fully realized when physical and economic access at all times to adequate food or means for its procurement is safeguarded.².

When the leaders of the world met to establish the United Nations in 1945, the prevention of future world wars was not their only concern. The new body they created was also made responsible for the promotion of better standards of life in a larger freedom. The means proposed to this end by the leaders was ‘to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.’³ UN charter in particular provides that the United Nations shall promote conditions of economic and social progress and development, among other things higher standard of living and full employment.⁴ The right to food as it stands now and the current understanding of right to food became an issue of human rights discourse first at that time. The right to food was first specifically contemplated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.⁵

Subsequent legally binding agreements the international Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights provides that State parties “recognize the right of everyone to an adequate

¹Jean Ziegler, *The Right to Food*, *First Report to the Human Rights Commission* (2002)A/56/210, p.1

² ICSECR General Comment No. 12: The right to Adequate food(Art 11) Para. 6

³UN Charter (1945) preamble. <http://www.unhcr.org/refugees/pdf/42001.htm>

⁴UN Charter, (1945 art 55 <http://www.unhcr.org/refugees/pdf/42001.htm>

⁵Anastasia Telesetsky, ‘Fulfilling the human Right to Food and Healthy Environment: is it time for an Agroecological and Aqua ecological Revolution?’ (2016) *Vermont Law Review* Vol. 40:791,p.7

standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food and take appropriate steps to ensure the realization of this right under its Article 11(1).⁶

The former Special rapporteur on the right to food, Olivier stressed that the right to human dignity ‘as a foundational value and a value implicit in almost all the rights enumerated in the Universal Declaration. Arguing that human rights cannot be protected, and there cannot be dignity in life without food, housing, work and livelihood.’⁷

The interpretation given by the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights (African Commission) in the SERAC/CERAC Vs Nigeria, a landmark case held that “the right to food was an inherent and integral part of human dignity”⁸ among other things. The commission has construed certain articles of the charter as constitute the right to food impliedly which is not expressly provided in African charter on human and people’s right.⁹

Recently, we are witnessing progress in recognizing the right as entitlement including its inclusion in state constitutions and other domestic legislations around the world.¹⁰ Despite such a progress in legitimizing the right to food and securing this right as legal entitlement large number of population around the globe are still food insecure. Ethiopia is one of the poorest country which about half of its population live under poverty¹¹

According to Comprehensive food security and vulnerability analysis report on Ethiopia, around 20.5 percent of households are estimated to be food insecure and at individual level, the proportion of food insecure persons estimated to be 25.5 percent¹². This means that approximately 26 million food insecure people in the country in 2016.¹³

⁶ ICESCR, (1966) art 11(1)

⁷ Olivier Deschutter, *Report of Special Rapporteur on the right to food, The transformative potential of the right to food.* (2014), A/HRC/25/57.

⁸ *SERAC Vs Nigeria*; (2001), 155/96, para.65 see also Principles and Guidelines on the Implementation of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights) (2011) paras 83–86.

⁹ Christopher Mbazira, ‘Enforcing the Economic, Social and cultural rights in the African Charter on Human and peoples right: Twenty years of redundancy, Progression and Significant Strides’ African Human Rights Journal,(2006)

¹⁰ Simita Narula, ‘The Right to food: Progress and pitfalls’ (2015) Canadian Food studies vol.2,p. 42

¹¹ Leidy Diana Desouza DeOliviera, ‘Public Policies for Food Security in the countries With Deferent Development Levels’ ,InternationalPublicManagementReview, <http://www.ipmr.net> p.131. accessed on October, 20/2018

¹² World Food Program Ethiopia Office and Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia, Comprehensive food security analysis in Ethiopia (2019), <www.wfp.org> accessed on December 10/2020

¹³ ibd

Amhara Region experienced the highest percentage of food insecure households (36.1 percent), followed by Afar (26.1 percent). Nearly 22.7 percent of rural households and 13.9 percent of urban households are food insecure. Overall, rural households are more vulnerable to food insecurity than urban households.¹⁴ Drought and land degradation, population pressure, instability and armed conflict are major sources of food security problems in Ethiopia.

To cope up with the problems Ethiopia has adopted the Poverty Reduction Strategy, goals and ideas that were initiated in late 1990s. Since then the country has been taking various measures towards reducing poverty, improving access to food and/or right to food issuing country-specific policy for development. The actions and measures have been taken through developing and implementing strategies to fight poverty. This paper wants to explore the extent to which the strategies proved successful as well as challenges faced in the process of implementing those goals and plans specifically its application to pastoralist communities in the middle awash basin and the compliance to treaty obligation ensuring the right to food by the government.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The right to adequate food is a human right recognized in the framework of both international and regional treaty law. Sometimes, it is encompassed by the more generic right to an adequate standard of living. Its minimum core element, it has come to be expressed as the right to be free from hunger and a right that should be enjoyed at all times. Regardless of its legal recognition even at the international level the place accorded to the right to food has not achieved a significant success. The right to adequate food will have to be realized progressively. However, States have a core obligation to take the necessary action to mitigate and alleviate hunger even in times of natural or other disasters.¹⁵

In determining which actions amount to a violation of the right to food, ICESCR in its General Comment No. 12. Recognizes that it is important to distinguish the inability from the unwillingness of a State party to comply¹⁶. What is crucial is that no regressive steps should be taken and the State parties should conduct a national strategy on how to fully realize the right to food. Furthermore, any discrimination in access to food, as well as to means and

¹⁴ *ibid*

¹⁵ General comment No.12 HRI/GEN/1/Rev.4, p.58, para. 6

¹⁶ General Comment No. 12 para. 18

entitlements for its procurement will constitute a violation of the Covenant¹⁷. States should facilitate sustainable, non-discriminatory and secure access and utilization of resources consistent with their national law and with international law and protect the assets that are important for people's livelihoods. States should respect and protect the rights of individuals with respect to resources such as land, water, forests, fisheries and livestock without any discrimination. Where necessary and appropriate, States should carry out land reforms and other policy reforms consistent with their human rights obligations and in accordance with the rule of law in order to secure efficient and equitable access to land and to strengthen proper growth. Special attention may be given to groups such as pastoralists and indigenous people and their relation to natural resources¹⁸. General Comment No. 12 explicitly mentions that 'a particular vulnerability is that of many indigenous population groups whose access to their ancestral lands may be threatened. Economic accessibility applies to any acquisition pattern or entitlement through which people procure their food and is a measure of the extent to which it is satisfactory for the enjoyment of the right to adequate food¹⁹.

As to this end there are many claims in pastoralist low land as land tenure and tenure of other relevant resources for food security like water. Land grabbing, Expropriation without adequate compensation, lack of adequate participation in different projects hired by the government or private enterprises and systematic exclusion from the developmental activities cared out on their ancestral land among very common claims frequently raised in the area of pastoralist community as well as lack of fair distribution of resource. Tenure arrangements in pastoral societies may be seen as an aspect of the general process of marginalization of pastoral society in Ethiopia²⁰. This process is partly the outcome of historical processes of political subjugation and partly due to the incorporation of pastoral societies into a state dominated by an outlook strongly biased in favor of agriculture. The pastoralists to an increasing extent lost influence over policies and events that in fact are central to their livelihood.²¹ The main contemporary problem in Ethiopian pastoral societies is that initiatives

¹⁷ Voluntary guidelines to support the progressive realization of the right to adequate food in the context of national food security, [www.fao.org/publications,\(2005\).Guidlne](http://www.fao.org/publications,(2005).Guidlne) 8.1

¹⁸ CESCR General CommentNo. 12: *Adopted at the Twentieth Session of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, (1999) Containedin Document E/C.12/1999/5, para.13*

¹⁹ CESCR General CommentNo. 12: *Adopted at the Twentieth Session of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, (1999) Containedin Document E/C.12/1999/5, para.13*

²⁰ JohanHelland, 'Pastoral Land Tenure in Ethiopia,Colloque international' *Lesfrontièr esdela question foncière – At the frontier of land issues*", Montpellier, (2006),

²¹ JohanHelland, 'Pastoral Land Tenure in Ethiopia,Colloque international' *Lesfrontièr esdela question foncière – At the frontier of land issues*", Montpellier, (2006),

and reforms within Ethiopian land tenure legislation at the national level are formulated on the basis of issues relevant primarily to the arable agriculture in the highlands, however the situation in the pastoral areas is either ignored or very superficially treated²². The human right to food directly depends on access and control over land and other natural resource and tenure security. Particularly in agrarian societies like Ethiopia, where more than 83% of its population uses land as a primary source of production and employment access to land is crucial for the protection of the right to food²³.

Therefore this paper tries to see the gaps significance of laws, policies and strategies adopted in Ethiopia for the protection of the right to food and their inclusiveness together with laws policies and strategies adopted in relation with land tenure and developmental activities and challenges faced pragmatically in awash Fantalle worada.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

1.3.1. General Objectives

The overall objective of this study is to assess access to food and food security status and its conditions vis-a-vis the developmental activities carried out by the government, land grabbing and access to land in the Awash fantale worada.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

The study attempts to:

- Examine international normative frameworks for the right to food
- Assess state obligation in general and the status of the right to food in Ethiopian legal system
- Examine access to food and its dimension in the general context in Ethiopia
- Assess policies and legal frameworks in relation with the right to food
- Assess the possible major challenges to access food in the country; and specifically in awash fantale worada.
- analyze major challenges faced by rural pastoralist society in relation to the right to food in study area.

²²ibid

²³ Hussen Ahemed Tura(2017) linking land rights and the right to Adequate food in Ethiopia, Normative and implementation gaps, Nordic Journal of Human Rights, 32:2,85-105, DOI: 10.1080/18918131.2017.1312860, vol.35 No.2,85-105

- Assess Legal and policy challenges for realizing the right to food in throughout the country and particularly in awash fantale woreda pastoralist community.
- Assess the status of the right to food pragmatically in awash fantale worada.

1.4. Research Questions

The basic questions which the research wants to answer in undertaking this study include:

- What is the status of the government's compliance to its obligation under international instruments in realizing the right food in Ethiopia?
- What are the meaningful steps taken by government to ensure access to food With regard to laws, policies and strategies?
- What are major challenges faced in ensuring right to food in the country in general and in awash fantale worada in particular?
- What is the participation level of the community in mega projects and investment activities in their area in Awash Fantal worada affecting their right to food?

1.5. Significance of the Study

This study would have significance in providing general understanding of the changing conceptual basis of the right to food, food security and some of the underlying causes as well as trends, challenges and opportunities with regard to global and local food security issues. It will give an insight into the cross cutting issues as well as policies & programs related to the subject matter.

It may also help government organs and policy makers to gain useful information and data to make informed decisions. It could also serve as spring board for junior researchers who might be interested in the area. It will also be important to show conditions necessary for making changes in connection with accessing food across the country.

1.6. Research Design and Methodology

1.6.1. Research Design

The design of the study would be a qualitative analysis of access to food and food security issues in the country. Case studies would be treated in a narrative and descriptive form of study. Primary source data will be given due consideration in order to get firsthand information on the conditions and issues of access to food. In the survey, two-stage sample design was adopted. The first stage was the selection of kebeles /localities/ in the woredas purposefully, where there is large scale development activities on pastoral lands. Purpose oriented selection of Kebeles/locatities was made to ensure meaningful representation of the area under

study. The second stage was the purposeful selection government officials and expertise in relation with their duty related to food security and crop and cattle production, then the random selection of households from each sample Kebeles/localities. Manageable sample sizes of 25 households were taken from the four samples kabeles out of a total of five kebeles. Five household interviews were administered from each kebele.

Various authors and researchers have written on the issue of right to food, food security /food insecurity; many government and non-government agencies have produced reports on food security situation in Ethiopia. All these sources would be utilized to assess the current food insecurity, major sources of food security problems in Ethiopia.

1.6.2. Data Collection Instruments

To generate both primary and secondary data from various sources, the data collection instrument employed, schemes of interview guides for clan leaders and elders, schemes of Interview at institution level, schemes of interview guide for households, Field observations as well as informal discussion and reviewing of documentary sources.

As a qualitative approach, the study is engaged in assessing issues of concern in connection with food access. Thus, from field work data would be collected through different techniques namely in-depth interviews and discussion with key governmental and non-governmental officials using purposive sampling method.

1.6.2.1. Interview

Interview guide were designed by selecting a targeting topic that might be phrased and rephrased according to the situation. It is always made out of dialogue. From the various types of interview, the one that is used in this study is the in-depth interview. The in-depth interview is the appropriate tool to capture the informants thinking about a particular topic or domain where the answers given by the participant may induce the interviewer to move forward for in-depth questioning.

A face-to-face in-depth interview with the key informants has employed to collect information about the practical applications of human rights principles and factors influencing the right to food. An interview schedule has been developed with due consideration to the research questions in particular and the objective of the research in general. The schedule has organized in semi-structured and open ended formats and has been used while discussing the research issues with the key informants. Based on these Interview guides, primary data were gathered from the clan leaders, elders in the study area, the ordinary pastoralists, head of worada administrations, experts

from worada agricultural and pastoralist development office, heads of kabele administration as well as individual informants.

1.6.2.2. Focus Group Discussions (FGD)

The method of Focus group discussions employed to obtain information useful to this study. For the purpose of this study, two FGD group was conducted. In the first round a total of five persons were involved from two villages of the pastoralist communities of Fentalle woreda. The second FGD was conducted with another five pastoral community members from the rest two villages and totally ten participants were involved in the discussion for the purpose of the study. Participants used depending on interest to participate and their availability.

1.6.2.3. Literature Review

Different international and regional human rights documents as well as national laws relevant to our issue including FDRE Constitution which have direct relation to the topic were analyzed in relation to their practicality and different principles, guidelines on the provisions as well as rights of citizen's access to food. In addition to these, relevant literatures like Reports, Books, Journals, research paper, Policy Documents and other important publications and documents are reviewed. Furthermore, various documents found in the study area include regional conference reports, annual job reports, memorandum, training manuals, guidelines and provisions on pastoralists as well as rights of pastoral communities/ citizens rights were used as other source of information for this study.

1.7. Scope and Limitation of the Study

The scope of the study is limited to assessing the legal status and pragmatic application of the right to food in Ethiopia in general and assess access to food and food security status and its conditions vis-à-vis the developmental activities carried out by the government and land tenure in the Awash fantaleworada in particular with special focus on pastoralist community.

Due to time and financial constraints the study is geographically limited to resources found in the Capital city Addis Ababa and awash fantalle worada in afar region. However, adequate information was gathered for the study through primary and secondary sources.

1.8. Organization of the study

The study consists of four chapters. In the first chapter it introduces the background of the study, statement of the problem, objective of the study, research question, significance, scope and limitation of the study. In chapter two, literatures related to the right to food, and food

security are reviewed. This chapter discusses the conceptual framework, legal framework, policies and challenges within it for the protection of the right to food, the level of the duty barrier to achieve the right to food with its minimum core obligation and interrelation of the right to food and land tenure and the impact of land laws on the right to food in Ethiopia with special focus on communal land are discussed. Under Chapter three the study constitutes the case of awash fantale worada in afar region, this chapter would dealt with short introduction of the study area, challenges in ensuring the right to food in study area, expropriation of land and challenges of communal land tenure, livelihood improvement and related challenges, developmental activities and its impact on pastoral communities access to food, Finally, conclusion and recommendations of the study is dealt in chapter four.

CHAPTER TWO

2. GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE RIGHT TO FOOD

2.1. Conceptual Framework for the Right to Food and Food Security

When we deal with the right to food it is indispensable to mention food security as it is conceptually different from the right to food but related to the right. Food security is not a concept with a legal content and as result of which it cannot establish the notion of a right holder and a duty bearer in the relationship.²⁴ Food security is achieved when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life²⁵. Food insecurity occurs at individuals, households or national level that has neither physical nor economical access to the nourishment they need.²⁶ Recent studies, defined food security as adequate availability and access to food for households to meet the minimum energy requirements as recommended for an active and healthy life. In specific term food insecurity includes low food intake, variable access to food, and vulnerability- livelihood strategy that generates adequate food in good times but is not resilient against shocks. These outcomes correspond broadly to chronic, cyclical or seasonal, and transitory food insecurity²⁷. But fulfilling one's need for food in the biological sense is different from fulfilling one's human right to food. If people have no chance to influence what and how they are being fed, if they are fed prepackaged rations or capsules or are fed from a trough, their right to adequate food is not being met, even if they get all the nutrients their bodies need²⁸. For instance serving pork to a Christian prisoner would violate his human rights, even if it contained the nutrients he needed for physical and biological healthy life.

The right to food as provided for in relevant international legal regimes is a fundamental human right, entitlements to individuals and groups to access adequate food and to the

²⁴ Fact sheet 34 'The right to adequate food' (2010) <www.fao.org> accessed on December 18/2019

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ Abduselam Abdulahi Mohamed, Food Security Situation in Ethiopia: A Review Study, International Journal of Health Economics and Policy, [http://www.sciencepublishinggroup.com/j/hep/2017;2\(3\):86-96](http://www.sciencepublishinggroup.com/j/hep/2017;2(3):86-96) accessed on December 18/2019

²⁷ ibd

²⁸ George Kent, Freedom from Want, The Human Right to Adequate Food, foreword by Jean Ziegler Georgetown University Press Washington, D.C.//ISBN 1-58901-055-8 (cloth : alk. paper) — ISBN 1-58901-056-6 (paper : alk. paper) 2005

resources that are necessary for the enjoyment of the right in relation to food²⁹. In short, the right to food places legal obligations on states and other actors while food security does not impose obligation on the state and does not entitle the individual to the right to adequate food.

ICESCR has mention the right to food as if composed of two element of the right which are the right to adequate food and the fundamental right of everyone to be free from hunger³⁰.

General Comment No. 12 further elaborated and interpreted the right to food:-

‘The right to adequate food is realized when every man, woman and child, alone or in community with others, has physical and economic access at all times to adequate food or means for its procurement. The right to adequate food shall therefore not be interpreted in a narrow or restrictive sense which equates it with a minimum package of calories, proteins and other specific nutrients. The right to adequate food will have to be realized progressively.’³¹

Golay has define the right to food as, “the right to have regular, permanent and unrestricted access, either directly or by means of financial purchase, to quantitatively and qualitatively adequate and sufficient food corresponding to the cultural traditions of the people to which the consumer belongs; and which ensures a physical and mental, individual and collective, fulfilling and dignified free of fear.³²

It is part of the State’s obligation to ensure that people do not go hungry even if it does not have sufficient food as a minimum core obligation.

The right to food is inseparably linked to the dignity of human beings and is therefore essential for the enjoyment and fulfillment of such other rights as health, life, education, work and political participation³³. The committee on economic, social and cultural right in its general comment No.12 has affirmed that the right to adequate food is indivisibly linked to

²⁹Ibd.

³⁰ICESCR

³¹ Office the high commissioner for human rights General comment No.12.

³²Golay, Christophe et al, 2011. *The Fight for the Right to Food: Lessons Learned*, the Graduate Institute, Geneva

³³SERAC Vs Negeria, Social and Economic Rights Action Center (SERAC) and Center for Economic and Social Rights (CESR) / Nigeria; 155/96, Case para.65 see also Principles and Guidelines on the Implementation of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights (African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights) (2011) paras 83–86.

the inherent dignity of human person and the right to food is indispensable for the fulfillment of other human rights enshrined under the international bill of rights³⁴. It is also inseparable from social justice, requiring the adoption of appropriate economic, environmental, and social policies at both national and international levels, oriented to eradication of poverty and the fulfillment of all human rights for all³⁵. It is now widely accepted that all human rights are intimately interconnected, as recognized in paragraph 5 of the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action, set out at the conclusion of the World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna in June 1993: All human rights are universal, indivisible and interdependent and interrelated.

2.2. Legal Framework and Normative Contents and State Obligation for the Right to Food

2.2.1. Legal Framework

Before the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the right to food in regards to prisoners of war and protection of civilian persons in time of war was recognized as per article 18 and 72 of the Third Geneva Convention, and article 55 of the Fourth Geneva Conventions³⁶. In the context of the development of international human rights the right to adequate food as a human right is not new. It was recognized in article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and later reaffirmed in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (article 11), and through the right to life, in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (article 6).¹ It was also included in other international instruments, including the Convention on the Rights of the Child (article 24 (2) (c) and 27 (3)), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (article 12 (2)), and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (article 25 (f) and 28 (1)). In addition, the right to food is recognized in a range of regional instruments such as the Additional Protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights in the Area of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Protocol of San Salvador) (1988) (article 12), the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1990) (article 14 (2) (c)) and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003) (article 15). Although the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights does not explicitly refer to the right to food, the African Commission on Human and Peoples'

³⁴ Office the high commissioner for human rights General comment No.12

³⁵ General comment 12 para 6

³⁶ Third Geneva convention art 18 and 72, See. Fourth Geneva convention art. 55

Rights has protected the right to food by relying on the provisions relating to the right to life (article 4), the right to health (article 16), and the right to economic, social and cultural development (article 22).³⁷ The human right to adequate food has nevertheless received renewed interest in recent years, particularly since its reaffirmation at the 1996 World Food Summit in the Rome Declaration on World Food Security.

The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Committee) With the adoption in May 1999 of its General Comment 12 on the right to food, not only did it provide the most authoritative definition of the right to “adequate food” but it also gave itself a ‘solid basis for its monitoring of national implementation of that right’.³⁸

The right to adequate food is something that is realized when every man, woman and child, alone or in community with others, have physical and economic access at all times to adequate food or means for its procurement. The core content of the right to adequate food implies the availability of food in a quantity and quality sufficient to satisfy the dietary needs of individuals, free from adverse substances, and acceptable within a given culture as well as the accessibility of such food in ways that are sustainable and that do not interfere with the enjoyment of other human rights as per Art. 11(2) of ICESCR.³⁹

The right to be free from hunger is also enshrined in the same article as the only right recognized as fundamental under international law. The right to be free from hunger should therefore be interpreted as the core provision protecting individuals from hunger, defined as the *insufficient* or *inadequate* intake of food and low resistance to diseases leading to death.⁴⁰

2.2.2 Normative Contents and State Obligation for the Realization of the Right to Food

The nature of legal obligation of states parties to ICESCR is set out in article 2 of the covenant and has been dealt with in the committees general comment No.3 the principal obligation is to take steps to achieve progressively the full realization of the right to adequate food. This imposes an obligation to move as expeditiously as possible towards the full

³⁷Social and Economic Rights Action Center (SERAC) and Center for Economic and Social Rights(CESR)/ Nigeria, www.achpr>achpr30_155_99

³⁸A. Eide, 'Updated study on the right to food', (1999) E/CN,4/Sub.2/1999/12,

³⁹General Comment No. 12

⁴⁰Christopher Golay 'The Right to Food and Access to Justice; Examples at National ,Regional and International Level (2009) Viale delle terme di caracalla, p.13 ISBN 978-92-5106384-2

realization of the right to food⁴¹. However every state is obliged to ensure for every one under its jurisdiction access to the minimum essential food which is sufficient, nutritionally adequate and safe, to insure their freedom from hunger⁴² the only right expressed as fundamental in ICESCR. In this assertion it is recognized that freedom from hunger is the minimum core obligation for the right to food that requires the immediate fulfillment in contrary to progressive realization of the right. Which shows that state parties obligation for realization of the right categorized into two level of realization some of which more immediate nature while some others have long term character to achieve progressively the full realization the right to food. According to **Blichitz** referred to as obligation of result (minimum core obligation) and obligation of conduct(progressive realization)⁴³

Therefore Violations of the Covenant occur when a State fails to ensure the satisfaction of, at the very least, the minimum essential level required to be free from hunger. The State has to demonstrate that every effort has been made to use all the resources at its disposal in an effort to satisfy, as a matter of priority, those minimum obligations. This follows from article 2.1 of the Covenant, which obliges a State party to take the necessary steps to the maximum of its available resources, as previously pointed out by the Committee in its general comment No. 3, paragraph 10. A State claiming that it is unable to carry out its obligation for reasons beyond its control therefore has the burden of proving that this is the case and that it has unsuccessfully sought to obtain international support to ensure the availability and accessibility of the necessary food.⁴⁴ The committee on economic, social and cultural right in its general comment no.3 stated that ‘progressive realization’ in the Covenant requires the taking of “deliberate, concrete and targeted” steps. The minimum core provides an understanding of the direction that the steps should follow and an indication as to when their direction becomes retrogressive⁴⁵.

State failure to satisfy at least this minimum level would amounts to a *prima facie* violation of its obligations under the ICESCR. If a state argues that failure to meet such obligations is due to resource constraints, it must prove that every effort has been made to use all the

⁴¹ David Blichitz, political philosophy in action: Developing a minimum core approach for Socio-Economic rights, oxford university press 2007// ISBN 978-0-19-920491-5(alk.paper)

⁴² Ibid Gc 12 para 14

⁴³ David Blichitz, political philosophy in action: Developing a minimum core approach for Socio-Economic rights, oxford university press 2007// ISBN 978-0-19-920491-5(alk.paper)

⁴⁴ General comment No. 12 Paragraph 17

⁴⁵ Katharine G. Young, ‘The Minimum Core of Economic and Social Rights: A Concept in Search of Content’ (2008) The yale journal of international law vol. 33: 113 p.121

resources at its disposal in an effort to satisfy, as a matter of priority those minimum obligations⁴⁶. Freedom from hunger is considered to be the *minimum essential level* of the right to food that states must ensure its satisfaction regardless of economic and political conditions.

Regarding progressive realization of the right to food article 2(1) of the ICESCR provided that:-

*Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to take steps, individually and through international assistance and cooperation, especially economic and technical, to the maximum of its available resources, with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of the rights recognized in the present Covenant by all appropriate means, including particularly the adoption of legislative measures*⁴⁷.

Under the obligation of progressive realization, States should make constant efforts to improve the enjoyment of the right to food. While the full realization of the right to food may be achieved progressively, steps towards that goal must be taken within a reasonable time. Such steps should be deliberate, concrete and targeted as clearly as possible, using all appropriate means and resources⁴⁸.

The right to adequate food, like any other human right, imposes three types or levels of obligations on States parties: the obligations to *respect*, to *protect* and to *fulfil*⁴⁹.

The obligation to *respect* the right to food requires states not to take any measures that would result in preventing individuals from having access to food. This negative obligation imposes limitations on state conduct that may threaten the right to food. Under this obligation, states cannot enact legislation or policies that affect access to food. The Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food has noted that violations of the obligation to respect could occur if a government arbitrarily evicted people from their land, especially if the land was their primary source of subsistence, or if the government suspended or repealed social security provisions without ensuring that vulnerable people had other means to provide for themselves. Another type of violation, for example, would be if the government knowingly

⁴⁶ International Developmental Law Organization with the support of airesaid. Government of Ireland 'realizing the right to food', Legal Strategies and Approaches (2015). <www.idlo.int> accessed on November 10/ 2019 p.20

⁴⁷ ICESCR article 2(1)

⁴⁸ Fao 'The Right to Adequate Food' Fact sheet. 34 p.21 /<https://www.ohchr.org/documents/publications/>

⁴⁹ General comment No.12 para 14

introduced harmful substances into the food chain⁵⁰. Under the duty to *protect*, states have a positive obligation to safeguard enjoyment of the right to food against interference by third parties (such as private individuals, private enterprises and other entities). This obligation involves regulating the conduct of such non-state actors by the state. There is none compliance to this obligation by states if a company polluted a community's land or water supply and the state took no action. Under the obligation to protect, a state may also be required, for example, to enact consumer protection and food safety legislation to ensure that food which reaches the market is free from harmful substances⁵¹. The obligation to *fulfill* is made up of both an obligation to *facilitate* and an obligation to *provide*. The obligation to facilitate means that states must engage in activities intended to strengthen people's ability to access means and resources to secure their livelihood, for example by implementing agrarian reform programs or introducing minimum income regulation. In particular, states are required to identify vulnerable groups and to implement policies to ensure their access to food or to the means of obtaining it. Whenever an individual or group is unable to enjoy the right to adequate food by the means at their disposal, for reasons beyond their control, states have the obligation to *provide* it.⁵²

In addition to that any discrimination in access to food, as well as to means and entitlements for its procurement, on the grounds of race, colour, sex, language, age, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status with the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the equal enjoyment or exercise of economic, social and cultural rights constitutes a violation of the Covenant⁵³. Discrimination may take different forms like that of government policies ignoring some part of its citizens giving priority to some other groups based on for example economic life style or by encouraging legally some kind of economic style and issuing regressive laws on some other economic style let's say in our case pastoralist life style. The government may try to pave way to conducive environment for agricultural production and may ignore pastoralist production which may impair the equal enjoyment of the right to food for those pastoralist communities.

⁵⁰ Jian Ziegler, Preliminary Report of the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights on the Right to Food, UN Doc. A/56/210, 23 July 2001, para 27. <https://www.righttofood.org/> accessed on November 12/2019

⁵¹ *ibid.*

⁵² Jian Ziegler 'The Right to Food' Report by the special rapporteur For the Right to food(2006) Doc.UN.E/CN4/2006/44 para 22

⁵³ General comment No. 12 paragraph 18

The obligation not to discriminate requires a state party to identify the most vulnerable groups within its jurisdiction and take proactive steps, usually referred to as special measures to bring the level of enjoyment of the right to food of these groups equally with the rest of the population⁵⁴.

In general basic points we have to bear in mind about state obligation for the right to food are the three well known state obligations that human rights discourse has impose on the government (respect, protect and fulfill), the minimum core obligation which needs the immediate fulfillment with its minimum core contents that of adequacy, accessibility, availability acceptability, sustainability, and the progressive realization for the move towards full realization of the right to food which require taking deliberate, concrete and targeted steps and any regressive measures to that effect amounts to violation of the right to food. Furthermore Non-discrimination and participation in some decision making for affected communities can be taken as the corner stone on which the state obligation for right to food is stand on.

2.3. Laws, Policies and Challenges to Protect the Right to Food in Ethiopia

2.3.1 Laws

Ethiopia has recognized the right to food under its constitution though there is no clearly stipulated. Under article 41 which is crudely formulated the title of this article related to socio- economic and cultural rights. Therefor deemed to include the right to food and the same article sub article 8 further provided that “Ethiopian farmers and pastoralists have the right to receive fair price for their products, that would lead to improvement in their conditions of life and to enable them to obtain an equitable share of the national wealth commensurate with their contribution. This objective shall guide the State in the formulation of economic, social and development policies.”⁵⁵ The Same Constitution has mentioned the right to food under Article 90(1) of the constitution: even though as National policies and objectives but not as a right to be claimed, it reads.

⁵⁴ International Developmental Law Organization with the support of airesaid. Government of Ireland ‘realizing the right to food’, Legal Strategies and Approaches (2015). <www.idlo.int> accessed on November 10/ 2019 p.20

⁵⁵ FDRE Constitution(1995) art 41(8)

*To the extent of the country's resources permit, policies shall aim to provide all Ethiopians access to public health and education, clean water, housing food and social security*⁵⁶. In addition to that Ethiopia has ratified major international instruments relevant to the right to food, including the ICESCR⁵⁷. Ethiopia is also a party to the African Charter on Human and Peoples.⁵⁸ The 1995 FDRE constitution lays down a framework for addressing the right to food. Article 9(4) of the Constitution stipulates that “international agreements ratified by Ethiopia are an integral part of the law of the land” and according to article 13(2), human rights provisions of the constitution “shall be interpreted in a manner conforming to the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights and international instruments adopted by Ethiopia.”⁵⁹

2.3.2. Policies and Challenges

According to World Food Program the ratio of death resulted due to hunger is greater than the number of death resulted in malaria in the world.⁶⁰ Africa especially the Sub-Saharan countries including Ethiopia, though improved, faces the world's gravest hunger problems. In Ethiopia, since the 1960s, hunger, food insecurity and under-nourishment become manifestations and usually raised problems in Ethiopia. Food insecurity in Ethiopia derives directly from dependence on undiversified livelihoods based on low-input, low-output rain fed agriculture with inflexible land tenure. Ethiopian farmers do not produce enough food even in good rainfall years to meet consumption requirements.⁶¹ Ethiopia ranked first in having the highest number of people in state of undernourishment which is 32.1 million people in 2014.⁶²

Ethiopia is one of the most famine-prone countries and known for food shortages and famine in the Horn of Africa for long history.⁶³ Studies indicated that more than half of the

⁵⁶FDRE Constitution (1995) art 90(1).

⁵⁷ Nandini Ramanujam, and Others 'From Justiciability to Justice: Realizing the Human Right to Food', JSDLP – RDPDD, Volume 11:

⁵⁸ African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (1981)

⁵⁹ FDRE Constitutio(1995) ,Art 9(4) and Art (13)

⁶⁰ World Food Program 'Hnger Statics'(2014), available at <w.w.w.wfp.org/hunger/stats>

⁶¹ Fayera Bakala 'Food Insecurity in Ethiopia'(2016) Food Science and Quality Management ISSN 2224-6088 (Paper) ISSN 2225-0557 Vol.52, <www.iiste.org> accessed on November 20/2019

⁶² Abduselam Abdulahi Mohamed. 'Food Security Situation in Ethiopia' (2017) A Review Study. International Journal of Health Economics and Policy. Vol. 2, No. 3, pp.86-96. doi: 10.11648/j.hep.20170203.11

⁶³Randy stringer, 'food security in developing countries, policy discussion paper', no. 0011 (2000) Centre for international economic studies, University of Adelaide. adelaide • sa 5005 • Australia ,

populations of the country were poor and food insecure of which the largest group is rural people with insufficient assets to produce and purchase food⁶⁴.

Susceptibility to poverty has strong geographic dimensions in Ethiopia. According to world Bank Poverty Assessment one of the strongest predictors of poverty in rural Ethiopia is distance from market towns. The 2014 World Bank report shows that poverty rates increased by 7% with every additional 10 km distance from a market town of at least 50,000 people. Rural households living far from towns are less likely to access fertilizer and other inputs, and are less likely to benefit from gains in agricultural growth.⁶⁵

In addition, vulnerability to food insecurity has agro-ecological variation. In 2009, the Ethiopian Development Research Institute (EDRI) classified Ethiopia into five categories based on agricultural productivity, such as moisture-reliable lowlands, *enset* low lands, drought-prone highlands, moisture-reliable highlands, and pastoral areas.⁶⁶ Pastoral areas have the highest percentage of absolute poor (31%) and the highest vulnerability to food poverty (21%)⁶⁷.

Ensuring household access to food poses a formidable challenge in view of the fact that chronic food insecure households are predominantly located in drought prone moisture deficit areas and peripheral pastoral areas.⁶⁸ Rural food security depends largely on rainfall, which determines the success of crops production in the highlands, and the availability of water and pasture for livestock in the lowlands.⁶⁹ In the lowlands, inadequate or irregularly distributed rainfall affect crop production in agro-pastoral areas and lead to poor livestock productivity, poor condition and increased susceptibility to disease, thereby increasing livestock mortality.⁷⁰

Ethiopia has formulated different economic and social policies since 1991 which in one way or another aimed to foster the right to food. Since coming into power of EPRDF the Agricultural Development Led Industrialization policy(ADLI) has been implemented in order

⁶⁴:ibid

⁶⁵World Bank Poverty assistance 2014

⁶⁶ Ethiopian Development Research Institute (EDRI),2009,

⁶⁷ USAID office of food for peace Food Security Country Framework for Ethiopia

⁶⁸Mafa Chipeta, BezabihEmana, and Demese Chanyalew, Ethiopia's Agriculture Sector Policy and Investment Framework (2010–2020) External Mid-term Review, Secretariat of the Government of Ethiopia/Development Partners Sector Working Group on Rural Development and Food Security (RED&FS), 2015, .

⁶⁹Anderson, Stephen and Elisabeth Farmer. *USAID Office of Food for Peace Food Security Country Framework for Ethiopia FY 2016 – FY 2020*. Washington, D.C.: Food Economy Group, 2015

⁷⁰Anderson, Stephen and Elisabeth Farmer. *USAID Office of Food for Peace Food Security Country Framework for Ethiopia FY 2016 – FY 2020*. Washington, D.C.: Food Economy Group, 2015

to foster yield of agriculture, In 2002, the gov.t has launched the “Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (SDPRP), Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP) which launched in 2005 up to 2010⁷¹ followed by Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP1 and GTP2),The Rural Development Policy and Strategies (RDPS) Land Tenure Reform and Resettlement Programs⁷² are also implemented to enhance livelihood of the citizens. In collaboration with donors, the government within the framework of poverty reduction Strategy design food security programs(FSP),⁷³ National Nutrition Program(NNP)⁷⁴, Productive safety net programs (PSNP)⁷⁵ all are designed to developed in order to enhance the living conditions of the people, reduce poverty and ultimately to bring development in general, and the development and social welfare policy, in particular identifies unemployment and the absence of social security for the people as the main areas of intervention.

The Social Protection Policy(SPP) has identified five key strategic focus areas: I) Social safety nets ii) Livelihood and employment promotion; iii) Social insurance; iv) Access to health, education and other social services and Addressing violence, abuse and neglect and providing legal protection and support. Overall, the policy commits the Government to move beyond the partial, and fragmented, provision of social protection to establish a social protection system.⁷⁶

National Nutrition Policy aims to drastically reduce stunting, wasting and chronic under-nutrition in Ethiopia. The food security strategy has out lined that in order to encourage commercial farming, the Government will streamline access to land, and open up new areas for large-scale agricultural production.⁷⁷ Particularly the Long-term Food security strategy for

⁷¹ImeruTamrat, governance of large scale agricultural investments in Africa: the case of Ethiopia,paper presented at the World Bank Conference on Land Policy and Administration, Washington DC April 26- 27, 2010,

⁷²Mafa Chipeta, BezabihEmana, and Demese Chanyalew, Ethiopia’s Agriculture Sector Policy and Investment Framework (2010–2020) External Mid-term Review, Secretariat of the Government of Ethiopia/Development Partners Sector Working Group on Rural Development and Food Security (RED&FS), 2015, .

⁷³Food Security Program(FSP) of Ethiopia. <www.ipcinfo.org/publication> accessed on December 16//2019

⁷⁴National Nutrition Program(NNP II) 2016-2020 <www.moh.gov.et> accessed on December 16/2019

⁷⁵ Camilla Anderson and Others ‘Impacts of the Productive safety net Programs in Ethiopia on Livestock and Tree Holdings of Rural (2009) <www.diva.portal.org> accessed on December 16/2019

⁷⁶Social Protection policy, ministry of social and labor affairs.2014

⁷⁷U.S Government’s Global Hunger and Food Security Initiative Global Food Security Strategy Ethiopia Country Plan September 2018 Feed The Future, The Feed the Future Country Plan in Ethiopia (2018-2023): A 20-year Vision and a 5-Year Plan

pastoral area development range from strengthening traditional systems to enabling voluntary settlement based on close consultation with communities⁷⁸.

The government claims promoting large - scale farming to increase food production, create job opportunity and in turn foster the country's economic growth. However studies shows that large scale farming policies has the effect of eviction of small scale farmers and indigenous peoples from their lands, harming the environment and exacerbating poverty and food security.⁷⁹

With this connection the government declared in its Five year Growth and Transformation Plan (FYGTP) that the intensively settled areas of the highlands are virtually 100 per cent cultivated, Ethiopia still has large areas of arable land that are not used for crop production largely in the mid-altitude and lowland areas where small holder crop farming is not attractive due to the need to cultivate large areas under mechanized systems. On the basis of projections included in the FYGTP most of the incremental production from the smallholder sub-sector is expected to come from yield improvements, whilst in the commercial sector area, expansion will be the main source of growth.⁸⁰ Whereas some others argue that there have been several cases of forced evictions of small holder farmers, pastoralist and indigenous peoples from their ancestral lands in the low land areas without adequate alternative means of livelihood due to the increasing demand for land for large scale agricultural investment which created a situation where small holders are exposed to hunger because of loss of land which is their only means of livelihood.⁸¹

The Rural Development Policy and Strategies (RDPS) presents specific policies and strategies to guide agricultural and rural development based on the ADLI platform.⁸² The

⁷⁸ibid

⁷⁹Hussen Ahemed Tura 'linking land rights and the right to Adequate food in Ethiopia, Normative and implementation gaps'(2017), Nordic Journal of Human Rights, 32:2,85-105, DOI: 10.1080/18918131.2017.1312860, vol.35 No.2,85-105

⁸⁰Mafa Chipeta, and Others, Ethiopia's Agriculture Sector Policy and Investment Framework (2015) (2010–2020) External Mid-term Review, Secretariat of the Government of Ethiopia 'Development Partners Sector Working Group on Rural Development and Food Security (RED&FS),

⁸¹Hussen Ahemed Tura(2017) linking land rights and the right to Adequate food in Ethiopia, Normative and implementation gaps, Nordic Journal of Human Rights, 32:2,85-105, DOI: 10.1080/18918131.2017.1312860, vol.35 No.2,85-105

⁸²Mafa Chipeta and others 'Ethiopia's Agriculture Sector Policy and Investment Framework (2010–2020) External Mid-term Review' (2015). Secretariat of the Government of Ethiopia/Development Partners Sector Working Group on Rural Development and Food Security (RED&FS)

Productive Safety Net Program (PSNP) which support close to 8 million chronically food insecure people and it has been implemented since 2005.⁸³

Furthermore the Federal government has claim that over 70 percent of the federal budget has been allocated to pro-poor sectors such as education, health, water and sanitation, roads, etc. Based on a budget formula developed and regularly revised by the House of Federation, the Federal Government transfers budgetary resources to regional states.⁸⁴

The main problem mentioned in Ethiopia's current economic growth is the persistence of regional disparities, especially in emerging regions like Afar and Somali.⁸⁵ Non-state actors and citizens complain of inadequate access to information on government policies and lack of transparency in the government's decision making process. The pervasive presence of state and party owned businesses distorts the perception of private owners of property rights and erodes policy credibility⁸⁶.The institutional capacity to implement these policies and strategies is also generally limited⁸⁷.

There is a lack of focus in livestock development policy. A livestock breeding policy and strategy has been formulated, but this has been criticized for lack of attention to related issues of animal health, nutrition and pastoral way of life. There is no formal institution with responsibility for development of the Pastoral and Agro-Pastoral (PAP) areas and alignment between formal and traditional institutions in the federal level.⁸⁸ There are a number of coordinating committees for pastoral affairs, including in the House of peoples Representatives, Ministry of Federal and pastoralist Affairs recently disbanded and the special coordination offices of the PAP areas but none of these has a formal mandate and responsibilities for development of the sector⁸⁹.

Recently the government reported that finalizing a pastoral development policy and strategy that aimed at realizing improved and sustained livelihoods of pastoral communities. The draft policy has objectives of responding to the demands of communities for development and to

⁸³ WFP, Ethiopia Productive safety net program(PSNP). Fact sheet 2012

⁸⁴Ethiopia's progress in eradicating poverty

⁸⁵Wondifraw Zerihun, and Others, 'African Economic outlook, Ethiopia' (2016) <http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org>

⁸⁶Wondifraw Zerihun, and Others 'African Economic outlook, Ethiopia' (2016), <http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org>

⁸⁷Mafa Chipeta and Others 'Ethiopia's Agriculture Sector Policy and Investment Framework (2010–2020) External Mid-term Review(2015) Secretariat of the Government of Ethiopia/Development Partners Sector Working Group on Rural Development and Food Security (RED&FS),

⁸⁸ ibd

⁸⁹ibd

improve food security. It also aimed at harmonize sectorial policies and strategies developed in a segmented way, and narrow the gap between in development and capability between pastoral areas and other parts of the country.⁹⁰ The document has two pillars - maximizing and commercializing comparative and competitive advantages, and diversification and commercialization of livelihoods. The pillars of the draft policy revolve around livestock resources development; watershed and water resources development; protection and development of natural resources and ensure tenure security; and provision of social and economic services.⁹¹

In spite of all these extensive policy and promises by the government significant challenges remain. The age-old structural problems of the agriculture sector are the main reason for the higher incidence of poverty in rural areas⁹². For instance in pastoral lowland areas, decreased availability of grazing land and water access as a result of commercial agriculture along river banks and the increased privatization of previously communal grazing land is an additional stressor that has economic implications⁹³.

While it is true that economic growth and food production reinforce each other⁹⁴ and the contribution of economic development or increase in food production to enhance food security is not deniable. However economic development and increase in food production alone are not sufficient to fully realize the right to food, since the poor and vulnerable members of the population may superseded by discourses of economic growth.⁹⁵

Each person's entitlements to enough food is important than attributing scarcity of food for the persistence of hunger in the world.⁹⁶ This means that the focus should be on each person's entitlement than the overall or gross food production in the economy. Access to food depends on an individual's access to resources, technology, markets, social networks and

⁹⁰ Ethiopian News Agency, 'Ethiopia to Introduce Pastoral Development Policy and Strategy' Distributed by AllAfrica Global Media (Addis Ababa) march 26/2019. (allAfrica.com).

⁹¹ ibd

⁹² Mafa Chipeta, Bezabih Emana, and Demese Chanyalew, Ethiopia's Agriculture Sector Policy and Investment Framework (2010–2020) External Mid-term Review, Secretariat of the Government of Ethiopia/Development Partners Sector Working Group on Rural Development and Food Security (RED&FS), 2015

⁹³ USAID office of food for peace Food Security Country Framework for Ethiopia

⁹⁶ Amartya Sen 'Poverty and Famine: an Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation' (1981) Clarendon Press oxford 363.8 HC7Q.F3 80-42191 ISBN 0-19-828426-8

food transfer programs. The opportunities to produce or obtain food by any of these means were described by Sen as entitlements⁹⁷.

Entitlements are defined as the set of all commodity bundles over which a person can establish command given the legal, political, economic and social arrangements of the community in which they live including traditional rights such as access to common resources and land⁹⁸. The next part will try to shed lights on the link between the right to food and land tenure in Ethiopia in order to see the impact and benefit of land entitlement for food security and by implication for the right to food.

2.4. The Link between the Right to Food and Land Tenure in Ethiopia

The human right to food directly depends on access and control over land and other natural resource and tenure security. Particularly in agrarian societies like Ethiopia, where more than 83% of its population uses land as a primary source of production and employment access to land is crucial for the protection of the right to food.⁹⁹ According to African Economic commission Food security and poverty reduction cannot be achieved without access to land.¹⁰⁰ Insecurity of tenure would result in eviction which in turn resulted in impairing the ability of the land holders to secure sufficient food and to enjoy sustainable rural livelihood.¹⁰¹

The current policy framework of the government of Ethiopia aims at promoting private large scale agricultural investments and has been actively engaged in allocating land for large scale agricultural investments.¹⁰² On the other hand small holders and indigenous peoples has claim to be evicted from their land without adequate compensation and alternative means of livelihood because of increasing demand for land for large scale agricultural investment .¹⁰³

⁹⁷ibid

⁹⁸ FAO, *Food Security Policy brief Issue No.2*

⁹⁹Hussen Ahemed Tura ‘linking land rights and the right to Adequate food in Ethiopia, Normative and implementation gaps’ (2017) *Nordic Journal of Human Rights*, 32:2,85-105, DOI: 10.1080/18918131.2017.1312860, vol.35 No.2,85-105

¹⁰⁰Economic Commission for Africa, ‘Land tenure System and their impacts on Food Security and sustainable development in Africa’ (2004) ECA/SDD/05/09 ix.

¹⁰¹FAO, *Fao land tenure studies 3, Land tenure and Rural Development*, food and agricultural organization of United Nation, 2002, Rome, ISBN92-5-105343-X

¹⁰²Ibid

¹⁰³Hussien Ahmed Tura ‘linking land rights and the right to Adequate food in Ethiopia, Normative and implementation gaps’ (2017) *Nordic Journal of Human Rights*, 32:2,85-105, DOI: 10.1080/18918131.2017.1312860, vol.35 No.2,85-105

The obligation to respect the right to food constituted that state must refrain from denying access to food or must refrain from arbitrarily interfering with the existing access¹⁰⁴. For instance the right to food assumed to be violated if people depending on land for their livelihood including pastoralists denied access to land without adequate alternatives.¹⁰⁵

UDHR and African charter on human and people's rights has provided for the protection of the right to property and protection from arbitrary evictions.¹⁰⁶ ESCR Committee, in its General Comment No 7, sets out procedural standards that must be applied in any forced evictions and it has stipulated that eviction must be permitted only in cases where it is justified for legitimate public purposes up on satisfying the requirement of due process¹⁰⁷ and adequate alternative resettlement or access to productive land¹⁰⁸. In addition the FAO Voluntary Guidelines provided that the right to food protects the right of smallholders and other rural communities to access productive resources or means of food production, including land.¹⁰⁹ Particularly the voluntary guideline has mention pastoralists as to be given special attention with their relation to land.¹¹⁰ States are obliged not to expropriate land unless it is required for a clearly defined public purpose allowed for judicial review, with transparent and participatory processes and just compensation. Urge states to avoid or minimize resort to evictions, underline the need for limiting the amount of land that governments can expropriate¹¹¹. The International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention No 169 has provided for land rights of indigenous and tribal peoples in independent states. It has specifically mentions pastoralists and stipulates that the rights of ownership and possession of the peoples concerned over the lands which they traditionally occupy shall be recognized and that measures shall be taken in appropriate cases to safeguard the right of the peoples

¹⁰⁴Kristin Mechlem, Food security and the right to food in the discourse of the united nation, European law journal 631, 639, 2004,

¹⁰⁵Oliver De Schutter, Large-scale Land Acquisition and sales : a set of core principles and measures to address the human rights challenge, (2009) , WWW2.ohchr.org/English/issue/food/docs/BriefingNotelandgrab.pdf

¹⁰⁶UDHR (1948) article 17 and African charter on human and peoples right article 14

¹⁰⁷Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 'General Comment 7, The Right to Adequate Housing (art 11.1 of the Covenant): forced evictions' (1997) para 15, UN Doc E/1998/22-E/C12/1997/10.

¹⁰⁸Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 'General Comment 7, The Right to Adequate Housing (art 11.1 of the Covenant): forced evictions' (1997) para, 14-16 UN Doc E/1998/22-E/C12/1997/10,

¹⁰⁹FAO, Voluntary Guidelines to Support the Progressive Realization of the Right to Adequate Food in the Context of National Food Security, guideline 8.10 (2005), ISBN 978-92-5-105336-2

¹¹⁰Ibd

¹¹¹FAO Voluntary guidelines on Responsible governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and forests in the context of national food security, Para 16 (FAO, Rome, 2012)

concerned to use lands not exclusively occupied by them, but to which they have traditionally had access for their subsistence and traditional activities.¹¹²

Article 8(2)(b) of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples prohibit any activity which has the effect of displacing indigenous peoples of their lands, territories or resources. article 10 of the same declaration imposes the requirements of free, prior and informed consent, agreement on just and fair compensation, and where possible the option for return for relocations and restricts any forcible eviction of indigenous peoples from lands or territories.¹¹³

In line with those international instruments FDRE constitution provided that peasants and pastoralists have the right to obtain land free of charge and the right to protection against evictions from their possessions¹¹⁴. However under Ethiopian laws land use rights are not compensable rights in case of expropriation¹¹⁵.

According to Proclamation No 455/2005, compensation shall be made good for the expropriation of property situated on the land and for permanent improvements made to such land¹¹⁶.

Researchers argue that “land is excluded from the compensation package and has no value for the holder.¹¹⁷ Expropriation without just compensation violates not only the international human rights standards but also the Ethiopian Constitution which states that all persons who have been displaced or whose livelihoods have been adversely affected as a result of State programs have the right to commensurate monetary or alternative means of compensation, including relocation with adequate State assistance as per article 44(2) of the FDRE Constitution.¹¹⁸ Contrary to this rural land administration and use proclamation No.456/2005,

¹¹²ILO, Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (ILO C169, June 1989),arts 13–19.

¹¹³ UNGA, Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples(2007) UNGA Res A/RES/61/295.

¹¹⁴FDRE Constitution article 40(4) and (5)

¹¹⁵Hussen Ahemed Tura ‘Linking land rights and the right to Adequate food in Ethiopia, Normative and implementation gaps’(2017) Nordic Journal of Human Rights, 32:2,85-105, DOI: 10.1080/18918131.2017.1312860, vol.35 No.2,85-105

¹¹⁶ FDRE, Expropriation of Landholdings and Payment of Compensation Proclamation No 455/2005, Federal Negarit Gazeta Year 11 No 3 art 7

¹¹⁷ Hussen Ahemed Tura ‘Linking land rights and the right to Adequate food in Ethiopia, Normative and implementation gaps’(2017) Nordic Journal of Human Rights, 32:2,85-105, DOI: 10.1080/18918131.2017.1312860, vol.35 No.2,85-105

¹¹⁸Ibd

under its article 5(3) stipulated that “Government being the owner of rural land, communal rural land holdings can be changed to private holdings if necessary”¹¹⁹.

Those engaged in farming and use private plots and those engaged in pastoralism and use communal grazing lands are given the same constitutional right and protection with regards to the use of such lands. However Art 5 (3) of the Federal Rural Land Proclamation deprives communal holders to enjoy the same right and security as private holders and discriminate among the forms of holding. While the Government is at least legally required to follow expropriation procedures if it wants to allocate a private holding to an investor or use it for other public purpose, there is no such requirement in the case of communal land holding as it does not fall under the act of expropriation, simply in the sense that Government gives and the Government takes without the need to establish the so called public purpose and compensation.

With regard to pastoral land holding the regional rural land laws, including the afar regional state land use proclamation are basically similar with the Federal Rural Land Proclamation when it comes to pastoralists land right. Almost all of the legislations are peasant focused and almost all provide similar definition to communal and State holding. And almost all contains a carbon copy of Art 5 (3) of the Federal Rural Land Proclamation¹²⁰. Therefore despite the constitutional guarantee current land laws are actually not only neglect the pastoralist’s access to land and tenure security but also deprive their means to livelihood and this assertion also contravenes international and national guarantees of pastoralist access to natural resource and the land. Again it has also contradicted with international state obligation of non-discrimination and duty to respect the existing access to food.

¹¹⁹ FDRE rural land administration and use proclamation No. 456/2005,art.5(3),Federal Nagarit Gazeta No. 44 15thJuly, 2005...

¹²⁰ For instance see, Southern Regional State Rural Land Administration and Use Proclamation, 2007, Art 2 (14 & 15) & 5 (14), Proc. No. 110, Dehub Neg. Gaz., Year 13, no. 10; Benishangul Gumz Regional State Rural Land Administration and Use Proclamation, 2010, Art 2 (14 & 15) & 6 (3), Proc. No. 85, no. 1 and The Revised Amhara Regional State Rural Land Administration and Use Proclamation, 2006, Art 2 (5 & 7), Proc. No. 133, Zikre Hig, Year 11, no. 18. The Oromia Rural Land Administration and Use Proclamation, 2007, Proc. No. 130, Megeleta Oromia, Year 15, no. 12, seems to give a relatively better protection to communal holdings as for instance it do not have a similar provisions to Art 5 (3) of the Federal Rural Land Proclamation, See Art 2 (4 & 5) & 11. The Afar Region Rural Land Administration and Use Proc. No. 49/2009, though is pastoral focused, nevertheless contains almost similar provisions to Art 5 (3) of the Federal Rural Land Proclamation, see Art 2 (16 & 18), 5 (9) & 11 (16). However, the provisions for pastoral communal lands have not yet been implemented. See, SisayAwegichew& et al (2016), “Improving Security of Rights to Resources through Participatory Rangeland Management in Ethiopia” <<https://www.confcool.com/>> (accessed September10/2018).

Some scholars argue that the fact that the Proclamation was promulgated after the Government's agricultural policy focus shift to commercial farming and that majority of large-scale farm land investments are located in pastoral areas, that the communal landholding system of pastoralists hinders private investment.¹²¹ Accordingly the status of communal land holding is insecure even compared to private holding which largely registered and certified in recent years. There is no communal land holdings identified and registered in the land registry. The state often consider communal land as *res nullius*, while in practice there are communities using the land in common and depend on it for their livelihood¹²².

The loss of access to irrigable lands in the river banks and means of sustainable livelihood have worsened pastoralist's food insecurity. What makes the things worse is large-scale agricultural investors are encouraged to cultivate agricultural crops for the export market instead of satisfying the local food security needs while the country has been suffering from shortage of foods, mass hunger and malnutrition for years.¹²³

In connection with this according to Amartya Sen during the 1972-3 drought in Ethiopia the hunger in the pastoralist area particularly of the Afar community, were aggravated by the loss of grazing land due to the expansion of commercial agriculture¹²⁴.

“About 50,000 hectares of good land in the Awash Valley were 'developed' during 1970-1 for growing commercial crops, these land alienation led to severe economic problems of its own for the Afar. The land that was 'developed' was particularly valuable to the Afar, being mostly in an area that 'flooded easily and took a long time to drain'—'land which gave good grazing during the hottest and driest part of the year from February to June'. It was in this situation that the drought of 1972-3 in north- eastern Ethiopia came. While the refuge of the dry weather had been already crucially curtailed by the alienation of land for commercial

¹²¹Muradu Abdo, 'State Policy and Law in Relation to Land Alienation in Ethiopia' (2014) University of Warwick, <<https://go.warwick.ac.uk/74132/.../WRAP>> (accessed 15 September 2018), pp. 139. See Abebe Mulatu and others 'An Approach to Securing Pastoral Land Rights in Ethiopia' (2014), <https://www.conftool.com/> (accessed 15 April 2016), pp. 3, See Mohammud Abdulahi 'The Legal Status of the Communal Land Holding System in Ethiopia: The Case of Pastoral Communities' (2007), Int'l J. on Minority & Group Rts, 14, pp. 85 - 125, <<https://chilot.files.wordpress.com/.../>> (accessed september 10 December 2018).

¹²²Daniel BehailuGebreamanuel ann Others, 'Res Nullius vs Res Communis in Maters of Communal Lands of Small holder Farmers in Ethiopia' (2018), Mizan Law Review vol. 12, No. 1 <http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/mlr.v12i1.4>(accessed on April 20, 2018)

¹²³DessalegnRahmato, 'Land to Investors: Large-Scale Land Transfers in Ethiopia' (2011)Forum for Social Studies

¹²⁴Amartya Sen, Poverty and famine An Essay on Entitlement and deprivation,(1981) clarendon press-oxford p.104.

*agriculture. Thus the impact of the drought was a great deal magnified by this structural change in the economy of the Awash Valley"*¹²⁵

He argues that they were affected not merely by the drought but also by the growth of commercial agriculture, displacing some of the communities from their traditional dry-weather grazing land, thereby vastly heightening the impact of the drought.¹²⁶ Therefore the same mistake after 50 years is till now continuous to be a reason to rendering the pastoralist people landless and making them prone to hunger and starvation.

¹²⁵ ibd
¹²⁶ ibd

CHAPTER THREE

3. THE RIGHT TO FOOD: THE CASE OF AWASH FANTALE WARADA

3.1. Introduction

Awash fantale worada is one of the 34 worada's in the Afar region that located in the southern edge of the Danakil depression of the great rift valley region in Gabi rasu zone. There are 5 kabales in this worada.¹²⁷ The total population estimated to be 17,846 in 2016/2017 G.c, the growth rate of the population was 2.5, out of which 85% of them are pastoralist. The remaining 15% are agriculturalists and relay on other means of production, the worada is bordered with Oromia to its south and Amhara regions to its west, 1089 square km wide with 50-500 mm annual rain fall. The worada is the home of Awash national park and the kasam sugar factory. Awash woldia rail way projects and kasam sugar factory asphalt road projects are also make parts in the worada's developmental activities. The woreda is known for its lowland and scattered settlements and in its average upland ranging between 750-1050 meters above sea level¹²⁸. Its average temperature ranges from 21⁰C-38⁰C. The woreda total area coverage is 180,000 hectares out of which 3600 is plateau, 7000 hectares of forest, 14,000 hectares of grazing land, 135,407 hectares of bushy and shrub area, 3618 hectares of multi-purpose area, 3728 hectare area developed for agriculture, 11970 readied to be utilized for farming¹²⁹. The worada has two rain seasons – *kerma* (main rainy season) and *sugum* (spring). The predominant flora – bushes and acacia trees are used for preparation of camel and goat fodder in arid and Semi-arid seasons. The main crops produced in awash fantale worada includes corn, onion, tomato, watermelon, etc.¹³⁰

In the woreda, the livelihood of residents of five rural villages –Kebena, Boloyita, Sabure, Deho and Dudubis mainly dependent on cattle rearing, animal fodder and farming.

¹²⁷ Kebena, Boloyita, Sabure, Deho and Dudub kebeles

¹²⁸ Awash Fantale Worada, Administration office, the Awash fantale worada Profile Document, 2017

¹²⁹ Awash Fantale Worada, Administration office, the Awash fantale worada Profile Document, 2017

¹³⁰ Awash Fantale Worada, Administration office, the Awash fantale worada Profile Document, 2017

3.2. Challenge's in ensuring the right to food in awash fantale warada

3.2.1. Access to land and Expropriation

As mentioned herein above 85 percent of the community of Awash fantale worada's are transhumant pastoralists that depend on livestock herding for their way of life. Pastoralism is defined as extensive livestock production in the rangelands and it is practiced worldwide as a response to unique ecological challenges.¹³¹ Pastoralism is a system of managing livestock and land for economic benefit and ecological sustainability, and a particular tool is the management of herd mobility, often over vast distances. Pastoralists are the people behind the system, managing and protecting the land, and profiting from livestock. The culture pastoralist are inseparable from their herding strategies and is central to the way they govern their natural resources.¹³²

States should respect and protect the rights of individuals with respect to resources such as land, water, forests, and livestock without any discrimination .Special attention should be given to groups such as pastoralists and indigenous peoples and their relation to natural resources.¹³³

In Awash Fantale woradaa combination of desertification due to climate change and fragmentation of range lands due to competing land uses, are constraining pastoralists ability to utilize dry land resources to the maximum level. With livestock grazing routes being interrupted and pasture less abundant than ever before, the mobility of these transhumant pastoralists critical to their climate resilience, food security and existence as a social group is being undermined. One Afar pastoralist stated that “I am a pastoralist. My ancestors were pastoralists. This is the only way we know to use the land, and is the only way we wish to use the land. Unless the problems we are facing are resolved, our future is not one we look forward to.”¹³⁴ Access to land characterizes a wider momentum towards legal recognition of pastoralist rights which must be capitalized upon and increased if pastoralists are to continue to survive and prosper in increasingly climate-affected environments.

¹³¹Interview with Kabede Melaku, Natural resource expert, Awash fantale worada pastoralist and agricultural office (Awash 7 killo, November 5/2019)

¹³² Interview with Ali Ebrahim Animal Production expert Awash Fantale Pastoralist And Rural development office(Awash 7 Killo, November 7/2019)

¹³³ FAO, Voluntary Guidelines to Support the Progressive Realization of the Right to Adequate Food in the Context of National Food Security, guideline 8.10 (2005), ISBN 978-92-5-105336-2

¹³⁴ Interview with Hussein Hayder sub tribe leader in doho kebele (Doho,November20/2019)

There were two places or areas the community alternatively used for grazing based on the seasonal variety of rainfall called *Alta* and *Kallo*. In rainy season they used ‘*Alta*’¹³⁵ rangelands that are dry areas even in rainy season and during dry season they return to ‘*Kallo*’¹³⁶ which is wetland on the river banks¹³⁷ as a known process of transhumance. Alternative grazing system is managed by elders and ‘*Makabantu*’¹³⁸ which they call ‘*Desso*’¹³⁹ which means prohibition, that means grazing on certain area for certain time period is prohibited and if one among the community member is found grazing in that area in the period prohibited has to be punished. Which means grazing on *alta* in dry season and *kallo* in rainy season save to the hard times in relation with drought, animal epidemic or some other problems. The form of punishment is slaughtering castles.¹⁴⁰ The punishment decided by the elders implemented by ‘*feima*’¹⁴¹ the age group in afar from the age of 18 up to 35 led by an individual called ‘*dantu*’ some times referred to as ‘*feimat abba*’¹⁴² The community believes that the land that they reside on and graze on belongs to them communally the tribal leaders and elders manage it for the benefit of these community and even an individual’s cannot claim a certain plot of lands as their own unless the same is allowed to him by tribal leaders and elders for specific purpose. But, nowadays this lifestyle is no longer bearable for them because almost free rangelands on the river banks have been ceded to Kasem sugar factory. For sugarcane production around 9,000 hectares of land has already been cleared.

On the other hand, Awash National Park covers the very vast area which could be helpful for the grazing of pastoralist animals. The park has not provided any kind of service or any other benefit to the local community like employment opportunity or tourist guide.

These unprecedented displacement of the pastoralists from their ancestral land has affected their cattle rearing style, hence limit the range land, limit the level of transhumance which has been undergone four times in a year -- *sugum* and *karma* rainy seasons, and *Hagay* and *kaira* dry seasons.

¹³⁵ Dry land far away from rivers, ready for grazed on rainy season

¹³⁶ Wet land on the river banks allowed to be grazed on only in dry season

¹³⁷ Interview with Mohammed Akadar member of elders in doho kabala (Doho, November 24/2019)

¹³⁸ The head of the council of elders and the final decision maker.

¹³⁹ Prohibition of grazing on certain plot of land for certain period of time.

¹⁴⁰ Interview Ali balaa. Tribal leader in dudub kabale, (Dudub, November 26/2019)

¹⁴¹ Age group from the age of about 18 -35 serve as practitioners who are responsible to implement any decision of the elders and macabantu

¹⁴² Leader of fiema age group

Basically, pasture needs a vast plot of land on which cattle graze on alternatively. If they graze always on the same place, over grazing damages their range land and then there is no place to graze on. So they have been obliged to graze on only on *Alta* (dry lands) far away from rivers where there is no water for their cattle and even to drink for themselves. Thus, they lose cattle due to lack of water and fodder¹⁴³.

Another informant indicated ‘We have no enough cattle to feed ourselves. I have a wife and children. I have no cows, I have only two camels and ten sheep. But, 7 or 6 years ago I had about 30 and more cows, 20 camels and about more than 40 sheep and goats. I was a rich person, however, nowadays life has become very difficult for me and all my family. I have failed to feed my family’¹⁴⁴. Because following drought there were many diseases which result in death of their animals. Their range land has been expropriated and given to factories for sugarcane production. They have not been getting support from the factories even after they ceded their lands.

Some members of the community also claim that they were displaced from ancestral land without any compensation and consultation. The personals from the companies’ has promised as to compensation and to build infrastructure’s like school and pure water when the community claims their land need to be returned back to the community still now they have not fulfilled their promise. For example they have promised to build schools, health centers, pure water service and many things. But, still there is nothing done.

There is no job opportunity created to benefit local community members. Again the companies has diverted a river called Gurumuly and Ellalla rivers to the villages of the community and their villages have been suffering due to flood these rivers.

There are also railway construction projects and Awash Kabena factory Asphalt projects they have taken lands without any compensation. The railway construction projects have again diverted the Bulga river to the villages and the cattle and a little farms they have trying to feed their family from the river are washed by flood. They have taken their claim to the woreda administration but the woreda administration replied all the projects are federal government projects. So, the woreda administration can do nothing rather suggest it is better

¹⁴³ Members of Focus group discussion in kabana kabele, (kabana, November. 27/2019)

¹⁴⁴ Interview with Mohammed Hassen, resident of bolyta kabale. (bolyta, November 27/2019)

if the claim is logged to the federal government body concerned with the issue but the affected community did not have know how about where to take their case¹⁴⁵.

The participants in Focus group discussion in kabana kabala reflected that their community would be able to feed themselves if their lands are given back to them or if they get access to land and water for their animals or for irrigation adequately.

But on the other hand the woreda administration office rural land administration claims that they certified 1,075 household as irrigation rural land holder some of them have got 1 hectare, some other 0.75 hectare and often find 0.25 hectare up to 2010/2018 in four (4) villages –sabure, Doho, Boloyita, and Kabena. The office further reported that the total distributed plot of land is 1003 hectare in general¹⁴⁶. Those who got 1 hectare plot of land would plant horticulture on 0.25 hectare and give the remaining 0.75 hectare for sugar cane production for KasemKabena sugar factory for 3 thousand Birr annual payment when the sugar cane is harvested to the land holders by the factory. And those who have only 0.75 and 0.25 hectares has to give their lands for the sugar cane production totally and payment would be based on the amount of sugar cane produced from their plot of lands when it harvested¹⁴⁷.

The most serious problem here is no laws and guidelines about how to compensate the evicted people from their communal lands. This is because the government officials believes that communal lands are *no ones land* therefore belongs to the government regardless of the constitutional stipulation to compensate if eviction is inevitable for pastoralists.

3.2.2. Livelihood improvement and related challenges

Employment outside the pastoral sector is one important way of diversifying sources of livelihood in pastoral areas. It is important to stress that although some pastoralists are currently living off-pastoral sector for various reasons such as employment, by tradition, most of them remit part of their wages to their families back home. This in turn alters such households' resource base. Wage transfers received from employed members is expected to ease the dependency on livestock, crops cultivation and land resource base and reduce poverty. Household receiving payment are thus assumed to be less dependent on livestock for

¹⁴⁵Participants in Focus Group Discussion in sabure kabele (Sabure, November 24/2019)

¹⁴⁶Awash FantalleWorada Rural Land use, Registration and administration office, land need and delivery registry june 2018

¹⁴⁷Interview with Ahmed Nure mohammed director of rural land use, rural land use, registration and administration office (Awash 7 killo, November 5/2019)

their needs, and more secure in food and other needs than their counterparts that do not receive remittances.

Though the woreda is known for its warm climatic conditions it receives rain during *kerma* and *sugum rainy* seasons. It was not rain in this woreda from 2014 up to 2016 for three consecutive years during these seasons and thus, the woreda was susceptible to drought. This has posed threat to food security in this time period in Fantalle woreda.¹⁴⁸

Inability to adequately respond and withstand natural and man-made problems tremendously impeded the effort that has been made towards ensuring food security. Gaps prevailing in reaching out areas and villages vulnerable to natural calamities were not given access to early warning response. Even by the time signs of disaster flare up, there were not quick response. There had been failure to provide adequate information with regard to use of rural roads and grazing land for pastoralists which in turn inhibited the move towards improving food self-sufficiency.¹⁴⁹

Due to the absence of rain in Kerma season in 2016, shortage of pasture and water occurred. The woreda was not able to devise mechanism to address the problem and eventually caused acute scarcity of bushes, trees and fodder in all villages in the woreda. Similar challenges faced neighboring woredas.¹⁵⁰ Various non-governmental institutions made effort to intervene thereby rescuing portion of animal lives through providing fodder. However, the woreda officials testified that after the assistance was discontinued hundreds of animals were dead in villages of the woreda. Owing to the drought condition, productivity of livestock diminished sharply when compared with the previous normal conditions. Likewise, cattle and milk products have shown immense reduction.

Many pastoral households have faced difficulty to settle in response to the problem of curtailed mobility and shrinking grazing areas. Households in remote villages are characterized by few resources, low income, low level of human and social capital, and limited access to markets and service institutions like health posts, agriculture extension professionals and awareness/training opportunities arranged at woreda level. In semi-pastoralist areas, crop and livestock production are the main income sources in addition to other non-farm income sources such as selling labour, charcoal and seasonal migration. A

¹⁴⁸ Interview with Abahaba Hassen, head of the Awash Fantalle woreda administration. (Awash 7 Killo, November 8/2019)

¹⁴⁹ Mohammed Arado, Fimqat Abba in Dudub kabale (DuDub, November, 23/2019)

¹⁵⁰ Kasahun Tasfaye, Animal production Extension kabale expert in boloyta kabale (Boloyta, November 21/2019)

pastoral household income area is characterized by seasonal fluctuations, which force people to engage in many activities like factory labour service, selling firewood and charcoal.¹⁵¹ This results in environmental degradation and rural-urban migration,.

Livestock can provide a means for wealth accumulation, meat production, and cultural expression. However, due to high risk and uncertainty that determine pastoral production systems, pastoralists usually rely on contingency livelihoods to keep them away from natural shocks such as droughts. Cultivation of crops, is among the major strategies used by the pastoralists to supplement milk and meat during bad seasons. Other alternative livelihoods include honey production, trading and charcoal burning, among others. Expanding livelihood options in ways that encourage local growth linkages is generally meant to support subsistence from livestock. Thus, households that have alternative livelihoods are expected to be self-sufficient and more food secure than their counterparts that depend on livestock and/or crop cultivation alone.

Food insecurity tends to be more prevalent in the arid and semi-arid parts than in the higher potential areas in the worada. Devising mechanisms and ways to improve the food and nutrition security of household and alleviate poverty in the dry lands has been a key policy issue. Strategies to reduce the number of people directly dependent upon the primary resources of the arid and semi-arid areas, and improve the productivity of those resources must be sought urgently. Safety net program food aid -food that a household acquired from sources outside their main livelihood activities, normally from the government and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) could not bring about difference in changing their living conditions. Dependency on aid food indicates poverty, a decline in human support capacity of the land and non-functioning pastoral mitigation strategies.¹⁵²

3.3. Developmental activities in Awash Fentalle and pastoral communities

Boosting product and productivity is one of the major objectives of the Awash Fentalle Woreda Pastoralist and Rural Development Office. Starting From its establishment the office has been working to expand the 2113.4 hectares of cultivable land to 2237.4 hectares with a view to enhancing production from 251,190 quintals to 271,925.43 quintals. The office has

¹⁵¹ Mohammed Seid , Animal Production Extention Kabele expert in Dudub kabala (Dudub. November, 23/2019)

¹⁵²Interview with Mussa Hassen, coordinator of Productive Safety-Net, program in Awesh Fantaleworada Pastoralist and rural development office.(Awash 7 Killo, November 5/2019)

been focusing on the production of corn, onion, tomato, watermelon, cotton, lentil, and wheat.¹⁵³

In 2018/2019 the woreda, with its own budget, carried out best practice center in Sabure village so as to introduce various farming crops to the pastoralists. It also built pastoralist training center and agricultural input store in Kebena village. With the initiative of the regional bureau, the woreda has facilitated experience sharing opportunities from other areas for selected pastoralists and village leaders. In association with Kesem Sugarcane project the woreda has also performed duties with regard to grouping village communities in the woreda into cooperative unions in order to maximize their benefit. Due to this, pastoralists and semi-pastoralists in Sabure village have been brought under eight associations.

According to the reports by the office of pastoralist and rural development members of these associations started to get income and able to feed themselves. Food security is not stagnant, households often move in and out of it from time to time. It is not surprising in the woreda, given the communities mainly depend on land production systems and are affected by seasonality and highly variable climatic conditions. Changes in food security status can be due to economic cycles and shocks, such as poor weather, loss of employment, or loss of a major income earner through death, injury or long illness. Additionally, institutions for income and consumption smoothing in these economies are either inadequate or are absent altogether. In spite of this, some households do manage to escape food insecurity, while others remain in it for extended periods of time. Identifying factors that drive household movements in and out of food security is frequent drought has initiated an increasing number of households to engage in crop farming but there has not been adequate support when compared with demand in the woreda.

3.4. Overview of food security in Awash Fentalle

Through carrying out agricultural extension activities and providing professional service to pastoralists the office managed to introduce crop production practice to pastoralists. Eventually the number of agriculture extension trained professionals has reached 40. In crop production field 3245 pastoralists 2809 men and 436 women managed to carry on crop production along with pastoralism thereby transformed to semi-pastoralist and produced

¹⁵³ Interview with Habtamu kassaye, Extension work process director in Awash Fantalleworada pastoralist and development office, (Awash 7 killo, November 8/2019)

2312,400 quintals of crop.¹⁵⁴ Previously, they used to produce only ten quintals. After they received government sponsored training and service and through utilizing various agricultural inputs and new technologies they have managed to produce 30 quintals per hectare.¹⁵⁵

Agricultural extension services cover information delivery and training in new technology. These services provided by the government have made significant contribution among scattered pastoralist communities. Along with NGOs and traditional institutions the extension services are useful to help the communities in making critical decisions concerning production, sale and the whole process of income generation activities, and consequently livelihood security of households¹⁵⁶.

In 2014 up to 2016 for three consecutive years, in all villages of the woreda the pastoral community has lost their asset due to drought. In consequence, the communities have been susceptible to severe shortage of food and live animal which were heavily affected by drought continued to die in the absence of fodder. Many cattle population which were deteriorated due to drought could not be productive and thus, fallen here and there. In order to protect the remaining cattle population the woreda's pastoral community moved to neighboring areas and region in search of pasture.¹⁵⁷

Very many cattle were lost due to drought on their way to other places. As they faced death of many animals the pastoralists also became vulnerable to severe shortage of food. The animal disease that occurred due to drought in the Awash Fentalle woreda, deficiency disease, internal and external parasitic disease, transmitted disease, ovine pasteure clostridiosis, bovine pasteure clostridiosis are the predominant animal diseases that contributed to the reduction of animal product and productivity¹⁵⁸. In turn, these diseases have contributed to the prevalence of food insecurity in Awash Fentalle woreda.

Over the last five years with the introduction of communal settlement program the pastoralist communities have come together and thereby benefitting from development programs which brought together 3055 pastoralists and semi-pastoralists.¹⁵⁹ Various social institutions have

¹⁵⁴ Annual report of awash fantalle worada pastoralist and rural development office, june 2018

¹⁵⁵ Annual Report of of Awash FantaleWorad Pastoralist and rural development office 2018

¹⁵⁶ Interview with Abdo Hussein Agricultural expert in Awash Fantale Worada pastoralist and rural development office in extension work process directorate. (Awash7 killo November 8/2019)

¹⁵⁷ Interview with Abahaba Hassen Head of Awash Fantale worada Administration(Awash 7 Killo, November 8/2019

¹⁵⁸ Annual report of Awash fantalleworada pastoralist and rural development office, june 2016

¹⁵⁹ Annual report Pastoralist and Rural Development office 2018

also been built for these communities. In Doho village out of 11 new village centers 5 associations having 399 members and 299.25 hectares of land have engaged in sugarcane production supplying to Kesem Sugar factory¹⁶⁰. Though the community complaining that in the guise of water based resettlement program the government systematically displace them from their ancestral wet land in favor of large scale irrigation investment. Because whereas the aim of the resettlement program is water based the community has settled in dry area where there is no water. For instance Ellala, dudub and degadage resettlement villages, are far away from rivers and they have no access to underground water.¹⁶¹ Now they are coping the problem through the customary system of ‘Danu’¹⁶² for their drinking water, which means fetching water by traveling long distance using equines and for their animals they use the system of ‘Dayu’¹⁶³ literally means full day without drinking water by which they take their animals except camels to water once in 3-4 days by classifying the week days for watering and grazing in dry season¹⁶⁴. Camels can stay up to 10 days without water

3.5. The Need for strengthening access to food in Awash Fentalle

According to an official in charge of woreda administration, communities in the woreda are very far from attaining level of ensuring adequate food. Natural and man made factor are behind the problem. The natural one is related to their lifestyle. Obviously, the people are pastoralists who heavily depend on animal rearing for their livelihood which is directly affected by climate change. At present climate disparity has become very harsh for cattle rearing because of shortage of rainfall and recurrent drought. And flooding when raining makes the life of pastoralist people is difficult and complicated.¹⁶⁵

Besides, there are weeds locally called ‘wayane hara’¹⁶⁶ Known by its scientific name of *prosopis-uniflora* which is expanding very vastly and engulfing the most important range lands. No grass has grown on the area covered by *prosopis*. Therefore, the widespread of

¹⁶⁰ Annual report of warada administration office 2018

¹⁶¹ interview with Laoyta Secem, Galaba Weisa and Abito Egacle, elders in Elalla, Dudub and Dega dage vilages, (Awash 7 killo, November 30)

¹⁶² Marching long distance to get food items or water using Equines.

¹⁶³ Keeping for certain period of time without drinking water specially for animals

¹⁶⁴ Interview with Seid Mohammed, and Hussien Adu, elders in Elalla, vilages, and Fatuma Ali, and Hagar Dawud in Dudub and Dega Dage vilages, (Dudub, November 27)

¹⁶⁵ Interview with Abahaba Hassen Head of Awash Fantale worada Administration, (Awash 7 Killo, November 8/2019)

¹⁶⁶ Literally means wayane tree, the term Wayane refers to TPLF party in this locality, they relate the weeds with TPLF because the weeds comes to be known with the coming in to power of EPRDF in Ethiopia after the fall of the Derg Regime

prospis coverage in the woreda has made life difficult. It is one of the main causes for the declining of cattle population and productivity in the woreda. And hence, it is among the major reasons for food insecurity in Awash Fentalle.

There is no comprehensive policy and strategy platform concerning pastoralists and arid pastoral areas designed at the federal level and by the regional government. No attention has been given to the problems caused by prosopis weeds in the woreda¹⁶⁷.

Factories and parks cover more than half of the woreda's landscape but provide no or less benefit to the people in the woreda. Yet, most of the pastoralist communities are not educated. The factories need skilled labor whereas the people are eligible only as daily laborers. But, there is little or no decent job opportunity for them in the factory because the careers in the factory need skills of running and working with machines.¹⁶⁸

According to Habtamu, it should have been better had the body recruiting work force for the factory arranged technical training to members of the local community and make them fit to some kind of work. But, no one has done that so far. Similarly, it would have been better had they given them a chance to planting sugar cane and supply to the factory as a raw material¹⁶⁹.

One of the informants who participated in the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) expressed complaint that even though the investors promised in 2004 to assist us in irrigation development of kabana villages, no tangible result has been seen¹⁷⁰. They registered 3,055 persons to give prepared land for small scale production but only 1075 persons have got 0.25 hectare each. But the number of people in need of irrigation land is more than 17,000 (Seventeen thousand)¹⁷¹. Furthermore, there are no compensation to the people while the government expropriates the land from the community and displaced them.

The pastoralist community members believe that the factories has contributed to the communities' failure to feed itself¹⁷². At present about 50 percent of people in the worada are

¹⁶⁷ Interview with Abahaba Hassen the head of Awash Fantalle Worada administration (Awsh 7 Killo, November 8/2019)

¹⁶⁸ Interview with Mussa Hussien Head of Pastoralist and Rural Development Office(Awash 7 Killo. November, 9/2019)

¹⁶⁹ Interview with Habtamut Kassaye, Director of Agricultural Extension work process. Awash fantaleworada November(Awash 7 Killo, November 8/2019)

¹⁷⁰ Mohammed Hussein, Head kabena kabele Administration (Kabana, November 26/2019)

¹⁷¹ Rural Land use, registration and administration office, rural land use and registry work process land need and delivery registration 2018

¹⁷² Participants of Focus Group discussion in sabure kabala,(Sabure, November 26/2019)

depend on the safety net program and aids from donor NGOs for food¹⁷³. The factory officials has revoke their promise to give prepared land to the community around the factory stating that they have got land from federal government and that all the land is under lease agreement with federal government therefore they need to directly manage the land themselves and cannot deliver to the community.¹⁷⁴

Through strategic mobility, pastoralism finds an asset in the existence of dynamic variability in the dry lands, where sedentary crop cultivation or mixed farming find a problem in their lack of uniformity and stability. It is crucial to distinguish between the vulnerability that is the business of pastoral systems to manage and the vulnerability that arises from obstacles to operate the system. Unless investments are shifted from replacing pastoralism to developing pastoralism on its own terms, it jeopardizing food security well beyond the limits of the dry lands and leads to missing pastoralism's important lesson on turning environmental instability into an asset for food production. Supplying both domestic and export markets, pastoralism provides growing urban populations with meat at competitive prices and secures livelihoods, not only for millions of primary producers, but also for tens of thousands people working in and around the livestock trade¹⁷⁵.

Apparently, formal education is seen as a crucial step in the modernization of pastoralism. However, as in other modernization programs, this idea is usually based on the assumption that educated pastoralists will settle, take a job in town, and hence “modernize” not as pastoralists but by changing this life style and converting this livelihood system to some other system. Pastoralists would grabbing any opportunity to acquire innovations and technologies that could be integrated into their production system. The spread of mobile phones, despite illiteracy, being the most obvious example, a serious attempt to modernize pastoralism as such has yet to be made.¹⁷⁶

Pastoralism-related policies should be formulated to address challenges of pastoralism as a production and livelihoods system. The government is expected to promote and strengthen

¹⁷³Awash Fantalle worada pastoralist and rural development office, Safety-Net Program coordination team report, 2017

¹⁷⁴Members of focus group discussion in kabana kabala(kabana, November 24/2019)

¹⁷⁵Interview with Abahaba Hassen head of Fantale worada administration,(Awash 7 Killo. November 9/2019)

¹⁷⁶Interview with Ali Ebrahim, Animal Production expert,Awsh fantale Worada Pastoralist and Rural Development office (Awash 7 Killo, Decemer 30/2019)

pastoralism by addressing governance of land and natural resources, livestock disease control and livestock trade, disaster risk management, climate change, and conflicts.¹⁷⁷

The need to improve livelihood of pastoral communities is also linked to the settlement of pastoralists around water resources, trading routes and other social services and amenity. The point is that due to diminishing grazing land and restricted mobility, pastoralists tend to settle, and when they do so, they degrade the range thereby compromising range productivity. Therefore, land degradation leads to poor livestock productivity, insecure pastoral livelihoods and ultimately food insecurity.

The findings of this study show that there are various factors that impact access to food among pastoralist and semi-pastoralist communities of Awash Fentalle, the main one being drought. Generally, households in the dry-lands make effort to withstand effects of drought through crop farming and diversifying their sources of income to reduce the risk of production failure by spreading the risk across different activities. High dependency on aid food among poor pastoralists is mainly attributed to no or fewer alternative sources of livelihood. It can be concluded that households with fewer alternative livelihood options are likely to fall into food insecurity.

¹⁷⁷ Interview with Ali Ebrahim , Animal Oroduction expert, Awash Fantale worada pastoralist and rural development office Awash (Awash 7 killo , December 30/2019)

CHAPTER FOUR

4. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

4.1 Conclusion

The right to food as a right is recognized as part of human rights and its normative contents has come to be clear in the past years internationally. The right to food and the correlative obligations of States are clearly defined under international law. There are also steps taken in the Ethiopia in order to address the problem of access to food for its citizens. Ethiopia has recognized the right to food under its constitution though it is no clearly stipulated under article 41 which is crudely formulated. It can be understood that the constitution intended to include the right to food. In line with this proposition Ethiopia is among the few countries which mentioned the right to food in its constitution as per art 90(1) though as state policy and objective but not as right. Furthermore, Ethiopia is a state party to international laws protecting the right to food. Under its constitution art 9(4) it has provided that international laws and treaties ratified by Ethiopia makes part and parcel of the law of the land. Therefore, it can be concluded that the right to food as a human right is at least legally recognized and protected in the country.

As to the issue of practical application of the right to food the study has try to see cases of Awash Fantale worada in afar region. The awash fantale worad people are mostly bimodal transhumant pastoralist based on two rainy seasons sugum(from march to april) and karma(from July to September) having home bases and move out seasonally to manage their livestock production system. They keep cattle, camel, and small ruminants (called ubhunto locally). The Awash, Bulga, Kasam, Kabana and Gurumudly Rivers which makes part of Awash basin crosses the awash fantale worada and the area surrounding these rivers are an important range land for livestock and also provides opportunities for irrigated agriculture. However, large commercial farms, and dams around these rivers and awash national park out there in dry area grass land limited awash fantale pastoralists access to grazing land and watering points as well as traditional management of range land through the system of transhumance, invasion of prosopis weed and periodic conflict with karayu oromo over grazing land constrained grazing on the remaining lands and affecting the livelihood of the people. Drought is another challenge to the people to feed themselves, denial to compensation and even expropriation of land without prior consultation also put another

burden on the shoulder of Awash fantale worada's people. There is no law and procedures prepared for compensation and consultation of the people for the expropriation of communal grazing lands. Contrarily, all the federal rural land proclamation and regional laws provided that communal lands are government's land and so does can be taken back at whatever time, contradicting with the constitutional stipulation of "*Ethiopian pastoralists have the right to free land for grazing and cultivation as well as the right not to be displaced from their own lands*"¹⁷⁸

Furthermore lack of inclusive policy and strategy to improve the life and food security of pastoralist community contributes the claim of violation of the right to food for the communities living in pastoral life.

There are some laws like rural land administration proclamations indirectly infringing the access to and exercise of the right to food. With this assertion though the government has proclaim laws and policies to improve the livelihood and food security of its citizens, As the right to food introduces an additional and important element of accountability. So states are obligated to ensure freedom from hunger for all of its people at all times and to comply with international obligation it has abide by in international human rights instruments to protect the right to food progressively while the full realization of the right to food may be achieved progressively. Steps towards that goal must be taken within a reasonable time. Such steps should be deliberate, concrete and targeted as clearly as possible, using all appropriate means and resources. Those measures can be laws and policies and none intervention within the exercise of the right and need to immediate response to minimum core obligation of fundamental right to be from hunger as starvation and hunger is common here and there in the country. In the highland area fragmentation of land holding puts its own burden on the people as to access to food. The main problem in Ethiopia's current economic growth is the persistence of regional disparities, especially in emerging regions like Afar and Somali.¹⁷⁹

The agrarian societies like Ethiopia uses land as a primary source of production and employment access to land is crucial for the protection of the right to food¹⁸⁰. Ethiopian economy is fundamentally rural and relies heavily on the agricultural sector small holding

¹⁷⁸FDRE Constitution art 40(3) and (5) 1995

¹⁷⁹Wondifraw Zerihun, James Wakiaga , Haile Kibret , African Economic outlook, Ethiopia, 2016, <http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org>

¹⁸⁰HussenAhemed Tura(2017) linking land rights and the right to Adequate food in Ethiopia, Normative and implementation gaps, Nordic Journal of Human Rights, 32:2,85-105, DOI: 10.1080/18918131.2017.1312860, vol.35 No.2,85-105

farms and livestock rearing which is directly attached to land.¹⁸¹ Food security and poverty reduction cannot be achieved without access to land, tenure security and capacity to use land productively with sustainable manner. This paper shows that, Pastoralists in law land area particularly awash fantale worada face the risk that their right to land is threatened by the competing claims and lose of the land as a result of eviction which resulted in impairing the ability of the land holders to secure sufficient food and to enjoy sustainable rural livelihood. Particularly there is no comprehensive policies and strategies focusing on law land pastoralists as the focus of all the rural policies of the country is more or less on agricultural lifestyle and ignoring pastoralists.

4.2. Recommendations

We have seen in the up going parts of this paper that there is no clearly stipulated provisions under Ethiopian legal system providing for the protection of the right to food except recognition of the right by interpretation and there is no subordinate laws promulgated to protect the right to food than the constitution which by itself has not protected the right in clear manner. Therefore, laws have to be enacted clearly protecting the right to food.

Policies and strategies designed to facilitate economic development and food security in the country should take in to account the international obligation of the country in human rights treaties to protect the right to food and those policies and strategies has to be multimodal and inclusive which consider the life style of citizens in all parts of the country

Investment activities caring out on the communal lands which the pastoralist rely on their livelihood has to consider the benefit of those communities and damages which may sustained to them by the activity.

Laws like federal rural land proclamation No. 456/2005, art.5 (3), provided for eviction of pastoralists from their land without any compensation and even consultation and it has implication that the communal land is state land and it has not recognize communal land holding of the pastoralists which in turn affecting their livelihood including their right to food as protection of the right to food is unthinkable without tenure security in rural dominated community. This provision can be taken as contradicting with article 40(3) the FDRE constitution stating that land is a common property of the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples

¹⁸¹ImeruTamrate, Governance of large scale agricultural investments in Africa: the Case of Ethiopia, paper presented at the World Bank Conference on Land Policy and Administration, Washington DC April 26-27, 2010

of Ethiopia and shall not be subject to sale or to other means of exchange and sub article 5 of the same article stating that Ethiopian pastoralists have the right to free land for grazing and cultivation as well as the right not to be displaced from their own lands. Again its an infringement in the exercise of the right to food and therefore has to be amended. And there are no laws and mechanisms for compensation of the expropriation of communal land. Therefore laws and mechanisms has to be in place to that effect.

Registration of communal land holding should be encouraged in order to facilitate the control of resource which in turn may enhance access to food as a crucial issue in protection of the right food for pastoralist community.

While the government aims to carry out developmental and investment activities in pastoral low land area it should take into account the situation of the community reside in the area and should organize short period trainings so as to enable part of the community to work with the machines and any other activities the projects engaged in.

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Annex

Guiding interviews

I. Questions For Worada Administration Officials, and experts.

1. What do you think about the right to food? Is it a right?
2. What do you think about Food security status of people in your worada?
3. What is the socio economic bases of the people in your worada?
4. What are main sources of food for peoples in you worada?
5. What services are available from the government to the people in order to enhance the right to food?
6. Is there policies and legal measures taken to help the community to produce enough food for themselves?
7. What are main challenges that may hinder the peoples from getting enough food?
8. Is there large/medium scale projects/investments in your worada?
 - A. If your answer is yes for the above question, did it displace the people?
 - B. Have it been consulted with the people affected?
 - C. Have the people displaced compensated?
 - D. What benefits the projects/investment activities may provide to the local community?
9. What measures do you think that shall taken for the effective implementation of the right to food and food security?

II. Questions for Community members, Community leaders and kabale leaders

1. What do you doing for occupation?
2. What is the main Economic base of the community in your village?
3. Do you have a chance to be hired some additional jobs other than your common economic source?
4. Do you get enough food for you and your family always?
5. Is there any challenges/ obstacles affecting your food security/right to food? Mention those factors if any?
6. If the answer for the upper question is yes how do you think these factors considered as hindering your right to food as member of this communality?
7. Have you ever face serious food insecurity problem other than the common shortage of food? If yes, what was the reason?
8. Is there large scale government or privately owned project and investment activities carrying out in your locality? What are the activities the projects engage in?
9. Have the community or members of the local community get a chance to be employed in those projects or investment activities?
10. What do you think the effects of those projects for food security/access to food/ the right to food for the local community?
11. Have the community consulted when these projects were initialized?
12. Have the community compensated for the land those projects and investment carried on?